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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

**MORAL FIBERS: THE MAKING OF (TRANS)NATIONAL FASHIONS IN
POST-AUTHORITARIAN PERU**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

ANTHROPOLOGY
with an emphasis in FILM AND DIGITAL MEDIA

by

Patricia Alvarez Astacio

September 2015

The Dissertation of Patricia Alvarez
Astacio is approved:

Professor Lisa Rofel, chair

Professor Mark Anderson

Professor Matthew Wolf-Meyer

Professor Irene Lusztig

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

Moral Fibers: The Making of (Trans)National Fashions in Post-Authoritarian Peru

Patricia Alvarez

This dissertation examines the nexus between the fashion industry and development projects in the Andean highlands of Peru. Through an ethnographic analysis of the alpaca wool supply chain; it explores how indigenous artisans are interpolated into “ethical fashion” networks as skilled manufacture. It demonstrates how business relations are facilitated and mediated by NGOs and the social responsibility offices of corporations that profit from natural resource extraction. This study critically interrogates the concept of “ethical fashion” to illuminate how national struggles over indigeneity and indigenous lives, race and racism, and differential experiences of violence and authoritarianism are reshaping the fashion industry and the garments it produces. This research analyzes how fashion is constructed as ethical, and by extension what counts as ethics in the fashion industry. Drawing attention to encounters between highland artisans, development workers, and fashion designers, I chart how racial relations and imaginings of indigeneity take visible and material form through design practices and aesthetic negotiations. By exploring what gets to signify “indigenous” and how these signifiers become part of the capitalist dream world of fashion, this dissertation shows how exclusion and structures of inequality are produced through this assemblage of actors and interests that operates beneath the gloss of the “ethical supply chain.”

Dedication

Para las Mamas

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Introduction: Because Peru is in Fashion

“*Stoffwelt*: a world made of fabrics, as well as materially fabricated”
-Benjamin, Arcades Project

Shortly after my arrival in the Fall of 2010 to Lima, Peru in order to carry out 20 months of ethnographic fieldwork, Susana Villarán, was elected as the first female mayor of Lima. She was also the first left wing candidate to become an elected official in decades. Throughout her campaign she always wore a bright green alpaca shawl reflecting the color of her political party *Fuerza Social* (Social Force). This bright green shawl became a trend amongst those involved in the party, magazines not only covered the campaign trail leading to the elections, but even profiled her green alpaca shawl as a fashion item. It was an election year, and Susana Villarán’s victory came a couple of months before the presidential elections.

Between the mayoral and presidential elections, Peru’s nation brand campaign, Marca País, was launched. The bright green shawls quickly gave way to streets filled with shirts, sweaters, stickers, key chains, hats, and billboards with the red and white nation logo. The logo, a red background with the word Peru written in white, displayed the colors of the national flag throughout the urban landscape of Lima and on the bodies of citizens and tourists alike. While some of Peru’s most notorious fashionistas might not be seen in the streets wearing a t-shirt or baseball cap with the logo, Peru brand was a constant sponsor of many fashion events, its logo always present in the background.



Figure 1: Marca País logo based on the tail of the Nazca Monkey line.

What characterized the logo was not just its color scheme, but the letter P which consisted of a spiral. The spiral that made up the P was an iconography appropriated from the tail of the Nazca monkey line. The Nazca lines, a UNESCO World Heritage site, are a series of giant geoglyphs found throughout the Nazca Desert ground in southern Peru. These geoglyphs were created by the Nazca culture between 400 and 650 AD and depict a range from straight lines to complex figures such as a monkey, hummingbird, spider, orca, and tree, among others that can be seen either by plane or from the top of surrounding foothills. Accompanying this logo were two, now ubiquitous slogans: “Por qué el Peru es una gran marca y todos somos estamos invitados a ser sus embajadores”¹ and “Por qué el Perú está de moda.”²

The polyphony of city sounds now included political jingles and national brand slogans reminding people that Peru was in fashion and inviting citizen-ambassadors to fulfill their civil duties by voting in the upcoming presidential elections. A popular topic of conversation that continually came up among the

¹ Because Perú is a great brand and we (Peruvian citizens) are all invited to be its ambassadors.

² Because Perú is in fashion.

national designers I was shadowing and interviewing was the concern about who would dress either the first female president of Peru or the new first lady. It is common for incoming political figures to ask a national designer to dress them for all public events. This practice is not limited to Peru; figures like Jackie Kennedy and Princess Diana were considered fashion icons that helped legitimize the work of designers who dressed them and whose closets are now parts of museum collections. More recently, Michelle Obama took the bold step of bypassing well-known couture brands in order to be dressed by young emerging U.S. designers. She is presently considered as an ambassador of the American fashion industry³ and credited with launching into global notoriety designers like Jason Wu, Isabel Toledo, Narciso Rodriguez, María Pinto, Tracy Reese, Thakoon, Rachel Roy, and Naeem Kahn among others. Even Evo Morales, the controversial leftist president of Bolivia, has brought visibility to the work Bolivian designer, Beatriz Canedo Patiño. Upon his election Evo asked Beatriz Canedo Patiño, who had spent the past two decades designing high fashion using vicuña and alpaca wool, to design a presidential wardrobe that incorporated sartorial and textile elements that identified him with his Aymara ethnicity⁴. In order to complete Evo's wardrobe Canedo Patiño had to travel

³ Michelle Obama lifts up U.S. designers, elegantly around her shoulders. *Washington Post*, Style section: http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/michelle-obama-lifts-up-us-designers-elegantly-around-her-shoulders/2014/02/11/2cb3c560-9390-11e3-b46a-5a3d0d2130da_story.html

⁴ The Fashion of the Populist. *The New York Times*, Fashion & Style. Juan Forero-February 2, 2006.

http://elpais.com/elpais/2012/06/01/gente/1338571758_599184.html

La modista Chic de Evo Morales. *El País*. June 2, 2012.

http://elpais.com/elpais/2012/06/01/gente/1338571758_599184.html

throughout the Bolivian highlands looking for artisans with the necessary skills to produce the textile elements central to his style and culture.

However, in the context of this 2011 controversial elections many fashion designers were hesitant to see the invitation to dress a president or first lady as an opportunity that could further their careers. Elections were between the left wing Ollanta Humala, an ex-military who attempted a coup against Fujimori's authoritarian regime; and Keiko Fujimori, the right wing daughter of the ex-president Alberto Fujimori, currently imprisoned for crimes against humanity. The Peruvian Nobel Laureate Mario Vargas Llosa characterized the elections as choosing between Aids and terminal cancer: between a potential left-wing military regime and a right wing authoritarian one.⁵ On the one hand people were concerned that electing a left-wing candidate could jeopardize Peru's recent economic growth. Moreover, to this day left-wing politics are haunted by the violent Shining Path insurgency, which claimed to be a left wing maoist-comunist insurrection. On the other hand, while Keiko Fujimori's father implemented current economic policies that led to the present economic growth, many feared she would re-instate some of her father's authoritarian policies. Her presidential win meant for many Peruvian citizens an affirmation of impunity for the crimes perpetrated during her father's regime. For designers, dressing either could forever haunt someone's career. Who would want to be remembered as the designer of a dictator or the politician responsible for an economic downturn? More than just making a decision that could further their career, many designers I talked with were

⁵ See *El Comercio* May 23, 2009 and March 31, 2011.

concerned with how their personal politics and ethics would be seen as implicated in the newly elected regime. This was a moment where the relation between fashion and Peru's economic policy, nationalist sentiments, and the trauma of recent history became explicit, turning this arena, often considered 'frivolous,' into a politicized space. In this dissertation I analyze how fashion and the sartorial bring with it the political.

In the aftermath of Peru's civil war and authoritarian regime, expanding transnational markets, seen as a means for the recovery and development of the poverty-stricken and violence torn-highlands, have become a key site for redefining histories of marginalization towards these communities, incorporating them into a renewed sense of national belonging through their cultural products, intimate knowledge of material, and textile skills. This dissertation is about the Peruvian fashion industry; specifically the supply chain of alpaca wool garments that are part of ethical fashion networks and compose the textures of an emerging national Peruvian fashion world. The fashion industry straddles the boundary between commercial enterprise and art worlds; it is both a national industry as well as an arena of national cultural representation. In this dissertation I follow the trail of alpaca wool to explore the revitalization of this fashion supply chain, what gets to count as fashion, and what makes certain fashions 'ethical.' I seek to illuminate how race and racism are embedded in- not just intersectional with, and not just alongside of- the way fashion is constructed, transnational capital operates, and how this supply chain works. How can we understand the specificities of the fashion industry as supply

chain capitalism? How is an ethical fashion industry constructed, and by extension, ethics in this supply chain? What are the terms of a fashion/able inclusion?

As artisanal handwork and textile traditions become articulated into capitalist ethical fashion supply chains as part of development projects, I explore the forms of value produced out the intersection of multicultural neoliberalism (Hale 2005) and the historical configurations of Peruvian indigeneity. Neoliberal multiculturalism is an ethical configuration that tries to include racial difference framed as culture, such as Andean textile traditions and aesthetics, but racial excesses still proliferate. By focusing on the encounters in making fashion, I discuss the excesses and possibilities the fashion industry offers to re-imagine the role of the indigenous in post-Authoritarian Peru, while simultaneously making this industry an attractive site for fashion networks seeking to be ethical. This dissertation contributes to the literature on fashion and capitalism by emphasizing how national histories, especially histories of both violence toward and incorporation of various marginalized peoples who have been drawn into nation-states, shape and constitute fashion supply chains and the garments produced. Following Faier and Rofel (2014), I situate this as an ethnography of encounter where I explore how relationships among unequally positioned groups shape cultural processes to demonstrate “how these unequal cultural histories and forms of difference have material and political effects” (364). In the encounters between mostly indigenous and migrant artisans⁶ with urban designers

⁶ By migrant artisans I consider how many artisans found in small Andean cities like Huancavelica and Cusco, as well as in Lima, are often from rural highland communities that continue working in similar textile workshops.

and development actors, historical modes of racism and racial relations are being challenged, negotiated, and re-affirmed through the apparently apolitical, frivolous space of fashion.

In this fashion supply chain the material qualities and meanings associated with alpaca wool and Andean textiles, which are entangled in histories of racism and folklore, affect aesthetic production and imaginings of Peruvianness at a national level, and of ethics in global fashion networks. I explore how various enactments of ethics influence what gets considered as sources of value; affect aesthetic processes, and sustain certain structures of inequality that producing national and ethical fashions depend on. In this process I account for how this turn to the ethical seeks to mitigate issues of exploitation within this global industry, and how in Peru it serves as a site to attempt to move past racist perceptions of the indigenous. I explore how issues of labor and racism are re-negotiated constituting new textile surfaces⁷ without fully challenging power and value hierarchies found in this capitalist creative industry. I pay special attention to what is opened up and made anew, what are the emerging terms of racial representations and inclusion as Peruvians attempt to move past decades of violence, authoritarianism, and racial divides from within capitalist markets spaces. In this context the category of ethics is loosely defined, opened to interpretation, translations and various kinds of enactments. In the encounter among multiple actors this vague notion of ethics allows them to bring into dialogue different understandings of what counts as ethical or fair behavior, enabling highland artisans

⁷ I discuss the notion of textile surfaces in the section of Addressing Matter

to assert and mobilize notions of Andean life, politics and histories of violence to negotiate the terms of their labor. How does the recent history of Peru shape the fashion industry? How are forms of value produced out of the intersection of multicultural neoliberalism and the historical configurations of Peruvian indigeneity? How do Peruvian struggles over indigeneity, indigenous lives, race and racism shape the fashion industry?

Supply chain relations are formed around the aesthetic dimensions of design and manufacture, as much as they are on labor and economic issues. Throughout this dissertation, I focus on material encounters that take place in the supply chain as fashions are produced to explore the ways in which aesthetic and design practices are a site where racial relation and imaginings of indigeneity take visible and material form, influencing how and what comes to signify the indigenous, and how indigeneity is being re-imagined within Peru's present day economic and political climate. It is through this material and aesthetic encounter that the boundaries and meanings of fashion are enacted and produced. Aesthetics and design allow for power relations and the place of indigeneity in Peru to be discussed, challenged and re-enforced, not verbally, but through material practices. A close look at design and the processes of making garments challenges the assumed relationship between form and content, while bringing up questions of accountability and power relations. Moreover, I take aesthetics as inseparable to the economic negotiations and ways diversity is structured within the supply chain. This encounter in making fashion, in turn fashions the categories by which these garments come to be defined and what they come to

signify; they are all interwoven threads that make up these textile surfaces. Fashions are a “transitional space that activates cultural transit,” “making possible forms of connectivity, relatedness and exchange” (Bruno 2014:8). What is the relationship between ethics, value and aesthetics? How is this relationship negotiated? What kinds of unexpected actors participate in the supply chain of the fashion industry? How does the materiality of alapca wool shape the material relations of production in making fashion garments?

Peru Fashion: Garment Industry

To understand why ethics and indigeneity have become such prominent categories of negotiation in a global fashion industry, one needs to understand Peru’s current political context. At the beginning of the 21st century, Peru’s textile and garment industry began growing alongside a bourgeoning fashion world that looked to create a contemporary garment Peruvian identity that could also be part of a larger global fashion world. The garment industry was one of the economic arenas that benefited from the economic policies set in motion during Fujimori’s regime, becoming one of the fastest growing non-traditional export industries in Peru. From 2008, non-traditional exports grew dramatically and 26% of this growth encompassed garment and textiles (Central Bank Statistics). This industry focuses on niche luxury alpaca wool and pima cotton garments and textiles, both materials considered national flagships due to their luxurious qualities within contemporary global markets and their association with artisanal textile traditions. Fashion, as both a cultural arena and industry, is one of the centerpieces of the Marca Perú nation-brand.

Business-led development programs that sought to incorporate indigenous marginal communities into markets intersected with a cultural revival, changing the role of indigenous labor and aesthetics within the fashion and garment industry. The production networks that allowed this growth are made possible by the mediation of a myriad of development organizations and projects. The social networks that constitute this industry bring together urban Peruvian designers and boutique owners, a heterogeneous group of NGO and state workers with divergent business interests and cultural agendas, and artisans from rural communities throughout the country. These social networks and the material relations and products that bring these actors together constitute the focus of my research.

Development projects with the support of the government and nation-brand began strengthening the alpaca supply chain by fostering artisanal manufacture, expanding the garment industry into marginal and indigenous communities throughout the country. While indigenous highland women have historically been employed in this industry, as herders or factory workers, in this new context they are also producing hand woven garments for niche luxury exports in artisanal workshops. Indigenous aesthetics and artisanal techniques have now been incorporated into both the national fashion identity and luxury garments for exports. Fashion events began proliferating and by 2011 the small runways from local designers that were part of *Peru Moda*, the annual garment trade show, broke to become their own satellite event: *Lima Fashion Week*. Today even Cusco hosts its own bi-annual fashion week called *Cusco Always in Fashion* (CAF). Within a decade small national brands and

stores as well as fashion publications more than tripled, as did the amount of students enrolling in fashion and garment industry related specialized secondary education institutes (Bertello 2010, Montes 2011). This growing fashion identity served to create contemporary visual and textural representations of both an ancestrally rich-yet cosmopolitan Peru used in the campaigns of the nation brand. It finally seemed fashion had arrived in Peru, something that for many of my interlocutors seemed to have skipped the country due to its complex political history. Today the fusion and inclusion of artisanal indigenous textile aesthetics and labor in fashion is construed by many as a step towards moving past longstanding racism and a site for social inclusion.

Peru is in Fashion

Ollanta Humala won the elections over Keiko Fujimori by a small margin of votes. Peru has often been discussed as an exception in the Andean region, the one country with a large indigenous population and without large-scale indigenous social movements or a strong left like Ecuador and Bolivia (Postero and Zamosc 2004, García and Lucero 2004). After Humala's victory it seemed Peru was going to finally join its Andean neighbors. The platform of Humala's presidential campaign was based on social inclusion, promising to create a more equitable economic framework to distribute wealth, allowing the poor and disenfranchised to benefit from the national economic growth and the large natural resource extraction industry. Yet, his economic policies from the beginning of his presidency continued to support and even protect foreign investment and extraction corporations to the dismay of many

who saw his victory as a catalyst for social change. Promises of social inclusion continued unfolding through artistic representations and images, but not in terms of economic practice. Rather than fostering social inclusion as a way to ensure that the wealth of the country could be more equitably distributed, as many of Humala's supporters hoped for; it was instead left to the hands of development projects (both non-profit and government sponsored) and the offices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSRs) from resource extraction companies who claimed an ethical commitment to the communities their activities affect. But the new re-designed image of the nation through the nation brand continued promoting images and representations of a socially inclusive fashionable Peru.

Let's go back for a moment to the nation brand campaign: "Because Peru is in fashion." This slogan speaks to the networks and themes discussed throughout this dissertation. This clever slogan- probably written by a witty marketing executive from the transnational advertising agency hired to run the campaign, Young & Rubicam- speak to the various ways in which Peru is being re-presented as economically, politically and culturally fashionable. First, as the presidents following Fujimori, including Humala, upheld and fostered neoliberal investment and trade policies, Peru became a stylish site for global corporate investment. Existing supply chains, including non-traditional exports like niche agricultural products (artichoke, asparagus) and the garment industry have benefited from such policies. However, key to strengthening and growing these supply chains has been a rhetoric of social inclusion and development where government efforts, NGOs and the social

responsibility sectors of transnational corporations operating in Peru seek to ‘ethically’ incorporate the poor and disenfranchised through business-led development programs. Besides the nation brand, NGOs and corporations like mining companies, petroleum extraction consortiums and foreign owned construction companies that build everything from roads, to mining and petrol related infrastructure have become important economic sponsors of the fashion industry and cultural arena.

Peru is in fashion, as this new branding campaign affirms an image of Peru as a cosmopolitan nation, a desirable global player, not a war torn, unstable or corrupt developing nation. This period of peace and economic growth has unfolded alongside a cultural revival, where Peruvians are culturally and economically reclaiming previously marginalized areas and their cultural heritage. In the aftermath of Peru’s civil war and Fujimori’s authoritarian rule, many cultural elements associated with folklore, poverty, backwardness, and violence are being re-valuated, appropriated and re-claimed as central to images and aesthetics of national belonging.⁸ For example, details from the Nazca lines are not just historic elements, remnants of Peru’s grand pre-Hispanic past; but can be an apt signifier, if used appropriately and following modern notions of design, as the main sign of Peru’s contemporary present and brand.

Gastronomy was the first cultural industry to boom, nationally and internationally, and is the main example of the cultural revival. Today Lima has become a premier site for gastronomic tourism, hosting the largest food fair of Latin

⁸ For an analysis on the use of cultural elements and the re-framing of citizenship in the nation brand campaign see Cánepa Koch (2014, 2013).

America, Mistura. This boom has unfolded as more than a cultural reclaiming and re-valuing of traditional and regional foods turned high-end cuisine; but has gone hand in hand with the growth of the agricultural exports industry and a turn to organic, fair trade, ethical food supply chains. Not only did the supply chains of existing exports grow, but it made possible the emergence of the supply chains of cuy (guinea pig), quinoa, various types of ajíes (chilli's) and a variety of exotic Amazonian fruits.⁹

Similar to gastronomy, the national fashion world has emerged alongside a growing garment industry for exports. Both processes have been intimately associated with discourses and projects of social inclusion, social responsibility and ethics. Designers are brought to remote artisanal textile workshops through the mediation and financial sponsorship of NGOs and CSRs to create their own haute-couture collections and to also supervise the manufacture of boutique garments for exports. Within this climate an engagement with traditional textiles, aesthetic elements and handwork is considered as ethical and socially responsible while also serving as the aesthetic basis for a recognizably Peruvian design identity. This emergent national fashion aesthetic includes and/or is inspired by the artisanal groups' traditional textiles and modes of dress. Even designers who do not work directly with textile artisans, who solely work with industrial manufacture or with different textile materials, obtain inspiration from fusing popular culture and folkloric design elements with stylish global fashion trends.

⁹ For a critique on the Peruvian gastronomic revolution and discourses on how it is a site of social change and responsibility see García 2013 and Fan 2013.

Vogue magazines can be found anywhere from designer ateliers in Lima where elite customers can sit and skim through them while they or their friends try on clothing, to the most remote artisanal workshops in rural communities located at 3500 meters above sea level. Tall thin models walk the many runways wearing traditional hats commonly worn by Andean women from the highlands alongside their fashionable outfits. Designers are re-thinking the *pollera*¹⁰ skirts with their traditional embroidery and decorations as formal wear. Traditional *huayno*¹¹ music re-mixed with techno and house are a common soundtrack for fashion events and within small boutique shops. Logos and other media images used in the Peru Moda trade show display bright combinations of colors commonly found in Andean *licllias*, the shawls women use to wrap and carry their children. At the end of runways, designers go into the catwalk side by side with the indigenous artisans that manufactured the clothing wearing their traditional dress to salute the audience.

Magazine fashion editorials shot in remote rural landscapes and in indigenous communities feature local *campesinos* standing next to models. The juxtaposition of

¹⁰ *Pollera* is the name given to women's dress in the highlands, most times making references to their skirts. *Polleras*' consist of multilayered skirts that tend to be highly embroidered or ornamented. This kind of clothing was modeled after the Andalusian and Extremeño female peasant dress, subjected to variations throughout the Andean highlands. Along with the skirts women use embroidered blouses or blazers (depending on the region), and wear hats over braided hairdos. This form of dress was imposed by the Spanish colonial authorities after the Tupac Amaru II revolt in 1872. Changing modes of dress was seen as a way of discouraging pride in Inca identity and empire. For more on the history see: Gandolfo 2009, Castañeda León 1981, Patiño 1992).

¹¹ A genre of popular Andean Music and dance. The history of *Huayno* dates back to colonial Peru emerging from a combination of traditional rural folk music and popular urban dance music. High-pitched vocals are accompanied by a variety of instruments, including *quena* (flute), harp, *siku* (panpipe), accordion, saxophone, *charango*, lute, violin, guitar, and mandolin. Contemporary *huayno* is also commonly fused with *cumbia*.

contrasting bodies, modes of dress, and signifiers that both refer to poverty and an indigenous romantic vision in these fashion spreads have led to heated discussion in the public arena and mainstream media sources. Supporters of these images argue they represent a step towards moving past racism by including these bodies and modes of dress as something aesthetically pleasing or even beautiful, acknowledging the present coexistence and reality of indigenous communities alongside urban fashionable Peru. Critics see these images as reinforcing forms of racism that mark the distinction between the beautiful fashionable model alongside different others not wearing fashion garments, mere props still part of the background in the function of the models' needs. They contend that beauty and modernity are signified in the models emphasizing the indigenous as backwards, traditional, ugly¹².

¹² One particular photograph taken during the events of Cusco Always in Fashion 2013 (the 2011 event is discussed in Chapter 5 and the Conclusion) and published in the *Caretas'* fashion supplement *Ellos & Ellas* (N442:25) sparked a huge controversy concerning racial relations and representations. The photograph depicted a model wearing an embroidered dress by designer Susan Wagner standing next to a *campesina* woman. The embroidery in the dress worn by the model displays the traditional flower embroidery commonly found near the seams of *polleras*. The colorful flower embroidery covers all of the midi dress. She stands, over a foot taller, next to a *campesina* woman wearing daily Andean wear, not the typical dress of the region. The *campesina* wears an Andean brown hat over her braided hair, red sweater over blue long sleeve shirt and is lifting the front of her top blue *pollera* skirt showing the second red skirt she is wearing. The *campesina* is wearing brown sandals while the model wears tall leather black boots and a black cape. The highly criticized caption of the photograph states: "Model Janet Leyva wearing a Susan Wagner dress with the typical embroidery of Chota, Cajamarca, in a tender encounter with a *mamacha cusqueña*." Criticisms ranged from the clear exclusion of the *campesina*'s name from the photograph as a sign of racism to the fact that the model is highly manicured and styled while the *campesina* is not. Some argued that just having the photograph is a sign that Peru is moving away from racial perceptions that would never allow a *mamacha/campesina* to appear in the pages of a fashion magazine posing her as an equal to a high fashion model, that in a fashion publication having a *mamacha/campesina* model would not be appropriate, and that the model's own dress is a celebration of the Andean woman's own culture. Others argued that this representation highlighted the model, her dress and beauty, over that of the *mamacha/campesina* who amounted to nothing more than an ornament.

While designers are looking into national materials- alpaca, vicuña wool and pima cotton- and elements of popular culture and history to anchor a distinctive Peruvian design identity, the global garment industry is increasingly interested in “ethical fashions.” The textures associated with these national materials are also understood as distinctively Peruvian. Growing international consumer-driven pressures to transform the notoriously exploitative garment industry into a fair, socially responsible and ‘ethical’ one have helped promote the appearance of this supply chain as an apolitical space that provides economic opportunities for indigenous artisans turning them into productive members of the nation by incorporating them as skilled handwork and their traditional textile aesthetics and techniques into elements of fashion. It is important to mention here that ethics within the fashion industry encompasses a wide variety of meanings, not all of which are followed by all garment supply chains that claim to be ethical. Similar to fair trade and organic labels, fashions labeled as ethical serve to guide consumer purchases, attesting to the conditions of production of certain commodities (Besky 2014). Yet, unlike other fair trade or certified organic supply chains, in fashion there is not a unifying certifying system that defines and assesses fashion-manufacturing networks. Ethics within this assemblage includes values like promoting worker autonomy and respect, fair wages, non-exploitative labor practices, keeping environmental standards, and fostering sustainable practices in the use of materials (see Joy, Sherry, Alladi, Venkatesh, Wang and Chan 2012).

As threads become garments and move through ethical fashion networks, diverse discourses and perceptions of ‘ethics’ and fairness operate at two different scales: one located in the efforts of corporations seeking to mitigate issues of exploitation by fostering an image of being socially responsible; the other based on those of the various actors working on the ground negotiating, mediating and making what comes to be understood as ethical fashions. I explore how these different enactments of what is ethical and fair mediate and shape the relations, negotiations and notions of value that take place through the material encounter of design and textile making. I argue that ethics allows for indigenous life, politics and history to remodel a supply chain while shaping aesthetic production. This has allowed for fashion to become an arena where national actors can address, re-imagine and re-cast racial and racist relations and representations of race within the present re-branding of Peru as a multicultural fashionable nation.

Styling the Andes

However, in this and already, unequal aesthetic encounter, Andean textile traditions are incorporated into the Western fashion system. This is an encounter of two systems of dress and production each with its own temporalities, notions of design, aesthetics and bodies. In this process of becoming fashion- a system predicated on the notion of the constant new- Andean aesthetic signifiers cannot continue to be seen as remnants of a past, folklore or tradition. They create new surfaces that acknowledge the indigenous as part of Peru’s cosmopolitan present by being fused with and shaped according to what is considered fashionable and in style.

For Bruno (2014) surfaces embody the relation of materiality to aesthetics, technology and temporality. Surfaces not only mediate, constitute, embody and motivate these encounters, but also serve as a site of projection. Through the production of these new knitted surfaces, fashion-making is cast as a site for social inclusion and social justice, challenging certain racist structures while upholding modes of difference, inequality, and ethnic difference that include certain aspects of indigeneity while excluding, invisibilizing or accepting others *if* a transformation is possible. As indigenous aesthetic traditions are merged into contemporary re-imagining of Peru, they re-cast historical racial attitudes, while re-affirming new modes of racial difference within a multicultural neoliberal Peru.

Andean aesthetics and textiles surfaces are not only adapted to the Western fashion system, but the garments produced are designed for non-indigenous bodies- tall, thin, Western bodies- and generally exclude the bodies of artisans and indigenous women. Artisans, even as they get paid fair wages for their handwork, are not expected to wear and consume these garments. Their appeal as highly skilled manufacturers is due in part to the fact they are somehow still outsiders to this system, wearing their traditional dress as a marker of the authenticity, of their skill. While artisans are able to mobilize discourses on ethics to push back and assert their expertise, their interventions are not supposed to challenge existing power structures within the garment industry. There are limits to the ‘ethical’ and aesthetic interventions they can make.

Throughout this dissertation I focus on the processes, negotiations and contradictions involved in the making of ethical fashions within a capitalist supply chain and how this cultural arena, one popularly construed as frivolous, is being used to create images and shape bodies of a contemporary Peru in an attempt to re-consider the role of the traditional, popular and indigenous. As the nation brand campaign asserts that Peru is in fashion, the imaginary national body is undergoing a makeover that reflects and constitutes this new global position and attempts to move away from two decades of violence and a historical gap between the urban modern centers and what the Andean scholar José Carlos Mariátegui (1979) named the Indian problem, the non-modern indigenous rural Peru.

Peru has a historical, yet unstable, role in the global textile industry since its beginnings shortly after Peru's independence in 1824.¹³ Since the emergence of the alpaca wool industry, almost all of the textiles and garments produced were destined for exports. The garments made using alpaca wool were mostly industrially produced following popular European styles and trends. To this day, Peru is the main producer and exporter of alpaca wool, a material comparable in its quality to cashmere. Since its beginning, the industry has never been fully in national hands. The early alpaca processing factories were British owned. This is slowly changing with the growth of

¹³ There is a long tradition of scholars studying the importance of textiles in Andean societies. Desrosiers (1992) points out "It is not necessary anymore to try to demonstrate the importance of weaving in the Andes" See: Franquemort, Franquemort and Isbell 1992, Murra 2005, Vega and Torres 1992. In the 1600s Guaman Poma's *Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno*, denounces weaving for exportation to Europe as a site of colonial exploitation. This marks the emergence of the textile industry in Peru.

the supply chain and today there are a handful of small national industrial alpaca processing factories.

Since the early days of the textile industry most of the supply chain production sites have been located in the Andean highlands, having their roots in the *Hacienda* system.¹⁴ Yet, textile production for this global industry never created a working class or modernized the Andean communities involved in it. On the contrary, it solidified the existing *hacienda* system, sustaining discrimination, conditions of extreme poverty, and a racial and geographical divide within Peru (Manrique 2007, Servet 2007). The 1968 Agrarian Reform that ended the *Hacienda* system did not change the exploitative nature of textile production. The *Hacienda* system was replaced by a monopoly of alpaca wool by two large industrial factories still located in Arequipa in Southern Peru. After decades of internal violence, which almost caused the collapse of the industry, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and free trade agreements implemented by Fujimori both took a toll on the livelihoods of high altitude communities while allowing the industry to expand into global fashion markets. These reforms implemented in the 1990s, popularly known as the Fujishock, were considered one of the most dramatic economic restructuring programs in Latin America. They not only diminished social welfare programs administered by the

¹⁴ The *Hacienda* system began through a series of land grants Spaniards could obtain via petition from the crown in the colonies. These evolved to become private properties, many of which became integrated into a market-based economy often times relying on indentured and enslaved labor from local indigenous and black populations. *Hacendados* not only had the rights to land and all natural resources but also the power of life and death over the inhabitants. Many communities living in these lands lived permanently in debt to the owner, being forced to work the land and turn the bulk of their work to the estate. This system continued in Peru past the colonial era until the Agrarian Reform of 1968.

state, but allowed Peru to guarantee loans from the IMF to re-insert itself in the financial system after decades of hyperinflation. These dramatic measures severely impacted everyone, including middle and lower classes in the midst of Shining Path violence.¹⁵

For 20 months I followed the production of alpaca garments and fashions “from thread to runway,” tracing the social networks and supply chain of alpaca garments. This methodological approach provided a unique entryway into the negotiations of indigenous representations and politics, along with formations of national belonging in the aftermath of Peru’s civil war and authoritarian rule. As fashion making and indigenous artisanal techniques are merged with manufacture for national and global exports, I analyze how aesthetics and design are as central to the infrastructure of the supply chain as its economic and labor aspects. I explore how aesthetic negotiations and the involvement of “unexpected actors” (Tsing 2008) are important in enacting ethics within the supply chain. Seeking to incorporate the technical and symbolic authenticity of indigenous manufacture and aesthetics serves as a way of attempting to make a capitalist supply chain ethical and assuring the authenticity of handwork. In this process it is important to consider how NGOs are economic actors that serve as commercial mediators between the interests of the industry and artisans legitimizing, these practices as ‘ethical.’

Much of my research took place within this industry’s basic unit of manufacture: artisanal workshops. Many of these workshops originated as community

¹⁵ For a more in-depth analysis see Carrión 2006.

based mother's clubs in the 1990s as a way of surviving the aftermath of decades-long war. I followed the production and design of garments back and forth from these workshops in Huancavelica and Cusco, to designer showrooms, local boutiques and runways in Lima. The regions of Huancavelica, in the Central Andes, and Cusco are the fastest growing artisanal production sites in the garment industry, nationally known for their unique textile traditions. Even though both regions are located far away from each other, certain actors, like fashion designers, moved between them. As we will see, each region has their own particularities and exemplifies different ways in which temporal and spatial contradictions and constraints are mediated and navigated, symbolically and materially, by NGO workers and fashion designers. What brings together all of these sites and actors (NGO workers, fashion designers, artisans) is alpaca wool in all of its forms: as hair, as thread, as knit, garment, and image.

The contemporary supply chain of alpaca boutique garments and national fashions is composed of a messy assemblage of actors including fashion designers, international brands, indigenous weavers, as well as NGOs and resource extraction corporations. It traverses across the Peruvian highlands where small artisanal workshops and highland communities that herd alpacas participate in the industry. I began my research positioning myself with two fashion designers known nationally for their work with indigenous artisans and alpaca wool. Through them I was able to access two supply chains actively producing garments and with close ties to herding communities in Huancavelica and Cusco. These networks are often ephemeral with

multidirectional histories (Tsing forthcoming), those of the highland artisans, NGO/development actors, and urban fashion designers. Often times these workshops not only manufacture garments for the industry but also produce tourist souvenirs, garments and textiles for regional markets, and serve, as community centers where women can make clothing and other textile products for their families. They are notorious for coming into being within a community, splitting up, splitting up into two, taking hiatuses, being re-started, etc. The numbers of members tend to fluctuate depending on herding times, agricultural calendar, and other development projects unfolding in a region. The shifting and harsh environmental conditions in the highlands, such as extreme rains, floods, landslides, and hail also affect workshop membership and capacity for work. All of these elements affect the amount of orders, accessibility to the workshops and the ability to participate in the supply chains.

Due to this context I decided to begin and situate my research starting with upcoming manufactures in order to tap into an active supply chain. I got in contact with designers in Lima and began travelling with them to the sites where they were going to start working. My research began with the early arrangements necessary to kick start manufacture for a particular event, trade show, and orders for export. This often meant that I began looking at manufacture from the start of the design process, allowing me to follow this into the early stages of manufacture in a workshop and follow that to the end, which often led to trade shows, runway events and packaging to export garments.

When the first supply chain I started following ended with their garments being shown at *Peru Moda*, the largest garment trade show in the country, and a later runway event called *Exhibe Peru*, I was able to tap into another supply chain where manufacture was beginning. This took me from one region, Huancavelica, where manufacture unfolded from January to April 2011, to Cusco. When the work for the garment industry stopped or slowed down in Huancavelica, women did not attend the workshop as regularly. Some artisans began making tourist crafts or garments for their families, or took on smaller orders based on alternative versions of the designs produced while the bigger manufacture unfolded. I did manage to do various visits after this time to get a sense of the work rhythms after manufacture ended. From June to November 2011, I followed the active supply chains in Cusco. I arrived when wool was being accrued and manufacture was starting for a series of national and international trade events. Cusco being a larger region had multiple smaller chains working simultaneously with different designers who I had already met and interviewed during the early stages of my fieldwork in Lima. Even the designer I followed in Huancavelica continued her contract work in Cusco with different NGOs.

Interestingly, I found that some of the same actors moved with me across sites, while others moved onto different highland regions of Peru to work with other artisanal workshops. However, in each site there was a comparable configuration of NGOs and offices of social responsibility, as well as regional offices of the same government agency: PROMPERU (*Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo*- Commission for Exports and Tourism Promotion in Peru).

This agency is in charge of managing and running the nation brand among other programs and is part of a larger network of government agencies, which include MINCETUR (*Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo*- Ministry for Exterior Commerce and Tourism), another important player within this supply chain. While the supply chain assemblages that compose the alpaca wool industry are ephemeral and multidirectional, being at once sites of industry manufacture, community organizing, etc; these constellation of and comparable agencies provide the consistency necessary for its functioning: they are what makes it an industry. Yet, while this constellation has parallels across regions of the country, in each place it looks and works in unique ways according to the kinds of NGOs or CSRs from mining companies and the unique local cultural configurations.

Wearing social justice and Ethical dress

The handwork of artisans, their knowledge and cultural association with alpaca wool, and Andean aesthetics are seen as central to what makes this industry ethical. The idioms of social responsibility, ethical objects and fair trade often cast mundane things as latent instruments of social justice (Murphy 2013). Fashion is seen by the Peruvian government, those involved in the garment industry, and a myriad of development agencies as a site for social inclusion, justice and ethical responsibility. In this dissertation I analyze the different processes through which fashion is construed as ‘ethical’ and a site for social justice. I ask what processes and forms of making come to be understood as ethical or enactments of social responsibility. Elements of manufacture -who makes the object, under what conditions, what

materials are used- are part and parcel of the signifiers that makes an object ethical and socially responsible.

Fashion as a system is composed of images, written texts and material objects.¹⁶ I approach fashion without clearly marking manufacture and the objects produced as distinct spheres.¹⁷ I attempt to blur this distinction understanding them as one process that includes the negotiations necessary to manufacture garments- such as wages and manufacturing times-, design practices, the final objects and their presentation. As Murphy (2013) points out a focus on design rather than things can help account for a wide range of phenomena while still emphasizing the centrality of objects. “Design encompasses the ways in which the qualities of objects are given shape and how they come to acquire socially relevant meanings independent of the object’s consumption” (120). Moreover, exploring fiber through its many forms and stages allows researchers to gain insight into how a complex mass market works (O’Connor 2005). This approach highlights how the migration of fibers, their textures

¹⁶ In his analysis of the fashion system Barthes distinguishes an object of signification (piece of clothing), a support of signification (a detail in the garment such as a collar, the textile material or textures), and a variant (variations in form of that detail). The support of signification is an excess that cannot be accounted for in clothing as a sign. He argues that the materiality of a garment needs to be conceived as prior to signification and cannot be accounted for in a typical Saussurean linguistic model. This has led to the disregard of matter as part of the system of signification and structures of meaning in the realm of fashion while promoting an idea of culture as something that wraps itself around object, shaping and transforming their surfaces without exploring the interiority and composition of the object (Ingold 2000). Textiles and material surfaces are part and parcel of the meaning of clothing; they determine the shape, form, fall, look and feel of garments. Qualities like softness, bulkiness, and airiness, which are material qualities of fabric, are important and bring their own series of signification to the garments they compose.

¹⁷ Other scholars (Attfield 2000, Julier 2000) further emphasize that the production of fashion encompasses the design and manufacture of garments, as well as marketing, advertisement, distribution and other necessary business transactions. In this dissertation I don’t explore marketing, distribution and consumption.

and design history, as they move from one stage of production to another, tells a more complex story than that of simple changes in style or trends. From this perspective one can assert that clothes do not just shape themselves to a body, but mold to the wearer's own cultural fabric. (Bruno 2014).

A focus on materiality (Barad 2003, Bruno 2014, Kuchler and Miller 2005) in fashion facilitates critical engagement with the material qualities, sensorial and aesthetic politics that allow this supply chain to come into existence and shape Peru's cultural fabric. Moreover, approaching this supply chain as a pericapitalist space, a site composed of spaces that exist simultaneously inside and outside capitalism (Tsing, Forthcoming), emphasizes how the messiness of this assemblage allows for the supply chain to be a site where different notions of ethics and value simultaneously unfold across global and national scales. This approach to capitalism as an on-going process made up of the articulation of multiple practices can help us understand the dynamic production of inequality across space, as well as unforeseen outcomes, improvisations and unexpected responses (Faier and Rofel 2014). On the one hand the Peruvian fashion industry is a site where actors are invested in exploring how to transform a capitalist supply chain into an ethical one to address and move away from exploitative practices common to the fashion/garment industry. On the other it is also a site where people are creating objects that speak to a national sartorial identity and that serve to create images of the bodies that belong in contemporary Peru, while relegating others as productive manufacturers or disembodied hands valuable in their skill and outsidership.

As alpaca wool moves across different sites and among different actors its material qualities shifts as do the relationships around it. During certain times the quality of the wool is at the center of labor and social relations, at other times processes of design or making take prevalence, and at a certain point the outfits made become the central driving force of these relationships. It is important to note how this perspective sheds light on the limits and difficulties of keeping track of the shifting labor and social relations through which an object moves and how the boundaries of what makes it a particular object are constantly being re-defined.

In the supply chain we find unexpected human actors, mainly CSRs from resource extractive corporations and NGO workers, whose participation in the garment industry is central to the sustainability of the supply chain, while their work in the garment manufacture does not yield direct economic profit. The non-economic involvement of unexpected human actors, like the staff at NGOs and at offices of Corporate Social Responsibility of mining and other resource extractive companies, are central to how value is translated and accrued, as well as to understanding how ethics are understood and enacted through the supply chain. Profits made through wages by these actors do not come directly from their participation in this supply chain. Their efforts are directed in securing work, contracts and profits for the artisans participating through their development and social responsibility efforts. Their motivations are not economically driven, tied into notions of goodwill and social justice, but they ultimately are important to the economic functioning of the supply chain. However, they do benefit from their involvement in other ways, such as

creating good will among the communities they work with, maintaining a certain image as doing their part for the benefit of the nation through acts of social welfare and addressing issues of economic justice while fostering cultural respect. Yet, these actors are intrinsic to how money moves through the supply chain as they facilitate how other actors are able to come together to keep the supply chain functioning. They are also key figures in translating different non-capitalist elements into value and ethics within fashion and luxury boutique markets. Their involvement also speaks to the nexus of this emerging Peruvian nationalism discussed earlier in this introduction that is unfolding in a moment of post-violence, capitalist market expansion and national economic growth. Understanding the interventions and role of these actors is key to exploring the kinds of objects produced, modes of manufacture, payment, how indigenous modes of sociality are translated into forms of value, how these garments acquire particular meanings within the supply chain, and how they are legitimized as indigenous, authentic, fashion, ethical and Peruvian.

These different negotiations take place around notions of race and ethics as these alpaca garments move across different sites and through the hands of different actors. I argue that these are embedded in the very process of negotiating what gets to count as fashion, who can make fashion, and for what bodies is fashion made for. They shape the material processes of making as well as being limited by indigenous textile traditions, qualities and competing perceptions surrounding wool's haptic qualities, cultural associations of color, and aesthetic standards within fashion worlds. What makes a fashion object ethical vis-à-vis an unethical one? How does this

translate into an image of Peru as a nation that affirms referents of the indigenous as part of the nations' contemporary present? How can turning a national industry ethical serve to re-define national imaginaries of national belonging? How is the indigenous being re-positioned within this emerging fashion world and in this process what racial structures are reified and challenged in this process?

Aesthetics and the Economic

Within fashion worlds the highest value and marker of fashion is found in the name of the designer and brand; there is a tendency to minimize production as a source of value. As Kaplan (2007) points out throughout commodity supply chains, despite the connections across them, “the motives and meanings, of those at the site of production and those at the site of consumption, are not shared” (686). While for artisans participating in fashion networks is an important source of livelihood and income; for fashion designers this is not only their careers, but of being part of a cultural revival and industrial growth fostering the development of a Peruvian design identity that reflects and imagines a post-authoritarian multicultural Peru. The motives, meaning and value of these fashions, even as ‘ethical’ fashions, still lie anchored in the figure of the auteur, be that a designer or brand.

Designers are creative auteurs with the capacity to transform and use the materials, skills and traditions of artisans to make fashion. Moreover, from the perspective of powerful actors in the fashion industry, elite consumers do not want to have the main association of the garments they wear to be with impoverished, non-fashionable makers. The image of the fashion designer or brand helps distance the

indigenous signifiers while assuring the authenticity of manufacture processes, that fashion is still fashion. The label of 'ethical' obscures the image of the maker while assuring fair, just, ethical, environmentally friendly, and socially responsible commodities. Both within Peru and as these garments travel through ethical fashion networks the image of the artisan becomes obscured, kept latent in the price tag as a source of value, one or few-of-a-kind, and in the textile textures they make. While the image of the fashion designer as auteur is an important element in what gets out count as fashion, as my dissertation explores, this process is more complex.

Fair trade commodities explicitly seek to bring nonmarket values, ideas about justice, ethics and morals into proximity with market values. Yet, these attempts within the fashion industry operate differently. The figure of the creative auteur design or the names of designer brands also obscure the complex networks and relations of labor involved in the process of design and the making of a cultural object. Many fair trade and organic supply chains seek to minimize the distance and amount of mediators between consumers and producer by simplifying the commodity chain- removing intermediaries and middlemen (Barham 2002, Besky 2014, Reichman 2008). Reichman discusses in his study of fair trade coffee: "Through the purchase of coffee, consumers seek to establish a social relationship between producers and consumers" (Reichman 2008:108). In various food supply chains the image of the small farmer has become an appealing valued nostalgic category, idealizing the life of the grower, and putting a 'face' behind the commodities. These images often rely on what Besky (2014) calls creating a Third World Agrarian

Imaginary. This Third World Agrarian imaginary creates an image of agrarian practices as an ‘original, ecologically balanced form of connection between people and place but also a set of ideas about the relationship between people and nature—particularly about the relationship between women and nature’ (30). This imaginary helps those invested in these fair trade supply chains to explain why such products are better but also frame the path and tools to make things better by anchoring the potential of redemption in a return to a fictionalized past in postcolonial settings.

It is rare to see ethical fashion garments explicitly associated with such images. Usually garments explicitly marked as such often end up under the category of ethnic or green fashion, and not at the high end of style. Artisans are not presented as the face of ‘ethical’ fashions in the same way as many other fair-trade commodities, affirming value and the assurance of style in the name of the brand or designer. One can typically find this image of the nostalgic indigenous artisanal producer in two instances. Images similar to those found in fair trade food commodities are found as these garments move within industry actors before reaching consumers. They are used as a selling point between different intermediaries and brands, found within trade shows as manufacturing deals are secured. These images are typically erased once they reach consumers and exchanged for labels such as ‘ethical’, organic, hand-made, or an assurance the garment is made in a small quantity. Another popular way consumers’ access these images are through fashion editorials where artisans might appear as part of the *mis-en-scene*.

In these attempts at making the fashion industry ethical, fair, or just, non-Western aesthetic interventions are inseparable from fashion as a capitalist enterprise, operating within the industries' power and value hierarchies. Ethical fashions do not erase or minimize the amount of middlemen found in the subcontracting networks. On the contrary since there is no certifying agent, and brands do not take the responsibility of assuring ethical compliance, this is left to third party NGOs and CSRs to do, this supply chain depends on a networks of manufacture that bring together a wide array of actors and make development work central to its operation (De Neve 2009, Partridge 2011). While a large part of the body of scholarship on design and fashion recognizes the entanglement between manufacture, aesthetics and consumption, most of the literature focuses on one of these subjects, reproducing the artificial divide between the creative making of design, the labor of purportedly non-creative manufacture and the final object themselves (Craik 2009, Entwistle 2000, Hansen 2000, Kondo 1997, Loughran 2009, McRobbie 1998, Postrel 2003, Tarlo 2010, Wilson 2003, Woodward 2008). My work departs form these projects by attempting to account for the interactions between the creative work of design, the role of aesthetics in manufacture, and the complete objects; keeping wool and the processes it is part of as the substance of the material relations that unfold in this encounter.

What is particularly useful about the approach I develop is that it allows consideration of how aesthetic and other material practices are central to the interactions within a supply chain and not simply determined by socio-economic

arrangements. Taussig (2012) points out that “anthropologists have spent a great deal of energy describing symbols active in social life” (3). He wonders how this focus has obscured the influence and force aesthetics have in shaping and energizing society and history, and how aesthetics shape everyday life. Going back to the work of Malinowski, Taussig highlights the particular attention Malinowski’s work paid to the islanders’ untiring attention to the aesthetics of every phase of their farming, as much as they did to their dances and sculpture gardens. More importantly, for my purposes, he also mentions how aesthetics were important within the *kula* ornaments that were being exchanged. The *kula* was not only about social relations, but interisland trade revolved and depended on the actual ornaments, and in these exchanges it mattered that the shell necklaces were red and the shell bracelets white. “What is lacking has to do with what Mauss in his book on the gift called ‘the social fact,’ in which magic and the aesthetic are inseparable from the economic” (5-6). He argues that in today’s contemporary global economy the inseparability of the aesthetic and the economic has taken center stage. Like the fashion designer Issey Miyake has stated: the price is part of the design. The economic logic of fashion is embedded in and part of a particular hierarchy of value and beauty in fashion worlds and the garment industry.

Supply Chain Materialisms

The fashion industry is popularly known for its outsourcing practices, which have led to many controversies surrounding exploitative labor practices, environmental issues, and even human rights abuses among subcontracted manufacturers in developing nations (Korzeniewicz 1994, Ross 2004). The garment

industry has long been studied as a case example of the history of industrialization, capitalist development, modernity, and female labor (Benjamin 1999, Collins 2003, Entiwstle 2015, Tarlo 1996, Wilson 2003). A supply chain perspective allows an exploration of how these assemblages draw on colonial and national histories to encourage different economic forms and relations across specific actors (Friedberg 2004). In these encounters certain predominant meanings are associated with specific objects and commodities, and foster production of a certain kind of commodity (i.e. those that follow a particular dominant aesthetic or fulfill specific assessment standards). This perspective furthers the aim of this dissertation in exploring how the economic and the cultural are mutually constitutive, both over time and in place (Friedberg 2004). I take into account the industrial and tactile history of fashion in Peru in order to understand many of the present negotiations that take place surrounding wool, its value and capacity of becoming part of fashion, and why it serves as a site for negotiation and re-positioning the ‘problem of the indigenous’ (Mariátegui 1974) within the current Peruvian nation-state.

According to Tsing (2013, Forthcoming) supply chain capitalism is characterized by the ways that commodity value is created through tapping into and transforming non-capitalist social relations. Contingency, unexpected outcomes, and articulations of multiple practices make capitalism an ongoing process, as Faier and Rofel point out (2014). These interactions of lives and products that move back and forth between non-capitalist and capitalist forms unfold in pericapitalist spaces. Here, supply chain assemblages “depend on those factors banished from the economic that

draw upon and vitalize class niches and investment strategies formed through the vicissitudes of gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexuality, age and citizenship status” (Tsing 2009). It is in these pericapitalist spaces where indigenous knowledge and skill are converted, translated into capitalist returns, construed as ethics, and conform particular objects. This dissertation takes the alpaca supply chain as a pericapitalist space of consummate translation, whereas differing and even competing notions of ethics, aesthetics, race and beauty are translated back and forth, always exceeding and pointing to the limits of these translations.

The importance of indigenous knowledge, material and aesthetic traditions to the supply chain challenges both neoliberal logics of how ‘efficient’ markets work and assumptions about the separation between aesthetic and economics. Yet, these challenges do not fully alter the power structures and hierarchies within the fashion industry. As garments are produced in rural artisanal workshops through collaborations between artisans and fashion designers, I examine how Andean textile traditions are produced historically and are re-framed through work within the fashion industry. I analyze how supply chain relations of transnational capitalism, and how they are understood as ethical, are constructed in light of the aesthetic dimensions of design and the political economy of fashion. Thus, the encounters that make up the supply chain of alpaca wool garments in Peru seek to move past structures of racism, while reproducing and re-casting images of racial distinction in post-Authoritarian 21st century Peru. The value of Andean aesthetics lie in the material surfaces made with alpaca wool, and in the way these can become part of the aesthetic and

hegemonic design principles of the fashion system. In this process power hierarchies, tied to value and a particular aesthetic system, maintain the indigenous as artisan/manufacture, a pristine authentic source of historic knowledge that can serve as inspiration and handwork to be merged and (be)come part of a fashion system. Artisans are included as producers that are not expected to be consumers, even if they could afford such garments.

Addressing Matter

Throughout this dissertation I keep a focus on materiality, encounters in process and the depth of surfaces. A materialist approach to themes of political economy helps tease out “where the nature of, and relationships between, the material details of everyday life and broader geopolitical and socioeconomic structures” unfold (Coole and Frost 2010:7). Following Bruno (2014), I understand materiality as “not a question of materials but rather concerns the substance of material relations” (2) and “of activating material relations” (8). The chapters that follow focus on the substance, quality and processes of material relations as alpaca thread, with its own qualities and significations, become designs, knit surfaces that constitute and reflect this encounter. Making a garment, especially when it is made through a practice of knitting or weaving, creates a surface that a body can potentially inhabit. These garment surfaces are an active site of exchange between subject and object, while also being a dynamic space of projection. Surfaces “mediate by acting as a material configuration of how the visible meets the thinkable” in the material world (Bruno 2014:13). Imaginings of fashion and of a cosmopolitan indigeneity within this

framework become material and visible, while obscuring in the folds and interweavings of these fabrics the exclusions and anxieties surrounding the indigenous as part of the contemporary nation, one that seeks to include them while maintaining difference, inequality and the violence of exclusion.

Paying close attention to materiality allows me to observe how the material, its physical qualities, techniques and other aesthetic elements are “actants” (Latour 1992) in the supply chain assemblage they are part of: the encounters between weavers, development workers and designers. Encounters and engagements with alpaca wool mobilize and mediate relations between actors, and make the substance of relations. For Latour, this notion of actants serves as a way of moving from the human connotations of the term actor to consider that both humans and nonhumans possess agential potential within the sociotechnical networks they inhabit or participate in. I consider non-human actants and material processes through which a drawing becomes an object, thread becomes a garment, and garments become outfits. Materials and material practices are important within the supply chain, and I focus on the material relations and negotiations human-actors have that are catalyzed in encounters with wool and design. This focus allows for a critical understanding of how both objects and meanings are produced, and how non-capitalist modes of sociality are negotiated and translated as ‘ethical compliance,’ sources of value, and Peruvian and export fashions.

Fashion and textile work can be seen as objects that constitute a “cultural geometry” (Murphy 2013), a set of shapes and surfaces whose very features assert a

certain ideological substance. These forms become almost interchangeable with the meanings that are adhered to them, meanings that are linked to historical relations that point to the tensions between structures of racial inequality and the perceptions of cultural value associated with indigenous objects. The growth of the industry articulates artisans from marginalized communities into manufacture while creating a visible image of traditional aesthetic elements normally considered to be outside the realm of fashion as part and parcel of national belonging in a post-war cosmopolitan Peru. I examine how the textile and aesthetic elements involved in this cultural geometry need to be transformed to assert these new ideological meanings.

Material politics that motivate the existence of the supply chain are central to its economic relations. The fact these garments are made of alpaca wool, incorporate indigenous textile techniques, and artisanal handwork is an important part of the economic relations, values and meanings produced; as much as it mattered that the shell necklaces were white and shell bracelets were red in the *kula* ring exchanges. I find Barad's notion of agential realism¹⁸ (2003) useful to unpack these relations. Agential intra-action emphasizes a performative account moving away from representationalism that positions us above or outside the world, and that turns matter into language or signification. Thus, an agential realist approach shifts the focus from questions of correspondence between description and reality to matters of practices, doing and action. It emphasizes how the boundaries and meanings of objects are

¹⁸ Agential realism advocates a *relationality between specific material (re)configurations of the world through which boundaries, properties, and meanings are differentially enacted* (i.e., discursive practices, in my posthumanist sense) *and specific material phenomena* (i.e., differentiating patterns of meaning) (Barad 2003:814)

enacted and produced, what constitutes these objects and what does not at various stages of manufacture in specific intra-actions¹⁹. “It is through specific agential intra-actions that the boundaries and properties of the ‘components’ of phenomena become determinate and that particular embodied concepts become meaningful” (Barad 2003). Understanding the enactment of the boundaries through which an object comes to be, and the exclusions that it entails (what the object is not) brings up questions of accountability and power.

These aesthetic and material elements matter to the processes of materialization (from drawn-design, to thread, to garment), accrual and translation of value and meaning of these Peruvian fashions. Closely looking at material and the processes they are part of how one can explore the “diffractions” (Haraway 1997), how the effects of interactions, qualities, negotiations, interferences and history are mapped and constitute the actual garments. More importantly, this perspective serves to explore how materiality and aesthetics play an active role in the workings of power within a supply chain. “Matter is neither fixed and given nor the mere result of different processes. Matter is produced and productive, generated and generative. Matter is agential, not a fixed essence or property of things.” (Barad 2007:137).

The ways in which actors come together in a supply chain, and under what pretenses and particular power relations, allows for certain commodities to be

¹⁹ This notion of intra-action moves away from the separation implicit in the concept of interaction that presupposes the prior existence of independent entities (words and things). Intra-action emphasizes the specific relational processes that determine the boundaries, properties and meanings of objects (Barad 2003). Emphasizes the cause relationship between the apparatuses of material production and the phenomena or things produced.

produced, and to maximize investments and cut labor costs. Through material encounters in wool human actors re-instate, re-create new modes of difference and distinction. But these power relations and how they unfold through the intra-actions with material and aesthetic elements, allow for fashion as a cultural arena to emerge in a way that creates images of national belonging, that facilitates value to be obtained from indigenous modes of sociality and tradition, and that justifies business led-development as a way of making capitalism ethical. This popular perception of fashion as a apolitical serves to create a space were diverse actors can have complex negotiations about political issues, such as racial relations, poverty; but also to re-consider how to imagine the indigenous as part of fashion and playing with imaginings of national identity without threatening the existing social order.

Fashion as an industry heavily funded by corporate capital provides a stable setting for this experimentation to occur. As it will be further discussed in Chapter 1, during the second half of the 20th century there were various instances were designers' incorporated indigenous elements into their fashions. Yet, these endeavors financially fell on the shoulders of independent national designers who sold to a small elite clientele. These projects were often times short lived, not allowing for the fashion boom we see today. Yet, this safe space for exploring these power and political issues comes with the caveat that it also serves to minimize any potential real interventions these objects, the representations and bodies they produce might have. The ways indigeneity can be transgressively re-imagined within fashion can be easily overlooked or ignored because it is simply fashion. Moreover, there have been

instances where these fashion-experiments have reproduced existing racist representations, which are also often times dismissed because they occur within the space of fashion. Thus, keeping materiality central is key to understanding this supply chain and the ways in which Peruvian fashion designers and development actors engage with traditional indigenous aesthetics and techniques, how ethics and social responsibility are enacted, how imaginings and representations of race and national belonging are ‘safely’ negotiated under the guise of fashion, and how different meanings and motivations both make up and are projected onto these garments. Discourses based on the historical and cultural value of alpaca as a raw material and symbol of Quechua culture, mixed with its value as a luxury commodity within global garments markets are structuring factors of the supply chain, as important as labor and economic elements central to the global fashion industry.

Touch is never unidirectional; when we touch something we are inevitably touched in return. Reciprocity is a quality of touch; we cannot escape contact. Alpaca wool in its various forms (including the designs of garments to be made) mediates ‘touching’ across actors, it puts them in touch. While these encounters and processes unfold within an industry with a particular aesthetic and power system, were artisans are still skilled manufacture, these processes are not unidirectional. As artisans produce these new surfaces they are able to assert themselves, skill and knowledge. The discourses of ethics, social responsibility and fairness allow them to push back mobilizing their own understandings of these categories, which are shaped by their own experiences of poverty, marginalization and histories of violence. Their

interventions re-shape the garments, how processes unfold, what comes to count as valuable and authentic, and ultimately the supply chain itself.

Chapter Overviews

Chapter 1: Being Fashion/able: A History of Race and Dress in Peru

I carried out 6 months of archival research exploring the history of Peruvian fashion from the second half of the 20th century until present. Looking into the archive shows that this present turn towards the indigenous in fashion is not unprecedented. In this chapter I explore the ways indigenous elements have become part of fashion in Peru in relation to national politics and shifting racial relationships in the country furthering an understanding on the politics of indigenous textile aesthetic elements. In the present, previous attitudes towards the indigenous and artisanal are coming undone as these aesthetic elements are becoming current, evacuating or re-formulating the ways in which the indigenous or artisanal are threatening, ugly or backwards. In order to understand the present day tiger's leap of the Peruvian fashion world it is necessary to understand the indigenous not only in the context of the fashion garments and images produced, but pay close attention to the production process, from thread to runway, and the varying emphasis and ways in which the indigenous is made visible and invisible, the way indigeneity is enacted and re-imagined throughout the supply chain. This approach serves to explore the stakes different groups of actors have in re-thinking, representing and creating an aesthetic fashion identity. Which are the present day elements that irrupt into these fashions? What are the bodies being produced and imagined? As the alpaca wool industry

becomes part of global luxury garment supply chains it is necessary to account for how these processes go beyond the bounds of the nation and how these textile elements gain new meanings, currency and value within a supply chain.

Chapter 2: An Ethical Supply Chain

In this chapter I introduce the two supply chains I followed during my fieldwork in Ocongate, Cusco and Huancavelica. I discuss the different unexpected actors found in each site and how each supply chain operates. The landscape of development enabled by a CSR and a public/private NGO, respectively, enables industry actors' access to artisanal workshops in the rural highlands. But through their business-led development projects these actors do more than just promote a market-based framework and entrepreneurial subjectivities, and enforce or assure 'ethical compliance' in the manufacturing of garments. They translate non-capitalist modes of production and sources of value into capitalist ones as they attempt to bring artisans- who also participate from local modes of garment production, consumption, and systems of dress- into fashion supply chains. I discuss the different actors and the diverse array of interests, investments, and perceptions of each other and what they understand as the work of development. These diverse understandings affect and shape what gets to become fashion *and* traditional textiles, as well as what comes to count as value and ethical behavior.

I situate this encounter in the context of the hegemonic understanding of social responsibility and ethics as a form of goodwill promoted by fashion brands and resource extraction corporations involved in the supply chain. This framing maintains

corporations as unaccountable for the impact of their practices and observes how capitalist supply chains rely on difference and inequality. These efforts on the part of brands rely on NGOs and CSRs like the ones discussed in this ethnography to assert ‘ethical compliance’ and enact ‘politics of social responsibility.’ Furthermore, in the specific case of Peru this industry is framed by the government as an ancestral legacy, as more-than an industry, still alive and passed on through the hands of indigenous artisans. This national discourse not only makes it appealing for brands seeking to be ‘ethical’ while accruing value from the authenticity of artisans handwork; but obscures colonial and postcolonial legacies, histories of violence and exploitation that conform the history of this supply chain.

Chapter 3: Fashion Making Mamas

This chapter explores the histories of survival, violence, marginalization and political ideologies that have shaped Andean struggles for social justice. I focus on the main unit of manufacture in the supply chain: Andean *Clubes de Madres* (Mother’s Clubs), and other NGO mother-led grassroots efforts deeply tied to Liberation Theology ideals. These groups have become preferred sites for entrepreneurial-led development projects seeking to articulate them into capitalist markets, including garment manufacturing. These histories shape artisan women’s work and shed light on why certain processes in manufacture become key sites of negotiation and resistance. Aesthetic meaning and notions of value are also affected by these histories. The idiom of motherhood, shaped by these histories, is a central discourse to how women artisans engage with the entrepreneurial subjectivities

promoted through development efforts. Through motherhood artisans are able to make labor claims and assert their own notions of ethics and fairness. Moreover, ideologies, like those from Liberation Theology, still influence how women see their labor should benefit their communities. Women participate in these capitalist-development assemblages but use these alternative categories and ideologies, which are perceived by other actors to be intimately tied to their ethnicity and authenticity, to negotiate the terms of their work. The perceived apolitical nature of textile crafts has allowed women, as mothers, to find ways to mobilize experiences of marginalization and other political ideals as they seek to make the supply chain work for them.

Chapter 4: Ethical by Design: Fashion as Economic Development

As manufacturing unfolds throughout the Andean landscape, I explore how perceptions of indigeneity influence who can be a maker and what gets made. I pay attention to the relationship and negotiations between development actors and artisans to shed light on how ethics are enacted and contested during manufacture, as well as how this affects the kinds of objects produced. I see the production of fashion in this context as fashioning a space based on imaginings of a homogeneous Andean indigenous identity, which disregards the elements of cultural diversity found across different highland Andean *campesino* communities. Rather than being fully predetermined or imposed by the industry, I argue the boundaries that make these objects, labor and wages ethical are defined through negotiations and material processes that unfold during manufacture.

Mediating between the clashing fast-paced labor expectations and needs of the garment industry with artisans' own labor practices falls on the hands of NGO workers and fashion designers. Caught between contradicting temporal demands, notions of ethics, pressures of making the supply chain sustainable, and their own moral commitments; they become consummate translators of ethics and value. I explore the limits of what comes to count as ethical and fair, specifically when wages are discussed, as well as what comes to count as a 'successful' development project and good business practices. NGO involvement provides rhetoric of moral and ethical responsibility that allows artisans to negotiate the organization of labor, times, wages, and even intervene in the design process. These tensions between non-capitalist Andean notions of time and ethics, and capitalist temporalities and ethics are traduced into sources of value and taken as enactments of 'ethical compliance.'

Chapter 5: Un-making Haute Couture: Creativity, Patchwork and the Interweavings of Power

This chapter delves even further into the material practices of design and manufacture to unpack how racial categories and power relations are negotiated through aesthetic practices taking place within this creative industry. The chapter weaves a story-tapestry from design, to surface and iconography as three Peruvian designers collaborate with artisanal groups. Designers operate within the hegemonic space of the industry, which comes with its own inter-related notions of aesthetics, power and value. In this chapter I highlight how these categories central to the fashion industry come together with that of the artisans in the creation of garments.

While designers have genuine intentions in collaborating with artisans and engaging with their textile traditions, they are put in a position of contradiction as they attempt to maintain and uphold their position of power (creative design over manufacture) and participate within the aesthetic ideals of the fashion industry.

In their attempt to collaborate and come in-touch with artisans and their textile traditions, the surfaces of garments are a site where socio-cultural negotiations, histories, layers of meaning, beauty and value become material. Interventions made by artisans occur within certain bounds that shed light on the limits of what can count as fashion; but also highlight how the division of design over manufacture is the basis of an aesthetic system, and central to how power and value operate in fashion. A close look at how both design and manufacture unfold shows the highly relational nature of both activities, complicating the epistemology of creativity and authorship that is hegemonic in capitalist creative industries. Ultimately, designers rely, even as sources of inspiration, on artisans' skill, tradition and handwork. They themselves have to come to terms, engage and negotiate through design with how artisans continually destabilize this hegemonic power hierarchy. In this process categories of race and history are re-negotiated and re-constituted within contemporary Peru's fashion industry and world. These garments embody and materialize a particular encounter, as much as they do a particular enactment and aesthetic of ethics. This patchwork allows us to understand the limits of ethics within the fashion system and an industry that seeks to address issues of exploitation without altering structures of

power and value. Yet, it is also accounts for what is opened up, created and made anew through the material act of weaving alpaca wool into fashion.

Chapter 6: Entretejido

The final chapter of this dissertation is a 30-minute audiovisual-haptic exploration of the supply chain, from animal to runway, in Huancavelica. In this experimental-ethnographic film we attempt to use the haptic space of cinema to explore the textures that compose this supply chain, from animal to runway. By focusing on the materiality of fiber, throughout its many forms and stages- animal, thread, garment- the film offers insights into the textures of a complex market and the ways objects we wear are entangled in national racial politics and postcolonial histories. It's a film about the creation, depth and tensions of surfaces.

Conclusion: Socially Responsible Runways?

The conclusion wraps up the dissertation by taking a look at the finished garments in the context of socially responsible runways. I explore how these surfaces, which are embedded and constituted by the encounters and landscape described throughout the dissertation, become sites of projection for fashion imaginings of a new fashionable and inclusive Peruvian design identity. These fashions are produced as representative of national belonging in a socially inclusive multicultural Peru, but at the same time produce new forms of exclusion of the same indigenous bodies and cultures that it seeks to incorporate. What are the terms of a fashion/able inclusion?

Chapter 1: Being Fashion/able: A History of Race and Dress in Peru

[The] weft yarn from the past is inconspicuously woven into present fabric....
-Benjamin, Arcades Project



Figure 2: Peruvian fashion on the cover of Vogue France

When talking about my research project friends, fashion designers and others would often comment that fashion is a recent phenomena, it finally had arrived in Peru. I kept hearing that there was no fashion in Peru until the early 2000s. John Galliano's visit, which will be discussed in detail below, was mentioned as a defining event. In the early 2000s a series of small independent clothing stores- Nitro, Neomutatis, La Pulga and Estereofónica- dedicated to urban fashions began opening around upper middle class neighborhoods of Lima. These brands and stores were started by college students frustrated with a lack of access to stylish clothing, began making clothing themselves and selling it. Their designs were based off what they

saw in fashion publications, associated with the subcultural styles they liked, and limited by the fabrics and materials available.²⁰ When I asked about fashion before these dates many would affirm that fashion was for the elites, those who could travel abroad to buy and bring back what was in style. Others recounted stories of how friends and family members who travelled outside of Peru brought back fashion magazines. They would then select certain styles and garments and have them made by local seamstresses with available fabrics. It was not until I met designer Olga Zafersón, an older designer well into her 60s who was one of the first to begin making fashions that incorporated indigenous and traditional textiles in the 90s, that I learned about a fashion magazine from that decade titled *Maniquí*.

Olga's workshop was located in an old colonial home in Lima. From there she taught an ethnic fashion design course, which I took, to whoever was interested. She had retired from teaching in fashion institutes but was still working with NGOs and artisans throughout Peru, mainly in the region of Camisea, in the Amazon, and in the cones of Lima,²¹ some of the region's most impoverished neighborhoods. After

²⁰ Material used often excluded alpaca wool or pima cotton due to their high prices. This would have made clothing inaccessible to their primary consumers, other young people. These stores were also made possible by the existence of Gamarra, the largest textile center in Lima. The Gamarra district is composed of hundreds of small-scale informal textile workshops with all kinds of industrial machinery accessible allowing for cheap production in limited quantities. Today some of the remaining stores have become closer to hip boutiques with limited runs of the garments and higher prices than those found in the recently opened fast fashion stores like H&M due to the higher cost of local manufacture and types of materials used.

²¹ Throughout the 1970s and '80s, waves of 'invasions' pushed the city of north and south in ever-sprawling shanty towns that reached deep into nearby ravines like the fingers of an outstretched hand. These extensions of the city are known for their shape as *conos* (cones)-*cono norte*, *cono sur*, and, the newest *cono este*. "In 1981 it was estimated that a third of the

taking her ethnic fashion design course I continued to visit Olga throughout my fieldwork. She always had treats to offer that she would bring back from her travels working with artisans, such as muña²² tea, fried beans, Amazonian chocolate, and coffee from Cusco. During one of my visits, as we drank muña tea, she narrated that her interest in indigenous and traditional textile comes from her passion for folkloric dances and her upbringing in the highlands. As a dancer in folkloric dancing troupes she would accessorize her own daily wardrobe with accessories from the folkloric dresses she used in different dances. Complements obtained from other dancers and close friends encouraged her to begin making clothing.

Her first runway was in the 90s and as she pointed to some photos of the event hanging on the wall, she told me: “when I was preparing for the runway, everyone told me not to do it and to change it, that it was *huanchafo*²³ to mix traditional textiles in a runway, to at least change the music. I wanted the models to go onto the catwalk with *huayno* music playing from the region.” Her collection was inspired by textiles from the Mantaro region in the Central Andes and by textiles from Shipibo

city was made of *barriada* settlements. [These] *barriadas* moved from ‘invasion’ to semi-official barrios to districts.” (Gandolfo 2009)

²² Muña is an herb similar to mint, commonly drank in tea in the Andean highlands.

²³ Peruvianism used to describe people or things considered tacky, corny, pretentious, in poor taste, over-elaborated, not fashionable. It is particularly applied to those who try and fail in dressing, behaving and speaking in a refined manner. Vargas Llosa critiques this common definition and re-defines it as referring to something more subtle and complex than something tacky or corny. He describes it as a Peruvian contribution to the universal experience: “a vision of the world, an aesthetic, a form of feeling, thinking enjoying, expressing oneself and judging others.” For him *huachafo* does not distort or denaturalize any aesthetic pattern or model; but it is its own model. He does not consider it a ridiculous replica of elegance and refinement, but a distinct Peruvian way of being refined and elegant. Vargas Llosa further asserts *huachafo* as something “that can be genius, but rarely intelligent, it is intuitive, verbose, formalist, melodic, imaginative, and sentimentalist.” Mario Vargas Llosa. *El Comercio, Lima, 28 de agosto de 1983*.

communities in the Amazon. Olga admired the textile traditions from both regions and had the opportunity to work with artisans from each place. “I said I didn’t care... and I did the runway how I wanted to. Models went out wearing clothing made with Mantaro and Shipibo textiles; they looked *regias!*²⁴ I was really happy with it but many were critical saying that it wasn’t fashion, that I couldn’t do that... But that I didn’t agree.” Another popular critique of her work during this decade was that it was clothing for people like her that looked like gringos.

Olga is a tall, blond, fair skinned daughter of Greek immigrants to a rural area of the highlands. Her family moved to Lima when she was still a schoolgirl. She recounted how in Lima her mother would braid her hair in the style of the *campesina* women from the region they had lived in and how, even though she didn’t look indigenous at all, she would be teased in school for being a *chola*,²⁵ for having the braids. Her experiences echoed what Gandolfo points out, and will be further discussed in this chapter, that “A quick survey of the literature on migration and *mestizaje* in Peru reveals the weight that is now assigned to clothing- far and above phenotype and skin color- in effecting (or impeding) the emergence of new identities in the urban milieu” (2009:198). Regardless, of Olga’s phenotype she still felt the weight of the braids as a signifier of indigeneity, reason enough to bypass her white skin, blond hair and blue eyes to identify her as *chola* and *huachafa*. This experience in her youth was reproduced when she began designing fashions with traditional

²⁴ Regal, elegant, beautiful, with class.

²⁵ *Chola* is a derogatory term used towards indigenous people, particularly those living in urban areas. For a more detailed discussion on the politics of the category see Weismantel 2001.

textiles in the 90s in Lima. During that time she faced harsh criticism and was marginalized within the fashion community. She was kicked out of the newly formed and short-lived fashion designer's association for not doing fashion but doing ethnic clothing for gringo tourists. That runway was featured in the short-lived fashion magazine, *Maniquí*. Her participation within fashion circles is still marginal, even if she was a precursor of what is happening today aesthetically within Peru's fashion world.

Paying attention to the shifts in the engagements with these elements speaks to the complex relationship between politics and dress, as well as to how the indigenous is seen within national imaginaries of the present. In this chapter I examine how non-Western fashions have been incorporated into Western fashion, before finally turning to the Peruvian archive. After this particular conversation I was prompted to go into the archive and find copies of *Maniquí* to see the remaining documentation of Peru's fashion world during Fujimori's regime, and learn about the history of the fashion industry. I wanted to see what everyone else who was a designer at that time was doing, especially after learning about the rejection of Olga's work. Why was her work rejected when today it is completely accepted and common? What shifted in one decade? Olga's story stood in stark contrast to the present fashion boom as the *Marca País*, with its slogans proudly claimed that Peru is in Fashion.

The *Marca País*, serves as a tool for re-imagining Peru as a nation inseparable from market values, brand performativity, and consumer citizenship (Nakassis 2012, 2013). In the aftermath of two decades of civil war and a long-standing history of

racism towards indigenous and peasant communities, the nation brand works to re-define Peruvian culture within a single national narrative that can situate marginalized groups, previously excluded from images of national belonging, as active members of both a capitalist market system and as contemporary contributors to Peru's cosmopolitan present.

As Peru becomes fashionable in the global stage as a desirable site for global corporate investment and as a manufacturing site for luxury garments with a growing national fashion scene, images and textures of a stylish national cosmopolitan body are produced. Wilson (2003:14) argues that "fashion speaks capitalism. It manufactures dreams and images as well as things, and fashion is as much a part of the dream world of capitalism as of its economy." Fashion and capitalism go hand in hand, for Benjamin and others since, fashion is a perfect metaphor for capitalism and the worlds it creates, as well as an important part of modernity and of modernizing projects (Baudrillard 1996, Benjamin 2002, Kroeber 1919, Lipovetsky 1994, Sahlins 2000, Simmel 1997, Veblen 2008, Wilson 2003). Wilson emphasizes how fashion is not just about objects but about how these objects are employed to create the images and dream worlds of capitalism and metaphors for cosmopolitan bodies. Fashion is as much about how clothing creates certain bodies and signifies individual lifestyles, as it is about reconciling diverse realities and modes of being within capitalism. A shirt on a hanger is not just an object of fashion; to be an object of fashion one has to consider the specific ways it is worn, how it feels to inhabit that body and enacts a certain identity, obtaining the feel of belonging to that world.

Even though garments belong to individuals, one can change styles, put garments on and off. In fact some of fashion's most quintessential images portray outfits probably never worn by anyone. Yet, fashion is an integral part of daily life, more so than any other form of applied art. People dress everyday using styles to construct identities, display class, race, community belonging, notions of gender, etc. Clothing as an object has its own symbolic value that influences the physical subject, shapes bodies, and creates a particular sense of being in a place during a particular time. In this process whereby fashion creates images of dressed, clothed bodies it excludes certain bodies and lifestyles; not everyone can be fashion-able.

The relationship between fashion and the economy within capitalism is embedded within political histories of specific locales, in this case Peru and the relationship between the rural or indigenous and the urban modern. The national brand and the images of Peruvian fashion produced in it are of bodies that belong to the contemporary, cosmopolitan nation. In this process fashion becomes a site to reconcile the political reality within a nation-state by creating dream worlds of the desired bodies of those who belong in it. This imagined fashion/abled body portrays an image of the whole nation as a trustworthy investment, with unique products to offer. These products engage with signifiers of the indigenous that conflate and fluctuate between ancient and pre-Hispanic origins to present day indigenous aesthetics as high-quality objects that can only be found and made by those living in Peru. These textile signifiers are construed as defying the test of time being non-Western and Western, present/contemporary/new as much as they are

historical/ancient/past. In this chapter I delve into the fashion archive to explore the history of how certain signifiers of the indigenous become part of fashion in light of capitalist expansion, modern politics and indigenous politics in Peru.

The logic of the Western fashion system is based on an inherent tension between following what is in style and using fashion as a way of portraying one's own individuality (Edwards 1997, Entwistle 1991, Hebdige 1979, Simmel 1997, Woodward 2008). The Peruvian fashion world, and I might add the nation brand, needs to negotiate this tension between producing garments in line with global trends that are also novel, unique and recognizably Peruvian. It is not uncommon within this fashion system for elements from vintage styles, popular culture and street or subcultural styles to be appropriated into broader global trends and designer runways. Fashion theorists have characterized this appropriation of street and styles from marginal and subcultural groups as a trickle-up movement.²⁶ Today this system has been institutionalized through the fashion blogging culture, street fashion photography (think Bill Cunningham), and "cool hunters" who travel the world gathering style elements that can become part of designers' fashions and broader global trends. By broader global trends I mean dominant or global fashions promoted through publications like *Vogue* and styles sold through transnational fast fashion clothing stores such as Zara, H&M, Forever 21, and Topshop. It is not uncommon within fashion worlds for designers and others involved to turn towards sources of

²⁶ For an in-depth discussion on fashions directional flows and cycles of change see Lillethun 2007 and Polhemus 1994.

national uniqueness and essence in popular, folkloric, historic and marginal aesthetic elements and textures.

I'm discussing this issue of the relationship of fashion to the past to explain, in part, why fashion designers in Peru have turned to indigenous designs and alpaca wool for their fashion. In order to understand the relationship Wilson established between fashion, capitalism and its economy, it is important to consider the particular political histories that have led to fashion unfolding in particular ways producing certain images, things, shaping certain kinds of bodies and re-enforcing certain power relations. For Benjamin, who saw fashion as the best metaphor for understanding capitalism, the industry possesses the power to 'fashion' a new look for history "by reshaping the silhouette of historical structures, altering the way one perceives the succession of past epochs and the relation of the present to them- thus time itself" (Lehmann 2002:205). Benjamin described the act of bringing something into the present from the past within fashion as a tiger's leap into historical awareness. "This dialectical penetration and realization of past correlations puts the truth in present action to the test. This means: it causes the explosive that is contained in the past (and whose symbol proper is fashion) to ignite. To approach the past in such a way means not to deal with it, as previously, in a historical but rather in a political manner, within political categories" (Benjamin 2002:392). Hence, when elements from the past are brought into present day fashion it is not because of what they meant historically per se, but the meaning is attached to the context of present day politics. It is about how

those historical elements speak to or become part of present-day political and social context.

This ‘tiger’s leap in the open air of history,’ essential to fashion, encompasses what is at the height of present time while also leading us back into the past. Fashion emerged historically within modernity and early capitalist development. Many theorists and scholars describe it as sharing one central characteristic with modernity: the abolition of traditions in a constant search for the new, change for the sake of change (Svendsen 2006, Lipovetsky 1994). For Svendsen (2006) clothing becomes fashion, when change is sought for its own sake and takes place at an ever-increasing velocity, making an object superfluous, outdated, as fast as possible. This insistence on novelty and originality was fundamental to the artistic avant-garde. However, as Krauss (1986) argues, “the underlying condition of the original is the ‘ever-present reality of the copy’ (162).” All utterances of the original and new are encapsulated in a larger context of repetition, going back to old referents, placed in new contexts or alterations. Fashions are created on the basis of previous fashions that reject previous style by recontextualizing elements appropriated from other traditions or times. The changes in fashion have been mostly plays with old forms rather than the creation of new ones. In fact, with the increasing fast-turn around time in the contemporary fashion world and the emergence of fast fashions, it is almost impossible for people to create radically new styles at such a pace, leading to an ever increasing process of stylistic recycle. As Svendsen points out “Fashion exists in an interaction between forgetting and remembering, in which it still remembers its past by recycling it, but at

the same times forgets that the past is exactly that” (30). He goes further to even argue that the category of ‘the new’ seems to belong to the past, not about an eternal recurrence of the new, but just about eternal recurrence. The past becomes a source for recycling, for making things new at a fast pace and this has transformed how we think about fashion and novelty. The past is compulsively brought into the new.

Benjamin describes the engagement with the past in ‘the new’ fashions as a system of quotations that creates a separation in the continuum of history, a momentary flash of the past in the present. It is in this process where the past and the contemporary fuse, where conflicting elements fold into one another. It is through this tiger’s leap that fashion becomes a historical fact, a force that through constant self-reference breaks and activates past occurrences for the present, symbolizing historical change. Those cultural forms that leap into the present and into fashion do not just repeat the old but redeem certain elements of the past (Buck-Morse 1991). This tiger’s leap allows fashion to jump from the contemporary to the past and back again without coming to rest in one temporal or aesthetic configuration. Hence, the sartorial brings with it the political: it is a catalyst for both remembrance²⁷ and a new political, material, concept of history; it serves to express the position individuals assume toward their contemporaries as well as to history.

²⁷ It is important to note the emphasis on remembrance over remembering when considering the ways in which fashion engages with the past. Benjamin borrows the concept of remembrance from Proust as a process that “spurs a whole string of subsequent memories” (Lehmann 2002), a process never to be completed since every detail spurs a whole string of subsequent memories in a process that becomes almost infinite and self-perpetuating.

By following these tiger's leaps, fashion can be a tool to map the modern, as opposed to record the past, to explore how the past resonates and articulates modern anxieties and experiences (Benjamin 2009). Building on this concept, Evans (2003), approaches a historical study of fashion as a labyrinth that "allows the juxtaposition of historical images with contemporary ones; as the labyrinth doubles back on itself what is most modern is revealed as also having a relation with what is most old" (10). For her, these resurgences of the past that appear in present fashions as the "return of the repressed", ghosts of modernity that are called upon by designers to offer a paradigm based on remixing fragments of the past into something new and contemporary that will continue to resonate into the future. "They illuminate how we live in the world today and what it means to be a modern subject" (Evans 2003:12).

A close engagement with an archival history of fashion throughout the second half of the 20th century in Perú sheds light on the shifting relationship between national politics towards the indigenous and fashion. But before I do my own tiger's leap into the archive, I want to contextualize this history within non-Western fashions, the representations of 'others' in fashion worlds and how elements from non-Western cultures come to be part of Western fashion. Within Peru's fashion world elements of the past are entangled with notion of indigenous historicity (and ahistoricity) and authenticity, as well as with elements of folklore and popular culture. A close look at how these elements come into and out of national fashions speaks to a relationship between national politics and the ways in which Peru's indigenous communities are perceived to belong or not, and the tensions surrounding the lives of

the indigenous within a modernist paradigm that always struggles with their present existence.

Fashion and its Others

Expanding the universal explanation of fashion helps to examine, historically, how non-Western fashions get incorporated into Western fashions. This is an incorporation of histories that get occluded in the process- that is, histories of colonialism and post-colonial inequalities, as well as histories of authoritarian governments that help create economic growth for Western investors rather for their citizens who are in poverty. Indigenous textile and sartorial elements lie in a continuum between being elements of a historical past and present day existing signifiers of the rich Peruvian multicultural diversity. Even as elements of a sartorial or textile past they are still elements of the non-Western, the exotic others that exist in tension with Western paradigms of fashion, modernity and development. We need to understand the leaps into the indigenous as engagements with the non-Western and its complex relationship to the modern progressive linear arrow of time in order to see how fashion is a space where historical structures are re-shaped in terms of present modern political needs. Throughout the second-half of the 20th century and well into the 21st, fashion has served as a site to imagine and shape modern bodies in ways that attempt to reconcile the anxieties of living in a nation where indigenous communities still exist, where they demand rights and want to assert certain ways of living, being and belonging. Moreover, in considering fashion as a system central to modernizing projects, a world that has been dominated by Western canons of beauty, aesthetics

and gender, it is important to consider how non-Western sartorial elements have both unproblematically entered and violently irrupted into fashion and how fashion worlds emerge in postcolonial contexts, both challenging and reinforcing the hegemony of this system of dress and industry.

European designers have made collections inspired by non-Western cultures since the beginning of our present-day fashion system. These haute-couture collections exoticized and/or romanticized non-Western cultural elements, creating staged performances of one-of-a-kind runway garments. For some scholars this capacity of fashion to decontextualize and recontextualize items that are appropriated from other traditions serves to erase their fixed origin (Svendsen 2006:32, Lipovetsky 1994). These non-Western inspired collections either do not become part of dominant dressing trends, existing for the most part as singular runways pieces that re-affirm creative auteur genius; or become trends through the erasure of their fixed origin. Both ways in which non-Western inspired clothing become part of the fashion system re-instate geopolitical power relations within the decontextualized space of the runway.

With an increase of non-Western designers gaining more visibility in the European and American dominated fashion scene this pattern has slowly begun to shift. For example, designers like the Malay Jimmy Choo, the Brazilian Alexandre Herchcovitch, and the Colombian Esteban Cortázar are considered important figures in the contemporary fashion world. There are also many national fashion worlds and scenes emerging throughout non-Western countries. Top international fashion weeks

have emerged and secured a spot amongst the established ones (Paris, New York, Milan, London and Berlin) in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo, and India. Kondo (1997) argues that the intervention of non-Western designers, specifically the irruption and later establishment of Japanese designers within the European fashion world, “enabled a valorization and eroticizing of Asian bodies as stylish in a contemporary way rather than merely exotic or inadequate imitation of Western bodies” (16). She explores how the work of Japanese designers re-thought the relationship between bodies and textile materials re-shaping women’s bodies in ways not common in the Western fashion system. Their garments moved away from fit designs, making wide loose fashions that played with feminine yet androgynous seeming bodies. These styles both maintained and destabilized East/West binaries that have traditionally excluded those in the non-West from fashion or included them as followers or imitators. As these designers and fashion worlds emerge and slowly become part of the main circuits of the Western fashion system their haute-couture designs become recognized as part of larger global trends.

While Indonesian designers have not irrupted into the hegemonic fashion world like Japanese designers, Luvaas (2013) explores similar tensions these designers face between affirming a national distinctiveness through processes of design while also being part of a ‘universal’ or global fashion world. The Indonesian DIY fashion and music scene emerged in the shift between decades of authoritarian rule under Suharto, the failed hopes of an Indonesian development that has never quite materialized, and increased capitalist expansion. For him this fashion and music

movement speaks to the “failed promise of revolution and an internalization of national development thinking. It is a contemporary remix of an old theme, a nationalistic number with a new transnational beat... a remix of a remix” (26). In this Indonesian fashion world the ‘safe’ aspects of ethnic distinction that have been central to an official cultural cannon that composes the national imagined community (Anderson 1991) within hegemonic discourses are appropriated, challenged and unmade by designers in their remix with elements of global fashion, music and other pop culture trends. Fashion became a cultural arena from which younger generations that grew up towards the end of decades of dictatorship with increased access to global popular culture through the Internet and other media enabled them to reflect, challenge, and unmake the unbalanced power relations they found themselves in. This young generation of designers is increasingly conscious of the global world they cannot participate in due to their socio-economic standing and broader global geopolitics. Indonesian designers actively borrow from global fashion trends and seek to succeed as designer labels and brands attempting to secure a space within the industry. The fashions produced by these designers do not try to challenge the hegemony of the Western fashion system. On the contrary, they attempt to participate in it even if only from the margins.

This proliferation of non-Western fashion designers interrupts Eurocentric assumptions about the primacy of European design over non-Westerners’ tendency of copying or imitating. Yet, while this increased recognition of non-Western designers as auteurs taking part in the primacy of design, they are required to do so on the terms

of the Western fashion system. Designers, regardless of their national origin or ethnicity, need to work within the fashion system's cultural geometry, following its hegemonic design principles and dominant aesthetics for dressing bodies. For example, the work of Carolina Herrera and Oscar De La Renta, two designers of Latin American origin who made it within the global fashion world, makes no reference to either designer's Venezuelan and Dominican backgrounds. As Kondo (1997) points out, participation in the fashion world is still on someone else's ground, within a tradition developed in the West. The two Latin American designers mentioned above were able to bypass these essentializing practices precisely by erasing from their work any reference to a place of origin. This position was further enabled by their white skin color, elite status in their respective nations of origin, and US education. Thus, even while non-Western designers "see themselves as part of larger transnational narrative field, the sedimented histories of nation-states and various essentializing practices resituate them in terms of their national, and often racial identities" (Kondo 1997:56). Essentializing or autoexoticizing gestures, such as incorporating elements of a kimono, batik or indigenous textile work, are implicated in geopolitical power relations even though they are portrayed within the decontextualized spaces of runways, fashion magazines and storefronts as just another aesthetic motif, passing style or trend.

The fashion system's compulsive obsession with the new, the avant-garde, allows designers the flexibility to play with cultural elements in ways that their fashions can simultaneously challenge and reproduce hegemonic racial

representations in the Western fashion world, in a process Kondo calls “complicitous critique.” The limits of the interventions allowed by the concept of the avant-garde within the capitalist fashion system permits the work of non-Western designers to challenge Western clothing conventions without calling into question the world of fashion itself. Japanese, Peruvian and Indonesian designers ultimately want acceptance within the Western fashion system. They want to carve national design worlds that could be considered on par to those of Paris, New York, Italy or London. Their interventions, critiques and entry points to global fashion worlds are always raced, usually based on how designers utilize and market their designs in relation to national identities, different cultural aesthetic conventions and national histories that come through imaginative reiterations of the relationships between clothing, bodies and materials.

Designing the Andes

Peruvian designers face an additional tension when it comes to incorporating indigenous textile elements as central to their fashion designs. Historically, indigenous textile elements, iconographies, and modes of dress have been construed as an antithesis to fashion. The contemporary turn to indigenous and traditional elements as sources of fashion marks a shift in attitudes towards these communities and cultures in Peru intimately related to the present day political and economic contexts.

Textile elements exist in Peru in a paradoxical situation; they are seen as able to be made pure, *depurado*, markers of autochthonous Peruvian culture to be valued;

and as signifiers of some continuum with a Pre-Hispanic, Incan and pre-Incan civilization past. Textile traditions are sources of pride that have been central to the cultural production and definition of national culture. Yet, they have a simultaneous history as the opposite of fashion, as markers of marginalization, dirtiness, poverty, violence and bad taste. As we will see in this chapter, the indigenous in fashion is a constant element, a ghost or haunting, in Peru's fashion history from the mid 20th century onwards. These sartorial signifiers, unlike the indigenous producers, cannot simply be ignored, even if the bodies of the indigenous are erased from these textile objects. The shifts in racial and political relations within the Peruvian nation-state have impacted the way indigenous elements are alternately incorporated and rejected as part of the process of defining a Peruvian fashion aesthetic, cultural arena and creating images of the dream bodies of its modern citizens.

As Deborah Poole remarks in her analysis of 19th century photographs of women in Peru, "Indian" women were thought of as fundamentally different from other women mainly because of their dress. In her analysis she shows how in representations of black/mulato women or *criollo* Lima *tapadas*²⁸ their modes of dress are second to the women's sexualized bodies. In the case of indigenous women from the highlands the emphasis on minute detailed descriptions of their dress has "the effect of virtually eclipsing the existence of the body or women inside the costume" (Poole 1997:99). All of the symbolic weight fell on the dress as "surface, as gloss," women made visible as the backdrop against which other subjects were

²⁸ Form of dress common to *criollo* women in Lima, characterized by the way in which women would cover their faces, only displaying the eyes.

depicted (Gandolfo 2009:198). De la Cadena, in her analysis of the categories of indigenous and mestizo, refers to an “ethnic continuum” where a variety of racial social categories have emerged (indio, mestizo, *cholo*) brought about due to ease of movement between the countryside and the city. People, mainly women, can move across these categories as they change their modes of dress. This racial understanding “approaches a conceptual understanding of ethnicity as cultural attributes that can be acquired and disacquired, and that distinguishes fluidly among individuals rather than rigidly among groups” (De la Cadena 2000:222). The weight of race and racism then falls on clothing. Dress and other sartorial elements became signifiers of the indigenous regardless of the wearer, carrying the weight of the contradictions of the position of indigenous communities within the socio-political climate in Peru. Bodies continually diluted into dress.

The early decades of the 21st century saw a shift in attitude towards Peru’s textile heritage, raw materials, indigenous and artisanal traditions and other popular-marginal cultural elements. I begin this section with the present day leaping further back into time to understand the varying ways in which the indigenous as dress, which still carries the weight of racism and racial relations, constantly leaps and haunts fashion, albeit in varying ways. These varying ways in which the indigenous leaps, irrupts and haunts fashion highlights how at specific times fashion serves as a site in which to reconcile within the dream worlds of a capitalist, politically modern Peru the living indigenous communities, their modes of being and political claims for visibility and recognition.

During the years of the Shining Path conflict and Fujimori's regime (1980s until 2000) racial tensions and prejudices were exacerbated. For almost 20 years elements associated with the indigenous were either signifiers of violence and/or markers of poverty. Throughout Fujimori's regime this prejudice and violence towards indigenous communities, those perceived to be indigenous and other cultural sympathizers often associated with left-wing politics continued regardless of any actual political involvement. During this time indigenous women were forcibly sterilized, and many were unfairly imprisoned through presumed associations with the Shining Path; these included artists whose work was seen as too leftist or critical of the government and status quo²⁹. Today many of the aesthetic and sartorial elements that were shunned and characterized as *huachafó* or in bad taste or associated with violence and poverty, are being re-valored by a younger generation of designers, a growing industry and a re-imagining of national aesthetics as a mode of social inclusion. Many younger designers are not only invested in utilizing traditional textile elements, working with alpaca wool and indigenous artisans to make fashion, but are invested in defining a national design aesthetic while, simultaneously, being employed in various capacities within the garment industry.

²⁹ An example of this was the persecution and attempt to eradicate the work of the artist Natalia Iguíñiz whose series of urban art interventions titled *La Perra* (The Bitch) denounced modes of violence against women and misogyny in Lima. These artistic interventions caused a controversy during Fujimori's regime in which even the Catholic Church supported the silencing of the artist and the elimination of the publicly posted posters and graffiti.



Figure 3: John Galliano's Andean inspired dresses for Dior.

As I heard throughout many conversations and interviews, people claimed that the contemporary fashion resurgence in Peru was greatly motivated by John Galliano's visit in 2005.³⁰ Galliano was inspired by his travels in the Andes and the forms of dress and textiles he saw. Interestingly, the Peruvian inspired fashions Galliano made were part of a collection that revisited the "rich and romantic history of the house (Dior) he had inherited and reinvented for the twenty first century" (Mower, 2005). The collection was a homage to the history of Dior's fashions from his early garments inspired by the fin-de-siècle Parisian gowns, to the New Look, his signature tweed suits and Old Hollywood gowns. The Peruvian inspired garments broke Dior's historic timeline throughout the runway into what fashion critics described as "a detour into froufrou Peruvian costume" (Mower, 2005). These styles

³⁰ At the time Galliano was still the head designer for Dior.

were based on traditional *pollera* dress commonly found throughout the Andean highlands, including Bolivia and Ecuador. The *polleras* included embroidered flower details inspired and similar to embroidery found in certain regions of Peru, bowler hats more commonly used in the region of Puno and Bolivia by Aymara women, and giant replicas of *tupus*, a pre-Hispanic ornamented metal brooch used during the Inca Empire and into Republican Era by women to fasten their shawls. This description by the western critics of the dresses as froufrou came from the explicit ethnic reference to Andean Peruvian dress. Galliano's inclusion of these Andean outfits was seen as a detour away from the linear history of fashion, haute-couture fashions. His intervention was not necessarily understood as fashion per se but as ornaments to the collections, as costumes not dress. Similar to haute couture, implicit in the word costume is the notion of unwearability; yet it is a different kind of unwearability. Haute couture is unwearable because it is a piece of art, a one of a kind sculptural garment, not meant for daily use. These garments make grand statements about a style meant to be translated into wearable garments or outfits that serve as signifiers of coming trends to become the basis for daily wear. A costume on the other hand is something one wears on occasion. It implies exaggeration, performance as way of masking ones' identity that does not translate to daily wearability. Costumes allow a wearer to be a character other than their regular persona rather than providing a way of displaying, performing or enacting ones' individuality or identity. However, going back to Galliano's runway, his gowns that traced the history of Dior's work, even those from fin-de-siècle, were not considered costume. The Peruvian inspired

garments are explicitly contrasted to the less colorful, yet also complexly ornate Western dresses; they are described as something different that did not fit in the historical timeline of fashion: ornamental costumes within a haute-couture fashion collection. Implicit in these understandings of the Peruvian inspired garments as costumes within the mainstream global fashion media is the notion that they are too national, too racialized and ethnic, particularly when juxtaposed with a re-interpretation or ode to the work of Dior. The auteur garments of Dior are construed as anational, a global way of dress, re-instating Western history of dress as an aracial, non-ethnic, and ageographical basis for fashion. In the end these statements support an understanding within the industry that those garments, unlike the work of Dior, will never be more than costume, never to be translated into a style, a mode of stylish daily wear.

However, in Peru, Galliano's foray into Peruvian inspired runway pieces was not seen as a "detour" from Dior's historical lineage, froufrou or even costume. Mario Testino, a Peruvian fashion photographer who has worked for editorials like *Vogue*, produced a photography exhibit and book which included images of Galliano's designs described as garments that: "perfectly close the circle between our national culture and the wider world of fashion" and that these garments "challenges the viewer: to consider the fashions of the Andean region not as relics or static but as a modern practice, being made anew by dressmakers and communities enriched with craftsmanship and designs" (Aguirre 2013). For many involved in the fashion world and garment industry in Peru this was a critical turning point and moment of

validation when Andean aesthetics became part of the international haute-couture world. They were fashions that coexisted alongside, on par and within the linear historical timeline of fashion.

In post-Fujimori and post-violence Peru, undercurrents and emerging interests from artists who could now freely express themselves saw the arts as a way of moving away from racism and prejudice by recognizing the beauty and artistic value of indigenous artisanal traditions and aesthetics. Artists had a green light to fully explore this kind of fashion making legitimized after Galliano's landmark visit. If Galliano could see the beauty of Andean modes of dress to the extent that he included them throughout the history of Dior's fashion, then these aesthetic elements could become part of a national fashion design aesthetic. For many of my interlocutors involved in the fashion world, Galliano's collection marked the beginning of a Peruvian fashion world. Yet, certain tensions still remained concerning how and which indigenous and traditional elements could become the basis for national design. How can one create fashion without making ethnic objects?

Yet, as I discovered in my foray into the archive, this apparent shift or revalorization, as it is often described, is not a new phenomena in the history of fashion in Peru. The tiger's leap into Andean and other pre-Hispanic and indigenous textiles as central and defining elements of Peruvian fashion design has been taking place since the 1950s. However, the ways in which this tiger's leap takes place, the specific elements that break into a particular present-moment in time speaks to a particular relationship to the indigenous within Peru, intimately tied to particular national

economic and political climates. A close look into the history of fashion in Peru reveals a complex engagement with indigenous and other historical elements associated with indigeneity that sheds light on the ways in which certain non-Western elements are redeemed as valuable to create and affirm a contemporary sartorial national identity and produce images of cosmopolitan Peruvian presents.

Re-searching the Fashion Archive

The 90s: Maniquí

Prompted by Olga's comment about the 90s magazine *Maniquí*, I went to different archives looking for it. The only place I was able to find copies was at the library of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, where I was an affiliated researcher at the Visual Anthropology Program. As an affiliated researcher I had met and talked on various occasions with Social Sciences faculty. While I was looking at the archive I could not help but ask the faculty I talked with about my archival work with this fashion magazine from the 90s and my interest in clothing during that decade. For a while I had been asking about dress and fashion throughout the 80s to fashion designers I was interviewing, visiting and shadowing. I got the same response over and over: there was no fashion during the decades of terrorism. As I spent time in the field I came to realize that, depending on to whom I was talking, the timeline of the decades of terrorism sometimes extended to include Fujimori's authoritarian period; that it didn't end once the Shining Path insurgency had been defeated. An artist and professor at the university told me during an interview when I brought up this question: "...before the 80s, we didn't have the economy or necessary (political)

stability to pay attention to this type of problem. There was hunger, terrorism, social problems.” Why would people be concerned with how they dressed during such violent and difficult times? It always struck me how he extended the period of lack of fashion even before the 80s, assuming a stable political and economic context as precursors for fashion to develop as a cultural arena and hegemonic mode of dress. I brought up this comment to other scholars I talked to; one in particular commented that this was only partially true. On the one hand, the national elites were able to maintain access to fashion. On the other hand, during the decades of terror, aesthetic interventions that signaled any sympathy or possible association with the insurgency or any left wing politics came at a personal cost.

Dress and other forms of artistic and aesthetic representation became a highly politicized arena during the time of the insurgency well into Fujimori’s regime, as government repression and corruption were rampant. I continued hearing stories how up until the 80s and 90s it was common for college students, mainly those studying humanities, arts and social sciences, to buy in the markets crafts and other indigenous elements to accessorize their styles. They would buy *mantas*³¹ and *chuspas*³² to use as purses, Andean style sweaters to wear with jeans, as well as *chuyos*³³ and other jewelry. These elements have often been associated within university student culture as statements of their social consciousness and understanding of traditional culture and Peruvian history. Yet, as the violence intensified, people recalled that wearing

³¹ *Mantas* or *licllias* are colorful pieces of textiles similar to shawls, which are often used to carry things and babies on women’s backs.

³² Small purse traditionally used by men and women in the Andes to carry coca leaves.

³³ Andean knitted style hat with earflaps.

these indigenous or traditional crafts and textiles in their dress became a risk. As a faculty member told me remembering those days, “Students could be stopped, even on or around campus, by the police under suspicion of being supporters of the Shining Path insurgency.” Because the Shining Path movement had begun in an Andean University by a professor with college students as the initial source of support; college students were a source of attention for authorities. Regardless of any actual political alliance or relationship with the insurgency, sartorial signifiers of Andean-ness were immediately seen as signs of political support or alliance.

Political persecution persisted throughout Fujimori’s regime, past the capture of Abimael Guzmán leader of the Shining Path. In the documentary, *Against the Grain: An Artist’s Survival Guide to Peru*, filmmaker Ann Kaneko (2008) explores the social role of artists, focusing on how aesthetic and artistic practices were a site of state repression from the era of terrorism well into Fujimori’s regime. During these decades aesthetic interventions that challenged or criticized Peruvian society, particularly issues of state-sponsored violence, class and ethnic prejudice, became targets of government repression. For example, one of the four artists whose personal narrative is explored in the film, Alfredo Marquez, spent four years, out of a 20-year sentence, imprisoned as a terrorist and Maoist supporter for making a print of Chairman Mao with a set of Marilyn Monroe lips. While I never heard of anyone being imprisoned for wearing indigenous garb or elements, I did hear stories of younger college students in Lima being interrogated or hassled by the police under suspicion of terrorism and being threatened with expulsion from university campuses.

University campuses throughout Peru became highly policed, limiting access to students, faculty, administration and outsiders who had been previously invited and needed clearance to enter. To this day one can see the remnants of this heightened policing of university spaces. It is impossible to simply walk into a campus in Lima unless one has a formal University ID. As a visitor one can only access a campus through a main entrance where one needs to wait a turn, explain to campus security employees the reason for the visit and be allowed in. Indigenous aesthetic and textile elements became primordially associated with violence and political subversions, over their associations with backwardness, poverty and incapacity of being modern. They became something more than just elements of bad taste. Sartorial elements associated with the indigenous, artisanal and traditional could actively lead to political persecution. In this re-fashioning of the indigenous it cemented the silhouette of the national body as one that needed to look up to Western modes of dress and fashion, emphasizing the indigenous or traditional as a violent antithesis to fashion.

Sitting in the basement of the University library flipping through the pages of the magazine *Maniquí* published throughout the second half of the 90s, I was struck by the fashion editorials. All of the fashions portrayed were inspired in, based on, or simply copied Western fashions popular during that time. More than that I was taken aback by the fact that almost all of the editorials were photographed in locations abroad. Not only were there no references anywhere to artisanal or indigenous textile

traditions,³⁴ but even Peru was erased as a site or setting for fashion. Fashion happened elsewhere, in the north.³⁵ Tall, thin, white Peruvian models appeared wearing fashionable garments, that didn't point to any particular national origin, posing in front of the Eiffel tower, crossing the streets of New York and enjoying the beaches of Miami. After decades of internal violence indigenous elements associated with violence, poverty, backwardness and persecution became incompatible with a fashionable present. All signs of Peru, even as a setting or scenery where fashion was possible were eliminated. Designers looked to, appropriated and modeled their design practices around Western fashion. If we understand fashion editorials as wish-images that visualize an identity, lifestyle and feel that comes with dressing a certain way; then these images also provide the conditions under which fashion can exist and for what bodies. These images speak to the creation of a capitalist dream world that can serve to create a distance from the violence and the national political environment. Fashion happens at a distance from the national political environment, in those spaces where one can ignore this context, and is available for those who can inhabit these spaces, and can easily move and belong in the global north. Yet they also assert Peruvian models and garments as once again able to participate in a cosmopolitan

³⁴ The one exception was the few editorials that showed the work of Olga as part of the runway discussed earlier.

³⁵ Other scholars have explored how fashion and trends move from the global North to the Global South through processes of transmigration or through networks of second-hand clothing. They discuss how through these processes of radical consumption people can index transnational relationships, and transform Western clothing into something cosmopolitan yet-local to assert identities, class, and status. Moreover, they explore how brands become re-defined and even detached from the material commodities themselves. For more see Anderson (2009) and Hansen Tranberg (2000).

global world. In a subtle way these images present a rejection of the terror experienced during that time, not to even signify Peru in a way serves as a way of not engaging with that terror, a way to erase it, refuse it.

The era of terror, as it's commonly called in Peru, marked a drastic change in how artisanal and indigenous textiles were understood, it re-shaped a historical silhouette of the indigenous. Yet, my foray into the short-lived Maniquí only sparked my interest in finding more about the history of fashion in an attempt to further understand this contemporary attitude of re-valorization of indigenous and traditional textiles. As I delved into the archives of *Caretas*, I found out this engagement with the indigenous had a longer history than what popular and scholarly memory affirmed.

Caretas: The first fashion publication 1950s



Figure 4: Instituto Industrial N18 Cusqueño Fashion Show in *Caretas* 1956

The magazine *Caretas* was the only publication that published news about fashion consistently since 1955³⁶. *Caretas* published articles from national and international politics, to news about arts and culture, including society pages that featured social events attended by Lima elites. Early articles about fashion were part of these society pages. These articles showed photographs of runways hosted by elite women in their homes and country clubs. Their daughters and their friends would model designer clothing the hostess had bought from their travels to Europe and the USA. As fashion designers began emerging in Lima, and when alpaca and pima cotton factories began manufacturing garments, these events moved to larger venues like the historic Hotel Bolivar in the center of Lima. Most of these early designers came from elite backgrounds and would work with seamstresses, not artisans, to dress Lima high society women.

While in Lima fashion was unfolding uniquely within very elite spaces showcasing, for the most part, the work of European designers or of national designers following European styles; in Cusco fashion was unfolding as part of the neoindianista movement. There has been a historical regional divide in the way *mestizaje* was conceived in coastal Lima and the highlands with Cuzco as the main epicenter of racial thinking for that region. In Lima *mestizaje* was seen as necessary to modernize the nation and build a Peruvian national identity. This Lima based

³⁶ During this time period there were two magazines that emerged dedicated to fashion. The short-lived *Patricia* in the 1970s and *Maniquí* in the 1990s. While the fashion section of *Caretas* began in 1955 the magazine itself was created in 1950. In 2005 *Caretas* formalized their fashion and lifestyle section under the heading *Ellos & Ellas*, which became its own parallel magazine in 2010.

notion of *mestizaje* meant leaving behind the category indigenous as an identity and ethnic marker to become modern Peruvian citizens.

The neoindianista movement built on and rejected the earlier indigenismo movement. For the neoindianistas, Cusco, once the capital of the Inca Empire, was taken as the original site of what was Peruvian. The indigenismo movement of the 1920s,³⁷ proposed by Creole elites and national intellectuals, was key in fostering a culturalist notion of race that influenced Peruvian nation-building projects and later social movements. They rejected a biological understanding of races, attributing this power to culture and history. Indigenismo was characterized by a repudiation of mestizos, seen as expressing Hispanophilia and rejecting the Inca legacy they saw as the pillar of Peruvian nationalism. They rejected pro-*mestizaje* ideology popular in Lima, stating that races degenerated if removed from their proper places (Andes) or through mixing. Neoindianismo, as a response to indigenismo, unfolded in Cusco among creole non-indigenous Andean elites between the 1930s and the 1950s. While they still defined race as inheritable culture, through both blood and learning, they changed the focus from the indigenismo ideology to one that welcomed *mestizaje* as an important project for national and regional identities in order to create a unified Peruvian national identity. “Neoindianismo was anticlerical, artistically inclined, and rejected all things foreign while claiming authenticity through spiritual *mestizaje*” (de la Cadena 2000:133). It was the first movement to convey “an enthusiasm for mixture and common vernacular art that was absent from previous indigenista manifestos”

³⁷ For a longer discussion on the history of indigenismo and neoindianista thought and movement, and their relationship to *mestizaje* ideologies in Lima see de la Cadena 2000.

(133). The inclusion of vernacular arts was a shift from indigenista ‘purist’ canons, allowing for the representation, exaltation and inclusion of the common mestizo or *cholo*. Racial and cultural purity was replaced with a geographically based authenticity in order to build an autochthonous Peru.

Under these ideals, Delia Vidal de Milla began the Instituto Industrial N18 in Cusco³⁸. The institute was described in a series of articles in *Caretas* as “a small factory where the fashion that corresponds to us will be established. Dozens of students from the most impoverished sectors realize in looms they manage with great dexterity, the re-valorization of indigenous art. Under the direction of specialized teachers and utilizing the same motifs that allow native tejedores... to make works of great beauty” (*Caretas* 1958). The garments produced in Vidal de Milla’s Institute were the only national non-Lima fashions included in *Caretas* during the decade of the 1950s.

During the 1950s this artistically inclined Cuzco based neoindianista driven fashions managed to trickle into the elite Lima fashion world, as something that wasn’t necessarily in contradiction to producing a Peruvian national identity. But why was it that these indigenous made and inspired Cusqueño garments made it into the fashion pages alongside elite Limeño events and news of European fashions? In order to understand this one needs to engage with how neoindianismo re-defined and

³⁸ Vidal de Milla’s father stated that the aim of this project was “merging the two nationalities (indigenous and non-indigenous), to make one nation for all Peruvians, to erase the deep differences, so that all of us Peruvians can march together with one and only one national feeling.” (quoted in De la Cadena 2000).

attempted to uplift forms of indigenous art both anchored in and moving away from the geographically-based separation between coastal urban Lima and highland Cusco as a site of Peru's history and culture.

De la Cadena (2000) describes this re-valorization and uplifting of indigenous arts in Cusco as based on the de-Indianization of indigenous traditions by grassroots intellectuals, like Vidal de Milla. Through de-Indianization people living in the Andes can reproduce and contest racism by replacing regional fixed identities measuring their engagement with Indian or mestizo culture through degrees of relation, rather than assimilating into a hegemonic national culture or completely shedding indigenous culture. For de la Cadena (2000) de-Indianization emphasizes the difference between indigenous culture as a postcolonial phenomenon and "Indinness" as a colonized or inferior condition. "The discourse of de-Indianization allows grassroots intellectuals to reinvent indigenous culture stripped of stigmatized Indianness that the elites assigned it since colonial times. However, since this liberating process itself continues to define Indianness as the utmost inferior condition in the region, it leaves room for racism to persist" (7). In Cusco the process of de-Indianization empowers indigenous identities and cultures by redefining the dominant understanding of this category without challenging the hierarchies that legitimize power differences and discrimination among indigenous and others in Cusco.

Central to the neonindianista process of de-Indianizing indigenous arts was a shift from the artistic portrayal of the Indian as a melancholic introverted peasant to

one centered on folklore and the ‘festive Indian.’ This de-indianization was based on the notion that indigenous arts, a product of “coarse” Indians, needed to be *depurado*, or purify something, to make it acceptable for the cultural standards of urban and foreign audiences. The fashions made at the Instituto N18 included elements from traditional Cusqueño indigenous dress with contemporary styles of the time. The work produced by Vidal de Milla, the indigenous and mestizo students and professoras, were described in *Caretas* as: “keeping alive national symbols to be known abroad”, inspired in “los indígenas”, “displaying in a contemporary form the autochthonous textile traditions from Cusco,” and “a Peruanista stimulating and deserving of admiration” (Caretas 1958). Within this cultural moment, the work of Vidal de Milla was described, as keeping alive national symbols that could be known abroad. As the tourism industry grew in Cusco during this decade, these garments were sold to tourists but were also shown in fashion runways in Lima.

The stark contrast between the Lima fashion world, and the neoindianista movement (and its incursion into the fashion pages of this publication) speaks to the political climate at the time. In 1948 General Manuel Odría led a successful military coup against the existing government taking over as president but quickly resigning and appointing a puppet president. He then ran in an election as the only candidate. Odría led a populist military dictatorship in which he led a series of welfare and charity reforms, creating housing projects, hospitals and schools while restricting civil

rights³⁹. Peru experienced a period of economic growth and political stability during this time through an export-led economy that increased national and foreign investment leading to the growth of the manufacturing sector. However, these reforms reified the geographical divide benefiting and positing Lima and the coast as modern urban centers of development.⁴⁰ This pattern of regional growth widened the gap between the highlands and the coast.

Odría's reforms did not alter the highly oppressive and exploitative *hacienda* system in the highlands, where most of the alpaca wool production unfolded. The 1950s and 1960s saw the first massive rural to urban migration waves, as well as an increase in social mobilization in the highlands. Apart from the Cuzqueño creole elite led neoindianista movement, many emerging forms of grassroots *campesino* organizations during this time confronted *hacienda* owners through strikes and land invasions. The *hacienda* system prevented the growth and industrialization of alpaca wool that was taking place within the Pima cotton industry, located in the coastal regions. The maintenance of the *hacienda* system also served to reify alpaca as a signifier of indigeneity while pima cotton, as an industrial product, did not become associated with any particular culture or ethnic group in Peru. This in part has led to the preference for and longer history of pima cotton, sheep wool, and other synthetic

³⁹ During this time he persecuted many journalists including those from *Caretas* forcing one of the head editors to go into exile and shutting down the publication for a couple of years.

⁴⁰ During this time cotton production was fully industrialized, in stark contrast with the alpaca wool industry.

fiber mixes⁴¹ over alpaca wool in fashion. While peasant mobilization was unfolding in the highlands due to economic stagnation, the coast and Lima were seeing a wave of industrialization, urbanization and economic growth that solidified the existing upper class and led to the creation of a new middle and professional class.

The work done in the Instituto N18 not only promoted Andean culture as part of Peruvian culture as a whole in an attempt to move past this urban-rural divide, asserting Cusco as a modern cultural center capable of fashion as a symbolic emblem of modernity; but also served as a means of opening up economic and labor possibilities for *campesino* communities to benefit outside of the highly exploitative hacienda system. Moreover, an increase in tourism opened the possibility for *campesinos* to benefit from this growing market by producing these fashions. These neoindianista fashions were not only a response to earlier indigenismo movements, but also opposed what upper-class *mestizaje* projects elaborated in Lima (de la Cadena 2000). In Lima race was also equated with culture, upholding the strong associations of textile and sartorial elements with race over whatever body is wearing or using them. Yet, the upper class-led *mestizaje* was based on the fusion and modernization of cultural forms and elements rather than an actual inter-mixing of racial bodies, a fusion which was the basis for the fashions made in the Instituto N18.

⁴¹ In the 1960s and 1970s acrylic was introduced in the highlands as a cheap warm material, in comparison to alpaca wool. It is still the most commonly used material in contemporary Andean dress and commonly associated with bad taste, cheapness, lack of class, etc. Moreover, the introduction of acrylic served to minimize consumption of alpaca wool within communities leaving all of the raw fibers obtained to sell to the industry.

In both Lima and Cusco, indigenous bodies were erased or left on the margins as producers with the unique historical skills and traditions to manufacture garments.

1960s and 1970s: The Indigenous as the Past

By the 1960s the images from these fashions and any mention of the Instituto N18 disappear from the pages of *Caretas*. Throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s designers and brands based out of Lima continued incorporating artisanal and indigenous aesthetics and textiles into fashion. Advertisements of the two largest alpaca wool factories began appearing in the pages of *Caretas*, showing the beautiful garments that could be made with their thread and fabrics. Models posed amidst giant spools of colorful thread wearing the latest bell-bottoms and turtleneck sweaters we can assume were made of alpaca. Yet, the use of alpaca in fashion as well as in the ways in which indigenous elements were incorporated into fashion showed a change from the Cusqueño neoindianista approach. From the 60s until the present, Cusco shifts from a site where fashion is produced to a setting or background for fashion editorials. During this time discussions over the role of *mestizaje* within national projects, tied to national processes of industrialization, shifted as highland mobilizations against the *hacienda* system increased.

After the end of Odría's regime, mobilizations throughout the highlands continued, leading the president at the time, Belaúnde Terry, to diffuse this growing unrest by implementing a modest agrarian reform that opened access to new lands and production opportunities without dismantling the *hacienda* system. Instead of calming down the unrest, guerilla movements inspired by and modeled after the

Cuban revolution such as the MIR (*Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*) emerged. These movements were based on an emphasis on class issues, those of the peasants, rather than on what they saw as cultural elements or practices like the earlier indigenista and the neoindianista movements. These movements were influenced by the militarized guerrilla culture expanding throughout Latin America, which emphasized politics, armed revolts, and a military culture rather than indigenous cultural elements as part of the revolutionary spirit. Until this time sartorial and other cultural elements had commonly and visibly played a role within revolutionary and indigenous political movements in Cuzco. For example, In 1572 after the apprehension and execution of Tupac Amaru I, the last insurgent Inca, ordinances were placed limiting the variety of tunics, hairdos and headdresses that indigenous peoples wore to affirm and distinguish themselves from one another (Gandolfo 2009). During the 1781-1782 rebellion in Cusco led by Tupac Amaru II, one of his first insurrectionary acts was to take over colonial *obrajes* (textile production shops) and to confiscate deposits of clothes, which he distributed to the people (Gandolfo 2009). The capture of Tupac Amaru II is seen as marking the emergence in Peru of an indigenous “folk” or “traditional” dress when the Spanish authorities enforced the use of the dress worn by the Spanish peasantry from the south of Spain. Indigenous people began decorating and altering this imposed form of Spanish dress according to their own aesthetic sensibilities transforming them. Today it is this form of dress that is recognized as indigenous. Besides discouraging pride and political affiliation with indigenous culture, this also marked the moment when

women's bodies began carrying the weight of ethnic identification and transmitters of tradition; women in the Andes became "more Indian" than their male counterparts (de la Cadena 1995). It was not until the 1990s that Andean women began using indigenous clothing, mainly *polleras*, as part of explicit political public displays as mothers protesting violence, gender inequality, and promoting female solidarity (Femenías 2005). In the 1960s the historical role of indigenous clothing as central to revolutionary politics disappeared as these movements were influenced by guerrilla culture and the figures like Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, which posited the emphasis on armed struggle over dress as a signifier of revolution.

While this growing unrest in the highlands led the president to mobilize the army against the guerrilla movements, in Lima the new middle class was also demanding greater democratic participation. Smaller brands, like Sylvania Textiles, designed and manufactured fashions that were available for this middle class in Lima. The advertisements of alpaca thread mentioned earlier in this section were also directed to this group. While they could not afford boutique alpaca garments, they could now buy the thread to make the garments themselves or take it to a seamstress who could make the desired garments. It is important to note that, unlike the 1980s, when the insurgency directly affected Lima, most of the social upheaval in the 1960s occurred in rural areas. As the economy stagnated, in the mid 60s, a recession hit Perú and the national currency was devalued. In 1967 General Juan Velasco led a successful coup after which he nationalized a series of industries and enforced an Agrarian Reform (1968) that finally ended the *hacienda* system in the highlands.

As fashion once again became part and parcel of Lima; indigenous elements within fashion did not simply disappear, their meanings however changed. Textile and aesthetic referents of the indigenous became elements of the pre-Hispanic, signs of history, a past long gone, of noble cultures that in the present context were distanced from any association with living *campesinos*, revolution, guerrilla or poverty. This furthered a view of the increasing gap between the rural highlands and urban, modern Lima, which was unaffected or minimally affected by the events unfolding in the highlands. Andean culture as living present-day, even if separated from indigenous bodies or *depurada* as in the neoindianista case, was eliminated from the fashions produced in this Limeño imaginary. Meanwhile, nationally produced materials, alpaca and pima cotton, became markers of a national industry as well as of an autochthonous Peru. Both traditional materials could be used as blank canvases to produce modern fashions and as a basis for a national garment industry.



Figure 5: Advertisement for Sylvania Textiles in *Caretas* 1967

The example of Sylvania Textiles, whose mostly colorful ads became commonplace in the pages of *Caretas* in the late 1960s and 1970s, serve as a good case of how elements of the indigenous leapt back into fashion as signifiers of history rather than living-present autochthonous culture. Sylvania Textiles was known for producing boutique fashions using hand painted pima cotton textiles that appropriated and re-created indigenous and pre-Hispanic iconographies. In one of their ads in *Caretas*, Sylvania Prints garments were described as: “The art of yesterday, the modern of today... Aggressive, violent, romantic... Incaic art of yesteryear, true creations of genius artisans... It is the yesterday of history that is revived in the modern” (*Caretas* 36, 58-68) Above the text there are six squares showcasing some of their fabric patterns: turquoise with birds made replicating a popular iconography from the Colca valley in Arequipa, yellow and orange diamond with Inca birds and geometrical figures, light blue with alpacas, yellow background with Chavin cats and birds in shades of orange, green background with orange Inca birds and geometrical figures, and maroon background with *Paracas* Shamans and birds painted in white-yellow-blue and black. Under the text a white tall, thin, blond woman holding dark sunglasses and pearl earrings is dressed for the beach. She is wearing a matching yellow with orange alpaca print sundress, beach bag and hat. Reclining on her there is a small white, blond girl eating strawberry ice cream wearing a matching green bikini and bandana with orange Inca geometric iconography. Sylvania was also known for selling the ponchokini; a bikini set that came with a matching poncho to cover up the

bikini top. All textile prints were hand painted by artisans following the designs made by Sylvania.

Unlike the geographically situated neoindianismo, designers like Sylvania appropriated iconographies and other aesthetic elements from indigenous textile traditions from all regions of Peru and diverse Pre-Hispanic historical moments. A historical spirit characterized Limeño racial thinking in this period where race persisted as a synthesis of the diverse elements that defined a civilization. In the 1960s, identity labels were laden with references to cultural stages associated with degrees of class-consciousness that obviously carried the imprint of previous bio-moral evolutionary thought- where indigenous still meant poor, backwards, pre-modern. Rather than *depurar*, de-indianize indigenous vernacular arts as authentic/pure and specific of a region the indigenous entered into the present as a sign of the pre-Hispanic associated with a historical past that could be ‘revived’ in the present. All iconographies and textile signs of the indigenous and pre-Hispanic became symbolic of this historical past, erasing the specificity of a culture and historical moment. Even present-day artisanal textile traditions, like the birds from Colca valley in Arequipa, became associated with an indigenous past. Sartorial and textile elements associated with urban mestizo or *cholo* culture, which were incorporated into vernacular arts by the neoindianistas, were completely ignored and deemed as bad taste, *huachafo*, in this Lima fashion world. All of these textile and iconographic cultural forms came to signify a past culture that could be stylized, modernized and Westernized as they became fashion. Racialized notions of cultural

heritage became embedded in memory and history, erasing the present day existing culture of the mestizo and indigenous, and of the reality and struggles of the highlands.

All of these indigenous aesthetic elements became part of the same system of signification, signs of a past that could be fused with contemporary fashion form and hence modernized. In this process not only was any multi-cultural or historical specificity obscured, but the indigenous bodies and hands were erased from the representations, not fit for these garments. The indigenous and mestizo artisanal works were a central part of the marketing, representation and re-valorization of the Instituto N18. In Lima, artisans were erased as owner and maker, re-positioned as hired hands that could reproduce designs based on what urban fashion designers, like Silvania, imagined to be elements of indigenous or autochthonous culture that could be brought into and transformed into fashion. Artisans were not participating in fashion making textile objects based on their own artisanal practices but made to reproduce and re-design a mixed bag of historical elements made anachronistic and part of the same set of signification.

This effort of moving away from the category of the indigenous as that of existing living communities, at both an aesthetic and political level, was also important in the leftist thinking during the late 1960s and 1970s. The progressive military movement of Velasco decreed in 1969, as part of the Agrarian Reform,⁴² the

⁴² The Agrarian Reform implemented by the left-wing Dictatorship of Velasco was a program to abolish the still existent *Hacienda* system, commonly described as a feudal

abolition of the word ‘Indian’ from official vocabulary, replacing it with the term *campesino* or ‘peasant.’ These leftist political movements, greatly influenced by Marxist thought, saw race as a category that needed to be understood in terms of class: poor peasants, middle class peasants and rich peasants (de la Cadena 2000). In order to grow and modernize the Peruvian highlands they must move away from the category of the Indian into class-based categories, leaving the Indian as a category of a different, pre-modern economic and pre-capitalist past. However, the Agrarian Reform, while abolishing the hacienda system, didn’t bring about the economic development of the highlands. As lands returned to the hands of peasant/*campesino* communities the industrial activity that took place in *Haciendas* ceased. *Campesinos* had the land but did not have the resources necessary to continue or re-organize industrial activity.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, it became commonplace for fashion advertisements and editorials, regardless of the fashion styles being shown, to portray tall, thin, white models posing in locations of historical and/or archeological importance.

Geraldine was one of Lima’s most well known designers. Originally from the northern city of Trujillo, she made Western inspired garments. Some of her fashion editorials showed models wearing haute-couture garments posing on the ruins of *Pachacamac*, a pre-Incaic archeological site 40km southeast of Lima, or among the

system, by expropriating farms and diversifying land ownership to the surrounding peasant communities.

ruins of *Chan Chan*, an adobe archeological site constructed by the pre-Incan Chimu civilization on the outskirts of Trujillo in northern Peru. Indigenous men and women were never included in the images as part of the mis-en-scene as it is common to see today in contemporary fashion editorials.

Another important designer from this era was María Roca Rey de Valdeavellanos, whose haute-couture garments were known as Creaciones Val-Ro (Val-Ro Creations). In order to make her haute-couture indigenous-fusion fashions, Val-Ro also worked with artisans from various regions of Peru. Her designs were characterized by mixing pre-Hispanic elements, and present-day artisanal textile techniques with contemporary fashions of the time. For Val-Ro, what would characterize Peruvian fashion, placing it and differentiating it amongst Parisian, Italian and American fashions was its use and incorporation of the indigenous. Central to Val-Ro's project as a fashion designer was to internationalize Peruvian fashion as part of a growing exports industry. She presented her runways in Peruvian embassies in the US and various European countries, such as France (Caretas 58:58-68; 005:69-74; 0013:69-74). Even though in her designs the garments produced by Val-Ro incorporated a variety of artisanal techniques, materials and designs her fashions were also described as Inca or inspired in Peru *Profundo* (deep Peru) a notion that makes reference to the hard to access areas of the country where some indigenous communities thought of as descendents of the Incas still lived.

As political instability increased throughout the 1970s, enhanced by economic inflation and later on in the 1980s by hyperinflation, not only did the indigenous

become more and more scarce within fashion, but actual fashion editorials diminished. The pages of *Caretas* were overtaken by political news concerning the violence and intense economic crisis facing the nation. Images of dirty, impoverished Andean *campesinos* captured by the military as followers of the Shining Path filled the pages, alongside images of the same *campesinos* as victims of the violence. Severe economic inflation led to a near collapse of the national fashion scene where only the very elite who could still travel would be able to bring back, own and wear fashion or acquire magazines to have urban seamstresses copy what was seen on the pages. It was during this time that signifiers of the Andean became explicitly linked with violence and poverty, reinforcing racist views and associations with the *huachafo*. The idea that these communities could be transformed into a class based system, or that their cultural elements could simply speak to a historical past would not hold up anymore when the news was flooded by images of peasants as both perpetrators and victims whose revolutionary actions were, for the first time in history, turning Lima itself a site of violence and insecurity. This attitude towards the indigenous continued well into the 90s, where Peru itself becomes absent from the fashion editorials found in the pages of Maniquí, and why Olga's intervention, bringing into a runway indigenous textile elements of dress caused her marginalization from the Peruvian fashion scene.

Ghosts of the Modern Indian

If we take fashion as engaging with the ghosts of modernity as designers remix fragments of the past into something 'new,' we can see how the indigenous has

become a constant sartorial haunting throughout Peru's contemporary fashion history. These constant, yet varying and shifting engagements with what elements of the indigenous make it into fashion, speak to the anxieties surrounding the presence, lives and bodies of the indigenous, those bodies that have not been fully shaped as modern subjects. Fashion is about modern capitalist bodies, yet, fashion in Peru has never been meant for the indigenous bodies that have been sources of diverse political anxieties. If we go back to the work of the Japanese designers Kondo discusses, the non-Western textile elements they incorporate in fashion, such as the kimono, irrupt into fashion in a different way since they do not carry the weight of racism or are associated with the political tensions we find in the Andes. In this constant erasure of the indigenous body to be shaped in and by fashion, indigeneity becomes a haunting element, a ghost that persists and is called upon in the present to solve those anxieties in clothing. It is as if somehow calling upon that ghost into a present time will solve the haunting without actually having to address any underlying issue, without dealing with the real existing materiality of the bodies that exist in poverty and marginalization; a constant failed exorcism of a modernist fashion/able national body.

Fashion then becomes a site to reconcile and create a reality within capitalism and modern politics, to create a dream world of how the bodies of those who belong in the nation are imagined and desired to be. The sartorial and aesthetic signifiers that come into fashion at specific moments of this archival history attempt to design the spaces the indigenous, the living-indigenous, can occupy within a modern nation-state. Even when these elements seem to drop out of the fashions, it is not because

they are ignored, they cannot be ignored or forgotten. As seen in the above analysis, the ‘elimination’ of the indigenous in fashion actually meant that these elements were relegated to a specific place, to the margins. The indigenous in fashion did not cease to exist, instead it became *huachafo* (bad taste), cast as dangerous and what not belongs, what cannot be fashion, what one defines fashion against, specially during times of violence. The attempts at ignoring or erasing the indigenous from fashion are still always cast in relation to fashion. When these communities are visible in political and even violent ways they become subsumed into images of a far away past that help ignore their present day struggles and existence. As the political climate grew more violent, a violence that kept the highland indigenous at its epicenter, the sartorial elements of these communities became markers of a proud historical past, being ignored as part of the present, and into complete rejection. Even as signifiers of some historical distant past their irruption into the present became simply undesirable. Fashion in Peru has constantly grappled with this tension, mirroring and re-enforcing how the nation-state has politically understood the role of the indigenous within its modernizing projects.

Textiles, as well as other aesthetic elements associated with dress, become the material traces of indigenous life, bodies diluted into dress, cloth and thread. After the 1960s the hands of indigenous artisans became part of that set of signification, disembodied hands that had inherited unique textile abilities that do not participate in what they produce, included in fashion as invisible producers. Through engagements with fashion, dress and textiles the indigenous is constantly being forgotten and

remembered, becoming pure, becoming festive, becoming folkloric, becoming culture, becoming history, becoming dirtiness, becoming poverty, becoming violence. As these textile elements leap into fashion the origins, bodies, peoples and specific histories are forgotten. The Colca birds used in Sylvania textiles cease being contemporary iconographies made with sewing machines in a technique called *makinaska*, drawing with the machine, in the Colca Valley of Arequipa, Southern Peru. The birds as fashion elements become portrayals of an ancient iconography, details of the rich pre-Hispanic cultures that occupied Peru before the conquest, before any sewing machine was there, when the communities there were of a different ethnicity, culture, society. Semiotics in fashion is characterized by instability, yet it is important to consider how the chains of associated meanings of past elements irrupting into the 'new' of fashion are understood in relation to present day politics and capitalist anxieties. Fashion is often defined as a second or social skin (Bruno 2014, Entwistle 2000, Turner 1993); this second skin becomes a medium through which we can materially engage close to our own bodies with those anxieties. We can play around with those elements that speak to the sources of anxiety by wearing them, letting them re-shape our silhouettes by keeping them close, temporary parts of our skin, transforming those sources of anxiety, and maybe even resolving them while the garment is on our body or when we see the editorial photos and advertisements. The reality of the indigenous is acknowledged on the bodies of modern fashionable subjects emphasizing certain meanings and affirming that particular way of being. The silhouettes of historical structures, as Benjamin put it, are re-shaped, altering the

relations of the past and present to the benefit of particular modern political projects, such as the making pure of the indigenous, transforming them into peasants, battling against the Shining Path.

In Peru the role, modes of being, realities, and representations of the indigenous have been a constant source of social and political tension. Indigenous communities are not just subjects on the margin of the nation and of the modern that seek to maintain their own forms of becoming, a sense of politics that challenges the modern politics of the state (de la Cadena 2010), and that constantly seeks to assert and demand *buen vivir* (living well). Indigenous highland communities, along with their cultural products, have always existed in a state of negotiation with modernist political and economic projects, the mode of life enforced through development efforts (Escobar 2012), and engagement with capitalist markets. The inclusion of indigenous and artisanal elements in a national fashion world has been tied to shifting understandings of the indigenous within national politics. The present day turn to the indigenous and artisanal as part of ethical or socially responsible fashions carries the weight of this history into the contemporary political and sartorial present.

Chapter 2: An Ethical Supply Chain



Figure 6: Interoceanic Highway passing through the town of Mallma, Ocongate, Cusco

We set out on our drive back to Cusco, along the newly built Interoceanic Highway from Marcapata, a small town in the high-altitude tropical forest before going into the Amazonian region of Puerto Maldonado. We stopped at the community of Tinki to pick up profesora Mariela and her two-year-old son. She had spent the last two weeks with the newly formed women’s artisanal workshop helping prepare their first order: an organic, hand-spun, hand-made series of garments for an Argentinean boutique brand. The sun was starting to set and the cold dry wind was picking up when we arrived. While Señora Camila, who ran Ayni (a grassroots Quechua NGO subcontracted by the CSR of the company that built the highway, which will be discussed in this and Chapter 3), went to look for profesora Mariela and her son I joined the crowd gathered at the side of the road. “Señorita Pati, sit here,” called Mama Antonia, one of the local artisans, as she made a space for me on the curb.

Representatives from Mitchell, one of the two largest industrial alpaca wool factories, were there for the annual bulk wool sale.

A company representative sat at a small table in front of Mama Antonia's yard. On the table he had a calculator, a metal box full of cash, and multiple paper lists used to keep track of herders' names, the weight of the wool being sold, and the payment. Each person came one by one carrying the sheared wool in sacks that would be emptied on a scale and then thrown onto the back of a large truck. Sitting between the company official and the scale was a lady keeping track of all transactions on a notepad. Señora Camila had returned with Profesora Mariela looking for me among the crowd. I turned around and asked who was that lady keeping record of the same information as the company official. Camila explained she was hired as an impartial third party development actor by the CSR, ISUR, running the large-scale development project in the regions the new road crossed through. Her job was to validate the transparency of the business transactions taking place, ensuring fair payment based on previous agreements on market prices of bulk alpaca wool between herders and the companies. Alpaca threading and garment companies have historically been notorious for under-paying herders, lying about the market value of the wool and using pre-existing kinship relationships between company representatives and Quechua herding communities to pay in sugar, rice and even beer. Difficulty of access to these communities paired with language barriers between Quechua speaking communities and Spanish-speaking industry actors, enmeshed in histories of racism in Peru helped sustain this as a standard industry practice until the

end of Fujimori's regime. Mama Antonia leaned towards me and said, "It is good she is here. For so many years we trusted them and they just took advantage of us."

It all starts with the wool. Alpaca herding takes place among high-altitude Quechua speaking communities throughout Peru, particularly the Southern region (Puno, Arequipa and Cusco) and Huancavelica in the Central Andes. While alpaca wool is comparable to cashmere in quality and value, highland communities who care for these camelids, accrue the wool, and engage in textile manufacture comprise one of Peru's most impoverished communities. Alpacas are herded between 3500 and 5000 meters above sea level, and many communities located at these altitudes lack basic infrastructure: electricity, running water, and road access often relying on poorly kept dirt paths that are routinely destroyed every rainy season. In this extreme environment communities have relied on a limited amount of crops that grow at altitude for subsistence. Mining is often times the only industry and main employer located nearby such altitudes.

As the national economy stabilized in the mid 2000s, and the violence and Fujimori's authoritarian regime ended, NGOs and CSRs from resource extraction corporations (mining and petroleum) "began taking over projects and duties traditionally managed by the state" (García 2005:12). These neoliberal policies allowed for a growth in the exports manufacturing industries, enabling textile production to grow and become one of the fastest growing non-traditional industries in the 2000s. Yet, this economic growth didn't necessarily decrease unemployment rates and as the formal economy grew so did the informal economy (Sheahan 2006).

In recent years, dramatic climatic changes have severely affected the yield of crops in high altitude environments. For example, out of season hailstorms destroy growing crops, and lack of water from rapidly melting glaciers has become a serious issue for many communities.⁴³ Becoming part of alpaca wool supply chains has become an important source of livelihood in these communities, which have limited access to other modes of making a living and increasingly rely on money for food they were once able to supply for their families. The other main source of livelihood in these regions is work for resource extraction corporations, such as mining operations.

Alpaca supply chains have a long, albeit inconsistent, history within the Peruvian garment industry, but today are seen as having the potential of becoming a national niche flagship market. Unlike pima cotton, alpaca and vicuña wool supply chains have never been fully industrialized. Members of high altitude communities, like Tinki and others around Ocongate, Cusco, are involved in multiple stages of the contemporary alpaca wool supply chains.⁴⁴

In this chapter I examine how NGOs and CSRs operate and how even within subcontracting networks that bring these actors together, these different actors often have goals that are not fully mesh. Here, I lay out the connections across actors that compose this supply chain analyzing how they attempt to make it an ethical supply chain. The notion of ‘ethical’ capitalism speaks to current efforts to address issues of

⁴³ For more see Mark Carey 2010.

⁴⁴ Even artisans and community members that live or migrate to urban spaces often times still have family members who own or tend herds owned by the two large industrial alpaca wool factories.

exploitation and environmental impact within the market system. From the moment of wool accrual, we are confronted with key issues and histories that shape the present day supply chain, making it a site for the conjunction of fashion, development, ethical capitalism, social responsibility, and cultural renewal. I focus on the landscape of development that allows fashion actors to access these communities in order to both obtain access to a luxury material, whose appeal also lies in a perception that it is part of ‘ancient’ historical traditions passed on through the embodied knowledge and skill of indigenous artisans, and do so as part of a broader global trend that attempts to transform capitalist industries into ‘ethical’ ones. How are aesthetics, economics and ethics constantly negotiated and defined? What does it mean to maintain a balance between traditional knowledge and market competitiveness within an industry notorious for a constant aesthetic break with the traditional? How does this unfold on the ground and what are the implications and motivations for those involved?

The various actors- artisans, CSR presence, NGOs, fashion designers- that participate in the supply chain are driven by a diverse array of interests and investments, and perceptions of each other. As De Neve (2009) points out in his ethnography of CSRs in the South Indian garment industry, exchanges between CSR, industry actors and manufacturers provide unique insights into how buyers and exporters relate to each other, and the assumptions and stereotypes that frame their interactions. For De Neve (2009) the “politics of social responsibility” in this industry not only reflect inequalities between buyers and suppliers, but constitute the terrains

of power that shape the social relations of outsourcing practices. These ‘politics of social responsibility’ also shape what objects come to count as fashion, what hands can make ‘ethical’ objects, how value is produced in relation to ethnicity and fashion markets.

This move to make capitalist industries ‘ethical’ unfolds at the intersection of dominant trends within development worlds and corporate culture. As Dolan (2012) argues, the present context of development thinking frames problems and solutions to development through a market lens. Implicit to this vision is the notion that development can be best achieved by pursuing a business agenda that will revitalize certain economies while minimizing cultures of aid and dependency, a hand-up instead of a hand out, a shift from charity to empowerment.⁴⁵ Within this context it is important to consider how the assumed dichotomy between gifts and market exchange is disrupted as these increasingly popular ‘politics of social responsibility’ within capitalist supply chains attempt to reconnect the “apparently modern and depersonalized world of commerce with the moral discourse and social politics of giving” (Rajak 2007:218). As De Neve (2009) points out, at the heart of this turn to ‘ethical’ capitalist industries is a deepening contradiction: “Western competition for

⁴⁵ In the 1990s Fernando de Soto, a Peruvian economist working for the World Bank, came up with this approach designed to mitigate the effects of SAPs. This shift was predicated on seeing the market as a way of addressing development needs by making credit accessible to highly marginalized communities, fostering entrepreneurship, and in aid in establishing sustainable business practices. From this perspective economic activity was seen as affecting the social, and welfare policies were interpreted as promoting poverty and dependency (De Soto 2003, Yunnus 2007). Critics saw this approach centered on a business and market rhetoric as conflating previous development paradigms –self-sustainability, poverty alleviation, and empowerment- with a market oriented approach. For more on this critique see Elyachar 2002, Mayoux 1999, Mayoux 2005, Gill 2000.

the cheapest possible products pushes down prices paid to suppliers and their workers, while at the same time, retailers and chain stores claim to be increasingly concerned with the conditions of work at these sites of production. It is this concern which has shaped much CSR and NGO intervention in the garment sector over the last decade” (65). As the responsibility of making capitalist industries ‘ethical’ falls on CSRs and NGOs their work serves to economize morality, grounding and reframing “socio-moral concerns from *within* the instrumental rationality of capitalist markets” (Ronen Shamir 2008:3).

However, these efforts do not seek to change the system but address specific instances of injustice, exploitation, bad public relations or activism without challenging existing power and profit structures. As development becomes central to making capitalism ethical not only does the market becomes the solution to issues of inequality and exploitation, but industry participation is framed as ‘acts of goodwill.’ This notion of goodwill “cleanses development of its paternalist interventionist heritage and repositions capital accumulation as moral” (Dolan 2012:3), obscures direct corporate responsibility for labor exploitation and environmental destruction, allowing value to be produced in new ways while moving through the same channels.

Goodwill in Style

Being socially responsible is the new trend in many capitalist industries from fashion brands to resource extraction corporations. As corporations face a wide array of public relations disasters, tragedies, scandals and social conflicts across their sites of activity and impact, offices of Corporate Social Responsibility have become a

popular way to address consumer pressure and manage public relation situations. Activities done through CSRs or NGOs subcontracted by corporations serve to also gain trust and maintain a positive image for consumers and those working through their supply chains. Welkers (2014) calls CSRs an ‘ameliorative discipline’ whose task is to mitigate the negative social and environmental impacts that capitalist corporations routinely produce. Having a CSR is an acknowledgment on the part of a corporation that their economic activities have an impact on adjacent communities, workers-contractors, and the environment. While this engagement on the part of corporation occurs through the category of social responsibility, having a CSR or subcontracting NGOs, is considered an act of goodwill. While the notion of responsibility implies a sense of duty or moral obligation to someone or something (in which failure to fulfill that duty implies a penalty), an act of goodwill is precisely defined by going beyond a sense of responsibility. Acts of goodwill are not obligations and imply actually doing something beyond any moral obligation; they are acts of kindness that are not necessarily expected. The corporate politics of social responsibility as acts of goodwill serve to undermine any social obligation corporations can be seen as having towards a community; goodwill minimizes the issues corporations can be or should be accountable for.

Through the intervention of CSRs and NGOs labor and environmental standards are implemented through garment supply chains in subcontracted manufacturing sites. De Neve (2009) argues that through these sourcing policies a set of social auditing and monitoring mechanisms are established that allows buyers to

“instigate a regime of control that casts western companies and consumers as knowledgeable, caring and disciplined, and their non-western suppliers as backwards, uncaring and lacking self-control” (64). In the specific case of Peru, resource extraction companies use such measures to present themselves as caring and invested in the overall well-being of the communities and in furthering, supporting and respecting national culture, elements beyond the scope of their own economic interests. It is under the notion of goodwill that the CSR culture of extractive corporations and of fashion brands comes together allowing development actors to become important mediators within supply chains. Development actors, NGOs and CSRs implement and assure the different ethical standards and practices defined by brands in the manufacturing sites where they work, sustaining the same system of power relations common throughout the industry.

The case of Peru is unique in this situation due to how the textile industry is anchored and understood as part of an ancestral legacy that has unfolded historically and continuously from pre-Hispanic times, into colonial and republican eras into the present-day. This framing of the textile industry as a national legacy rooted in culture furthers the activities of CSRs as simultaneously promoting and valuing national artistic practices. What unites this historical continuity to the industry are the national materials –pima cotton, alpaca and vicuña wool- and Andean textile traditions. Within the alpaca wool supply chain goodwill, ethics and perceptions of history and ethnicity are all enmeshed and anchored in the textures of wool and hands of

indigenous artisans. Perceptions of material, indigenous artisanal handwork, and the longer histories they imply are part of what makes the supply chain ethical.

Ethical Fashions

The present day fashion system is characterized by an increasingly fast turn around of garment and styles, necessitating manufacture to occur in shorter time frames leading to the proliferation of ‘fast fashions.’⁴⁶ Fashion seasons, traditionally winter and spring, have doubled with inter-season collections. This has not only affected manufacturing needs but also what we have come to understand as ‘new.’ This demand for ‘new’ objects has led to forms of recycling and modification to be understood as ‘new.’ The pace of change is simply too fast to completely come up with something wholly ‘new’ (Svendsen 2006). Before a haute-couture runway is over during the New York Mercedes-Benz Fashion Week teams of designers working for fast fashion brands (like Forever 21, H&M, Top Shop, Zara) have already re-interpreted, altered, re-designed and sent these designs to subcontracted manufacturing sites in China, Mexico, Indonesia, and Bangladesh to immediately start production. This increase in speed with smaller manufacturing time-frames based on subcontracting networks has not only affected what is considered as ‘new’, but exacerbated already existing exploitative labor practices and environmental issues in the garment industry.

Outsourcing and subcontracting practices are the main mode of maximizing manufacture, minimizing costs and producing garments as fast as possible to keep a

⁴⁶ For more on fast fashion and how it has affected different national fashion worlds see da Costa Soares 2011, de Cleir 2011, Serge 2005, Skov 2011.

consistent flow of the ‘new.’ Such subcontracting practices make for highly fragmented supply chains, which pose a difficulty in ensuring the ‘ethical’ or transparent behavior of all individual actors, the labor used and environmental compliance (Beard 2008, Jou, Sherry, Vankatesh, Wang and Chan 2012, Tsing 2009). Outsourcing allowed for fashion brands to become design firms, a fact that further complicates the ability of such companies to keep track of ‘ethical’ practices. The fiction of contractor independence (Tsing 2009) allows brands to claim that they are unable to force compliance of ethical standards on those they subcontract.⁴⁷

Further tragedies and scandals, like the recent 2013 Rana Plaza garment factory building collapse in Bangladesh, the largest disaster in the history of the garment industry, have brought massive global attention to the unsafe conditions of laborers manufacturing apparel for brands such as Benetton, The Children’s Place, El Corte Inglés, Mango and Walmart. Yet, none of these brands can be held legally accountable or are affected by such tragedies and public relation scandals. Brands claim to be appalled by such events asserting lack of knowledge, condemning the incidents and/or partaking in public outcry. For Tsing (2009) this disorganization of supply chains is intrinsic to the definition of niche-based capitalism, where no one can fully keep track of the activities of every firm in a chain. She argues that these scandals and tragedies do not destroy the system, but serve as openings for criticism and oppositional mobilizations.

⁴⁷ For a more detailed analysis on Nike’s discourse on this issue see Thomas 2013

In light of such situations and increased consumer pressure, sustainability, ethical and environmental standards have begun to matter in the global fashion industry (Jou, Sherry, Vankatesh, Wang and Chan 2012; Moisander and Personen 2002). Efforts on the part of brands to be ‘socially conscious’ are seen as voluntary displays of goodwill in their concerns for environmental and human rights. The category of ‘ethical fashions’ has emerged, referring to the “positive impact of a designer, a consumer choice, a method or production as experienced by workers, consumers, animals, society, and the environment” (Thomas 2008:525). Sustainability is often defined as both a social and economic model that is ethical and will allow an industry or business to survive over time without causing harm.⁴⁸ Within fashion it is seen as being “about much more than our relationship with the environment; it’s about our relationship with ourselves, our communities and our institutions” (Jou, Sherry, Vankatesh, Wang and Chan 2012:274). The promotion of artisanal manufacture unfolding alongside and through NGO and CSR involvement is seen as not only ethical but sustainable.

More than just acts of goodwill, brands have realized there is a growing consumer market for trend-sensitive fashions that are ethical (Emberley 1998; Moisander and Personen 2002; Joy, Sherry, Evnkatesh, Wang and Chan 2012). Luxury brands are developing lines of ethical clothing that emphasize the use of certain materials, following environmental and labor standards, and artisanal

⁴⁸ For a broader discussion see Partridge 2011.

quality.⁴⁹ Alpaca wool as a luxury material, used to make garments using indigenous skilled handwork based on historical traditions, has become appealing in this context.

As goodwill, fashion corporations are not trying to alter the subcontracting practices or pace of fashion that precisely cause the conditions of exploitation. Due to the nature of the subcontracting relation, fashion corporations cannot enforce such ethical practices with manufacturers, which are mostly located in the global south. Since these ‘politics of social responsibility’ are acts of goodwill, each corporation defines and stipulates what it considers necessary to make their garments ethical. This gap between brands that want to claim ethical practices and subcontracted manufacturers employed left a space for development actors (NGOs and CSRs) to help enforce ‘ethical compliance (De Neve 2009).

Mining Goodwill

Mining and other resource extractive corporations working in remote areas of Peru have become key actors in the fashion industry. It is a common occurrence for the CSRs of these corporations to be involved in the fashion industry and alpaca supply chain. CSRs from resource extraction corporations or NGOs they subcontract create textile workshops and provide artisans with materials that would normally be expensive for artisans to obtain on their own. They also bring in fashion designers to

⁴⁹ Ironically, this way of transforming the supply chain from within the same system in an attempt to be sustainable and ethical brings up prices of production. With the added value that comes from design and brand names, ethical fashions are destined and sold within luxury markets for elite consumers in Western nations. Moreover, many brands aren’t fully ‘ethical,’ in part due to the limited consumer market these garments move through. Most brands have ethical lines that co-exist with their regularly manufactured, and accessible to a broader consumer base, prêt-a-porter lines.

work with artisans, supervise manufacture, and teach courses on industry standards and fashion trends and styles. Moreover, many mining corporations have become themselves key sponsors of national fashion events and even sponsor the participation of Peruvian designers in international fashion events. These corporations invest in their CSRs and subcontracted NGOs to take on these tasks even though the parent company does not directly profit from these activities.

In Peru the proliferation and creation of CSRs is intimately tied to the growth of the mining sector. Historically, Peru's main exports have been gold, copper, crude oil and petroleum. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) implemented as the Fujishock restructured extractive industries, mainly mining, to favor foreign investment. Fujimori declared the promotion of mining investment a national priority, a policy maintained by his successors. During 2005 and 2006 the exports and extraction of minerals exponentially grew. These changes sparked a resource exploration boom that ended with primarily transnational companies obtaining concessions to start operations. As part of this trend, large-scale national infrastructure construction projects were also given as concessions to foreign transnational companies. These infrastructure projects included the construction of the largest natural gas line in South America through the Amazonian region of Camisea,⁵⁰ the construction of the Costa Verde highway in Lima, improvements on the Pan-American Highway, and the construction of the Interoceanic Highway that unites the Peruvian Pacific coast with the Brazilian Atlantic coast. This period was

⁵⁰ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the fashion designer Olga was working with artisanal groups in this region developing fashion products.

central to the establishment of many CSRs among national and transnational companies. It is important to note that there is no legal apparatus that enforces or promotes companies to have CSRs.⁵¹

These concessions have produced conflict between companies and indigenous and *campesino* communities, which are already marginalized, impoverished, and located in hard to access areas.⁵² Many CSRs appeared in light of demands for these companies to be held ethically accountable for the impact of their activities on the environment and health of the communities affected by their presence.⁵³ After revolts, protests, and many other manifestations of such conflicts caused by negligent practices from companies and protected through corrupted government officials,⁵⁴ it has become standard practice for companies to have CSRs or to subcontract NGOs.

⁵¹ One of the efforts that emerged is the World Bank's Operational Directive 4.30. Any mining or extractive transnational company who takes out loans or becomes a commercial client from the World Bank, International Finance Corporation (IFC) and/or Multilateral Investment Agency (MIGA) has to comply with it. Some companies who are not commercial clients of these organizations have taken this directive voluntarily. The stated purpose of OD 4.30 is: "to ensure that the population displaced by a project receives benefits from it; improve their former living standards, income-earning capacity, and production levels". Under this provision CSRs need to buy land, relocate populations and establish development programs. For a critique of OD 4.30 see Szablowski 2002.

⁵² Many of these conflicts have unfolded in regard to water and land rights, for more see Bebbington 2008; Bebbington, Humphreys, Bury, Ligan Muñoz and Scurrah 2008; Bury 2005.

⁵³ This trend is not limited to Peru, for discussions in: Russia see Rogers 2012, Argentina see Shever 2010, and Indonesia see Welker 2009 and 2014.

⁵⁴ Current conflicts involving resource extraction projects (mining and petroleum) are unfolding throughout all of Peru. Many have ended in violent encounters between company security forces and activists. During my fieldwork large protests against the open-pit Conga Project in Northern Peru took place under the slogan Agua Sí, Oro No (Water Yes, Gold No). The slogan was a response to president Humala's comments that Peru can have both water AND gold. Such large-scale projects would not only displace local highland communities, but would take control of and contaminate their main sources of water. The 2010 documentary *Operación Diablo* depicts the intimidation tactics used to dispel activism

Like in the fashion industry, corporate development involvement in the communities of impact is also construed as an act of ‘goodwill.’ These acts of ‘goodwill’ allow the companies to garner support in the communities, creating an image of care that helps them further their economic activities. “Financially, they (CSRs) are regarded within the corporation as cost centers rather than profit centers” (Welkers 2014:41). Those employed by CSRs are positioned in an ambiguous status in relation to basic corporate production and profit-making functions. Typically, projects done by the CSRs or NGOs they subcontract range from building roads, dams and irrigation systems to fostering agricultural production, creating health posts and supporting local schools.

In many of these areas state presence is minimal, and many government agencies also provide funding or other forms of support and collaboration to the development projects run, funded, organized and/or managed by CSRs. The only legal assurance that regional governments have to hold companies accountable for their extraction practices is The Canon Minero, which establishes that municipalities and regional governments in areas where mineral resources are exploited will receive 50% of the taxes collected to invest in educational and social programs (Ministry

against mining companies, specifically the Mining Company Yanacocha. The film, which starts by documenting local anti-mining *campesino* activism, ends up becoming an expose on the private security forces subcontracted by the company to infiltrate, threaten and even kill activists. The filmmakers end up also being followed and threatened by the mine’s private security force. Corporations are currently framing recent activism against the Tía María mining project in Southern Peru as anti-mining terrorism. Similar conflicts have also been unfolding in the Amazonian regions between local indigenous communities and petroleum extraction corporations.

Resolution No. 266-2002-EF/15, May 1, 2002). However, communities rarely see the outcome of this fund and the regions that receive the largest amount from the Canon, like Huancavelica and Cajamarca, are still the poorest in the country. In light of discontent with the misuses of the Canon, CSRs help companies maintain an image and produce sentiments of trust in their actions while remaining unaccountable to a public. In turn, the lack of benefits from the Canon is perceived as government corruption unrelated to any form of corporate involvement.

Within resource extractive industries, as in the garment industry, there is a lack of consensus concerning CSR policies and functions. For some companies CSR activities are seen as an extension of public relations, while for others they should promote more substantive change. Still, for the most part social issues are placed at the periphery of a company's core concerns. For example, in her ethnography of Newmont's CSR activity in Indonesia, Welker (2014) argues that within one company it is not uncommon to find multiple perspectives on what their CSR should or should not do. Some CSRs claim the projects they take on come out of a common dialogue with the communities. As a CSR employee working for ISUR⁵⁵ once told me while giving us a tour of Ocongate where the textile-alpaca projects unfolded: "They (*campesinos*) asked for it, so we developed a way of giving them what they wanted. We agreed it could be beneficial for the community." The CSR mission statements is clear as to the need to combine business objectives with the aspirations and hopes of the communities near their economic operations.

⁵⁵ I discuss ISUR in the next section.

Income-generating practices within communities are seen by CSRs and/or NGOs as a way of formalizing what counts as proper, ethical and/or sustainable business relations. In Peru, such income generating projects focus on developing products for export: promoting the cultivation of organic luxury produce (artichokes, asparagus, coffee, chocolate, quinoa and other exotic tropical fruits), and fostering craft production that includes strengthening the supply chain of alpaca wool. Most of these export products are seen as building off existing indigenous practices (subsistence agriculture and crafts traditions) that mix tradition with organic, fair trade and ethical markets. Crafts productions in this context are seen as building off unique millenary traditions that are being re-vitalized or renewed because of their participation in diverse export markets. For example, Anita Say Chan (2011) analyzes how artisans in northern Peru are transformed into agents of cultural innovation as traditional Chulucanas ceramics become part of export markets that at once “promote rural producers’ global ‘competitiveness’ while simultaneously protecting local, collectively held production techniques (90). This authenticity and cultural legitimacy associated with traditional crafts becomes a source of aggregate value within international niche luxury markets. Artisanal work, which is entangled in multiple forms of community relations and local exchange networks, is cast as a key sector of economic growth, development, and cultural renewal by the government, CSRs and NGOs.

The case of Peru: Wool, Hands and History

Peru's garment industry is popularly framed as part of an ancestral legacy entrenched in culture, inseparable from national materials- pima cotton, alpaca and vicuña wool- and to Andean textile traditions. Hands, wool, history and perceptions of indigeneity all link in the way the textile industry is understood. This centrality of the material itself challenges typical divides between design, material and manufacture central to the organization of value and power relations found in the global fashion industry. It also anchors the alpaca supply chain, in particular, within some of Peru's most impoverished, racially and ethnically marginalized communities. Development efforts become central to accessing, expanding into and articulating these communities into fashion markets.

The government agency PROMPERU published a book titled *Peru: Fashion and Textiles*, which positions the textile industry within the global fashion industry (2013).⁵⁶ “The nature of the fashion and textile industry transforms itself every season. However, in Peru the tradition inherent to a village of weavers makes changes to maintain its axis: the strong connections with our materials, weaving preserved traditions as well as the iconography of pre-Hispanic, Colonial, Republican and Contemporary design” (12). Regardless of the pace of the fashion industry, in Peru it is firmly anchored on the axis of material, tradition and history, carried in the hands of Andean artisans; refusing a clear-cut separation between an emphases on alpaca wool, manufacture and design.

⁵⁶ This book was authored by a Round Table Editorial Group organized by PROMPERU.

In the same way it is inseparable from alpaca wool, Peruvian fashions cannot also be easily separated from those who manage, care for, live with and have the knowledge to make textiles. Post-authoritarian Peru has experienced an economic growth unfolding alongside a cultural renewal in attempts to move past racist attitudes towards indigenous, *campesino* and afro-Peruvian communities and their cultural products. The fashion industry's growth is entangled with this cultural renewal as the industry itself becomes framed a national cultural heritage.

“But it was at the turn of the millennium that the international market behavior began teaching local creators the necessity for finding a self-image to distinguish themselves from their competitors... These designers turned inward. They found their part in this ancestral heritage, in the textile of pre-Hispanic cultures... They found that this influence had not disappeared. Its prints were in the textiles produced by current Andean populations. Thus, this tradition continues developing today, acquiring different characteristics according to the people that make it. The designers realized that this entire legacy could become the factor, building the identity of the Peruvian proposal for the world to see... Their aim (fashion designers) was innovation over imitation, authenticity associated with our textile traditions, and with this a new ethical awareness.” (*Peru: Fashion and Textiles 12*)

National fashion designers are portrayed as the creative driving force in the process of revitalizing the industry and increasing its global competitiveness by re-discovering Andean textile traditions. This emphasis on designers as those who can recognize the *aesthetic and economic value* of these practices maintains power relations in the industry; they are the creative visionaries who recognize what can become fashion but also whose name and involvement maintains structures of value within this supply chain. The highest source of value is still found in the creative design and eye of the designer over that found in the now, semi-anonymous hands and skill of the makers. Moreover, this recognition is part of creating a new ‘ethical awareness,’ an attempt to

move past racist attitudes that have considered these textiles and traditions as ugly, traditional, folkloric, outside of the realm of fashion. This narrative, while emphasizing ethics, maintains artisans as semi-anonymous skilled handwork, and obscures the development apparatus central to the expansion, functioning and enactment of ethics in the supply chain. It also obscures the silent histories of racism and violence that inform the industry and perceptions of indigeneity.

SITE I: Ocongate



Figure 7: ISURs Map of Areas of Development Project. Image provided by ISUR.

The CSR Development Assemblage that Came with the Road

Harumi, a Japanese-Peruvian designer, had a beautiful showroom on the first floor of her house in a middle class neighborhood located at the border of one of Lima's upper class areas. It was not uncommon for fashion designers and small independent brands to reserve a space within their own homes to use as a showroom for clients. Many designers stated in various conversations that having a store was not

economically viable; you needed to pay rent, hire employees, split time between being in the store, dealing with its daily business, designing, and taking care of manufacture. Having a showroom in their homes allows designers to save such additional expenses. Moreover, it provides them with flexibility in their use of time, allowing them to schedule showings when needed in order to engage in other forms of design work, such as working with artisanal groups and NGOs that might require them to leave the city for weeks at a time. They also pointed out that in stores people go to browse without necessarily buying anything, but if someone takes the time to make an appointment and go to your house they will probably buy or have something made.

Harumi's showroom was very modern and minimalist in its décor: white tiles, white walls; her platinum brand logo on the wall; a zen inspired fountain; white sofas and a coffee table with the latest fashion magazines surrounded by racks with her clothing. As a designer Harumi was invested in issues of economic justice in the garment industry, mainly with ensuring artisans could build sustainable manufacturing relations in the industry. Moreover, she always emphasized the value of the artisanal handwork and the importance in re-valorizing Peruvian textile techniques. Her ultimate professional goal was to establish her brand and be able to hire and work with artisans in a stable manner.

Supply chain relations are often times composed of ephemeral assemblages contingent to temporally indeterminate contracting practices. Harumi as a fashion designer, and the artisans she worked with, were constantly facing unstable

conditions of work. Most of their successes manifested in accolades that did not necessarily materialize financially or in more stable work or income. Work through CSRs and NGOs is contract work on time-based pre-scheduled projects. Designers can be subcontracted for a full manufacturing cycle, which can take between 3 to 6 months, or to a week or two week long contracts. Sometimes they go from contract project to project working with a variety of communities, CSRs, NGOS or government agencies; and other times there is no work for months. Yet, the bulk of Harumi's income as a designer came from her work with CSRs, NGOs and other government agencies that work with artisans and the national alpaca wool supply chain.

I had the opportunity to shadow her as she worked for a project made up of an alliance between the CSR ISUR, from the company that built the Interoceanic Highway, the regional office of the government agency PROMPERU and a network of regional NGOs in Cusco. The main efforts of this alliance were to support and strengthen the supply chain of alpaca wool and position Cusco as a luxury garment-manufacturing site. As I came to realize much of the funding stimulating the growth of this supply chain came from the involvement of NGOs and CSRs, I often wondered about the sustainability of it without their involvement.

When I met up with Harumi in Cusco she had already spent a couple of days getting acquainted with the different workshops and artisans. She had been hired by this alliance to supervise the design and manufacture of alpaca wool boutique

collections from 15 artisanal workshops in Cusco and Puno.⁵⁷ From this group of 15 pre-selected workshops, she was to select some in which to produce her own haute-couture alpaca collection. As she worked with each group assessing their designs, use of color, material and techniques she decided which would be good fits for the technical needs of the different garments in her own collection. The garments produced in these 15 workshops were going to be subsidized through the alliance for them to participate in a series of trade shows, starting with the largest national one *Perú Moda*.

The alliance had two main areas of focus; one was to strengthen alpaca wool quality and quantity, as was discussed in the opening vignette. The second was to position Cusco as a desirable site for alpaca wool artisanal and semi-industrial manufacture for exports. The constellation of workshops Harumi was working with included semi-industrial rural and urban, and fully artisanal (mostly rural) ones. Semi-industrial workshops produced garments utilizing intarsia⁵⁸ machines, which require learning to operate correctly. Both men and women, of all ages,⁵⁹ work in

⁵⁷ Puno is a region in Southeast Peru that borders Bolivia. It is home of Lake Titicaca, the highest navigable lake in the world. Alpaca wool and textile are also key important economic activities.

⁵⁸ Intarsia is a knitting technique used to create patterns with multiple colors. It can be produced by hand and with the use of these semi-industrial machines. Most of the quintessential textile iconographies and objects known as Peruvian are produced with this technique and these machines, which are ubiquitous throughout Peru. These machines were made accessible throughout the highlands in the 1970s. They are cheap to obtain, can be easily and cheaply fixed and were brought in an early effort to strengthen textile manufacture by easing and speeding the time needed to produce intarsia textiles, which take longer to make by hand. According to various interviews I carried out many claim Peace Corps efforts helped make these machines accessible throughout the Andean highlands.

⁵⁹ It is common to see teenagers and pre-teens working in intarsia workshops. Many come from rural areas where there are no middle or high schools. Through community networks,

these workshops, slowly learning how to knit on the machines. Fully artisanal workshops include those that use various looms (standing looms, waist strap and four-pegged looms- both of which are pre-Hispanic in origin), as well as knitting, crochet, and embroidery. Artisanal workshops are mostly comprised of women, except for the work done on standing looms, traditionally operated by men.⁶⁰

It was during this initial trip with Harumi that I met Señora Camila, who ran the bi-lingual Quechua-grassroots NGO Ayni Arts. Ayni was subcontracted through ISURs Alliance project to implement and run the part focused on artisanal workshop development, organization and manufacture throughout the rural region of Ocongate. Ayni is composed of a network of experienced textile artisans and other community members from communities throughout Cusco region that work with emerging groups, providing different levels of support in their textile craft development. I had accompanied Harumi to visit Señora Camila's home, which doubled as Ayni's headquarters, to see what pieces of her couture collection could be made by some of the groups Ayni worked with. After this initial visit I decided to trace the manufacture of these garments by shadowing the work Ayni carried throughout Ocongate as part

families send their children to urban areas where kids can continue their studies while working part-time in such workshops in order to pay for room and board.

⁶⁰ Within highland communities, textile work is gendered work. As Femenías (2005) points out, there is a strong gendered division of labor structures in textile workshops. While both men and women participated side-by-side, certain tasks and textile techniques fall solely on men or on women. "Men frequently privilege their roles as artists, workshop heads, and workers. Women tend to underplay or deny these roles, sometimes saying they do not work but just help their families." (22). However, in recent decades with the increased involvement of development efforts, textile work is increasingly portrayed as women's work that can be used to bolster women's empowerment. For more on creativity, ownership, control over resources, kinship relations and gendered work see Femenías 2005, Colloredo-Mansfeld 2002, Zorn 2004.

of the Alliance. For a period of about 6 months I would leave the outskirts of Cusco, from the San Sebastián neighborhood, at 4am twice a week in a car provided by ISUR with Señora Camila and her Profesoras, to go to Ocongate. They were working with 5 artisanal groups that spanned across a distance of approximately 144 km (90 miles) going up into highest inhabited *puna* environment (5000m above sea level) down into high-altitude jungle of Marcapata. The road through this region was designed to increase access and movement across the area. Moreover, the area of impact that benefited from the CSRs efforts was simply too large for the company's own office to fully control, necessitating a larger network of subcontracted NGOs to delegate different aspects of the projects. ISUR's work went all the way into the Amazonian city of Puerto Maldonado and into the Brazilian city of Rio Branco. For all official purposes I was affiliated with the work done by Harumi and Ayni.

ISUR was the umbrella CSR in Perú of the Brazilian company Odebrecht⁶¹ who was given the concession to build the Interoceanic Highway. The Interoceanic Highway connects the Peruvian Pacific coast with the Brazilian Atlantic coast, crossing through previously hard to access Quechua speaking areas and Amazonian terrain. The road begins in the city of Urcos in the Cusco region, passing through the

⁶¹ As a corporation Odebrecht defines itself as: "A Brazilian organization consisting of diversified businesses". The business ventures they are involved in are the following: energy, industrial engineering, infrastructure, oil and gas, real estate developments, environmental engineering, chemicals and petrochemicals, ethanol and sugar, investments and holdings, transportation and logistics, defense and technology. They manage, build and give maintenance to oil rigs, petrochemicals, electric plants, etc. Their most recent areas of business in Peru have been in road construction. Besides being in charge of the building of the Interoceanic Highway a large controversy followed their concession by president Alan García of the construction of the Costa Verde highway in and the installation of the large sculpture of Jesus in Chorrillos. As of June 19, 2105, the president of Odebrecht was arrested in Brazil for corruption charges that link him to corruptions schemes in Peru.

highland zone of Ocongate where it winds down from the Andes Mountains into the jungle city of Puerto Maldonado in Madre de Dios. The trek from Cusco to Puerto Maldonado was known as a challenging one made mostly by trucks traversing a harsh landscape on dirt roads through small Quechua speaking communities. In older travel guides I came across in Cusco this trip was described as an off-the-beaten-path for the adventurous. Travelers had to hitch rides with truck drivers and be prepared for a journey that could take 60 hours or more, depending on weather conditions. Despite the difficult road access, Ocongate was and still is a highly travelled site, but not by tourists. Mount or *Apu*⁶² Ausangate, located in the region of Ocongate, is the site of a yearly pilgrimage of el Señor de Qoyllorit'i.⁶³ This is one of the largest Andean religious festivals attended by Quechua and Aymara people from all over the highlands. It is important to also note that Puerto Maldonado is known as one of the most biodiverse zones in the world, home of the Manú National Park, and one of the world's largest illegal gold-mining sites.⁶⁴

⁶² Spirit of the sacred mountains

⁶³ According to the Catholic Church the celebration started in 1780 when a young native herder befriended a mestizo boy at the base of the mountain. Thanks to the help of this mestizo boy the native boy's herds prospered so his father sent him to buy clothes in Cusco. The herder took a sample of the mestizo boy's clothes but could not find anything similar, only an archbishop would wear that kind of cloth. When the archbishop of Cusco sent a party to investigate, the mestizo boy turned into a bush with an image of Christ hanging from it. Thinking he had framed his friend, the herder died on the spot and was buried under a rock. An image of Christ painted over this boulder became known as the Lord of Quyllur Rit'i. For local descendants of the region the festival is a celebration of the starts, and from a pre-Columbian perspective it has been celebrated for hundreds of years.

⁶⁴ Informal gold mining operations have expanded into Puerto Maldonado, a zone of great biodiversity, as subsistence farmers from the Peruvian Andes flooded into the Amazon forest including areas reserved as national parks and reserves. These operations unfold without any of the necessary permits, which require engineering specs, statements of environmental protection programs, plans for protection of indigenous people for environmental

With the construction of the highway a complex network of CSR-run development projects were established from Ocongate to Puerto Maldonado to address the social impact the highway would have on communities that previously had difficult access to roads in order “to help these communities take advantage of the new opportunities that come with having access to the highway” (ISUR mission statement). ISUR was Odebrecht’s CSR in the region, coordinating 16 different development projects, one of which was the Alliance for Native Art. Ayni was one of a series of NGOs subcontracted to help ISUR implement different aspects of these projects. The programs were divided into four thematic lines: eco-business, responsible tourism, biodiversity conservation and strengthening local governance. Alpaca herding and the production of native arts were part of the eco-business section. According to ISUR’s mission statement, the main goal for the Alliance for Native Arts was to promote and make local trade, mainly alpaca and textile production in Ocongate and organic coffee in Puerto Maldonado, into sustainable economic practices.

Odebrecht’s business culture and approach to what they considered the domain of their social responsibility shaped the development landscape implemented in the region through ISUR. It delineated the kinds of relationships created with subcontracted NGOs, how projects were implemented, resources allocated, and the kinds of relationships development actors were expected to form with local communities. As will be further discussed below, this corporate approach to social

remediation. These activities are causing massive and fast destruction of large parts of rainforest and contaminating waterways with mercury.

responsibility was not always shared by the subcontracted NGOs and other actors, like fashion designers, who had their own visions of what development looks like and how it is enacted. These different notions and discourses on how to enact social responsibility shed light on how ethical behavior is defined and in turn how this affects what gets understood to be a sustainable practice, and the kinds of objects that can be both native arts *and* fashion, and those that can not.

Social Responsibility According to ISUR

Odebrecht's social responsibility policies and the work done through their CSR negotiate between corporate interests and notions of ethical behavior towards communities. Communities included in the alliance were all already located or had relocated near the road. Those located near the old road or whose main access was through dirt roads off the main highway were not part of these efforts, even if they would also be impacted by increased transit along the main highway. Throughout my time in the area working alongside Ayni, ISUR felt like a spectral presence in the region, marked by the gated cement compound located on the outskirts of Ocongata, the largest town in the region. Most of the work done by ISUR's employees was done within the tourism promotion programs, as they delegated other aspects like the Alliance to NGOs, further limiting my interactions with them through such a vast region. In Lima I interviewed Odebrecht's national CSR manager who repeated the same information I found in the literature she gave me about the company's politics of social responsibility.

“The human is the measure of all the Organization’s values” is the statement guiding Odebrecht’s culture of corporate responsibility.⁶⁵ The “human” referred to includes company stakeholders as well as those employed by the company (many who are citizens of areas in which their economic activity unfolds and are hired for lower-tier jobs), corporate clients and national governments, as well as the general communities where their projects take place. This notion of the human includes all actors that are part of or affected by profit generating activities, regardless of their relation or position with regard to Odebrecht. Clearly, the human takes precedence over the environmental impacts or other non-human actants that are also affected by the company’s activities. This neoliberal approach to the “human,” as someone with the capacity of generating income and who thrives through participation in the market, shapes the emphasis of who the company is socially responsible and ethical towards. Being socially responsible and ethical entails promoting wage-earning capacity, either through participating in work with the company or in wage-earning activities promoted through the CSRs development efforts. Individual’s development through generating income will trickle down into the community and will eventually address other social issues affecting the community like the lack of health posts and poor conditions of schools. As acts of goodwill the company can choose projects that merge with their business culture and definition of the human that guides their corporate culture. Cultural aspects in the area became central to their development programs as an arena of action that can unfold through the market without

⁶⁵ <http://www.odebrechtoilgas.com/en/about-company/odebrecht-entrepreneurial-technology>

emphasizing or making the company accountable for other social and environmental issues affecting the region and those interpolated into Odebrecht's area of activity.

According to Odebrecht's values, the human is seen as: having a spirit of service, humbleness, simplicity and self-development. This notion of self-development goes back to the corporation's emphasis on an individual's drive to improving one's own livelihood through generating income. More than engaging in projects that might help develop or consider the community as a collectivity or *ayllu*,⁶⁶ the self-development of the human unfolds through individual wage-work for the company or through market engagement. The company also highlights how aside from their economic ventures they "complement its contribution to the community through education and income generation projects."⁶⁷ Education is directed to helping communities be successful in their market endeavors, providing workshops and other lectures by experts and NGOs that will help obtain skills necessary to be competitive and promote sustainable business practices.

Odebrecht's social responsibility mission statement places an emphasis on cultural practices as fulfilling this notion of self-development and income generation. Social responsibility is defined as

"contributing toward the cultural development of a community means

⁶⁶ An *ayllu* is the traditional form of Quechua and Aymara community, considered to share an assumed or real ancestry. These extended family groups include non-biologically related members, providing individual families more variation and security on agricultural lands. Members of *ayllus* have reciprocal obligations to each other. Members of an *ayllu* engage in shared collective labor and reciprocal exchanges of assistance. The figure of the *ayllu* has been central in different Aymara and Quechua social movements and their demands of collective property and land rights.

⁶⁷ <http://www.odebrechtoilgas.com/en/about-company/odebrecht-entrepreneurial-technology>

guaranteeing that its customs and collective identity are perpetuated for future generations. When it arrives into a region, the Odebrecht organization is not only thinking about its projects and developments. The companies also develop actions designed to meet the cultural demands and disseminate the artistic practices of the local populations. Investing in initiatives, projects and cultural sponsorship actions, Odebrecht promotes society's cultural evolution through practices that foster the preservation and propagation of memory. However, this incentive toward culture does not stop at the communities. All of the cultural diversity of these populations is also part of the Organization itself.”⁶⁸

In this definition, a central tenet of social responsibility is cultural preservation and promotion as economic and social development. By participating in cultural aspects of the communities the company aligns itself as sympathetic, respectful and an active participant in community life. Respect for propagation of local traditions, arts, and cultural identities is a key facet of relating responsibly to the communities affected by the economic activities of the company. Cultural promotion or ‘cultural evolution’ unfolds within the broader company business paradigm in which the arts are developed and evolve within accessible markets. Rather than enacting social responsibility by addressing issues of economic development and/or explicitly addressing mitigating effects of the environmental impact of the company's activity in the region, responsibility and ethics are cast as unfolding within cultural arenas. Arts are important and valuable as long as they can produce income. This take on social responsibility mimics a kind of cultural patronage that obscures the economic aspects of the relationship between company and community. For example, textile arts should develop through fashion markets, agricultural practices in niche food chains, and cultural practices like traditional dances or festivals as something that will

⁶⁸ <http://odebrecht.com/en/sustainability> and <http://www.isur.org.pe>

foster tourist market growth. It casts the company as genuinely valuing and part of local identities rather than being solely invested in their own profitable economic activity. Rather than understanding social responsibility as a direct commitment that explicitly involves economic, environmental, fair or just wages for workers who are part of the local communities, the focus of what makes their actions socially responsible is established within the realm of culture, memory and the arts. This emphasis on culture furthers the understanding of the company's social actions as disinterested goodwill towards the community.

This promotion of local identities, arts and customs also makes less visible other ways in which such corporations can socially, culturally and economically impact communities. Social Responsibility as an act of goodwill does not need to attend to other areas of social life affected by the economic activities of the corporation or to more pressing community needs. An act of goodwill emphasizes a disinterested engagement that underscores the economic relation with the community by stressing gift and moral relations. As goodwill the company can select an arena of their choice to enact ethics rather than being obliged to be responsible towards the community. As a willful decision on their part rather than a duty they do not need to respond to different social issues, such as a non-market oriented education, public health or environmental impacts.

The production of traditional arts are a preferred site for CSR development work more than other forms of aid that might be more fitting to social needs of the communities. Ocongate is among the 40 poorest districts of Peru, lacking basic

services and infrastructure. Electricity came to the region with the construction of the road and many smaller communities still do not have functional electricity. Other communities who refused to move closer to the road do not have easy access to the main highway; road infrastructure ignored ease of movement between and across communities. There are few schools, and a serious lack of health services. Some towns, particularly those at the highest altitude levels, have limited access to food and many children depend on school provided meals. Food items for school children are shipped from Cusco and have to be made to last from shipment to shipment.⁶⁹ However, such issues are not seen as falling within the purview of the corporate business-led development projects ISUR could address. Within the scope of what is understood as social responsibility the focus of the alliance was on articulating the region into markets and fostering patterns of consumption seen important as “new opportunities that come with having access to the highway.”⁷⁰

Arts promotion is contextualized within a business-entrepreneurial logic in which rather than fostering a creative-auteur artist’s subjectivity, it promotes one of the maker as entrepreneur. This understanding of the arts limits the type of projects implemented and exposes different tensions that emerge between what the CSR sees as development vis-à-vis subcontracted NGOs and garment industry actors invested in both ethics, fashion and traditional textiles. Workshops are organized, supported and assisted in order to become part of supply chains and markets. Arts have to adapt

⁶⁹ Sometimes we would share rides with schoolteachers commuting from Cusco who would tell us about the conditions of the schools and discussed problems of hunger and limited access to health services for children.

⁷⁰ <http://www.isur.org.pe>

and ‘evolve’ in consideration of what each market or supply chain sees as profitable, fitting within the needs of fashion or tourist markets. Not all textile arts can and will become fashion or even tourist souvenirs.

Fostering sustainable forms of aesthetic production within markets is understood as a way of ‘preserving cultural traditions,’ even as they become part of markets where they need to unfold in relation to what’s aesthetically fashionable. Here preservation is not about maintaining a tradition as is, but making it relevant economically, and to contemporary tastes, aesthetics and styles. Transforming the production of cultural objects into a sustainable form of economic production requires that textile arts enter into dialogue with the notion of ‘fashion’, in turn re-defining what counts as culturally authentic. Preservation matters as long as traditional practices can be adapted to present-day aesthetic markets and tastes, rather than sustaining the existence of these practices as they are or would unfold and change organically.

In the case of Ocongate, alpaca and textile production were selected to carry the burden of cultural authenticity. This supply chain, a pericapitalist site, can fit capitalist modes of business organization within an assemblage that translates non-capitalist values and other modes of highland Quechua social life and perceptions of indigeneity into sources of value. Within ISUR’s view of social responsibility, textile work existed as a generalized cultural practice that could be molded and translated within luxury niche capitalist markets. In these markets the handwork of indigenous women, the facts that the textiles are produced in ‘authentic’ remote communities, the

rhythm in which the textiles are made are all translated into value within the supply chain through interactions between development actors, indigenous artisans and fashion designers. Behind this understanding of what counts as native textile arts is an assumption about the homogeneous nature of textile traditions throughout the highlands that ignores differences within this region, as well as a notion of a naturalized-inherited artisanal mastery of indigenous/rural subjects passed on from generation to generation.⁷¹

ISUR and AYNÍ: Competing notions of Development in Fashion

I had already spent a week travelling throughout Cusco with Harumi going to the workshops she was helping to produce their own collections. We still had to go to Puno, a six-hour bus ride away, where the last 5 workshops were located. Before going to Puno it had been arranged between ISUR, Ayni and PROMPERU to take Harumi and me on a tour of the workshops in the region of Ocongate. Until that point Harumi's engagement with the workshops from this region had been through Ayni, who served as the liaison in Cusco for the groups participating in the Alliance. This was also the first time I went out with Ayni to Ocongate. But unlike all of my other subsequent visits this was a guided tour given by Mónica, an ISUR employee.

One of ISURs cars picked Harumi, Señora Camila and me in Cusco at 6am. Mónica, as ISURs representative, wanted Harumi to tour part of the network of workshops set up for the communities to see the handwork and textile products. Yet, Ayni's presence was indispensable during this trip as they worked on a daily basis

⁷¹ I discuss these issues of regional variation and mastery by indigenous subjects in Chapter 4.

with the workshops we were visiting. Ayni was a long standing Quechua-grassroots NGOs in Cusco, where they had been operating for the past 30 years as part of a network of NGOs, known as Qosqo Wasinchis.⁷² For decades before being hired by ISUR and PROMPERU to work for the Alliance, Ayni had been strengthening textile workshops in the region. However, until the early 2000s their work was focused on existing women's textile organizations that produced crafts. In recent years they had to adapt to the current landscape of development work and the increasing trend of ethical fashion networks. Those involved in Ayni maintained an approach and motivations for working with the communities different from ISURs.

The only day this visit could be arranged was on a Sunday, a day when workshops were closed. Señora Camila was expected to find the artisans once we arrived in each community to show us the workshops and textile work. We drove through the Sunday market in Urcos through the mountain pass into the valley of Ocongate in the newly built Interoceanic Highway. In the car Mónica was quiet as Camila and Harumi amicably conversed about the upcoming presidential elections between Ollanta Humala and Keiko Fujimori. Our first stop was at the Cuyuni look out point, where Mónica arranged for us to have breakfast and see the new facility and craft store that was part of the tourism promotion project in the area. The lookout point was a beautiful building following Andean architecture made with a combination of adobe, stone and straw. It had a replica of an Incan stone sundial in a terrace that over looked the Ocongate valley and Apu Ausangate. Besides the craft

⁷² Ayni-Art is discussed in greater detail in the Chapter 3.

store and restaurant, the building had bathroom services and a nearby-designated camping area. The crafts sold there were produced at the Cuyuni workshop, located in a room of the local school.

Mónica explained this community of Cuyuni would run this facility to take economic advantage of what ISUR anticipated to be a booming tourism industry in the valley, made possible by the road. As the road eased travel through the region, local communities would need infrastructure to take advantage of a growing number of tourists coming to do treks through the valley and to the glacial peaks or that could do a rest stop on their way to Puerto Maldonado or Brazil. Selling ‘traditional’ alpaca textiles appealing to Western tourists was one of the main areas where the community could benefit economically. Tourists had not used the facility yet, but ISUR workers had lunch there and would also take Odebrecht’s investors and business partners visiting the area.

A community member and restaurant employee greeted and gave us coca tea. Breakfast was not ready but another community member was on his way, doing the 20-minute hike from Cuyuni with Andean flat bread and artisanal cheese bought at the Sunday market. While we waited, Mónica showed us the alpaca textile crafts store. Señora Camila had been working with the group and knew the objects in the store. Inside, she grabbed a striped scarf made with two different kinds of alpaca thread in brown and off-white colors made in a standing loom. She explained the combination of threads was used to create a more interesting and fashionable texture and that the colors were used knowing Westerners didn’t like accessories in bright

colors. Señora Camila emphasized the importance of mixing traditional textile techniques to make innovative products that would sell. The textile objects should be adapted to tastes of consumers without fully disregarding or eliminating traditional elements central to the textile tradition of the community. These scarves had none of the traditional complex iconographies or design techniques the area is known for; but they were made using community looms, and the textile knowledge and skill of the artisans. What maintained the traditional textile category of these scarves was the handwork, skill, technical knowledge and use of looms, rather than the design, texture and colors, the most easily recognizable aesthetic elements. Innovation was found in the color combination and texture created by mixing different kinds of alpaca thread. Regardless of this fusion, for Camila it was important not to abandon the traditional mode of production to privilege the manufacture of purely contemporary objects. Yet, she knew that these scarves and other less-ethnic looking textiles were going to sell more than 'traditional' looking products once tourists started arriving.

On our next stop we went close to a small community past Cuyuni just off the main highway. Driving through a small long dirt road we arrived at a closed community center that doubled as the brand new textile workshop. Señora Camila jumped out of the car to find the director of the workshop. Most artisans were off to different markets, selling garments and other agricultural products. The workshop director showed up with three artisans to open the building. Slowly, community members began appearing and followed us into the building. The main room had eight, brand-new intarsia, semi-industrial knitwear machines. The small room next

door had three new stand-up looms. The director, who did not speak much Spanish, insisted on giving us a formal welcome speech that Señora Camila translated. He explained that this community was never a big textile or crafts producing one. For decades they were an agricultural center in the region. However, in the past 10 years drastic climatic changes have affected their crops. “It hails when it isn’t supposed to. The hail storms get bigger every year and it falls when our crops are growing destroying everything. We can barely produce enough to feed ourselves and now we need to go out and buy food.” Under these circumstances the community asked to be included in the Alliance as a way of establishing new modes of livelihood.⁷³ ISUR built and furnished the workshop, supplying it with different kinds of alpaca wool thread. The workshop had been functioning for only six months and many of the artisans were just starting to learn how to use the different textile machines. While they would make textile objects for family consumption, unlike Cuyuni, a town that had a strong textile tradition that was being adapted for new markets, here artisans were starting to learn textile traditions in order to produce ‘native textiles’ for tourist and fashion markets.

After the speech he showed us garments, small accessories like scarves, hats and shawls, and asked Harumi to give them work. She looked at all the pieces, being attentive to the design, use of colors, finishing techniques and kinds of accessories made. Harumi told them she would keep them in mind for work opportunities and

⁷³ The participation of groups that were not producers of textile objects within regional networks as well as the assumptions of indigeneity that led to their inclusion in the development efforts and fashion markets will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

asked to take some sample objects, while exalting the great quality of their *chuyo*-hats. Yet, once in the car Harumi explained that the work they were making needed to improve to meet standards of fashion manufacture. As we continued our drive to Ocongate, the largest city in the region, Señora Camila explained they had come a long way and hoped to eventually incorporate them into different supply chain networks. Noticing how Harumi emphasized the *chuyos* made, Señora Camila told us that the town of Ocongate is the place known for *chuyos*. Furthermore, she pointed out that if Harumi asked workshops to make *chuyos*, artisans from Ocongate would feel insulted and get defensive since *chuyos* are the specialty textile tradition they are known for. Ordering from that group could cause a tense situation among the artisanal groups from both locations. *Chuyos* from the region of Ocongate, and made in the town of Ocongate, have very intricate colorful hand-knitted designs of local iconography. What makes these *chuyos* distinct is that on top of the knitted designs, artisans' hand-embroider small white *mostacilla* beads, creating another series of iconographic patterns over the knitted textile designs.

In these two workshops we can see the different assumptions and competing interests that unfold and compose the development landscape established within the parameters of ISURs vision of social responsibility. Mónica, representative of ISURs CSR vision, was not part of the conversations unfolding between Señora Camila and Harumi. Yet, her presence legitimated ISURs investment in the area. She was mostly concerned and familiar with the tourism aspects, a role in which the textile production was a crafts shop in the building. Once she helped set up workshops in communities,

it was all in the hands of Señora Camila. From Mónica's perspective, which I take as mirroring ISURs, it is irrelevant if the new workshops are learning to engage in textile production for the first time, or if making *chuyos* is the sole activity of one community that could potentially lead to tense situations among the different groups. What matters is the willingness to participate from income-generating activities enabled through ISURs efforts.

On the other hand details of the specific relationships among communities throughout the region matter for Señora Camila, who works on a daily basis with the different groups. For Señora Camila and her Profesoras, all Quechua speakers, these nuances of how craft making unfolds throughout the communities in the region is important even if they are also invested in a vision of textile production that can be articulated into different markets to improve local livelihoods in highly impoverished communities. For her, it is important to respect who learns which traditions, how people interact through textile practices, and the exchange relations mediated by different textile objects. Yet, within the landscape established by ISUR textile ability is secondary to the capacity that this activity can lead to a sustainable business practice. As further discussed in a Chapter 4, it was up to Ayni to work with what each group could do and manage the different relations of production across groups while trying to not disrupt pre-existing textile based relations; all within ISURs development vision.

Harumi was focused on the kinds of objects, quality, design and capacity of both objects and handwork to become part of fashion manufacture. Her interest was

on the *chuyos* and their capacity to be a fashion object. For Harumi it was not only important to showcase the traditional quality of the textiles; she was looking for how these traditional networks, techniques and designs can be translated into fashion, fulfilling supply chain standards. The merging of artisanal quality and tradition was found in the combination of her design practice, and the traditional aesthetics, techniques, and handwork specific to the area.

While Harumi praised the *chuyos* and scarves, not all of the objects caught her eye, but not because they were not beautiful or lacked authenticity. She was, nevertheless, attentive to Señora Camila's intervention when she pointed the potential issues that could arise by making *chuyos* with one group over another. Señora Camila wants to be able to both maintain the value and networks of interactions that pre-exist the establishing this supply chain, while fostering the participation of these groups in them. Yet, in order for this development project to work, Señora Camila and Mónica needed Harumi's validation as an industry expert on the textile capacity of the groups to be part of fashion manufacture supply chains. The masterful handwork utilizing alpaca wool, a luxury material, and the artisanal intimate knowledge of the material was not enough for artisans and their textile traditions to tap into these networks. Harumi, did not see the need to be as embedded as Camila in these regional networks, yet, she was invested in learning about the regional textile techniques to foster their participation in fashion making. She was willing to defer to Camila's knowledge of the groups, regional life and culture, as long as garments could be produced in a way

that could become fashion following industry standards and merging with current styles.

Developing Market Values

Ocongate has the largest Sunday market in the region and Señora Camila was having a hard time finding the artisans. Mónica recognized some of the local artisans standing in the front steps of the church in the plaza. They were in no hurry to go to the workshops with us and asked if we could just talk there. Mass in Quechua was taking place behind us, and the singing overflowed into the busy market in the plaza. One of the artisans took off his brown hat to show us the *chuyo* he was wearing underneath, one he had made, as a sample of the work done in the workshop and gave it to Harumi. She found the *chuyo* with the intricate beading striking and beautiful and was interested in including some as a performative accessory in her runway. The artisans did not speak much Spanish and Señora Camila once again took over the role of translator. Harumi promptly asked how much for a *chuyo*, and the artisan responded 300 soles (100 dollars). The 300 soles is the average price for the local markets they sell crafts in. This price left Harumi in shock; there was no way she could afford that price or that the *chuyos* could become a viable commodity in fashion networks.

Harumi, worried that this pricing situation might replicate throughout the rest of the workshops, explained to Mónica that the costs were unrealistic. She asked Señora Camila to translate back to the artisans how once the different values continue to be added as the *chuyo* moves through the supply chain the hats would be

unaffordable. They needed to consider added costs besides manufacture, such as the cost of design, transportation expenses, taxes, and the value that comes from adding the label or brand under which it will be sold to consumers. Mónica did not have much of a reply to Harumi's concern, who kept insisting that this was an important issue to address if they really wanted to incorporate the region as a manufacturing site for fashion markets.

Señora Camila intervened, explaining to Harumi how artisans do not think about prices in the same way she does. These *chuyos* are not typically sold en masse, or even outside of the regions community-to-community interactions. Even in Cusco city there are only few places that sell them as examples of high-end crafts, maintaining a high retail price. *Chuyos* are part of Andean traditional male dress and the price the man quoted was the price throughout the region. Camila told Harumi that each person will only own one hat, an important detail when taking into account how many hats artisans are selling on a regular basis and in relation to the amount of labor-time that goes into knitting and embroidering. Overall, traditional highland dress is not cheap. The considerable detail, colorful embroidery, and intrinsic designs make a full garment costly to be produced, especially women's dress. They are produced in small, mostly informal, workshops and a full *pollera* set can cost up to \$500, "whereas a set of industrially manufactured "Western" clothes can be had for \$20" (Femenías 2010:20). As Femenías points out in her ethnography on traditional dress workshops in Arequipa, owning full traditional dress is an investment, a form of symbolic and economic capital. For men's dress, most of that symbolic and economic

capital is found in certain individual pieces of dress like the *chuyos*. Throughout the highlands *campesinos* do not have more than one full outfit, and replace individual garment pieces as needed. The value of dress and the different textile surfaces they have -some are industrial, others hand knit, made in looms and are made with materials that range from acrylic and synthetic fibers, sheep, and to a lesser degree, alpaca wool- exist within a different system of value and use. Through ISUR and Harumi's participation they are being pulled into a new system of dress, manufacture, use and consumption. The logic of price within the supply chain is not part of the local economy and system of dress. Furthermore, different symbolic elements are also at play within each notion of value that the artisans and Harumi have that affects price.

Harumi kept insisting that this was a problem if the aim of the Alliance was to articulate the groups into larger industry networks; artisans need to understand how price, value and consumption work in fashion markets. Señora Camila agreed with Harumi but reminded her that the first step was to not assume all artisans want to be part of the supply chain and industry. Some workshops might want to participate and take advantage of resources they can obtain by participating in ISURs Alliance for Native Art without becoming part of the larger supply chain assemblage. Some artisans are well established throughout the region and others might be content selling to tourists. Harumi, as well as those involved in ISUR, approached the region under the assumption that all groups participating in the Alliance would become part of alpaca manufacturing for the garment industry.

The construction of the Interoceanic Highway not only changed the landscape of the region, how people traverse it and even the location of communities; a new development landscape is being super-imposed over a pre-existing system of textile production, modes of dress, value, meaning and exchange. In this process of re-designing the alpaca textile landscape, competing interests and understandings of different actors become a central part of how this development effort is implemented and what gets produced. ISUR is an external designer to the region seeking to integrate the region into national economic life, as a responsible act of goodwill. Design is a relational activity that ultimately unfolds through the material interactions of the diverse actors involved. In this process the pre-existing alpaca-textile landscape and local moral economies it is part of cannot just be transformed to fit ISURs pre-imagined development plan. The networks, practices, meanings and ways of life woven into the regional textile world do not have the same centrality to Mónica and Harumi than to Camila. Regardless of the price and capacity to be aesthetically translated into fashion, the *chuyos* discussed above will not be readily made part of these fashion networks.

SITE II: Huancavelica's CITE



Figure 8: Map of Huancavelica and image of city

Before I began shadowing Harumi in Cusco, I had spent the previous 3 months with Natalia doing work in Huancavelica. Once manufacture had ended in Huancavelica I decided to continue following manufacture and development projects in Cusco before everyone converged in Lima for the *Peru Moda* trade show and the *Lima Fashion Week* runways. Natalia was contracted by the CITE (Centro de Innovación y Tecnología- Center for Innovation and Technology) in Huancavelica to design and supervise the manufacture of an alpaca boutique garment collection produced in collaboration with local artisans to present at a series of national and international garment industry trade shows and one of her runways. The collections she was making in Huancavelica would participate in *Peru Moda*, and other trade shows in Las Vegas, México and Chile.

During my first visit to Huancavelica with Natalia we walked into what had quickly became our usual menu⁷⁴ spot. Minutes after we ordered our appetizers were quickly rushed to the table. Harumi was not the only fashion designer with concerns

⁷⁴ During lunch times restaurants and cafeterias tend to have price fixed menus. For a set amount of money one gets to select one out of three or four appetizers, three or four main courses, a dessert and a beverage.

about social responsibility and ethical fashions. Both Natalia and Harumi are part of an increasing number of urban-based designers positioning their auteur work within the realm of ethical fashions working with artisans and whose fashion designs are inspired by, engage with, and make reference to different aspects of Peru's pre-Hispanic, indigenous and folkloric aesthetics.

Natalia, born and raised in Lima from parents who had migrated from northern Peru, often described herself as a “Mother, single mother, first and foremost and fashion designer, but my son is always first”. “My mom taught me to love my country and everything from it. She was a teacher and was proud and passionate about everything Peruvian,” Natalia told me. As a child her mother taught her to knit, a skill her mother learned as a child in northern Peru. Natalia is one of the few fashion designers who are formally trained and comes from a similar background as many artisans. Shortly after we first met, I asked her if she considered her work as ethnic fashion. Before I was able to finish wording my question she interrupted me: “I do contemporary fashion design, it is not ethnic. Just because I use traditional techniques doesn't make it ethnic.”⁷⁵

On our walk to the workshop from the main plaza we would pass by the boutique the local mine's CSR opened to sell the garments made by their workshops. This small store stood out amongst all other small businesses in the area, looking like any boutique in Lima, and for the most part it was always empty. After earlier first attempts to go with Natalia and another designer to workshops created by mines and

⁷⁵ This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

other resource extraction corporations,⁷⁶ I had to ask Natalia, during our lunch conversation: “So, what’s up with the mines and the workshops? Why are they involved in producing garments? Are the communities really asking for this?”

The small restaurant was quickly filling up with construction workers and government employees. The music playing from the radio was turned up and *huayno* music interrupted by local radio announcements served as the background to our conversation. Natalia replied, “Of course a mine will say *campesinos* asked for a textile workshop... and that could very well be the case. But the real reason why all these companies have CSRs involved in the garment industry is because they know what is the lifespan of their activities in the region. For example, a mine knows if they will be operational for 10 years, but the community might not know this. The corporation knows that when they close the people in the area won’t have any other mode to earn a living.” When mining projects start operations corporations usually have an estimate of how much mineral the mine will be able to extract, and based on this they negotiate the length of time for the concessions. Resource extraction corporations also know they will be the main source of employment in these regions.

⁷⁶ During the early stages of my research I was politely kept out of artisanal workshops managed and/or funded by CSRs of mining and a petroleum extraction companies. These workshops were located in remote areas near the corporations’ area of activity. Access was never directly denied but they did discourage my visit alongside designers they had hired by limiting my access to other resources, such as a place to stay (hotels run by the companies) and other modes of transportation necessary to reach the workshops. Due to the extreme environmental locations and the control these corporations have over most of the infrastructure available in high altitude places and in the Amazonian forest, companies are able to control who and how outsiders can enter these spaces, not by directly denying access but by making it difficult to find places to stay or using lack of transportation to and from the sites to do this.

Within this lifespan resource corporations face, their development projects in the area have their own, often times shorter, lifespan.

As Natalia continued with her explanation our main courses arrived: chicken with mashed potatoes. Natalia saw me look at the mashed potatoes, which looked like soup more than a mash. “People water them down to make more.” She quickly continued talking as we ate. “My opinion is based on the contract work I do. In a way they are trying to promote an unrelated economic activity that *campesinos* can continue doing once the company stops employing them. The problem is that the *campesinos*, at least the ones I’ve worked with, don’t know why these projects take place, they don’t know the lifespan of their current work.” If the *campesinos* are not fully conscious of the lengths of their work with these companies, actions like establishing a workshop furthers the vision of CSRs as responsible to their communities, acts of goodwill the corporation is not obliged to do but does based on a commitment to them that goes beyond their own duties and economic ventures. These workshops, designed mostly for women, are discussed as helping provide an additional, supplemental, source of income for families in the area. It is still unclear how sustainable these workshops will be once resource extraction in the regions ends.

Unlike ISUR, the CITE in Huancavelica was not affiliated to resource extraction activities, and had a different temporality from most CSRs whose length of time was entangled in the activity of the corporation in the region. However, similar to ISUR, the CITE in Huancavelica was dedicated to strengthening the supply chain of alpaca wool and garment manufacture. In both sites you could find the whole

alpaca wool supply chain, except for threading that takes place industrially,⁷⁷ with communities participating in different aspects of it. The CITE, was an NGO that worked closely with the regional government in the areas of alpaca herding, wool acquisition and artisanal manufacture. The CITE sought to entrepreneurialize artisanal workshops, and to provide support for herders, while operating on a combination of external funding from PROMPERU and its sister agency MINCETUR, and the profits made by brokering garment orders with industry actors. Just like ISUR, CITE was also linking local artisanal workshops with ethical fashion supply chains.

Huancavelica is a high altitude region in Peru that has been a supplier of bulk alpaca wool for the industrial threading companies in Arequipa, southern Peru, throughout the 20th century. Like Ocongate, the region is known for the distinctive form of dress and unique series of knitted textiles composed of a recognizable series of stitches –*punto brujo* (witch’s stitch) or *punto borracho* (drunken stitch)- used to make patterns that allow for creating nuanced and complex gradients of color. The region of Huancavelica is one of the poorest districts of Peru with 52.9% of the population living in conditions of poverty and 16.2% in extreme poverty.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁷ Threading still poses a problem within this supply chain. Highland communities keep herds, shear and sell the bulk wool. Those communities with artisanal workshops that partake in the garment industry have then to buy the thread from these companies, made with the same wool they sold to the companies. Many complain that they have to buy thread at market prices, more expensive in relation to the amount of money they make by selling the wool and manufacturing garments.

⁷⁸ Statistics taken from the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Statistics Institute) for the year 2013:
http://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitaless/Est/Lib1169/libro.pdf

region's capital, largest city and administrative center, also called Huancavelica, is where I carried out my fieldwork. Mountains where alpaca herding communities live and where the historic Santa Barbara mine operated surround the city of Huancavelica. Santa Barbara and the Potosí in Bolivia were the two most important mines during the Spanish viceroyalty. After the mine ceased its operations, Huancavelica quickly submerged into poverty, a situation further aggravated during the 1980s as the region became one of the strongholds of the Shining Path. Many communities were taken over by the insurgency, while others faced the violence of para-military and military forces. This led to massive migrations from highland communities to the outskirts of Huancavelica city and Lima. During this time the small alpaca wool industry collapsed, with herds left abandoned to run wild. The CITE is part of contemporary efforts to re-start the industry and address issues of exploitation that have left alpaca producing communities in poverty while providing the garment industry with a luxury material.

By the time I started shadowing Natalia, she had already been working in the region on and off for a couple of years. She had worked with the local mine's CSR and for the public/private NGO CITE (I explain this arrangement below). The CITE worked with approximately 20 local artisanal workshops. They provided technical support, brokered deals with industry actors who wanted hand-manufactured alpaca garments, took artisans' work to trade shows, and brought designers to make auteur collections to promote the quality of manufacture and textile traditions at the highest level of fashion-making, haute-couture. It is assumed that if artisans can make a

runway collection for a national designer they have the technical skill, to manufacture for brands like Dior, Armani, Tom Ford, etc. Working with national designers also makes them active participants in the making of a national fashion world and design aesthetic. Also, as part of the contract made with designers like Natalia, if her clients want to buy some of these garments they have to be made or replicated to order by the same artisans who produced the original collection. Collections like the one Natalia was working on are co-owned by the CITE, who pays each artisan for their handwork and also provides them with all materials necessary. Artisans affiliated with the CITE can also sell their crafts at a small store in the CITE building.

The CITES: NGO-Profit-Government Entanglements

After lunch we still had a small break before the women returned to the workshop. On our way back to the workshop we stopped at the CITE building to say hi to Marta, the project manager and second in command. The CITE had 5 employees: Luis (the director who started the NGO), Marta and Julio (both career NGO workers from Lima), Juanita and Edmundo (from two different communities in the outskirts of Huancavelica and the surrounding highlands). Marta was on the phone when we arrived and signaled us to wait. After a short chat with Marta, Natalia left for the workshop. The artisans are known for becoming impatient if Natalia was not there when they arrived.

I stayed with Marta; curious about her thoughts on the conversation I had with Natalia during lunch. I asked her if she honestly thought workshops would be sustainable once the CSRs and NGOs like the CITE were gone. “I’m not sure,” she

replied. “Ideally, they should be, they shouldn’t need us after a while. It is just hard. If you think about where they are located you can say that it is not viable for them to be sustainable in this industry. This is not even thinking about the mathematical, accounting capacities of the members of the group. This is why we are trying to offer short courses to teach them how to use computers and word and excel...” As critics have pointed out, with sustainability and sustainable development what is sustained is a particular capitalist model of the economy that reduces unsustainability (Ehrenfeld 2008, Escobar 2012). The CITEs main work in Huancavelica is to help support sustainability and ethical relations within the alpaca supply chain, minimizing the exploitation faced by these communities historically involved in this industry, fostering fair payment and working conditions. Expanding the markets artisans have access to is central to the way the CITE addresses these issues, something that in turn requires them to develop new or innovate upon the kinds of objects produced. Since these efforts are based on local textile craft traditions it is assumed that the way of accessing and expanding into new markets is through innovating and merging the distinctive regional crafts with the dominant trends of these spaces, as well as adapting textile work to meet standards found in them.

CITEs operate in the realms of crafts and tourism sponsored through the government agency MINCETUR. MINCETUR approves one CITE per national region, focusing on a variety of crafts traditional to that place or specific communities. Currently, besides textile craft CITEs, there are others that focus on ceramics, jewelry, plantain leaf crafts, wooden and stone crafts, leather goods, silver

and cooper objects, *retablos*,⁷⁹ folkloric and traditional musical instruments.

According to MINCETUR, the principal objective of the CITEs is to elevate the competitiveness of artisanal production for tourism, national and exports markets.

MINCETUR requires that CITEs work closely with artisanal groups supporting innovation in the crafts by generating new designs and transferring technology to improve the quality of production. They define technology transfer as providing technical courses, improving the entrepreneurial side of artisanal work, diversifying the offer of exportable objects in different markets, taking artisans to participate in trade shows and business meetings with potential clients, and enabling some groups to obtain Intellectual Property (IP) rights over regional specific craft traditions,⁸⁰ and promoting private investment. The main task of CITEs as agents of development is to articulate the offer of artisanal crafts to markets, following appropriate standards in order to “obtain increasing profits that will elevate the well-being of producers as fruit of their own labor and not welfareism.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Folk art based on devotional paintings and carvings that used Catholic iconography and are traditionally found behind the main church altar. Folk art *retablos* started as small replicas of the ones found in the Catholic churches for devouts to display in their homes to honor their patron saints. *Retablos* are small rectangular boxes that have different figures inside used to depict different religious and scenes of Andean life. This art form gained momentum in the 1940s, influenced by the indigenista movement, in the region of Ayacucho. During this decade *retablos* began depicting historical and scenes of everyday Andean life, like harvests, markets, hat or musical instrument shops, and fiestas. This art form was a vehicle for recording and affirming distinct identity of Andean culture in the face of modernization. After the Shining Path insurgency artisans from the regions affected began depicting scenes from that time that took place in their communities that were caught between the insurgents and the military forces of the state.

⁸⁰ For more on IP and crafts in Peru see Say Chan 2011

⁸¹ MINCETUR’s CITE statement:

<http://www.artesaniadelperu.gob.pe/Instituciones/cites.aspx>

CITEs can be either public or private, and to obtain this accreditation interested organizations need to prove to the government that the new CITE will be sustainable, providing technical and educational viability. Private CITEs, like the one in Huancavelica, are concessions given by the government to a non-profit civil association or organization, like an NGO. Profits obtained through these private CITEs are considered as supplements to the subsidies and funding provided by the government. In the case of Huancavelica, for example, this money serves to pay for the wages of the full time employees, maintain supplies of materials to the workshops, and to take the groups to trade shows and other related events. In these private CITEs, MINCETUR serves in a ‘gravitational’ capacity as a motivator, promoter and investor of their operations. Subventions by the government to the private CITEs are given during the initial stages of operation and come from taxes placed on casinos and slot machines. Public CITEs operate under the regional governments and are subjected to the spending norms appropriate for any public sector agency.

The CITE in Huancavelica was started by Luis, a retired banker from Lima, and owner of the local radio station, who was passionate about life in the highlands and what he saw as the unexploited economic potential of textile crafts and the exploitation of the alpaca herders by wool processing factories. After having a long career as a businessman, he felt he could put to work his skills in the development sector. Through the CITE he works with herders, helping them secure and negotiate fair payment according to market prices, similar to the efforts seen earlier in

Ocongate, as well as to help artisans interested in starting their own workshops and to formalize existing ones. As conceived by Luis, and following the requirements set by MINCETUR, the role of the CITE is in part to help artisans produce garments that comply with industry standards: well finished, done in standard sizes, etc. He was also invested in fostering innovation in design as he saw how many traditional textiles did not have much success in the market; if artisans could be more mindful of Western tastes and styles they could expand their consumer base. Yet, he knows that part of the market appeal of these workshops is a certain use and treatment of alpaca wool paired with the capacity of artisans to bring to their work the ability to adapt local textile techniques and knowledge into fashion.

Unlike, Ayni-Art, a grassroots organization with over 30 years of existence, the CITE had been running for 3 year when I first met Luis in during preliminary fieldwork.

“When we started the NGO we had to go and create relationships with groups of tejedoras and community workshops that already existed. It was hard because they had their way of doing things and didn’t get the entrepreneurial growth part of business, or the quality standards the market requires. The Mamas wanted to do whatever they wanted without any criticism and get paid by us and it has taken time to create a dialogue and make them understand how it works. It is not me setting up the rules, it is hard for them to get that, I always get blamed, but what can you do about it.”

Besides embedding the organization in the community they also had to engage with the ways pre-existing workshops and Clubes de Madres worked. While they had managed to establish a way of working with artisans these gaps in their position in the community allowed for unexpected interactions to unfold, affecting the material practices and how the enactment of ethics happened as the women made fashion.

Marta places different calls for artisans around Huancavelica, announcing when classes and *capacitaciones* (trainings) will take place, when they have different orders for exports, to manufacture CITE sponsored collections for trade shows, and/or to make garments for/with fashion designers. Interested workshops are free to decide, respond and participate from the calls and CITE organized activities and orders. Artisanal workshops are not removed from the CITE networks if they do not respond to these calls. Ideally, as workshops become formal they will progressively need less assistance from the CITE, become increasingly more independent as small-businesses. At the time of my fieldwork the CITE worked with workshops that included mother's clubs,⁸² and PYMES.⁸³

The CITE often hosted different industry actors, touring them through the different workshops, and when possible showing them how the supply chain operates in Huancavelica. Luis would personally take guests to see where alpacas are herded, and how wool is accrued and classified. This tour was similar to the one Harumi and I had done in Ocongate. Such tours help development agencies assure industry actors of the authenticity and ethical practices of the supply chain and labor. Instead of a system that certifies producers, like fair trade or organic, in fashion networks visiting actual places, showing clients first hand how work unfolds, where it takes place, and who the makers are, serves to assure ethical and authenticity standards. These ethical and authenticity standards are left open to the interpretation of industry buyers based

⁸² Ayni in Ocongate also worked with mother's clubs. This type of Andean community organization will be further discussed in the next chapter.

⁸³ PYMES stands for *pequeñas y medianas empresas*, small and medium sized businesses

on what they see and how they understand the authenticity and quality of handwork associated with the indigenous ethnicity of artisans and herders. Even Galliano was inspired to do the garments discussed in Chapter 1 by a similar visit to Cusco. In this process, the rural landscape, the way women dress and behave, the traditional meals they eat, the temporal shift and what can seem like a bucolic rhythm of life in the Andes comes to serve as an assurance of the 'ethical' and authentic as much as the spaces of manufacture and quality of textile work. In the workshops artisans give small presentations showcasing sample objects they have made, their handwork, how clean and organized the workspaces are, while also sharing personal stories about their textile traditions and how their lives have improved by participating from the supply chain and development efforts.

For the alpaca fashion collection manufactured during my time shadowing Natalia and the CITE, only one artisanal group, the largest and oldest Club de Madres in Huancavelica, José María Escrivá workshops, made all the garments. During my fieldwork, Natalia was the principal designer subcontracted by CITE. While Natalia would show some or parts of the collections in runways under her authorship, collections were also marketed under the CITEs name. Artisans are encouraged to make and establish their own commercial networks besides relying on the ones secured through the CITE. In these arrangements they broker and negotiate their own contracts and can sell garments under their own names. Showing collections under the CITEs name is done to avoid giving the impression that the CITE prioritizes some groups over others, a way of fostering a sense of cooperation among artisans in the

region. When the CITE has collections to take to events or orders artisans can participate in the manufacture as a workshop or as individual artisans. The sense of cooperation across workshops is seen as important to establish a region as a manufacturing site of hand-made or semi-industrial luxury garments. It is expected that if an order is too large for one group to manufacture on their own, multiple workshops can collaborate with each other instead of having to reject work.

Design as Technology Transfer

Marta dealt with the day-to-day interactions with workshops. Originally from Lima, Marta had a long career working as an accountant and administrator for other NGOs. Most of her experience was working in micro-entrepreneurial specialized NGOs. While the CITE does not explicitly focus on micro-entrepreneurial creation, they help affiliated workshops that want to formalize into small businesses as a way of addressing conditions of exploitation in the industry and as a form of poverty alleviation. While the CITEs activities in Huancavelica went beyond promoting entrepreneurialism, Marta felt her work with artisans and alpaca herders was similar to her previous experience.

As the second in command in the CITE, Marta's work consisted of researching and securing participation in different tradeshows, creating initial contact with clients, making sure workshops and artisans had work as consistently as possible, hiring fashion designers, and keeping track and records of the technical details of each garment made by CITE and orders that come through them. The technical detail sheets record information beyond just the design allowing for replicas

to be made. Information in these sheets includes the specific material used (type of alpaca thread), how much the garment weights, the specific colors used (brand and color code), and a sample of the stitch besides the drawing. Garment weight, type of stitch and type of wool are important in determining and negotiating the price and manufacturing time. Even though artisans make the garments the information important to reproduce garments is kept by CITE. It is expected and assumed artisans will be able to replicate, alter and transform designs recorded in the technical detail sheets purely based on their own skill and ability after making the original samples or seeing the samples made incorporating their own creative interventions.

One of the main tasks of the CITE is to generate different kinds of manufacturing opportunities for Huancavelican artisans, in part by expanding and innovating on the traditional range of designs, textile techniques and types of garments made. For Marta and Luis having artisans work directly with fashion designers is important to familiarize artisans with fashion networks and to create exposure to their handwork. For them having designers like Natalia come to town and stay during various intervals of design and manufacture was very important. Instead of providing design classes or workshops taught by people like Natalia, the direct interaction through work was seen as a way for artisans to learn about fashion design and gather ideas for possible garments they can make. Before manufacture starts Natalia would always give the women a one-day lecture on seasonal knit styles and trends, showing them images taken from *Vogue* and current runways that could serve as inspiration for them but also that will help artisans visualize and understand the

designs they would be working on. Other designers the CITE had hired in the past would send or fax the technical drawings or would just do one visit, having minimal interaction with artisans. As Marta told me in her office, “I like when she (Natalia) comes because she knows what she wants and how she wants it. We’ve had other designers that come drop off their technical drawings and leave, and then come and pick up the garments and that’s not direct, artisans don’t learn much from this process.” The interaction between designers, exposing the women to processes of design and an open dialogue throughout manufacture was seen as part of the technology transfer enabled by CITE. More than just technology transfer this direct interaction is also seen as articulating artisans into fashion worlds in an ethical way.

Most of what is called technology transfer in this context is based on the direct contact between actors. The technology transferred is knowledge of the fashion system and processes of design while the women engage in actual manufacture process. Exposure to design processes by engaging with an industry actor, someone familiar with fashion worlds and the logic of the system, is seen as central to successfully articulate the groups. It is expected that once artisans become familiar with fashion manufacture they will be able to work without the presence of a designer. Isabel explained to me as she ordered some paperwork in her office, “Markets are different. At a national level we can present a simple shawl, but to participate in international markets we need to have a product with aggregate value, that stands out, that’s unique, that you won’t be able to find anywhere else. For this we have to hire designers because they have the experience, the vision, they know what

the market constantly demands; they know the tendencies of colors, style. They let us know what's best for us to do.” While it is expected that the knowledge of the designer will make artisans familiar enough with the fashion system to work within it, artisans are not expected to constantly follow the changing trends of fashion. How much of their own design are artisans expected to engage in is also not clear, although they are expected to become familiar with this process. In this way their work is made dependent to contact and consultation with designers subcontracted as part of the development projects, but it is also made legible and easy to position within the fashion system.

With the exception of two regional knitting points and certain iconographies, most of the stitches used by Mamas that are presented as traditional to them are not unique to that specific region or even Peru. What makes their textiles recognizably traditional or indigenous is the ways in which these stitches are used in their designs, surfaces made, use of color and kinds of garments made. Yet, as these stitches, most of which are used by knitters anywhere, are used to make textile fashion surfaces the handwork of the Mamas' knit surface now becomes a marker of indigeneity and authenticity. The marketing material used by the CITE to promote the regional artisanal work within industry trade shows⁸⁴ emphasizes that garments are “hand

⁸⁴ Marketing that highlights the indigeneity and traditional quality or basis of the garments is used within industry events. Once the garments are bought by or ordered by a brand the tags are replaced by those of the brand. Such garments will probably have tags with statements such as: ethical, organic or hand-made fashions. If the garments are presented and sold as designer collections they are also referred to under the designer's name who will probably simply signal to the place of manufacture (i.e. made in Peru) rather than specifying indigenous handwork.

knitted by artisans using ancient techniques inherited from their ancestors.” For Luis this serves as a hook in the industry, while for Natalia as a designer there was a certain level of truth to this statement. After all, women learn to knit as young girls and textile traditions are of historical importance in Peru and central to Andean culture. As discussed in later chapters, designers like Natalia attempt to incorporate elements of what make Andean textiles recognizable into contemporary fashion designs.

The CITEs development work mostly unfolded as a business mediator within the region by finding work for artisanal groups, ensuring fair sales of alpaca wool and helping maximize care for the animals to maintain high-quality wool. They enacted social responsibility within a business market oriented framework. Yet, for Marta and Luis the particular ways in which the women were articulated into the supply chain was as important as making them part of these networks. For them it was important to present the work of Mamas’ in international settings as market niche objects, luxurious and unique. Standing outside of the CITE while smoking a cigarette, Luis explained to me “we can’t compete with the large manufacturing countries like China, and it wouldn’t do justice to the quality of the fiber and handwork, so we strategically place them in markets where the women’s work can thrive.” Making the Mamas work part of haute-couture designers’ collections placed their handwork and traditions in the highest, most artistic type of fashion, but it was also a strategic space where their work would be competitive, valuable and desirable. Luis’ approach of

marketing the Mama's ethnicity was used to make the women visible and valuing their work as skilled labor in the eyes of the industry.

Working in direct contact with alpaca herders and artisans was another important way of enacting responsibility and ethics for those involved in the CITE, as we can see from Marta's earlier statement. Establishing one on one relationships with all the artisans and herders affiliated with the CITE are central to their operations. When Luis started the CITE in 2005, he uprooted his life from Lima to Huancavelica. During a formal interview in his office Luis told me "you are an anthropologist, right. Well, when I came here I had to do a bit of that. Be patient, live with people here, learn from them, get used to life here, become part of the community and how people live. If there is a fiesta participate in it like everyone else, get to know people. That's why we are able to do the work we do, none of that impersonal kind of NGO work that shows up and does something and leaves. We are here, to stay, part of the community." Even the two Lima born employees, Marta and Julio, had to move to Huancavelica to accept the job. This philosophy extended to the expectations Marta had when hiring fashion designers; she wanted them to come and work directly with the artisans. Even the tours, for Luis, were central to this aim. He found that for industry actors to truly understand and grasp all that goes into alpaca wool, its value and history, one needs to be there, see it, feel it, touch it.

Conclusion

While Ocongate and Huancavelica are distinct sites, geographically and with their own particularities, they are part of the same supply chain and garment industry

unfolding throughout Peru with the support of government agencies, resource extraction corporations, NGOs, fashion brands and other national garment industry actors. This is unfolding alongside a design boom in the country, where fashion designers are not only working as subcontractors in these supply chains but are also basing their own work on the national flagship materials –i.e. alpaca wool and pima cotton-, and incorporating into ‘fashion’ Andean aesthetics, handwork and textile traditions. Similar supply chains can be found all the way from the Northern highlands of Peru, to the Amazon, and the Central and Southern highlands.

These supply chains are anchored in a national discourse that frames them as part of a long historical tradition, one that goes beyond Peru’s industrial history. Alpaca supply chains and the textile practices central to the industry are seen as originating since pre-Hispanic times. This supply chain is already framed as more-than a capitalist industry. While other scholarly research on how fair trade and other luxury commodity supply chains are entangled and shaped by colonial and postcolonial histories and narratives, -like fair trade, Darjeeling plantations in India or green beans in British ex-colonies in Africa (Besky 2014, Friendberg 2004)- in Peru the impact and influence of colonial and postcolonial histories is obscured by this framing of the supply chain as preceding these historical moments. Alpaca wool and the textile traditions within which it is embedded, which have continued unfolding and changing throughout time, become a type of material evidence of Peru’s national historic trajectory. This understanding of Peru’s textile industry as anchored in a long historical past posits the industry on perceptions of indigeneity, that while attempting

to move past notions of race and racism central to the colonial encounter and building of the nation-state, see indigenous communities as inheritors of a timeless tradition carried through the hands of women.

This framing of the textile industry, alongside the luxurious quality and perception of alpaca wool, and skilled handwork of artisans, make this supply chain an appealing site for brands who have ethical fashion lines. Brands and corporations are engaging in efforts to address issues of exploitation, what they perceive to be injustices in their respective supply chains, and mitigate negative effects of their economic activities. Yet, these efforts framed as acts of goodwill, uphold the current system of subcontracting practices, power and value, allowing brands and corporation to remain unaccountable for their actions. Alpaca supply chain and textile manufacture becomes a site where CSRs can implement neoliberal-driven development projects, as acts of goodwill by articulating artisans with the, also goodwill driven, ethical lines from fashion brands. By doing this, corporations and brands not only address what they perceive to be issues of exploitation, but also further positive brand images presenting themselves as supporting, preserving and making relevant ancestral traditions and the skill of indigenous communities. It is assumed that by incorporating these traditions and artisans into markets two things can be addressed at once: poverty and a recognition of cultural elements that once were stigmatized, as something of unique value.

In both sites we see that both the CITE and ISUR see themselves as promoting a market based framework as central to development that is in line with the

goodwill of corporations. Yet, as we have seen in this chapter, in both sites actors do more than just enforce this market driven framework. In the ways they engage with artisans and conceive of their own moral commitments they enable non-market interactions and pre-existing systems (of value, dress, use and meaning) to unfold and become part of the supply chain and what makes it ethical and socially responsible. We not only see Camila reminding Harumi that price artisans give to their work is based on local networks of textile trade, modes of production, consumption and meaning; but in Huancavelica we also hear Luis explain how in the beginnings of the CITE he and the other employees had to engage and participate within the local community. These non-capitalist elements and notions of value that are from outside the market, are translated into sources of market value as textile traditions are innovated upon-and-alongside local systems of dress, production and meaning. As we saw in the example of Ocongate with the *chuyos*, not everything can be made to work within this market fashion system. Both aesthetic value and price have to be constantly negotiated. As Andean textiles and handwork become fashion, the garments produced become a material embodiment and are also constitutive of these ‘ethical’ relations.

Labor, ethics, value, aesthetics, material and traditions are all intertwined in what comes to be understood as the ‘politics of social responsibility’ within garment supply chains. Driving these efforts to make the supply chain ethical is a vision of justice, that as Besky (2014) point out: “entails not only envisioning the world as it ought to be but also imagining (but not necessarily directly engaging with) the world

as it already is” (20). Tours provided to industry actors in both sites relate place with labor by fostering imaginings of how work for the industry improves the livelihood of indigenous communities. These tours also emphasize the indigenous and rural as sources of authenticity, by maintaining industry actors at a distance and with a minimal engagement to the actual reality of artisans. The experience of place, of entering, even if briefly the Andean landscape and spaces of manufacture and alpaca herding, becomes an assurance of ‘ethical’ labor relations, and the authenticity of the handwork associated with the imaginaries of indigeneity industry actors have. This experience all happens while maintaining a distance and minimal engagement from the part of brands, leaving work on the ground for development actors and national industry actors, like Peruvian fashion designers. This association with place and imaginings of a just-indigenous life, become part of ‘ethical compliance’ and the ‘politics of social responsibility.’ Seeing, touching, experiencing these rural highland spaces brings forth in the actors discussed a sense of solidarity and justice. Even Marta, from the CITE, does not like to hire fashion designers who are not willing to spend time in the workshops. Being there and engaging with the women and the physical and social landscape is taken as a sign of solidarity, respect and of fostering justice. Similar to other fair trade and certified organic supply chains these attempts at making certain industries better or ethical situate luxury goods in what Besky (2014) calls a “Third World agrarian imaginary.”

Ethics becomes a sign of value in these supply chains that mostly produce luxury goods for exclusive clientele that can afford to consume responsibly. In return

of a responsible consumption, within fashion, they do not need to sacrifice style and get to wear limited, unique, authentic and few-of-a-kind garments. While brands delegate the enactment of ‘ethical compliance’ to other CSRs and NGOs these development actors become key mediators in making the supply chain sustainable by translating and reconciling non-capitalist notions of value into forms of market value. As seen in the example of Ocongate, there are instances that this process of ethical value becomes visible when certain objects can’t be reconciled, like the *chuyos*. In later chapters I analyze how other situations that arise, and systems of value, aesthetics and meaning that seem contradictory and irreconcilable with this market system are made to work and become sources of value or instances of ethical or just behavior. This engagement with local systems, rather than simply imposing a certain mode of production, is part of the ‘politics of social responsibility.’ Yet, the local system of textile production, meaning and value needs to be made to operate in a way that works within that of the market, that is the job of Harumi, Natalia and development actors. Natalia and Harumi mediate the parameters of value where these non-capitalist elements, both of aesthetic and manufacture, can operate within the existing system of fashion. The alpaca garments produced materially constitute and embody this encounter.

Not only do non-capitalist practices and values exist, but I seek to show how others create value within capitalism by asserting that these practices exist outside of capitalism. Besky (2014) argues that value in these fair trade, organic, ethical or socially responsible supply chains “emerges from economic exchange relations, in

which price and utility are at the forefront, and from a shifting set of moral ideas about the relationship between economic actors and between people and the things they consume, produce, and sell” (16). In this process the types and quality of labor relations across actors come to matter and the quality and innovation of the objects produced is seen as relying, influenced and constituted by them. While I agree with this definition it is important to include the value of aesthetics and material elements. Brands and other industry actors are not just engaging in these efforts purely out of goodwill. The quality of wool, perceptions of authentic inherited skill, and intimate knowledge of material, matter; these elements are integral to the economic exchange relations and to labor relations being established. Entangled in this supply chain are notions of value not only associated with highland life and culture, but of the value associated with history, tradition, and arts- all cultural elements popularly assumed to also exist in a system of value beyond that of the market.⁸⁵

Everyone in the supply chain is invested in making it as sustainable as possible, even as actors like Marta and Natalia sometimes questions if it will be sustainable without development involvement. The sustainability most actors seek is one that maintains existing sources of value and power intact. Even as artisans are taught about the fashion system, as part of technology transfer programs, they are not expected to become designers or brand employees, but maintain their position as skilled manufacturers who can still access their own textile traditions as they make

⁸⁵ This perception of the arts as having value beyond markets is part of how these objects operate and move through art worlds. For work on art market see Anthes 2009, Stallabrass 2004, Steiner 1995, Thompson 2008, Thornton 2008.

fashions. Moreover, issues of sustainability are ultimately entangled on the different life spans of CSRs and NGOs participating in the supply chain, ones that have different temporalities than those needed to ensure artisanal workshops can continue working within the supply chain on their own. As both Natalia and Marta responded to my inquiries, no one is sure if artisans are themselves fully conscious of this fact. The discourse of goodwill that permeates throughout the supply chain does not oblige corporations to share this information. Moreover, since establishing these ethical supply chains should not alter the existing networks of subcontracting common in the garment industry, brands do not have to commit to hiring workshops continuously or over extended periods of time. Making the supply chain sustainable means managing the aspects of its unsustainability as development actors and CSRs are constantly attempting to mitigate instances of injustice and of enabling contracts between brands, fashion designers and artisans.

In this context, ethics is a category still loosely defined, open to the interpretation, translations and various kinds of enactments. It is mostly understood as providing fair payment, which artisans are conscious that does not amount to much compared to how expensive the garments they make are, trying to not alter traditional modes of production even if they cause conflict with the temporality of fashion manufacture, and engaging with artisans knowledge, skill and textile traditions. What ethics means in this supply chain includes respect and preservation of culture, imaginings of what is indigenous, and how does poverty among communities looks like vis-à-vis respecting traditional ways of life. As it will be further discussed all of

these elements and understandings of ethics and value make up, are woven into, and projected onto the fashion garments produced, creating a new cultural geometry within ethical fashion worlds and a national Peruvian one. If grappling with indigenous elements through clothing has been a constant way of dealing with the anxieties of the indigenous in relation to Peru's particular political and historical moments, what we see today reflects and constitutes how indigeneity is being positioned and understood in light of the current economic boom and racial relations in post-violence, post-authoritarian Peru.

Chapter 3: Fashion Making Mamas



Figure 9: Artisans from José María Escrivá workshop working with fashion designer Naty Muñoz

The tejedoras from the artisanal workshop José María Escrivá in Huancavelica sat in small clusters around the workshop knitting and chewing coca leaves as they typically do during their bi-weekly meetings. Their children ran around the workshop, hiding under the large table in the middle of the room or sitting on unused chairs in two straight lines while they played a game of bus. Natalia, a fashion designer from Lima, was overseeing the manufacture of boutique-quality alpaca garments for the national garment industry trade show. I sat next to Mama Lily, the president of the workshop, contributing to the workday with the only task I was skilled at, untangling thread, and asked Mama Lily about the workshop's history. She suggested I talk to Mama Cirila, who had been there since the beginning of the Club de Madres. Mama

Cirila sat in a cluster behind us knitting, looked at us and said, “Those were difficult times” and continued knitting in silence. For the moment, her usual banter of making jokes, telling stories and serving as a mediator between the NGO and the tejedoras ceased. Mama Lily, sensing Mama Cirila’s avoidance of the topic, asked me to help her organize some materials in the storage room next door as an excuse to tell me the group’s history. Mama Cirila’s silence struck me as odd, and this was the only time I was ever taken out of the room to hear a story. Usually sensitive topics and gossip were openly discussed in the main workshop space, albeit with lowered voices.

Mama Lily, who had become part of the group during the 90s, was more open to discussing the group’s history than Mama Cirila, who had migrated from the countryside to Huancavelica city fleeing from the violence during the 80s. Huancavelica, located in the central Andes was a stronghold of the Shining Path, a Peruvian Maoist organization that emerged in the Central Andean region of Ayacucho, and waged an insurgency against the Peruvian state from the highlands. The region of Huancavelica, which by the 1980s was already the poorest in all of Peru, was devastated with thousands of *campesinos* missing or killed by the Shining Path and paramilitary forces. Highland communities were caught in the fighting between the Shining Path, the Peruvian army and para-military groups. Quechua communities in rural highlands were not only caught in the middle, but were the focus of violence by all groups. The Shining Path operated on the notion that communities needed to become part of the struggle by any means necessary, including by force. While the Shining Path would take over communities, neither

para-military nor military groups differentiated between Quechua speaking Andean communities and Shining Path members or supporters: to them all Indians were terrorists (Starn 1999). Like Mama Cirila, many of the older members of the Club had fled from remote highland communities to Huancavelica city to escape the violence. Most were mothers with their children or older daughters with younger siblings. Once in the city many did not have homes or ways of taking care of themselves and their families. Old forms of organizing such as Clubes de Madres, popular during the 1950s massive rural-urban migrations, surfaced as a strategy for survival. Many women artisans who lived and survived this era of violence were reluctant to recount the traumatic memories and stories of survival and loss. This was the only topic that would cause silence among the lively banter of the textile workspace.

I followed Mama Lily into the storage room across the hallway. I simply stood there, in the middle of the storage room surrounded by left over scarves, boxes of Christmas decorations and half used tops of thread hearing her narrate the story:

“Women, mothers with their children, daughters with their siblings were arriving in Huancavelica desperate for food and shelter. They didn’t have anything or any way of feeding their families or of making money. The women, desperate, would go to the parish and ask the priest for help. The priest at the time was from Spain, he told me that in the beginning he would give them anything to help, food he had, money, donations he received from Spain, you know, charity. But as more and more women kept coming from the mountains, and the ones here kept going and asking for help, he told me that he realized that he wasn’t helping anyone by providing charity and he couldn’t support it anymore. The priest decided to organize a Club de Madres where the mamas could earn money by doing tejido. He donated half of the parish building so the women could have a place to meet and work. We are still in the same building; we just have to pay for utilities and our supplies. The women needed to have the capacity of making their own income, under the circumstances there weren’t many jobs or resources so women needed to help each other out. The Club de Madres served to make objects to sell and women

could also make clothing for their own families...”.

Priests and others influenced by Liberation Theology were extremely involved in supporting and helping organize Mother’s Clubs during this time of violence. Even in Cusco, as will be further discussed below, where the extent of the violence was not the same as in Huancavelica, the ideas and efforts of those associated with Liberation Theology were important to the formation and organization of Mother’s Clubs.

In the aftermath of violence, Peru is undergoing a process of economic and social reconstruction. Today, many artisanal workshops that came out of these Mother’s Clubs serve as the basic unit of manufacture for the growing alpaca garment supply chain. After the decades of violence and authoritarianism, Clubes de Madres have once again become a widespread form of community organization across the Andes that adapted to address varying issues affecting their communities. In the early 2000s with an influx of development involvement and the end of Fujimori’s authoritarian regime, areas with high levels of poverty and devastated after decades of violence became a key site of entrepreneurial-led development projects, pulling Mother’s Clubs into capitalist markets.

As microfinance and micro-entrepreneurialism became predominant approaches to development in the early 2000s, NGOs and other development actors focused their work on these pre-existing community organizations. Mother’s Clubes that operate as artisanal workshops anchor the alpaca wool supply chain in forms of non-industrial manufacture intimately associated with Andean culture and the women’s ethnicity. Artisanal handwork is not only understood as sustainable and

ethical, but also as luxurious in the fashion industry. The work done in Clubes de Madres is viewed as promoting poverty alleviation and women's empowerment, linking development worlds with high-end fashion markets. As these processes unfold through intimate ties with development and social responsibility efforts, actors in the supply chain have to engage with the histories, modes of relationality, and distinct ethical values central to the organization of these groups.

In this chapter I discuss the history and organization of Clubes de Madres in order to understand how and why certain issues, such as what is a fair wage or an appropriate manufacturing time, become key sites of negotiation and resistance. These interventions by Mamas re-shape the supply chain affecting how certain meanings, notions of value and ethics are produced. The organization of Mother's Clubs has been shaped by histories of poverty, violence and racial marginalization. A notion of motherhood that emerged as a survival tactic, the ideological influence of pre-Shining Path left-wing ideologies, especially Liberation Theology, and the ethnic identity that put Andean women in harm's way are central to understanding how women negotiate becoming entrepreneurial subjects. The women, who do not reject participating from development and market networks, use these histories, categories and ideals to marginalize certain aspects of this economic assemblage. Motherhood emerges as a central discourse to how the women engage with the entrepreneurial subjectivities promoted through development efforts.

Mamas want to participate and improve their livelihoods, care for their families, but want to maintain their ways of life and being. Due to Peru's particular

violent history the ways in which women do this is not framed as part of an explicit political project; but operates through silences and the mobilization of the notion of motherhood as they participate in development and garment assemblages. As neoliberal development projects conveniently draw and pull these pre-existing forms of community organization into the supply chain, they bring these histories that reshape the efforts to ‘develop’ and ‘empower,’ women in ‘ethical’ ways. The perceived apolitical nature of textile crafts, Clubes de Madres and grassroots NGOs, like Ayni, allows for the interventions made by Mamas to be seen as the concerns of mothers or, a selfless commitment.

The first part of this chapter delves into the origins of Clubes de Madres, and how the notion of motherhood is mobilized to negotiate their participation within the garment industry to mitigate what the women consider to be potential situations of exploitation and injustice. Central to the organization of these groups is a notion of motherhood borne out of histories of violence and marginalization, influenced by Catholic values and Liberation Theology. The second half of the chapter discusses a grassroots NGO, Ayni, composed of women artisans that work with Clubes de Madres that emerged out of Liberation Theology groups. Today Ayni is part of neoliberal business-led development projects. I explore how a radical political group, where priests and militant Catholics were active participants in various forms of collective actions from speaking against dictatorial regimes to foster awareness of the structural causes of poverty and motivating impoverished communities to become actors in their own liberation, ended up working within neoliberal development and

market assemblages. The women involved in Ayni pull from their Liberation Theology background to re-shape the discourses and subjectivities promoted through these development worlds.

Historical Background

Clubes de Madres began in the 1950s and 60s alongside the establishment of development assistance related public policy in the face of the first massive waves of migrations that occurred from the highlands to Lima during the industrialization of Peru, popularly called the ‘ruralization’ of Lima. These early groups distributed food throughout impoverished communities and migrant informal land settlements.⁸⁶ Luna (1996) argues that these groups came out of the accelerated and disorganized urban growth that led to a need for collective support in order to survive. Through the 1960s emerging social service branches of the government and the Catholic Church began to formalize Clubes de Madres as social organizations and during the agrarian reform of 1968, many of these women’s groups merged with state sponsored projects and neighborhood organizations.

The late 1970s economic crisis in Peru revived these women’s groups, with an increased support and involvement from religious organizations (Luna 1996). Ideas coming from the Liberation Theology movement were influential to the new forms these groups took during the decade. In 1971 a Catholic Priest of mixed Quechua and Spanish origin named Gustavo Gutierrez, published a seminal book for the Liberation

⁸⁶ As massive migrations occurred from the highland to urban centers, migrants from the highlands took over and built up makeshift homes in available pieces of land. These became informal settlements and eventually, neighborhoods. In some areas residents have been able to receive titles to their lands while others are still informal settlements.

Theology movement across the Americas, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*. In this book Gutierrez develops a biblical analysis of poverty in which he emphasizes how writings in the Old Testament as well as the writings of saints like Saint James and Saint Paul provide that the wealthy should not reproach or oppress the poor, but should show compassion as an expression of the love of God. For him the poverty that afflicted the majority of the population in Latin Americas was due to unjust social structures. Gutierrez is popularly quoted as asserting that “Poverty is not fate, it is a condition; it is not a misfortune, it is an injustice. It is the result of social structures and mental and cultural categories, it is linked to the way in which society has been built, in its various manifestations.” Other ideas coming from Liberation Theology also affirmed that women in Latin America were victims of a double oppression and marginalization, and that their political struggles involved the aspiration to have their human dignity recognized (Blondet 1964). Liberation Theology as a radical religious movement found an intimate relation between salvation and the historical process of man’s liberation.

The spread of Liberation Theology throughout the Andes sparked a surge in groups invested in political and social organizing of impoverished people, including peasant and other indigenous groups. Groups like Ayni, which will be discussed in the second section of the chapter, emerged out of this movement of women’s groups invested in supporting and creating networks across existing Mother’s Clubs throughout highland communities. Women wanted more than just a system of food distribution and the Clubes became hubs of political organizing demanding

infrastructure, health services, and access to education. The re-emergence of the Clubes and the new role they began playing in communities occurred as a product of modernization projects, and the collapse of economic, social and political models in Peru (Blondet 1964).

In the face of violence in the 1980s and a second wave of massive migrations from the highlands to urban centers, Clubes de Madres proliferated throughout Lima and the highlands. Small community workshops emerged as a way for migrants to earn a livelihood, as seen in the opening vignette. Community involvement was necessary to pool resources necessary to kick-start economic activities. In the 2000s, as these groups became a preferred site to establish and implement a wide variety of development projects, Clubes de Madres took on new activities and some working with Feminist NGOs changed their names to Women's Clubs. Currently, the activities of Clubes de Madres range from running popular (community) dining halls, political organizing, health and education activism, rural development, women's rights, income generation and entrepreneurial development. Yet, central to all of these groups is a particular notion of motherhood.

In workshops kin, relations and notions of motherhood are intimately tied to the silent histories of survival, and loss of biological kin and property. The moral obligation that emerged with these group's original purposes of pooling resources to survive and make a living have created a sense of solidarity among women that manifest in their attitude towards the value of their labor and the mitigation of exploitation. The rest of this chapter will argue that this particular notion of

motherhood informs the way in which these women engage the conditions of labor in the supply chain.

PART 1: State Violence and the Politics of Motherhood

In artisanal workshops, like José Escrivá, you find multiple generations of women from the same family, mother-daughter-granddaughter-mother's in law, working together. However, this biological basis of kinship is not the main relational form around which work is organized. Artisans call themselves and each other *Mama*⁸⁷ followed by the person's name. Industry actors and community members associated with the groups also refer to them as *Mamas*. The notion of motherhood central to the organization of these groups is not based on blood descent, but on relations of moral obligations across mothers, who might or might not be biologically related, that emerged out of shared histories or trauma, poverty, marginalization and survival.

In the wake of intense violence and state terror during the 1980s and 90s that ruptured kinship and community networks throughout the highlands, new modes of kinship were formed. Motherhood emerged as a form of political action and way for pooling resources. A mother was any female who became a caretaker of younger children, regardless of an immediate biological tie. It could be an older sister caring

⁸⁷ I want to make a quick comment on the distinction between the terms *Mama* and *Mamita*, both of which are commonly used throughout the Andes to identify indigenous women. *Mamita* can have a derogatory or condescending implication in ways that the title of *Mama* does not have in textile workshops spaces. However, a discussion of ways in which the history of both terms and their usages are interrelated is outside the scope of this dissertation.

for siblings, or a cousin or neighbor taking care of orphaned children from the same community.

Throughout Latin America, the experience of state terror during the 1970s and 80s gave way to forms of political action among women, mainly mothers, whose lives were affected by violence (Gandolfo 2009). These movements, often called “motherist movements,” were made up of women organized as mothers, but which also included sisters and grandmothers, to denounce the disappearance of family members at the hands of the state. As Gandolfo and others (Femenías 2005, Kaplan 1990 and Schirmer 1989) argue these movements dwell on a fundamental paradox. On the one hand the states against which women rose have historically valorized motherhood and family on the Catholic image of woman as mother: a symbol of love, submission, vulnerability, and self-sacrifice. On the other hand, women used this image of motherhood to their advantage, dramatizing powerlessness, appealing to the “natural order” of family. Women as mothers protested within the role assigned to them by the state to demystify power and make their demands heard. Organizing to ensure their children’s survival during Peru’s decades of internal violence, mother’s concerns were seen as natural, and therefore apolitical (Femenías 2005). This notion of motherhood is still at play within the Clubes. However, instead of mobilizing it to make political claims to the state, it enables Mamas to leverage and negotiate the terms of their labor.

Clubes take many forms throughout the highlands, from popular dining halls to a wide array of micro-enterprises, including textile workshops. Within the Clubes,

motherhood as a mode of kinship “points to what people have in common rather than what makes them distinctive” (Strathern 2005). Strathern argues that kinship speaks to relations that can create connections through the power of articulation, while also pointing to the connections between persons inflected with a precise and particular history. In the context of Peru, as Femenías (2005) points out, “mother” serves to connect contemporary women and their lives with an immediate past, and an indigenous one, one both of violence and survival. Women became mothers and supported each other as a way of pooling resources and finding modes of livelihood after losing their homes and families. This shared history of violence, poverty and motherhood exists through the silence of the older mamas, now grandmothers, like Mama Cirila. This notion of motherhood, present to this day and mobilized on a daily basis shapes the forms of relationality inside the workshop, informing the way Mamas negotiate how their labor is ‘ethically’ articulated within the garment supply chain.

Within the notoriously exploitative garment industry’s turn to ethical and socially responsible fashions, indigenous artisans are sought out for their handwork associated with their ethnicity and textile traditions. Women are not only able to mobilize the same ethnicity that has marginalized them and has put them in harms way to negotiate the terms of their labor, but this has also become a source of value in these ‘ethical’ supply chains. As these groups become part of ethical fashion supply chains through the mediation of development actors, it is important to consider how notions surrounding what is ethical in a supply chain interact with this notion of

motherhood to understand how work unfolds, what ends up counting as ethics, and how this is translated into value.

The conjunction of rapid national industrial growth, development involvement in capitalist supply chains, and a turn towards global ethical fashions allows women, as mothers, to negotiate the new power relations that entered their communities in the insurgency's wake in the form of nation re-building and development projects. It is in this context that motherhood becomes central in the ability of women to assert their claims to engaging in 'ethical labor,' to negotiate and push back on aspects of labor like wages. Women as mothers can negotiate elements of labor often considered outside of their control, and assert on their own terms what they claim to be exploitative practices, even if this differs from how the industry or NGOs see exploitation within the fashion industry.

Workshop Organization

At the time of my fieldwork there were 60 tejedoras members of José Escrivá, mothers of all ages and even whole families. For example, Mama Cirila's daughter in-law and the mother of her daughter in-law were members of the group. Workshops are organized around the women's home life, daily housework activities, family commitments and community expectations. Mamas are accountable as members of the group and can be expelled for not meeting the requirements, like keeping regular attendance and paying group dues. The women are divided into two groups of 30; half meet in the workshop every Tuesday and the remaining half on Thursdays. Unless Natalia or another industry actor was in town, the Mamas' would meet in the

afternoons after they had finished doing housework, tending crops, caring for animals, preparing lunch, and making sure the children got home from school. When Natalia, or other designers, were in town, the Mamas' would meet in the mornings and afternoons. Around 10:30am they would start leaving, heading to the market and to prepare lunch. They would return in the afternoon during their regular meeting times.

As I came to find out during my fieldwork in Cusco shadowing the work of Ayni with 5 different Mother's Clubs throughout Ocongate, this way of organizing work and meetings in the workshops was pretty standard across most Clubes doing artisanal textile work. Groups in Ocongate are much smaller than José Escrivá, and our drives and visits to the groups had to be scheduled during the one day a week the groups met. Some members would hike for two or three hours to make the meeting and this would be the only day they came into town. If we did not arrive at the right time, we would find the workshops spaces or designated meeting area completely empty.

All groups have a rotating directive, similar to a board with a president, secretary and treasurer. While in the groups around Ocongate the women select these positions, and anyone in the group can take over any position after someone's tenure is over; in Huancavelica the priest chooses the president and the women select the rest of the positions. These officers keep track of member's attendance, material use, completion of work, accounting records and supervise quality standards. Yet, all business decisions, like agreeing what orders to take and what pay to accept, are

discussed and agreed on by the entire group. While the bulk of work takes place at home, during the weekly meetings the artisans show the progress of their work, get more materials, ask for help if they are having difficulties with a particular design or garment, and hangout with each other. They gossip, joke and talk about issues affecting the community, and organize to help fellow members going through dire situations. For example, during the rainy season the son of a Mama fell into the river that crosses through the middle of Huancavelica and drowned. She was a single mother supporting two children with her work as an artisan. The group used some of the money from the communal fund to help her pay for the funeral. Each member donates 10% of their earnings to maintain materials and other supplies, pay utilities and help out in situations like this.

Club de Madres and the Assertion of Expertise

One day Julio, a worker of the Huancavelica CITE came to the workshop to discuss a new order from a returning US client. The Mamas had done a collection of boutique hand knit alpaca accessories the previous year and the client wanted to subcontract them for this year's winter-wear collection. Julio stood up in the middle of the room, in front of 40 Mamas and their children. The client wanted 100 hand-made alpaca accessories and would send them references of the styles and color palette they wanted. However, the client thought their handwork, while exceptional and considered unique because of the women's indigenous and historical authenticity, was too expensive. When Julio mentioned the client wanted to pay 50 cents less than the previous year, all the women began protesting, barely letting him get a word in.

He managed to say: “but Mamas, it is only 50 cents. It is a returning client; we don’t want to lose that client. We do this one for 50 cents cheaper and next year they will come back, and then the year after.” Securing long-term clients is a big problem faced by subcontracting practices in the supply chain. However, Julio’s arguments fell on deaf ears.

The Mamas had a lively discussion, all disapproving of the pay cut. “We are not just handwork, this is our heritage,” “We are born knitting,” “...*tejido* is part of our culture.” Huancavelica is known in Peru for its unique textile techniques and the Mamas know that their textiles are seen as remnants of pre-Hispanic traditions they have inherited and view the unique handwork skills required to do the textile work as essential to their ethnicity. This is a big draw for industry clients who want garments that cannot be made just by anyone. “We want to get paid what we deserve.”

The Mama’s continued their arguments against the pay cut, bringing up the dependence of their children and families on their income. “We’ve put all this effort so that our children can go to school and they can have a better life;” “you are playing with our children’s livelihood and future;” “we are all mothers here.” They all emphasized how their work was necessary to provide for their families, even those artisans that do not have children of their own. Mama Mariana walked up to Julio and said: “we can agree to get less money, which will affect all of our children, my children who help me, but then they might still not hire us next year.” These comments echoed the notion of motherhood based on a mother’s self-sacrifice and vulnerability; ultimately what they are considering fair payment is not a selfish

demand or a worker negotiating a wage, it is a selfless act, not for them but for their children. For the mamas, as mothers, they all need to stick together and defend their labor, the income for their families and all they have managed to acquire to secure a life for their children that will allow them to be educated and obtain a career. Julio did not have one supporter among the group.

I saw many moments where Mamas' pushed back in front of industry actors and NGO workers, like Julio. During my fieldwork I never saw the mothers disagree amongst themselves in front of industry actors and CITE employees. Behind closed doors the women discuss and argue about work, but in front of the industry they stand united. At most individual artisans would share their complaints and tell Marta and other CITE employees about the internal disagreements of the groups during personal conversations outside of the workshop space. Julio, exhausted, stopped arguing with them and sat at the table next to me. Even though he didn't agree with the Mamas' business logic, he knew he was beaten. Resigned, he told me: "there is no way of arguing with a group of hardworking mothers," and that in the past when he persisted they surrounded him and hit him with spools of the soft, fluffy alpaca wool. Mama Cirila, who was sitting nearby, heard our conversation; stood up holding the spool she was knitting with and hit him over the head while laughing. Julio negotiated with the client and in the end the mama's did the accessories for 25 cents less.

Later, in a private conversation with some Mamas they told me they refuse to be exploited, especially after what they have lived through. They explained that Julio's support of the pay cut was a way of sustaining exploitation, rather than

looking out for their best interest and needs, which they felt should be the reason for the CITE's existence. Any support for forms of labor that would disrupt their moral obligations as mothers and members of their community was, for them, exploitative. Their 'natural' duties as mothers' came first and their work should be organized around these, not vice versa.

This solidarity expressed through the idiom of motherhood is based on newfound moral obligations and positions of moral authority mothers assumed in maintaining their communities in the face of the 1980s violence and destruction of kinship ties. This solidarity of motherhood is also present in the silences; as Mama Lily mentioned to me "it is painful to remember." This is also the silence of the strength and determination to rebuild families and communities, of the skills and ingenuity put into place to overcome those painful events. It is in the silence of the older generation of Mamas' women developed a set of approaches to labor, work and family that allow them to negotiate their articulation within expanding capitalist markets.

Translating the Work Ethic of Motherhood

A couple of days after this incident, Julio and Marta, related to me the difficulties of mediating between the industry and the Mamas. They both expressed that industry buyers do not care if the women are mothers or not; while they want to be ethical they ultimately need the work done at a reasonable price. For Julio and Marta, the buyers' demands are not necessarily unethical. How can they be unethical if they are going to great lengths finding local mediators, travelling long distances

often times through poorly unkempt roads, dealing with altitude sickness and harsh weather? They could clearly have garments made through less complicated avenues. Moreover, this effort also speaks to the value of the unique handwork of the mothers', something only found in the Andes.

As employees of the CITE and career NGO workers, Julio and Marta saw ethics as ensuring the women are articulated in the supply chain without fostering exploitative practices of labor and unfair payment. However, their notion of ethics complied with the needs of the industry as well as what they described as a realistic, yet fair, payment and manufacturing practices. From the perspective of Julio, Marta and others in the NGO, long work hours and short turn-around times for payments similar to what is found in sweatshops, were not only unethical but implied a devaluing and disregard for the women's unique skill seeped in tradition. Securing women's participation, following the business framework in the supply chain and finding just ways of doing this within the bounds of the women's position as manufacturers was central to their understanding and enactment of ethics. As development workers embedded in the community, their sense of ethical behavior cannot simply disregard women's own voices and assertions in regards to work-times and payment. Ethics for them was providing the women with necessary skills and connections to make their work in the industry appealing, and consistent. As CITE employees they had to help women negotiate their participation in the supply chain in a fair yet 'realistic' way. Mamas, in their view, needed to become part of and understand the business culture and notions of ethics popular within this world.

Ultimately, for them success is found in ensuring sustainable and consistent work, allowing Mamas to secure profits.

For Julio and Marta, blindly supporting the Mamas' notion of ethics would mean both dismissing the 'ethical' turn of the garment industry as much as de-valuing local textile traditions. If Julio and Marta simply accept all of the Mamas' demands the business deals they broker with industry actors might fall through. For example, Mamas' sense of temporality often clashes with the needs of this fast paced industry, as discussed in the chapter. Simply giving into their demands of the Mamas would not help them fulfill their work as development actors.

These gaps between what was meant by ethics and exploitation left NGO workers like Julio and Marta in the midst of a moral dilemma that I take as central to how supply chains are constituted as 'ethical. Julio and Marta conveyed to me that Mamas' "react in these ways because they don't understand how business works," especially when the aim of business is to secure profits, something the women desperately need. Securing profits is seen as more than just a mark of success, it also means the traditions and culture of the women, which has been marginalized and cast as vulgar or folkloric, but today is valued and recognized as contemporary, beautiful and relevant. Yet, in the context of the notoriously exploitative garment industry, ignoring or dismissing the claims of "vulnerable, hardworking mothers' who are sacrificing for the betterment of their families" would de-legitimize their professional commitment as development actors. Both Julio and Marta, raised as Catholics, share the paradoxical notion of motherhood that allows women to mobilize this kinship

category within this new labor landscape. They had to reconcile their own sense of moral commitment and policing of a functional yet ethical articulation in the supply chain with their own sense of the value and respect of mothers, and with the notion of ethics that motivates industry buyers to want to manufacture their work with the Mamas because of their unique historical traditions and expert handwork.

The particular ‘apolitical,’ ‘natural’ notion of motherhood that emerged in Latin America in the face of state violence both allowed women to enter and be protected within the political arena. Through the intervention of development work within supply chains and the garment industry in times of peace and post-authoritarianism; the moral weight motherhood carries allows women artisans to organize and assert forms of labor management that challenge common power structures and notions of what counts as ethical labor within the garment industry. Mamas are not completely naïve when it comes to the limits and problems within the supply chain subcontracting system. As Mama Mariana argued when she challenged Julio’s business logic, accepting the pay cut is not a guarantee of future contracts for the same brand. While having a source of income the Mamas are still conscious they can not afford the goods they make, that the alpaca wool sold to the industry by their families and communities is a luxury good they barely see any profits from, and that while their living conditions have improved they are still impoverished. This argument highlights the limits and problems inherent to the capitalist supply chain system and the attempts to make this system both ethical and sustainable without affecting existing power structures. For Julio and Marta the arguments put forth by

the Mamas' to defend the conditions of their labor carry weight not because they are only a legitimate labor claim and an insight into a real problematic with the garment subcontracting system; but because it was voiced through the idiom of motherhood. Yet, I see that the particular meanings and experiences of Motherhood for the Mamas are how they conceive of what a legitimate labor claim consists and therefore carries an implicit insight into the subcontracting system. Implicit in their claims is an understanding that if exploitation is pushed to far within this subcontracting system, it can not only call up memories of their experiences during the era of terror but could itself become a system that pushes them back into the conditions of bare life they experienced during that history.

PART 2: Liberation Theology, Violence and Capitalism



Figure 10: Artisans from Mallma working with profesoras from Ayni Art

While Clubes de Madres are a common form of community organization throughout the Andes, they are not the only kind of grassroots organizations found.

The impact of violence in the 80s and 90s was felt differently throughout different highland regions. While places like Huancavelica were directly affected by the violence, communities in other regions, like Cusco, lived under the constant threat of violence. As the violence extended to the bordering region of Apurímac, the threat of violence became part of daily life. During the 1980s there was a constant threat of the insurgency establishing hubs in rural areas and of counter-insurgency efforts also entering these communities. The racism that casted all indigenous communities as potential Shining Path sympathizers simply due to their ethnicity, became a real threat to other kinds of left-wing political movements found in the highlands, like Liberation Theology. In Cusco, the history of grassroots NGOs that are composed of Mamas and work with different Clubes de Madres is intimately tied to the shift in left-wing politics that occurred with the emergence of the Shining Path. During this time all left-wing groups and other social movements, especially those composed by or fighting for social justice in highland *campesino* communities, faced the potential of being associated with the insurgency.

The decades leading to the Agrarian Reform of 1968 saw increasingly violent Quechua *campesino* uprisings against the *hacienda* system. Large haciendas throughout the rural areas of Cusco, including the one in Ocongate called Lauramarca, were targets of organized and violent revolts led by *campesinos*. Many *campesino* communities throughout the region had already been part of different forms of political organizing in their struggle for social justice. During the 1970s Liberation Theology proliferated and further motivated different groups to organize

and continue their political activity. Because this social movement came out of the Catholic Church it managed to garner support beyond Quechua *campesino* communities. Liberation Theology groups organized by priests were composed of members from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, including sons and daughters of Quechua migrants, mestizos, Cusco creoles, and other Catholics. The emergence of the Shining Path forced a change in the modes of political organizing and indigenous social movements throughout Cusco and all of Peru.

During this time most left-wing political groups and indigenous movements, including Liberation Theology ones, had to dissipate or go underground, transforming the types of work done with and within communities. Military, government officials, and citizens associated left wing politics and indigenous movements with the insurgency. During Fujimori's regime this attitude continued as oppositional figures to the regime would be persecuted and imprisoned under the assumption that all left wing and/or indigenous politics were somehow associated with the insurgency. To this day the impact of this repression and associations lingers; there is not a strong left wing presence in Peru and most indigenous social movements focus their efforts on environmental issues.

Liberation Theology groups feared the repercussions of being seen as associated or of sympathizing with the Shining Path by military and para-military groups or of running into Shining Path cadres in remote rural areas. As one of the Ayni professoras told me once they felt comfortable talking to me about their Liberation Theology background, "I don't even want to imagine what would have

happened to us if we went into a community and the Shining Path was there, or if *campesinos*, already on edge, mistook us for Shining Path sympathizers.” While both political movements were advocating for social justice among indigenous and *campesino* communities they took very different approaches to addressing the widespread poverty and marginalization of these communities. The Shining Path followed a Maoist Marxist ideology that sought to replace Peruvian institutions for a communist *campesino* revolutionary regime, and to achieve this armed rebellion was necessary. Liberation Theology was based on a reading of Catholic theology and the Bible based on the compromise and work with and for the poor: “unless we make an ongoing commitment to the poor, who are the privileged members of the reign of God, we are far removed from the Christian message” (Gustavo Gutierrez 1995:312). As Tahar Chaouch (2007) points out, Liberation Theology was the expression of a widespread social movement conceived from a progressive and popular identity based on the experience of social inequality found in Latin America. Liberation Theology followers sought to overcome the structural causes of social injustice that sustained poverty, underdevelopment, imperialism and capitalism. It was conceived as a form of praxis and while many priests throughout Latin America supported revolutionary efforts, in Peru Liberation Theology groups did not engage in armed struggle. Moreover, unlike the Shining Path, they refused to use violence against the communities most affected by these structures of inequality.

This threat of violence by the Shining Path and government forces diverted and altered existing forms of indigenous political organizing and that of their allies.

Liberation Theology groups disbanded, and while some simply stopped their political activity, others found new ways to continue, especially at a time many felt rural Quechua communities were most vulnerable. The category of the NGO allowed some Liberation Theology groups, like Ayni, to continue working with *campesino* communities under the guise of apolitical work, like crafts production. Silence about Liberation Theology ideals became central to the operations of those once involved with the group. As I explore in this section, this silence by no means implies that this ideology was abandoned by those that once were active in the movement, but continues as a quiet undercurrent in present-day grassroots NGOs, like Ayni, in Cusco. No one in Ayni claims to be part of a Liberation Theology group, and it wasn't until many months of fieldwork that profesoras began to make explicit connections to this ideology to me. As the Liberation Theology priest and ideologue Gustavo Gutierrez points out "this is not just a matter of methods, but a life compromise, a style of life, a way of professing our faith, it is spirituality" (1982:127). This praxis of Liberation Theology continued in silence as NGO work.

Today, these groups are part of broader networks of neoliberal development trends, an ideology in opposition to the ideals of Liberation Theology. Liberation Theology in Latin America produced an early critique of and alternative to capitalism: "Injustice and inhumanity grows in the industrialized nation, the globalization of the economy brings about the lack of solidarity in our societies" (Gutierrez 1988:45). Paradoxically, while the work of Ayni is influenced by Liberation Theology ideals and background, in post-authoritarian Peru their work

coincides with neoliberal development trends. As an NGO, Ayni has increased access to resources that they would not have if they had shifted back to becoming a political organization in this present time of peace. This new way of engaging with communities and the government as an NGO was not only a protective measure, but altered the politically inclined conversations that were unfolding through the guise of craft and women's work.

From Indigenous Politics to Indigenous Crafts

The director of Ayni, with the support from various partnerships with ISUR, the regional government of Cusco and other NGOs, organized a small congress for artisans affiliated with Ayni. With this support Camila secured transportation, food and lodging for over 60 artisans from all over Cusco to attend this two day event. The women participated in different talks and workshops about various policies and approaches to business and markets as part of development projects and government efforts. Government officials from MINCETUR and PROMPERU came as speakers to talk to the Mamas; and a Quechua lawyer that had also been a member in the Liberation Theology groups in Cusco joined them. He provided support to the different NGOs that former members of Liberation Theology groups had formed, like Ayni. These talks explained the different business categories⁸⁸ the workshops could

⁸⁸ The main business categories discussed centered around the differences between formalizing as a small or medium size business (PYME), or becoming recognized as an Indigenous/Campesino/Afro community organization. There are laws that serve to protect these organizations, which are still considered as non-profit and informal. Since spaces like workshops do make profits the laws that protect this type of organization serves to regulate communal materials and what happens with them and the space of work upon the dissolution of a group, so that no one member can benefit from keeping or profiting from that. Profits

formalize as, the nuances of each category, and the reasons behind formalizing explained and discussed with Mamas. The visitors also discussed with the women the different laws that protected their work under each category, and how to do proper receipts necessary for taxes.

The room was filled with the directives of each participating artisanal group sitting around in small clusters. Toddlers were near their mothers while older kids ran around the small patio outside of the room. Most of the women were knitting or spinning thread as the talks unfolded. At the end of the two-day congress the lawyer looked at the room full of women and told them that now that they knew their rights, and the legal and business avenues available to them, they could assess the different options they had through the different development efforts they were participating in. He emphasized that they needed to know what becoming a business consisted of, and that each workshop needed to consider what was at stake if they agreed to formalize. They shouldn't just blindly accept what the different NGOs, CSRs and government efforts were promoting.

Señora Camila occasionally intervened when the lawyer was presenting, bringing in examples from different groups. After he was done talking, she told the group

“Mamas’, now that you know all this information, you need to get together with all of your artisans. As a group, you need to think what is the best option to follow for you and your community. Just because one thing is being promoted does not mean that it will be the best for you, your family, your

done during the time of operation of such workshops are left to the members of the group to manage. These organizations are exempt of reporting certain taxes and dealing with things like receipts and other accounting paperwork.

community. For some it might be best to stay as a Club de Madres,⁸⁹ now that you know the legal protections you have as such. For others it might be better to register as a PYME. Think what is at stake by becoming a formal entity and what type of formal entity. We organized this Congress so that you have the necessary information to make those decisions. You need to make these decisions in an informed way, and the most important is to think how doing this will affect your lives, think about our lives, our communities, what is the one that will let us do our work and support our way of life. Not just because we are told you should do this or that does it mean that is the best option for us. We are the ones who really know what's in our best interest, in our communities' best interest. Yet, we can't dismiss all of the avenues and system that are here at our disposal, we need to learn how to use them to our and our community's benefit.”

The women clapped as Camila finished her speech. The congress ended with a ceremony in honor of *Pachamama* and the *Apus* done by a *Paqo*⁹⁰ from a nearby community.

While poverty alleviation was one of ISUR and Ayni's main goals, ISUR actively promoted entrepreneurializing workshops as they sought to bring artisans into supply chains. As we saw in the Congress, Ayni took a different approach. They asked the women to be critical of what is best for supporting and sustaining Andean ways of life and community organization, while still participating in these efforts. This is one of the ways in which Camila sees her Liberation Theology ideals influencing her own NGO work, an undercurrent to working for social justice while asserting Andean ontologies and subjectivities over the ones promoted through development. The NGO allows those in Ayni to use the existing system of development to garner benefits for these groups while trying to critically engage with

⁸⁹ Clubes de Madres are considered a form of Indigenous/Campesino/Afro communities in Peru.

⁹⁰ Andean Shaman

the subjectivities of entrepreneurialism the communities are being pulled into, and the things they consider as unjust within this neoliberal-market system.

While Ayni's approach is not fully in line with the objective of NGOs that subcontract them, like ISUR, their interventions are not seen as threatening to the development work carried out. On the contrary, government bureaucrats I interviewed from PROMPERU and from ISUR saw her emphasis on supporting Quechua culture as a sign of good ethics, "selfless" behavior, and commitment to her community rather than an influence from and practice of a left-wing ideology. Ultimately, she is not asking the women not to participate in this system but to be mindful of the terms by which they agree to participate in the different markets and how they approach poverty alleviation and improving the community's ways of life.

Since the 1980s, Ayni began creating, growing, organizing and strengthening textile workshops throughout the Cusco region. Ayni is composed of profesoras, artisans from established workshops across Cusco city that collaborate with Señora Camila. Quechua profesoras help women artisans from other groups form grassroots networks of support across workshops. They share their experiences, modes of successfully running a workshop, and failures while also teaching each other textile techniques and discussing their experiences in different markets.

Señora Camila is in charge of creating liaisons with government agencies, CSRs, other NGOs that can support their work, as well as helping Mamas make commercial connections. These subcontracting networks are central to the work of such a small grassroots organization. Besides helping them to obtain resources to hold

the congress, they also help profesoras reach hard to access rural areas. What started as a grassroots effort to maintain networks across Quechua communities following the ideals of Liberation Theology during the decades of violence became part of the proliferation of NGOs and business-led development projects in post-authoritarian Peru.

Señora Camila and those involved in Ayni shared with me that they were invested in making the development and supply chain systems work for them and their communities. This understanding, according to them, was implicitly informed by their previous formation in Liberation Theology and the need to conceal this fact in order to continue the struggle for social justice faced by Quechua communities. For a period of over 20 years this was an ideology they could not claim without explicitly politicizing their work in a way that would be detrimental to their efforts and safety. The apolitical nature of many NGOs helped further a view of their work as one of aid rather than of political organizing, helping them obtain access to new networks and resources. As they became used to my presence and got to know my personal politics and history they began to make brief, yet more explicit, references to the Catholic ideals of Liberation Theology, and how it shaped their understanding of the poverty and racism faced by their community and culture.

Liberating the Poor, Entrepreneurializing the Underdeveloped

Señora Camila grew up in what used to be a rural area on the outskirts of Cusco, known today as the San Jerónimo neighborhood. Hers was the only non-Quechua family in the area at the time. When I first met Señora Camila I assumed she

was a native Quechua speaker, due to her fluency, accent when speaking Spanish, and ways of relating with the Mamas. On one of our many long car rides to Ocongate, she told me, to my surprise, no one else in her family speaks Quechua or has much relation with Quechua culture. “Since I started going to school, all my friends spoke Quechua, I learned playing with them. If kids today barely learn Spanish in school, you can imagine back then: no one learned Spanish. I played with them, went to their houses, was part of the fiestas; I always felt part of the community. My parents weren’t hacendados or anything, we just had a small plot of land.” When Camila reached middle school, her family moved to Cusco so that she could continue her studies. Camila’s parents were devout Catholics and as a college student during the 1970s she became part of a Liberation Theology youth group. Compromise and participation in the liberation of the oppressed was a site of obligation and liberation within Christian life. People from different backgrounds became involved in this movement as part of their own practice of religion and relation to God. It was during this time she moved back to the house and neighborhood she grew up in.

This was the first time the link to Liberation Theology was narrated to me, after many trips and visits with Ayni to Ocongate. During the first trips I did with them, Camila and the different profesoras would ask me questions rather than answering mine, especially when I asked about Ayni’s origin and why they started working with textiles. Even though I’m a Puerto Rican, born and raised in the island, they were suspicious of my blue US passport. They would respond to my questions with questions about my family background, family history and personal politics

concerning Puerto Rico's political status and relation with the US. One day Señora Camila told me, "there are many things about your history, and mainly your parents' history, that resonate with me." Camila and many of the other professoras were suspicious of US politics, and were critical of the ways many gringos engaged with Quechua people throughout Cusco. Due to my particular position as a citizen from a non-incorporated US territory, from a family involved in pro-independence movements, and as a minority living in the US mainland they began opening up about their Liberation Theology background and influence.

"We don't believe in violence, we were never violent, we come from Liberation Theology. Very different from the Shining Path, but it was a very dangerous time. I, and some of the other people in the group, we felt a strong commitment that we could not just disappear and leave people in the countryside even more isolated than they are. Especially, in a time where many were threatened with violence caught between the Shining Path and the Peruvian Army. That is when we decided we needed to change our approach to be able to keep in touch with the communities, ultimately we wanted social justice for our people, to be able to live better lives while having our way of life respected. That is where we decided to go into crafts production; it was not a politically related activity. I knew nothing about textile but I learned it to keep our work going. And now I don't know anything about fashion, look at how I dress! But it is what the work is about now".

Out of this motivation and commitment to the ideals and practice of Liberation Theology, Ayni was born alongside other NGOs all banded under the name of *Qosqo Wasinchis*, the house of Quechua culture. By focusing on textile crafts, those that continued their involvement through Ayni continued working towards social and economic justice, the assertion of the values of Quechua culture, and improving the lives of rural communities without the risks that came with being seen as political or left-wing. The apolitical perception of crafts created a veneer to

safely continue their political work. Textile traditions are so entrenched in Andean communities that it made sense that women from different communities would want to help each other in developing something they did in their everyday life. The quotidian and exceptional nature of these traditions became a perfect site for the ideals of Liberation Theology to become a driving undercurrent of their work. Who was going to see a group of women knitting with other women as a threat?

Sitting with Camila in her house and main headquarters of Ayni drinking coffee she told me, “you know when I started Ayni-Art I knew nothing about textiles, or alpacas, or making clothes, nothing. I learned everything as I went and I started just organizing the workshops and helping them commercialize their products. Little by little I learned everything I know about tejido and about alpacas, they are such special animals. They are special within Quechua culture but working with textiles you really learn about their importance, it is something that you feel.” Her dining room and living room looked like a warehouse, full of every textile craft you could possibly find in any souvenir store and market stall throughout Cusco. Piles of scarves, shawls, gloves, hats, blankets, placemats, wall-decorations, and even puppets covered all of the furniture of both rooms. The shift from political organizing to crafts-work forced Camila to become acquainted with a specific cultural arena in a capacity previously unknown to her. Unlike the profesoras that work with Ayni she does not knit but she is familiar with the importance and role of textiles within Quechua culture.

As Liberation Theology went underground it no longer provided a structure for political work. In its place, accessing different markets became a way for those who wanted to continue addressing the social injustice of poverty and the structures that marginalized Quechua culture without being overtly political. It was also a way of asserting the value and importance of textile traditions central to Andean life. According to the tenants of Liberation Theology, cultural and mental categories alongside social structures are part of the way in which poverty has been imposed. Sustaining textile and other material practices, seeing the value and beauty in them, maintaining certain ways of making and the meaning of these textiles was an important part of the early work done by Ayni influenced by this ideology.

Through the same networks that once formed the Liberation Theology groups, Ayni was able to establish contacts to export alpaca textile products to France. “There were priests in France that took part in Liberation Theology, that supported us. One day in the 80s, I don’t remember exactly the year; I received notice that a French man wanted to serve as our donor and commercial liaison in Paris. I’ve never been abroad, but ever since then I would select the best-made textiles to export to Paris, and they wanted alpaca. It began changing, before we would sell whatever the communities had that were made with alpaca... Now the process is more sophisticated and there are standards and they even place orders of specific things, but that’s how we started exporting.” What started as a church related charity effort through what once were Liberation Theology solidarity networks slowly became increasingly entangled with market and commercial interests in Europe, that came with an understanding of

alpaca wool as a luxury material. The objects exported as indigenous textiles began to adapt and change, increasing the divide between what was made in communities for communities and for export.

These charity networks slowly became formal business connections, as they continued without the mediation or involvement from the priests that enabled them originally. New expectations concerning the types of objects exported and the way alpaca wool was used in them became central to these new business connections. Textiles for these exports started to shift, fulfilling certain quality standards, European notions of taste and imaginaries of authentic indigenous objects. Artisans could not continue sending to France whatever they made with alpaca wool or what they saw as samples of exceptionally well-crafted textiles. Guiding notions of beauty and what was a well-crafted object according to the notions of artisans and those involved in Ayni were not enough to fulfill the expectations of this new exports market. In this process the treatment and value of alpaca wool itself had to be reconsidered within artisans' own practices. "Also, now we have gone back and remind tejedoras about the importance of treating the wool a certain way. They were so used to selling it all, what they keep is for their consumption so they didn't wash it the way it has to be washed to make garments for exports. They would mix it with wool and acrylic to make their own garments warmer, but also to sell to tourists as alpaca, but they are itchy. They can't do that now." Even though it was assumed the artisans had expertise in their treatment of and work with alpaca wool, they needed to re-learn how to properly treat it to maintain its market value as a luxury material. The

wool, and the surfaces and objects made with it, needed to meet certain material qualities, have appropriate textures, weight, and cleanliness.

Many of the same workshops exporting to France were also selling textile crafts in tourist and local markets. Some artisans did not really know where to sell, or what markets were accessible, while others had a hard time selling their traditional textile crafts to tourists who found the crafts too expensive, too colorful, unappealing to their tastes, or of poor quality. Those involved in Ayni began helping translate traditional crafts, making them appealing to the imaginings of what traditional Andean textiles are appropriate to sell in different markets. What tourists bought was not only different from objects they could sell in local markets, but had to be priced differently. As profesoras from different workshops started to successfully provide goods to these markets, they began sharing knowledge of markets. Acrylic sweaters used by most Andean women as daily wear, sold better in regional markets; while alpaca and sheep wool sweaters were appealing to tourists and could be sold at higher prices. Tourists do not buy textile crafts or garments that have too many bright colors or that are too 'busy' with designs, creating a gap in the aesthetics of the objects sold in different spaces. Moreover, some textile techniques were not worth trying to sell to tourists because their complexity made them too expensive for that market. These more complex techniques, like the *chuyos* discussed in Chapter 2, were left as objects of consumption within communities or for high-end popular craft spaces.

As artisans began participating and navigating these new markets, which required adapting traditional aesthetic and material practices, they did so by using

existing networks of mother's organizations to organize and share knowledge. This happened through networks originally established through Liberation Theology groups and by actors still influenced by this ideology. This active sharing across women through both Clubes de Madres and the NGO Ayni can easily be interpreted as women, empowered women, taking control of their own progress and development. Yet, the drive behind the women's participation in these markets is not just about empowerment, or their participation from an individualistic, entrepreneurial, development subjectivity and mode of being. The idea that the poor need to be active participants in the improvement of their own life, while meaning different things in Liberation Theology and neoliberal-development systems, allow for one to operate within the other. Liberation Theology asked for the poor, inspired by religious faith, to become actors in their own liberation against the structures of power that oppress them, seeking major changes in the structures of inequality and underdevelopment central to capitalism. Creating awareness in impoverished communities to achieve social change was a central practice of those involved in Liberation Theology; part of the work Ayni sees itself doing. On the other hand, neoliberal development trends posit the responsibility to overcoming underdevelopment on impoverished individuals by transforming them into active participants in their own life-improvement by generating income to address poverty. Both systems at a superficial glance promote the poor to be active participants in the process of overcoming poverty.

Aftermath: Liberation Theology, Mothers, Neoliberalism and Development

As Clubes de Madres are integrated into development and market assemblages they are not simply subsumed and seamlessly subjectivized into the neoliberal and capitalist logics of these networks (Subjectivity NGO reference). In this process the discourse and subjectivity of motherhood becomes important in this encounter with development paradigms and subjectivities such projects seek to produce. Women do not see themselves simply as potential entrepreneurs or workers; their engagement with markets is driven by their commitment as mothers to their families and each other. Motherhood and the ethical responses expected towards such category is used by the women within these market-development assemblages to demystify power relations within the supply chain, and negotiate the terms of work and ways women become active participants in the supply chains.

However, these groups do not reject, refuse, or attempt to fully alter or challenge these systems. For Camila and those involved in Ayni it is important to be able to exist and have a space within this system that allows them to benefit from income generation while maintaining their own cultural life. As Camila once told me “this is the way things work today and we have to engage with it for the benefit of our communities.” While one may hear similar comments from other development actors like Marta, this statement carries a different weight coming from Señora Camila and other Ayni members. The Liberation Theology ideals that fostered the transformation of a left-wing Catholic activist group into an NGO are maintained in the eyes of Camila and the professoras in the ways they are able to create this space while being

able to maintain Andean ontologies and moral economies, asserting the importance of their way of life.

Camila understands participation in these networks as fostering a sense of value in Peru and abroad towards cultural practices historically entangled in structural forms of racism. The way in which value is accrued through the pericapitalist spaces that compose the supply chain, also allows Ayni's Liberation Theology ideals to continue as an undercurrent in their practice. As a group, they continue adapting their practice in relation to the dominant trends in development and movements of new markets, particularly fashion markets. For Camila and the profesoras poverty was still a form of injustice based on forms of structural inequality and racism in Peruvian society that extended beyond the economic, to include the devaluation of Andean cultural categories and traditions. And while there is an overlap between the aims of poverty alleviation from ISUR and other neoliberal development trends that operate through market logic, fostering artisans to just become entrepreneurial subjects was a way of supporting social injustice. Those involved in Ayni, mainly the profesoras that had experience operating inside diverse markets, knew that putting communities, and especially women, at the mercy of the market in a society where violence against them is part of daily life,⁹¹ was not a true solution to addressing the structural causes

⁹¹ Critics of women empowerment's development projects, specially business-led ones, argue that the emphasis on women as targets for loans and development reinforces gender stereotypes without paying attention to the cultural specificities of intra-household gender relations. It is based on an assumption that women will gain a voice by simply bringing money to the household. Gill (2000) argues that the message being sent to women is that emancipation comes from having money and conforming to Western stereotypes of appropriate female behavior. Thus, when taking into consideration local cultural gender

of poverty. Women artisans from already marginalized communities could easily become exploited, cheap labor.

The solution to addressing marginalization and poverty in highland Andean communities was not going to be obtained by simply increasing the income of these communities. While Ayni was a central part of these NGO networks, and even helped legitimize the work of ISUR in the region by helping them gain the trust of communities who knew Ayni's profesoras as fellow community members, Ayni's profesoras were still critical of certain changes that came with making fashion, even if these fashions were 'ethical' or 'socially responsible.' While an increase in income could help ameliorate issues like hunger and malnutrition among individual families that would successfully work in the supply chains those in Ayni worried this could erode notions of collectivity and community of the Andean *ayllu* system. They also worried that simply increasing income would not unmake the racist structures that have kept highland communities marginalized, or of finding pride and value in their way of life. Social justice, from Ayni's perspective, involved increasing income and alleviating poverty while supporting Andean ways of life, indigenous ontologies, moral economies and cultural practices. In order to do this, they considered important to be able to participate from fashion markets. Successes for them meant being able to bring into play their own terms as they participated from the alpaca wool and garment industries.

dynamics scholars point out how and increase in women's income might increase subordination to patriarchal norms. For more see Goetz and Gupta 1996, Grimes and Milgram 2000, Isserles 2003, Kabeer 2001, Mayoux 2005, Montgomery et al. 1996, Rahman 1999.

Señora Camila, the profesoras, and the artisans throughout Cusco were pushed into the world of fashion, runways and luxury boutique alpaca garments. “I don’t know anything about fashion, look at how I dress, I know that the Mamas don’t understand the concept of fashion and it is hard to explain it to them, but that’s where the industry is going and we all have to adapt to certain changes. And to be honest I don’t think I’ll ever fully understand the logic of fashion,” Señora Camila told me. On more than one occasion I heard similar statement coming from Camila and the profesoras. In these new networks women artisans had to not only pay attention to Western tastes, bodies and notions of beauty, but had to pay attention to the quality of alpaca, standard sizes, finishings and blocking, shifting styles, seasonal colors and western notions of design.

Artisans in Mallma, Ocongate would often work sitting under the mid-morning sunlight in a patio in front of the workshop. At that time of day the cold winds of the *puna* hadn’t picked up and working outside was more enjoyable and warm than being in the dark interior of the newly built community center. The Mamas from the group were completing a collection of hand spun-undyed alpaca thread for an Argentinean boutique. The knit of the garments was very light and loose; they were making unbuttoned cardigans and a series of small knit tops and dresses without sleeves. Mama Paulina lifted one of the cardigans and said: “how can one keep warm in one of these!” Señora Camila looked at me while saying, “Paticita can explain better than me why they are that way; go on tell them about fashion.”

All the Mamas looked at me waiting for my explanation. I was already the one who dressed differently. And even though artisans, NGO workers and fashion designers enjoyed making fun of the black Mary Jane shoes I regularly wore, shoes they all saw as appropriate for school children and that I was too old to be wearing, they still assumed I had good insights about fashion. I explained that those garments aren't meant to be worn on their own, but as layers combined with other articles of clothing to keep warm and look stylish. Mama Paulina replied that they also dress in layers but none of their layers are that thin. Women in the highlands combine various sweaters in layers with different colors, often bright and vibrant ones, and textures also considering how they match and look with each other. Yet, their logic of what goes with what, what colors and textures go well together, is not the same as that of what is presented as fashion through magazines, blogs, and other fashion media. Certain seasons call for thicker knits and others for lighter ones more dependent on layering and on how to combine layers to create a particular look. Mama Paulina interrupted me and explained to me that this way of dressing just doesn't work in the highlands. "It's so cold here that a knit like that even in layers would not keep us warm. We need thick layers of sweaters, in a tight knit, even if they are heavier. Warm is most important." My almost instantaneous reply to Mama Paulina reproduced the popular fashion discourse that asserts that dressing stylishly is not about being warm or even comfortable, but first and foremost is about looking good, being up to date, following a certain or the latest style or trend. While I am by no means a slave to fashion and see myself having a critical engagement with that world,

it is hard not to repeat such hegemonic fashion discourse almost without thinking. After all, I have worn shoes I could barely walk in just because they looked good.

Señora Camila intervened in the conversation, directing her answer to me rather than to the group. “One of the most difficult shifts has been to convince the tejedoras to make larger more complex garments.” The Mamas are used to make the stitches tight like the ones they use when they make clothing for themselves or other family members, and shifting the tension of the different techniques they are used to making with wool for their own garments takes time creating new surfaces and textures. I had already seen the Mamas’ in Huancavelica fight with Natalia because they didn’t want to make dresses or knitting stitches that were too time consuming. Even if they are making the same stitches, changing the tension or amount of thread used requires a change in the way they are used to, slowing down their rhythm of work. Camila continued, “They were used to make smaller garments and accessories and would make many objects faster using the same stitches. Making fashions, well they have to make bigger things and more complex, it takes them more time affecting how they allocate and organize their daily activities.”

For Señora Camila and the profesoras becoming part of fashion supply chains brought about changes in the aesthetic and material practices of knitting and textile work, something that in turns affects other aspects of women’s daily lives. If the women are to become part of these networks they need to get used to these series of material changes. Yet, for Camila it was important to consider how these changes in the material practice of textile work alter women’s daily lives. The temporality of

textile work for the industry vis-à-vis the temporality of daily life became a source of resistance and contention in the negotiation between industry, development actors, and artisans, as will be further discussed in the next chapter. For those involved in Ayni protecting a certain temporality and other moral economies became the way they could help artisans become part of these supply chain assemblages, while still being committed to their notion of social justice influenced by Liberation Theology. Upholding Andean ways of life and being was central to pushing back against the social structures that have caused the poverty and marginalization of highland Quechua communities, while being able to participate and reap certain benefits from this market system. Participating from alpaca garment manufacturing chains should not come at the cost of altering modes of being and moral economies, but not participating meant that the women would continue living under conditions of extreme poverty.

As a grassroots organization still influenced by ideas of Liberation Theology, those in Ayni were seriously concerned with the changes and impact working in fashion would have in the women's lives, their cultural, family and community commitments. Articulating women into these supply chains, without considering these commitments, would sustain structures of racism. Yet, Ayni members also knew that in order to obtain income that would have a direct effect against poverty, artisans needed to engage with these new markets, even if it meant changing what was made as fashion and as traditional textiles. Camila saw as the role of Ayni not only to mediate with the industry, but to mediate within development worlds to make

projects work while maintaining as a primary concern Andean social structures and cultural traditions.

Conclusion

In this process textile cultural traditions had to change and expand. New textile objects needed to be made and sold as both native arts and fashion. The handwork of Andean women as well as their use of time and how embedded their textile work was in the 'natural' rhythms of Andean life became important sources of value and markers of authenticity. This created a certain level of independence between the aesthetic and objects made and their understanding and value as ethical, indigenous or authentic. Traditional Andean aesthetics, within fashion, are not just about how things look but how, who and where they are made. Even if the cardigans and cropped shirts the artisans in Mallma were making didn't look particularly visibly indigenous or native when hanging on a boutique display or hanger, they were still considered as such because of the handwork of the women and the unique texture they create with the wool, and the context and temporal space in which they were produced.

Motherhood and other ideologies, like the influence of Liberation Theology, are central to how the women are articulated in the supply chain and how notions of ethics and authenticity are negotiated. Even if the labor requests surrounding fair payment the Mamas in Huancavelica have might seem unrealistic to NGO mediators, as a request of mothers who don't fully understand how business work, they mobilize a moral discourse important to translating their labor as ethical and their handwork as

authentic. For those in Ayni, as well as for the CITE employees of Huancavelica, preserving the value of handwork and being able to make mesh as much as possible the temporality of textile work within these networks of mothers is important for the work done in making fashion supply chains ethical. To do this they have to engage with the histories and experiences that shaped a particular notion of motherhood, as well as with the political history that forced certain political movements underground transforming into NGOs.

In the context of ethical supply chains these pericapitalist spaces are shaped by a particular history of violence and racism as well as solidarity that came out of struggles and survival. How these histories shape women's workshop organizations and what the women understand as ethical are translated into value and a material enactment of 'ethics.' Yet, while all actors involved in the supply chain seem to coincide on the importance of notions such as ethics, social responsibility, the cultural value of alpaca wool and work of indigenous women; the underlying meaning of these categories and their enactment are different, causing a series of surface tensions. These surface tensions and the negotiations that cause them ultimately shape what becomes fashion and what tensions can be translated into sources of value. The new textile surfaces created as fashion, different from what the women are used to making, for 25 cents less, and as they produce as indigenous/*campesino*/afro community organizations, make material these relations and tensions. The political histories that unfolded in Peru through the 80s and 90s, and ideologies that posed a serious criticism to capitalism, are able to work within market assemblages further

becoming part of the silent threads woven, made as fashions and part of the price tags
of garments

Chapter 4: Ethical by Design: Fostering Fashion as Economic Development



Figure 11: Artisans looking at *Vogue* magazine

The CITE, working on the capacity of commercial liaison between artisans and the garment industry, sponsored Natalia's monthly, weeklong trips from Lima to Huancavelica. She was there to design and produce a collection of boutique-quality alpaca garments and accessories with the Mamas' from the Club de Madres, José María Escrivá. On a Thursday morning in March, I accompanied Natalia to the artisanal workshop José Escrivá, located near Huancavelica's city center, only to find it quiet and empty. Instead of the 50 women knitting and chatting while their children play, only Mama Cirila, the group secretary, and three tejedoras were there. Grabbing her purse to leave, Mama Cirila told us the mother of a tejedora had passed away on Wednesday and they were on their way to the mass. No one was coming to work. Manufacture had paused during February because of a regional festival and this was

Natalia's last chance to ensure the garments were on track for completion, fixing any mistakes before the *Peru Moda* trade show, just one month away.

Natalia became visibly anxious; she had only met with the artisans on Tuesday and after this visit she would do one final trip in early April, only two weeks before her deadline, not leaving enough time to fix any substantial mistakes. She told Mama Cirila, in a weary and hesitant tone, "Well... I'm leaving town tomorrow... I'll see you in April." As we all walked out of the workshop, a concerned but resigned Natalia turned to me: "Well, there is nothing else to do. Let's go and see if Marta has some good sightseeing suggestions." As we walked into Marta's office, located a block away from the workshop, she looked at us and said, "what can you do about this, you know how it is around here." Marta had heard about the death of the tejedora's mother and after living in Huancavelica for 5 years knew that community situations like this would affect Natalia's work schedule. For Marta and Natalia, both Lima natives, the mass of the tejedora's mother shouldn't be an excuse for everyone to take a full day-off work, except for the family and close friends of the deceased. The church where the mass took place was a 5-minute walk from the workshop, and it would only last a little over an hour. Moreover, as Marta commented, not all of the 50 tejedoras were going to the mass. In the eyes of Marta and Natalia, with the upcoming deadline the tejedoras should have worked for half a day or at least a couple of hours, and the ones not going to the mass should have gone to the workshop.

Despite all the anxieties of Natalia and the CITE employees, in the end the collection was ready by the deadline. True, some garments weren't properly finished

or had mistakes, and had to be discarded. “The more you work with artisans, the quicker you learn that you always have to prepare for things like this to happen,” said Natalia, a comment echoed by other designers who also work closely with artisans.

Anxieties over mediating between the often clashing fast-paced labor expectations of the garment industry and artisans’ labor practices plagued manufacture. The task of mediating between these conflicting demands and temporalities fell on development actors, NGO workers like Marta, and others subcontracted by NGOs, like Natalia. During my 20 months of fieldwork I repeatedly witnessed similar situations as NGO actors were caught between the tensions of a moral commitment to work with indigenous artisanal communities, the manufacture rhythm of the industry, and their own development goals. In order to keep production ongoing and on time, NGO workers navigate the harsh Andean landscape, notorious for dirt roads that make transportation a challenge, and ways in which indigenous daily life re-casts manufacture. Development workers are central to the economic system of the supply chain of alpaca garments, negotiating and mediating business relations, wages, temporalities of manufacture, and notions of ethics across diverse actors.

In this chapter I focus on the work of development actors from the CITE and Ayni as they negotiate with artisans how to keep fashion manufacturing ongoing and ‘ethical.’ Ethics within this assemblage entails promoting worker autonomy, respect, fair wages and non-exploitative labor practices. Exploring the role of development actors as key economic mediators serves to critically engage with how notions of

ethics and social responsibility are enacted, understood, negotiated and translated across actors in the supply chain in ways that influence business practices, what counts as a ‘successful’ development project, the objects produced and the movement of wool and textile surfaces across the highland landscape. This chapter is divided into two parts that explore the spatio-temporal aspects of the supply chain. Here, I engage with Bear, Ho, Tsing and Yanagisako’s call to address the lacuna in understanding how heterogeneous timescapes of capitalism intersect in practice. “The time-space contradictions of capitalism are multiple and mediated through the human labor in/of time” (Bear, Ho, Tsing and Yanagisako 2015). How do non-capitalist modes of temporality mesh- or not- with capitalist temporalities?

The first part juxtaposes two communities in the region of Ocongate, Cusco to explore the dissonances in the imaginings and expectations of what development is and does in the supply chain. What does development in a supply chain look like? How does it function? How do NGO workers navigate through the gaps in the supply chain to try and address various and sometimes contradictory needs, goals and practices? To explore these questions I examine competing accounts of social responsibility and textile crafts that allow for disparate results to be considered as successful development outcomes. As Chalfin (2004) points out, focusing on the connections and disjunctures of a supply chain challenges widely held assertions about power relations within and between global markets, states, rural communities, and I add, development work. “Global economic forces are driven by distinct, not always compatible agendas” (Chalfin 2004). As Friedberg further argues,

intermediaries and actors in supply chain networks “participate in multiple struggles- some waged at the level of national and international social movements, others at the level of village disputes- to define where goodness in food lies” (2004:31). In this supply chain these negotiations and struggles define what makes fashions and the textures created as ethical. Here, I explore the gaps between these intentions and agendas in relation to how actors imagine the work of NGOs within the supply chain and its material outcomes. Central to these negotiations we need to consider the landscape of the highlands, which affects how the supply chain operates, why NGO work is important, and how ethical behavior unfolds through it.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the temporal negotiations that take place as manufacture unfolds between NGO workers and artisans in Huancavelica and Ocongate. “Design... moves with the temporal mood of history as traces of the movement of time” (Bruno 2014:32). As manufacture unfolds, I pay special attention to the ways NGO workers navigate the challenges of the Andean landscape while managing how artisans assert their work time and daily life, moments like the one Natalia faced where community practices override industry labor demands. How do women living in highland communities exert their own forms of pressure on the supply chain? How do these women shape the way the supply chain actually works? The temporal relations and tensions between manufacturing needs and how manufacture unfolds in an ‘ethical’ way, often times lead to moments of frustrations faced by NGO workers and designers who are trying to “make things work” that I take as constitutive to the supply chain and how ethics and value are produced.

Understanding these temporal negotiations that unfold in the supply chain is important to comprehend how wages, specifically the piece-wage, is understood as ethical in the way it helps mesh capitalist and non-capitalist temporalities. Piecework has become an increasingly popular way of moving away from exploitative low-waged factory work and a way of fostering fair payment. Wages, as defined by Marx (1995), are a unit of measurement for the price of labor, made up of the daily value of labor-power divided by the average number of hours in the working day. In the time-wage the price of the working hour serves as a unit measure for the price of labor. Regardless of the amount of order or products to be made the price of labor is determined by the amount of hours worked rather than the quantity of objects produced. In the piece-wage the measure of price is based on the quantity of products in which labor has become embodied during a given time. For Marx, piecework was the most exploitative form of labor, serving as an important source of wage reduction and heightened exploitation. For example, a laborer could potentially spend more time on production without getting paid for that time. In a piece-wage the quality of labor is also controlled by the work itself, in order to be paid the piece-price the objects produced need to be done in the required quality, which in turn makes superintendence of labor minimal.

Today, the piece-wage is seen as fostering economic development, while keeping costs low, and making capitalist supply chains ethical by avoiding the imposition of a disciplined mode of labor. Rather than enforcing a foreign 'work-ethic,' it is seen as enacting 'ethics' in the way it allows women the freedom to

maintain their culturally important activities and modes of life. Since in the piece-wage the measure of price is based on the quantity of products in which labor has become embodied during a given time; the tensions between temporality, ethical commitment and ethical modes of labor and remuneration become particularly visible when the piece wage is construed as a way of alleviating poverty in an ‘ethical’ way. In light of the temporal entanglements between Andean and fashion worlds, ethical wages become a paradoxical claim that show the limits of how pericapitalist spaces operate and come to be understood as spaces that create value in a non-exploitative manner. But first, I want to contextualize NGO involvement in capitalist market expansion as part of a larger global development trend of neoliberal reforms across developing nations.

In the early 2000s the goal of development efforts throughout the developing world was to mitigate the effects of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), which had produced high rates of unemployment, the loss of public benefits (such as health care and education) and led to the rise of informal economies (Gill 2000, Isserles 2003, Scully 1997). This neoliberal notion of development that became popular in the early 2000s stood in stark contrast with ideas of development that grew out of modernization programs in which governments should play an active role to foster economic growth in their countries. The responsibility of development, which used to be that of the state, fell onto a new system that asserted that development was to be achieved by incorporating the poor and disenfranchised into market networks. Micro credit and entrepreneurialism were fostered throughout the globe as a mode of

neoliberal development: formalizing informal economies, and creating new modes of credit based-citizenship for the marginalized (Elyachar 2002, Paley 2001, Gill 2000, Yunnus 2007, Iserles 2003). This new development paradigm centered on business rhetoric, entrepreneurialism and credit accessibility, stressed the free market as the path to market democracy; empowerment would create wider social, political empowerment (Mayoux 2005). The poor turned entrepreneurs had the capacity to empower themselves and become active citizens (Elyachar 2005, Paley 2001).

Andean scholars such as Gill (2000) argue that this approach to development allowed for market expansion through the proliferation of the development sector. This expansion reconfigured existing social relationships between the poor, the state and NGOs, opening up new arenas for daily struggle. Creating small-businesses based on existing or 'traditional' practices, such as crafts and textiles, became a way of incorporating existing practices of the poor into free markets (Elyachar 2002, Milgram 2008, Zorn 2005). Craft production promoted development while reviving cultural traditions and improving living conditions (Cochrane 2008, Milgram 2008).

Throughout Latin America the development apparatus is entangled in the establishment of neoliberal democracies, particularly in nations transitioning from authoritarian regimes. During Chile and Peru's transition into democracy micro-enterprise was packaged as a mode of democratic participation. In the case of post-Pinochet Chile, Paley (2001) argues that the shift from community and social organizations into micro-enterprises created a focus on generating income rather than demanding rights and benefits from the state. In Peru, after two decades of internal

violence, authoritarianism and political repression, many politically oriented community organizations disbanded or shifted their foci of activities towards seemingly non-political activities, such as craft production and popular dining halls. These changes in activities did not completely displace the political intent of community organizations; rather politics seeped into entrepreneurial development projects and, later on, into supply chains, as discussed in the previous chapter. As Elyachar (2005) points out “NGOs need to be analyzed as part of- rather than something lying outside- the dominant mode of political economy in the world today.” As market focused development became the norm in Peru, trends in corporate social responsibility, the recent economic and cultural boom, and present re-imaginings of Peruvian nationhood, create a unique way for supply capitalism to unfold with NGOs as key economic actors.

As markets expanded through the work of development and NGOs, business actors involved in supply chain capitalism describe their work as not just economic, but moral: more than just business, it is a way to develop rural areas and promote the democratic participation of citizens (Freidberg 2004, Chalfin 2004, Tsing 2009). Local customs and ways of managing time the women emphasized, developed and cherish out of specific recent histories (as discussed in Chapter 3); however, constrain and remodel supply chains in ways that resist the temporal needs of global markets, such as quality standards and rapid manufacture turn-around. Moreover, as Friedberg (2004) further points out, with the expansion of supply chains power came to be operate in new ways through the the social relationships of postcolonial commodity

networks. As these new niche goods flow from postcolonies in the global south, the material conditions and social relations of ‘quality’ and tradition are transformed.

The temporality of the fashion system, a global cultural industry, characterized by fast-paced production, contrasts to that found in the Andean highlands. In the highlands the organization of textile manufacture is organized around women’s daily responsibilities: herding, agriculture, cooking, childcare, participating in local traditions, etc. While the need for fast paced production led the fashion industry to rely on outsourcing and subcontracting practices to create a supply chain of alpaca garments, the uneasy assemblage of knowledges, labor, actors, and material resources does not function according to a singular or desired response to market demands (Tsing 2009). In Peru, it is development work that marries these competing desires, knowledges, practices and actors while development networks serve as a kind of moral police expected to uphold and assure ethical practices in the work.

In the Peruvian alpaca garment supply chain, development is more than a discourse that allows business actors to claim a moral form of work; it is central to the economic assemblages of the supply chain. As we will see in this chapter NGOs are key on-the-ground economic actors, intrinsic to the flexibility of the supply chain assemblage.⁹² Different assemblages, like development NGOs and the garment

⁹² I find the concept of assemblage as discussed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) useful as it highlights the interactions between actors and intentions without presupposing the networks they compose and categories are discrete social objects or things. It allows a space to account for the effect of contingency and ways in which a variety of different elements come to matter, as do the specific histories and experiences actors bring into these network-relations.

industry, can intersect, becoming part of each other and creating new networks of actors and intentions into new economic, cultural and aesthetic formations. Thus, an assemblage is not defined by the elements that compose it (e.g. NGOs, artisans), or its characteristics (e.g. garment manufacture and alpaca wool), but by “the lines and dimensions it encompasses in ‘intention’” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:245). Intention within this supply chain encompasses the tensions between moral work and the politics of indigenous daily-life, profit making, fashion making and the revalorization of traditional crafts. The entanglement of all of these intentions are structural to the supply chain and influence what objects get made, how they are mobilized, what a craft is vis-à-vis fashion, and how value is created. While value is seen as mostly emerging from economic exchange relations, in which price and utility are the predominant measurements, within fair trade markets, a shifting set of moral ideas about the relationship between economic actors and between people and the things they consume, produce and sell have begun to matter (Besky 2014). To this I would add that the actual materials, aesthetics and processes of manufacture and design are also central to notions of value, and in turn are also re-shaped and re-signified by how their value is perceived. The intertwining of the development apparatus with a supply chain assemblage in Peru allowed NGO workers to be flexible in the roles they took, and how they positioned themselves within the chain. As Elyachar points out (2005), “ideas about the market are inextricable from the implementation of new social technologies, and the spread of new social practices.”

A notion of assemblage also urges us to keep in mind that actors in one assemblage can also compose and be part of multiple assemblage systems at once.

Within crafts and textile markets, artisans negotiate which new social technologies and practices will be accepted or not, often to the dismay of development workers. Complications like the ones faced by Natalia arriving to an empty workshop are common and constitutive of this supply chain. The moral entanglements allows for daily Andean life, traditions and local temporality to seep in and remodel the supply assemblage causing tensions with the market's need for production speed, tensions that become part of how value is produced. Divergent ideas about what practices are ethically responsible allow development workers to fulfill expectations from multiple actors and make manufacture work. These entanglements of intentions and practices complicate and blend the categories of fashion, craft, and traditional textiles without challenging what is considered authentic, global and Peruvian. Yet, these garments are not made or meant to be consumed by the Andean bodies that produce them based on their perceived inherited-traditional skill. Women are meant to alleviate their poverty and be valued or empowered by participating form the fashion system by making garments rather than wearing them.

At various instances throughout my fieldwork industry and government actors explained Peru's participation in the global garment industry as integrating market and ethical concerns. This is reflected in decisions by state and NGO development projects to incorporate non-industrial/artisanal garment production into global markets. As the director for the Cusco-Puno PROMPERU told me during a meeting:

“There is no way we can ever compete with China. Paticita, think about it. Why would we even want to create the labor conditions in those factories?”

They produce fast and large quantities but they have cheap unskilled labor and handwork, they are exploitative. We have some of the best handwork in the world based on our ancestral traditions. Why would we want to exploit artisans to compete, or make less quality objects?”

In multiple conversations she stressed the importance of ethical responsibility as the way of creating a sustainable supply chain that could take advantage of Peruvian raw materials (alpaca and pima cotton) and textile traditions.

NGOs, in both regions of Ocongate and Huancavelica, saw their task as articulating native textiles into markets, and re-organizing artistic practices to fulfill market needs. However, as work in the highlands progressed with artisans, native textiles, fashions, and crafts were all produced as part of projects to promote traditional textile work. While the actual work occurring in workshops is not guaranteed to be destined for markets and might or might not be innovating on existing traditions, whatever gets produced is made to ‘work on paper’ for meeting the goals of funding agencies and CSRs. It is important to consider how individual communities can benefit from the same development project in disparate ways, while still being deemed ‘successful’ within an industry permeated by corporate sponsored development and a rhetoric of ethical responsibility. Such translations that occur at the conjunction of development work and supply chain-subcontracting practices allow artisans to remain open to possible markets for them to participate in and ‘native textiles’ for them to make.

What does development look like?

There are major gaps on communication, expectations and outcomes between corporate sponsors or industry actors, and the communities they work with. The

organization of manufacture allows NGO workers to inhabit and attempt to bridge the gaps between different conceptions of ‘efficient’ business practices and ‘tradition’, both within and between artisan communities and other supply chain actors. As Colloredo-Mansfeld (2002) points out in his work with artisans in Ecuador, what counts as ‘efficient’ business practices and tradition, from workshop administration to developing traditional designs, is constantly negotiated by those involved in craft markets. NGOs, like Ayni in Ocongate, and the CITE in Huancavelica, serve as catalysts for such negotiations among artisanal groups concerning the role of workshops in development and what counts as tradition. The positionality of the NGO workers, allows for the engagement of communities and markets that are often unforeseen by CSRs and other industry actors who subcontract them. Communities and their NGO actors can on the one hand re-negotiate the terms of ‘development’ while allowing for the production of ‘indigenous crafts’ to go into unexpected avenues, such as fashion. These historically specific textile surfaces and textures produced as fashion become a place of connection.⁹³

To highlight the negotiations central to the labor of the NGO Ayni, as a subcontractor for ISUR’s Alliance for Native Art, I focus on their work with workshops in Marcapata and Mallma. Both towns are part of the 5 communities located alongside the Interoceanic Highway that worked with Ayni as part of the

⁹³ For Bruno (2014) creating texture means creating affective connections. These affective connections become part of and are manifested in the textures of a surface. While the next chapter focuses on the actual textiles surfaces created, I still see the negotiations and relations discussed in this chapter as constitutive and texturing the garments made. They influence and affect the materiality of the garments.

Alliance. Alpaca textile production was defined in the Alliance project as an inherent aptitude of people in the zone that- with innovation and the introduction of an entrepreneurial ethic- could help foster economic development while preserving local culture. Ayni's main task was to act as commercial mediators helping artisanal groups in communities along the road obtain access to various markets. The profesoras saw their work as building strategic partnerships that would help create a larger network of professionalized Quechua artisans across Cusco, mostly from different Clubes de Madres. Ayni's profesoras believed manufacture should be organized to respect the rural rhythms of life and existing forms of community organization as a professional way of working, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Workshops involved in the Alliance, like Mallma and Marcapata, have different craft production expectations, views on development, how they work with the profesoras and the textiles produced. Mallma is located in an area known for complex and unique weaving techniques, iconography and alpaca herding. Marcapata is the last Quechua speaking, alpaca herding community in the cloud forest before going into the Amazon and the last town participating in the Alliance for Native Art. While families in Marcapata herd alpacas, they have no traditional textile practice and use textile products from places like Mallma. This didn't deter ISUR from incorporating them into the Alliance for Native Arts. These projects were based on an imaginary Andean indigenous cultural region based on the assumption of a generalized traditional crafts culture which all residents of the region participate in. This idealized assumption ignored existing cultural variation and relationships across

local communities. Marcapata was ultimately included in the Alliance due to their Quechua ethnicity, alpaca herding practices, ways of textiles use and consumption- how community members dressed- and location along the road. I often heard ISUR employees and NGOs state that indigenous people had innate textile artisanal abilities, regardless of the skill levels of particular individuals.

ISUR arranged transportation from Cusco to Ocongate twice a week for Ayni's profesoras. All the work in the communities had to be organized for those two days, which also had to coincide with the days the workshops met. This presented a challenge in juggling the schedules of multiple communities located across distances of an hour or more from each other. Failing to make it to work with a group during those two days might mean not being able to follow progress in manufacture for three weeks to a month. Even though the new road eased travel across this large region, the harsh environmental conditions of the high-altitude environment make travel to workshops difficult. Spatial and logistical difficulties created one of the many discrepancies between ISUR's project expectations, and the particular reality and expectations of individual communities which Ayni's team had to navigate.

The new road allowed for electric lines to be set up throughout many communities, such as Marcapata. ISUR equipped the new workshop with electric threading machines and an electric loom. However, much to the frustration of Ayni's profesoras and the tejedoras, most of the textile crafts produced were unusable and unsellable. Though Ayni's profesoras had encouraged the group to sell their crafts at the local market as a way to begin creating market relationships, assess client tastes

and be mindful of market standards, it was not going well. After a one-day ISUR sponsored seminar on seasonal colors and knit wear, the tejedoras began making scarves, purses and sweaters all in the same shade of brown. They used too much thread making everything too expensive and heavy to wear. They weren't selling anything. Not even their neighbors would buy their alpaca crafts. The profesoras had to supervise their work every step of the way. While they could do basic textile production it was not up to the standards of any market, and their products were simple in both technique and design. "It is not the same to knit a sweater for your granddaughter, daughter, you understand, family... than to make something to sell or something traditional that has a different kind of meaning," Camila told me as we walked to the car. She proceeded to explain that artisans from this community did not have a sense of design because they did not have a textile tradition; they consumed what other groups made.

Since Marcapata's workshop was born out of the Alliance, textile production was established in relation to Western fashion and manufacture systems, independent of any regional traditions. Profesoras were not just commercial agents, they were a necessary resource for tejedoras to learn and develop a new trade that would eventually allow them to take advantage of opportunities that came with the road, such as a future increase in tourism. As some of the tejedoras from Marcapata stated during our visits, development was a way of obtaining materials and training to develop a new trade. Frustrations aside, they saw it as a future way of supplementing

existing economic activities: alpaca herding, agriculture and income from illegal gold mining in Puerto Maldonado.⁹⁴

Unlike Marcapata, Mallma did not have a workshop space or equipment. The tejedoras would meet in a big yard in front of Mama Antonia's house, near where the bulk alpaca sale described in Chapter 2 took place. As we walked into the yard, Mama Antonia jumped and said excitedly, "Profesora Camila, see how the dresses are looking!" The group was in the midst of making dresses for an Argentinean designer using undyed artisanal alpaca thread, which they had made from their own alpaca herds. This group was exceptionally skilled and profesora Rosario was staying with them to make sure the dresses were up to export standards. Mama Clementina pulled out the dress she had been knitting all week while profesora Rosario spread a *licllia* on the floor so the dress wouldn't touch the ground. "Some of the Mamas are starting to work on the crochet necks for the dresses," said profesora Rosario. "Señora Camila" eagerly interrupted Mama Clementina while giggling. "We tried the dresses... they are so crazy! I've never made anything like this! We looked so funny!"

Mallma was the last community to take part in the Alliance under conditions negotiated between them and Ayni, not ISUR. As Mama Antonia, one of the tejedoras, explained to me "we don't trust NGOs, they come here, set things up and

⁹⁴ Illegal gold mining is an important source of income and economic growth throughout the region. The money men made as illegal gold miners was often times used to fix up and build houses, send children to school, and buy cars that allowed them to work as taxi drivers. Working in the mines is a regular source of employment for highland men who go to work when economic hardships arise as a way of making good, quick money.

just like that leave, and everything falls apart, they really don't care about us and we don't want that." Ayni had to guarantee them that all their work would be for profit. They would not spend time creating new products or innovating upon their existing techniques for the sake of a possible future that might or might not happen. Going beyond ISURs expectations for Ayni's work, Camila and the profesoras agreed to work with the group for an extended period of time, and to be involved in and respectful of their daily lives. The tejedoras wanted secure, consistent work—something that, in their eyes, did not occur by participating in development projects. To fulfill these requests profesora Rosario and her 3-year old son would stay in the community and supervise work one week a month. In order to receive a consistent workflow they would only produce designer garments for exports and national boutique fashions rather than innovating or expanding their unique textile practices. Producing objects based on their textile tradition would still have forced them to think about Western tastes, styles and use of color; however their consistent income expectations would not have been met just producing luxury crafts for tourist markets, which is small and highly competitive.

For Mallma tejedoras, Ayni's profesoras were not simply NGO workers; they were necessary to creating serious work relationships. These tejedoras would have been an ideal group to fulfill ISUR's goals of innovating on traditional crafts⁹⁵ but the tejedoras' experience of NGOs making failed promises precluded this possibility. Without mentioning specific projects or NGOs the women conveyed to me that in the

⁹⁵ Chapter 2 explains ISUR's main goal and development paradigm.

past they have participated in various projects that are functional as long as the NGO is around. In their current production they did not have to involve their sense of design, color, iconography or unique techniques—the cultural elements that led to the creation of the Alliance. Their main source of income came from the yearly bulk sale of alpaca wool, described in Chapter 2, and this was an opportunity to supplement their income to send their children to middle and high school. Moreover, the agriculture they once relied on was severely affected by climate change, forcing them to buy food they once produced. Making crafts as fashion became a viable economic activity. Each tejedora is in charge of producing at least one full hand made garment for each order, which range from 50 to 100 garments. The inconsistencies of subcontract work do not assure multi-year contracts with a foreign buyer and the limited quantities of garments produced per-workshop do not allow artisans to make a living only producing for luxury export niche markets. Thus, Ayni encouraged artisans to produce for multiple markets at once. This motivated artisans to continue engaging in other economic practices, like herding. For CSRs and government agencies involved in development, like PROMPERU, artisanal work for the garment industry is seen as supplementary income that women can bring to their households. Yet, for artisans their work in the supply chain is not just supplementary work to a main activity but is just one more modality of obtaining income. Artisans have a need for a ‘multiplicity’ of income generating activities, none of which is supplementary to main activities, and all of which are precarious or partial.

The region of Ocongate was re-designed, in part through this large-scale development project, to incorporate the road as the center of the region. In the development design vision for the Alliance for Native Art, textile traditions from the region became signifiers of remnants of the regions Inca past. Textiles from communities around mount Ausangate are known for complex surface textures that create detailed iconographies and a technique called discontinuous warp weaving,⁹⁶ which make for some of the most high quality textiles. Weavers are known for spending the necessary time to achieve desired effects and symbolism; a traditional man's poncho can take as long as six months to complete. Heckman's work⁹⁷ on the textiles of the region emphasizes how they are characterized as "representing Andean mythology linked to the natural world that has been expressed in one way or another since Inca times" (2006:172). This unique tradition was seen as something that could become part of a supply chain, by innovating on design and incorporating the skilled handwork of the artisans. Yet, this was not exactly the textile work the women were doing through the Alliance. Neither community fit the vision behind the Alliance for Native Art. Production unfolded differently in each community, highlighting the dissonance between the conceptions of entrepreneurial development projects and

⁹⁶ Technique of weaving traditionally done in Andean backstrap looms. In it the warp (longitudinal threads that run the entire length of the fabric) and weft (thread drawn through the warp) yarns do not pass from each self-finished edge of the fabric, or selvages. Selvages are the edges that run parallel to the warp and are created by the weft thread looping back at the end of each row; they keep fabric from unraveling. Warp and weft cross their own color area, and make a u-turn where one color meets the other color and the color changes. Both warp and weft are discontinuous, a structurally difficult fabric to produce. This technique does not occur anywhere in the world outside of Peru.

⁹⁷ For more see Heckman 2006, 2003, and Callañaupa Alvarez 2009.

imaginings of indigenous traditions the different actors in this assemblage have. The women from Mallma weren't interested in innovating on their designs; they wanted a reliable source of income. The women of Marcapata, in contrast, were actually being introduced into a new trade. While these disparate results do not follow what is envisioned for the implementation of the Alliance of Native Art, what occurred in both communities were not unmitigated failures.

ISUR did not take into account this variability and Ayni's profesoras had to adapt in mediating between the interests and intentions of specific communities and a CSR which did not consider differences between Quechua communities. "We work with all types of workshops and groups of tejedoras that are at all types of stages in their technical and organizational development" said Señora Camila to me when we first met at her home. Profesoras ended carrying out tasks they weren't hired for: they negotiated how each workshop would run 'efficiently', what 'traditional' crafts could be made (i.e. export fashions or basic textile crafts that one would make for home and family consumption), for what purposes and to what ends, providing technical textile assistance to get the work of the groups up to international market standards⁹⁸ and even organizing fashion seminars. Camila explained:

"Sometimes we start from scratch, other times there is already a Club de

⁹⁸ International market requirements establish a set of production standards for producers. These standards are different from production in national markets and for tourist souvenirs. Some of these standards include: the weight of the garment which helps determine how much material was used directly affecting price, finishings or blockings need to be done in particular way for a garment to be considered complete, blockings need to be delicate and strong to prevent garment from breaking/ripping easily, and all garments need to follow standard body size measurements (xs, s, m, l, xl). For a longer discussion of standardization in supply chains see Freidberg (2004) and Tsing (Forthcoming).

Madres or some sort of organization in place and we help with the technical aspects or business aspects. Other times we work with groups that are very skilled and need support in the logistical and business side of things, and sometimes we work with established workshops that need help commercializing their work.”

More than commercial mediators, they managed the intentions of each artisanal group while fulfilling their goal of integrating them into supply chains based on ISURs imagining of the regions indigeneity and cultural practices.

Glaring gaps between how ISUR’s imagination of the region and artisans’ interests in participating allowed groups to have a stake in the way they would be incorporated into particular markets and what they wanted to get out of development. They also opened the category of indigenous/native textiles to producing new objects, such as fashion garments. These new interactions created new textile textures in relation to the new physical landscape re-designed with the road. Artisans manipulated the system to fulfill their own understandings of their needs, while Ayni translated these variations from ISURs goals into developmental success in their progress reports. This report ignored the lack of income generated in Marcapata but focused on the textile equipment they received and increasing technical competence. It also saw Mallma as a success based on income generated, while not specifying what ‘native textiles’ they exported and for what markets. Gaps in the garment manufacture assemblage gave Ayni the flexibility to translate these deviations from ISURs goals (innovation in traditional design, industry involvement, etc.) into successes of ethical work.

While the actual manufacture and movements of objects through the supply chain does not unfold as planned or envisioned by ISUR, the assemblage functions. As important as the movement of alpaca garments to markets are the multiple ethical intentions and work that keep the assemblage going. The ethical work of development, while imagined differently by various actors, ultimately allowed some groups to pursue transnational commercial activities, negotiate the kinds of objects produced for exports (fashionable, yet ethical; traditional, yet luxurious; cosmopolitan, yet national), and allowed for the politics of indigenous daily life to remodel the supply chain. These gaps in Ayni's role as a development and economic actor allowed for complex negotiations that explicitly intertwined economics, indigenous politics and imaginations of the indigenous identity of the region.

Managing frustrations, making business work, paying ethical wages

Highway Textures

The current expansion of the garment industry into niche luxury markets driven by the 'valuable hand-made garments made by uniquely skilled indigenous handwork'⁹⁹ led to decentering the industry from the urban centers of Lima and Arequipa¹⁰⁰. Industry actors travel outside these historical centers of garment manufacture into small rural Andean towns. These experiences in the highlands

⁹⁹ This was the commonly description used by industry buyers and government actors about the importance of the supply chain.

¹⁰⁰ The Gamarra neighborhood in Lima is considered the national garment district. It is composed of small to medium scale, mostly, informal industrial factories for national consumption. This neighborhood is also known for informal factories that copy the designs of major brands. The two largest industrial alpaca processing factories are both located in Arequipa.

allowed many actors to ‘enter’ a different time and landscape inhabited by the tejedoras. NGO actors, like the CITE workers, knew how well organized most workshops are- how closely they manage members, keep records of materials and accounting, and collect quotas for maintenance and to help members in times of need or emergency. The work central to Andean life was made visible for those involved in the supply chain: how the women needed to tend their herds, manage household crops, care for children, cook, travel long distances (many times by foot) to the workshops while managing other income generating activities. Nonetheless, many of those involved in development and the industry questioned the way time was managed and prioritized across these activities.

Señora Camila and her profesoras in Cusco, as well as Marta and the other CITE employees in Huancavelica had to organize their pace of work around the tejedoras daily lives and modes of organizing, while finding ways to comply with the time expectations of clients in the global garment industry. The extreme landscape of the Andes further complicated relations between labor and time since NGO workers had to travel long distances at high altitudes through unkempt roads to reach the workshops. Time of work and visits to workshops are organized around climate, transportation, and the conditions of roads, all factors that vary seasonally. Interestingly, all of these factors also played a key, albeit paradoxical, role in making remunerations and wages ‘ethical.’ While typically these constraints and difficulties would be seen as factors that increase production costs- including those caused by possible delays-; in this supply chain having to navigate these spatio-temporal

difficulties adds to the perception of authenticity and skill associated with the artisans' labor.

Workshops spaces varied. Some met in spaces designated as community centers, like local schools, while others met outdoors or in artisans' yards. Some communities had a special room in the school with looms and other materials; others met in any empty room or yard (like the artisans from Mallma). A few groups did have designated workshop spaces solely dedicated to textile production. Once a group had a regular designated space they could keep equipment and communal materials. Groups that did not have their own space had to depend on the profesoras and NGO workers to keep and manage materials. Tejedoras that met in outside spaces were even more vulnerable to the elements than those who had indoor workshops. During the rainy season, regardless of the meeting place, the hardships of transportation and the long distances travelled by tejedoras forced many to excuse themselves from weekly meetings.

Twice a week I would stand on the sidewalk in front of the French Alliance Building in Cusco at 5am. On clear days the peak of mount Ausangate, a sacred *apu* in Ocongate, could be seen in the distance and I would watch the sunrise from behind the mountain as I waited for transportation to arrive. A white hatchback would pick me up with one of our usual drivers, before picking up Profesora Rosario or Profesora Rosita, on our way to Señora Camila's house. From Camila's house we would take off on a 4-hour journey into the valley of Ocongate through the Interoceanic Highway. During the rides we would hear Camila's schedule for the day, which

groups we would visit and at what times; after hearing this we napped until our arrival. The logistics of timing and scheduling visits were always complex, and in order to get work done it was not uncommon for the profesoras to stay overnight in some of the communities. If we arrived too early the tejedoras would be taking their animals out to graze but if we arrived around 10am they would be heading out to the market to prepare lunch, and if we arrived too late in the afternoon the winds would start to pick up and the tejedoras that walked long distances to the workshop would already be gone.

Logistical challenges were a common topic of conversation on our long drives, as we frequently arrived too early or too late. Señora Camila was highly organized, yet it was difficult to stick to her careful schedule. Since our visits were twice a week, we tried to visit three groups located 2 hours from each other. The distances across communities, the time spent at each one in order to work, and the limited amounts of time the women spend in the workshops, made it so that on many occasions we either were forced to rush to make it to another community, or we didn't make it altogether.

Ayni's Profesoras often complained of the limited time they were able to spend in the workshops addressing each group's particular needs, intentions for participating, and skill levels. "Ideally we would want to spend as much time needed to get to know the group, make sure we know what stage they are in, what they need to make products, and more importantly what would be a realistic market to consider for them. It is about more than just selling textiles; it is about getting to know the

community and creating support across artisans. That's how and why we work, to create networks of solidarity," explained Camila. Each community has its own particularities, textile histories and roles within the larger rural networks for the region. Some communities were known as textile producing areas selling in local markets, while others consumed these textiles. Even within communities that are known for their textile production some specialize in certain techniques and objects, like the *chuyos* discussed in Chapter 2. While many throughout the Andes learn how to weave at a young age, many engage in this practice to make things for their family, without any intention of participating in any market, which precludes them from engaging with any form of market-standards. However, CSR plans glossed over these particularities, and these gaps in the understanding of local community dynamics that span across a diverse landscape going up over *puna* landscape all the way down into a cloud forest, limited the resources made available to Ayni. Due to Ayni's own understanding of their ethical commitment as a Quechua NGO, often they would make sub-arrangements with the groups such as arranging for professoras to stay in a community or agreements like the one made in Mallma.

As we drove onto the first mountain pass into the Interoceanic Highway Camila began: "Ideally we will be able to do a quick stop at Cuyuni, Yanakancha and Marcapata, on our next trip we'll go to Mallma." On some occasions when we would arrive too early to the first community we might drop off Profesora Rosita or Profesora Rosario, and continue onto the next community to maximize time spent with each group, and pick up professoras on our way back. As profesora Rosario told me, "we

wouldn't want the mamas to feel like we aren't in solidarity with them." On occasions when we failed to make it to a workshop we would stop in the town of Ocongate and make a radio announcement¹⁰¹ re-scheduling the visit. When deadlines were coming up or when manufacture was beginning, a profesora might go on their own using public transportation and stay in Marcapata or Ocongate, the only two places with hotels. The trip from Cusco to one of the towns could take them between 6 to 8 hours instead of the 4 to 6 hours on private transportation.

The transportation logistics, which created frequent setbacks, were tied to the extreme landscape, and local social and economic organization. Most cab drivers lived in communities through Ocongate and often picked us up in Cusco later than planned. It was not unusual for us to stop at the drivers' houses on the way to drop something off, pick something up, greet their families and see the houses they built with money made during their times working as illegal gold miners in Puerto Maldonado. If there was snow in the highest mountain pass traffic would slow down and we would get stuck behind trucks going to or from Puerto Maldonado.

If private transport had its challenges, public transportation was even more complicated. Small bus companies take people from Cusco to Puerto Maldonado, stopping in communities along the road. Profesora Rosario and Rosita avoided taking the buses unless they had to. "They are never on time. Do you know how cold and windy it gets standing on the side of the road? If it gets dark and they haven't arrived

¹⁰¹ In many rural areas of Peru there is very limited cell phone reception. Leaving messages in the radio station is still a central mode of communication. Every afternoon these announcements would be made through the radio for all the neighboring towns.

it is even worse,” profesora Rosita told me during a long drives. “The buses are scary. They drive like crazy down the road! This is why there are so many accidents on this road,” she continued. That particular day we also gave a schoolteacher a ride back to Cusco, and she was happy to avoid the bus. “They are reckless, a couple of months ago a bus ran over one of my students! These children are getting used to having a road they didn’t have and you top that with reckless driving and no way of enforcing safe driving, it just leads to horrible tragedies.” One of the Peru’s major bus companies started a route through the Interoceanic Highway, but while these buses are safer they do not stop in the towns and are too expensive for local residents.

We drove up to Yanacancha, the highest, smallest and poorest community on the road, to make a quick stop to schedule a lengthier visit. Looking out the window as we reached the mountain pass I enjoyed the lunar landscape in which Yanacancha is located. The moment the car stopped both Señora Camila and Rosita stepped out and headed straight to the school. The town was a small cluster of 10 houses, with most community members living higher up, their homes invisible from the road. The elementary school was the largest building in town and served as a communal dining hall, weaving workshop and community center. To our surprise the school building was locked. Rosita and Camila scrambled past me in a hurry to the houses while calling out the names of the tejedoras. Everything was empty, windows were closed and the only sound was that of the dry and cold wind. Finally, someone appeared. “Where is everyone? All the señoras?” asked Camila. “Señora, people are still on vacation and haven’t returned. Everyone will be back once school starts next week.”

We got into the car and hurried down to Marcapata. Fiestas Patrias¹⁰² had ended a week ago and life, at least in Lima and Cusco city, had returned to its normal pace. People in town took the opportunity to visit family members living in other areas of Cusco, Puerto Maldonado and other regions of Peru. Camila and Rosita seemed concerned. “What are we going to do with this order for Japan?” asked Camila. Rosita replied, “I’m more concerned with scheduling with them to be here to help them out with the tejido”. The women in the group were new to working for exports but were skilled at knitting and still needed to learn industry standard blockings, measurement, etc. “You know they are not familiar with fashion, dressing here is different, but you already know this Pati”.

Moments like these reflect the tension between doing development work to help artisans and fulfilling business opportunities for the industry, in a place where the landscape itself and a different regional temporality play an important role shaping the space of fashion. Rather than feeling frustrated with the tejedoras, Señora Camila emphasized the need for respecting their temporality and work habits as long as they met deadlines and complied with market standards. Respecting the temporality of the artisans’ work habits is associated with a respect for their skill and their way of life. As skilled workers they know the time they need to make garments in the best quality they can while fulfilling their other obligations as mothers and community members. For those working within Ayni the production of garments should not be seen as informal type of homework or charity work, especially given

¹⁰² Fiestas Patrias celebrate Peru’s independence from Spain on July 28.

the increasing growth and reach of the industry. Camila and Rosita saw the promotion of a professionalized view of artisans as specialized labor as central to their development work.

Piecing the Ethical Wage

Workshops always ran according to the necessities, routines, customs and time constraints of the tejedoras. When Señora Camila or anyone from the CITE in Huancavelica needed to reschedule a meeting outside workshop meeting days the change had to be announced ahead of time to ensure that the majority of the tejedoras could make it. During the weekly meetings the president or group leader would take roll, keep track of materials needed, and revise the work in progress of each tejedora. Tejedoras would chat and hang out with each other, or/and obtain materials needed to finish the garments¹⁰³. Drastically altering this schedule is seen by both Ayni and CITE as challenging their ethical commitment by not respecting how the women organize their life and work.

The process of revising garments, carried out by NGO workers and fashion designers, was a central part of these meetings. Profesoras and fashion designers corrected mistakes such as missing knitting points and not having the right measurements, and addressed unforeseen issues that arose as the knit was being made. This textural contact¹⁰⁴ between fashion designers, like Natalia, and mamas,

¹⁰³ Tejedoras also use the workshop time to make garments for their own personal consumption. They would attend all meetings even if they were just knitting for their family. However, they can't use the materials from the workshop's stock for personal projects.

¹⁰⁴ Bruno defines this as: "...a transmission that connects different elements, a membrane that tangibly transforms the fabrication of inner and outer space" (2014: 91)

happened as textile surfaces were made, in this process forms of projection, transition, and transmutation take place as time for alterations were assessed, as fixing might affect a design, or as certain garments were scrapped due to time or other technical issues came up. More than just negotiations on technique, this collective touching and making of surfaces highlights the central quality of touch as always being immersive, reciprocal, and reversible, touch is never unidirectional even if assumed power relations in the design process seem to be.

If revisions do not occur in a timely manner throughout various stages of manufacture, which often happens, tejedoras would have to undo and re-do the garments to fix the problems. This meant doing the work twice, getting paid once, and delaying production. For the profesoras, and any fashion designer working with artisans, it was extremely important not to wait until the final moments of manufacture to make sure the garments did not have structural issues (e.g. sleeves are the same length, proper weight, follows designers specifications), and that blockings are up to market standards.

Workshops in Huancavelica were more centralized, located in the surrounding neighborhoods around the city center, and easier to access than in Cusco. There were rural workshops, but most were either supported by the CSR of the local mine, Minas Buenaventura, or had been affiliated to the CITE at some point in time. Unlike ISUR whose CSR programs were set to end 4 years after the construction of the road, the CITE (and in this case also the local mine) have interests in the region that require longer involvement with local communities. Many of the roads between

Huancavelica center, nearby towns and ‘pueblos nuevos’¹⁰⁵ with workshops were dirt roads. Most workshops were easily accessible by taxi or bus and since the CITE was a small organization, Luis had bought a car for traveling to workshops. Yet, CITE employees and fashion designers faced similar temporal logistical problems faced by Camila and the profesoras.

Natalia and I tried to coordinate our travel between Lima and Huancavelica. When she was in town we would walk together in the mornings to the workshops and have lunch with Marta, from the CITE. The CITE would bring Natalia once a year to design a collection with a selected workshop and to supervise manufacture. She would stay for a week every month to follow up before the collection ended up on a runway or foreign boutique¹⁰⁶. Most NGOs, like the CITE, work with Lima based fashion designers whose collections use tejido and/or incorporate into their designs Andean indigenous textiles. While fashion designers are recognized as the intellectual owners of the designs, the finished collections are owned by the workshops¹⁰⁷. While a particular designer can present the garments as their own, they can only sell the garments if the same artisanal group makes the reproductions to order. Artisans can alter the designs, reproduce them, and sell them independently from the designers to their own clients¹⁰⁸. For the CITE and other NGOs, it is central to their development

¹⁰⁵ Pueblos nuevos is the name given to recognized neighborhood that began as informal land settlements, such as communities that settled on plots of land decades ago as Quechua peasants fled from the violence of the Shining Path.

¹⁰⁶ In the next chapter I will discuss the design processes and aesthetic negotiations within the workshop.

¹⁰⁷ I elaborate on issues of property and authorship in following chapter.

¹⁰⁸ Unless it is a design sold with exclusivity to a particular brand or boutique.

work that artisans keep and develop a sense of ownership of the garments while learning design by making and collaborating with designers. These garments are supposed to be used as sources of inspiration by artisans allowing them to re-invent their own aesthetic and techniques.

To maximize Natalia's work time during her visits, the CITE reached an agreement with the women from the closest workshops in town. While the women would only go to the workshops twice a week they had agreed to go in the mornings and afternoons rather than just during the afternoon. Mamas would slowly trickle into the workshop between 9 and 9:30 in the morning and start working. Tejedoras would bring their young children, mostly toddlers and babies with them. Older kids would play around the workshops while the babies stayed near the mothers as they worked. Kids would run around, hide under the large worktable in the center of the room playing with each other and with the spools of thread. No matter who was visiting the workshop or how close a deadline was, once the clock struck 10:45 AM the tejedoras would silently start wrapping their children onto their backs to go to the market and prepare lunch. They would sit down on their chairs with the babies on their back, put their work away, pick up their bags, stand up and start leaving. "Ciao mama, I'll be back in the afternoon."

Throughout my fieldwork in both sites I repeatedly observed how forcing tejedoras to comply and work in a manner that could fulfill the timely expectations of the fashion industry seemed an almost impossible task. The bulk of production is for export and most labor occurs as homework in the tejedoras own time, which, in most

instances, clashes with client expectations. To the dismay of many fashion designers and NGO workers, tejedoras would rather lose the business than change the way they work. Even when the tejedoras had hard deadlines to meet, the organization of manufacture time would not vary drastically. This use of time in turn affected the designs they could or were willing to do, as discussed below. While NGOs and other industry actors might see this organization of time as backwards and inefficient, it was the tejedoras who ultimately set the pace of work and this was seen as part of what made the supply chain fair or ethical, and the garments authentic. These divergent temporalities of production present a challenge to the ways in which NGOs work with the artisans and to the things that made the wages obtained by the women ethical within the supply chain itself. Not only managing the temporal qualities of labor enacted ethics, but also this had to come alongside a fair remuneration.

Besides artisans' refusal to alter their work schedules, drastically changing the organization of work would affect the perceived authenticity that adds value and creates demand for these garments. Within luxury and ethical fashion markets the value of these garments is partly because indigenous hands using exotic luxurious materials and 'ancestral' techniques make them. For buyers and global actors in the garment industry, the fact these objects are made in the tejedoras own spaces and time, without altering their 'authentic' way of life, is in and of itself a source of aggregate value and changing the pace of work would affect market value, something industry actors assess for themselves when they visit and take tours of the workshops. NGOs, like Ayni and CITE, were left to balance the expectations of timely

production of the capitalist fashion market and the tejedoras organization of time without challenging those elements that add value to the objects and attract global buyers to work with the artisans, which are often times elements that pose problems to fulfilling manufacture expectations.

One day after Marta and her coworker Alejandro negotiated the piece wages with the women artisans for the manufacture of the alpaca-fashion collection the *mamas'* were making with Natalia to present as a CITE collection at Peru Moda, we went out for lunch as usual.¹⁰⁹ However, the scene that had just unfolded with the artisans had left Marta visibly frustrated. Trying to ease the tension, Natalia commented, “it is crazy how slow the day goes. During lunchtime I have time to eat slowly, at my own pace, and I can even take a nap before returning to work! In Lima time flies, you barely have enough time to do one thing in a day, forget about stopping to take a nap!” Marta agreed that it was nice to have a slower pace of life, but that this slowness could be really stressful under certain circumstances. “It is all nice until you have to deal with clients and the *señoras*! It can be so frustrating at times,” Marta quickly stated.

We sat down to order our meal from the daily 3 soles (1\$) three-course price-fixed menu options, a typical lunch for doctors, lawyers, government, mining, NGO workers and other waged laborers in Huancavelica. As we walked into our lunch and ordered Marta continued to vent, explaining her sources of frustration, moments that I repeatedly saw unfold on more than one occasion during my fieldwork:

¹⁰⁹ This was a similar situation to the wage negotiation discussed in Chapter 3.

“Exporters and clients are not going to wait for anyone to take a nap, go to a fiesta, or stop doing everything to go to the market and spend hours cooking. They don’t care about that. It is so hard to explain this to the tejedoras and make them care. Someone who wants us to make for them a 100 designed hand-made alpaca *chompas*¹¹⁰, who is paying us to meet their deadlines doesn’t care about local holidays, funerals... But there is no way to convince the mamas how imperative and important this is. Sometimes it is more than they have their own things and they don’t want to work, they just won’t work! There are times I’m begging for anyone to do work for a client. I go from workshop to workshop asking every tejedora I can find do to work and no one wants to do anything! I am the one who has to call the clients, reject the work. They won’t want to work with us again. It is hard for me to do this; I know the tejedoras need the business and the income, and they need to have a growing clientele. Then two weeks after I’m begging everyone to work I have tejedoras, all of them, showing up at my office asking me for work! And I have nothing for them, nothing, no work! You don’t know how hard it is for me to reject them and tell them that there is no more that I declined the work.... Because they didn’t want to do it, because it wasn’t convenient for them!”

The rejection of work by impoverished women artisans and their unwillingness to adapt or be more flexible towards the needs of the industry were a constant source of frustration and bafflement for Marta and other actors in the supply chain. Moreover, it challenged the moral discourse that many claimed was central to their involvement in development work. NGOs and other development efforts, like the CITE, were aimed at alleviating poverty, facilitating sustainable sources of income and fostering ‘ethical’ modes of labor among marginalized highland communities. There’s an underlying assumption artisans should take all the work available because they are impoverished. Fashion firms exert pressure throughout their supply chain subcontractors to enforce practices that will transform the industry into an ‘ethical’ or socially responsible one (de Neve, 2009 and Partridge, 2011). Yet,

¹¹⁰ Sweater.

as I heard NGO actors ask, why would women who, clearly, need this income to sustain their families reject work? Moreover, why would they do so when they have support to avoid the exploitative practices for which the global garment industry is notorious? How horribly contradictory and immoral is it to reject the same people development actors are trying to help?

When trying to make sense of why the women would refuse to work, were so inflexible when it came to time management, and to reconcile her own moral involvement, Marta would emphasize that this refusal to effectively adapt to market demands was not due to laziness. She was particularly vocal about this point. “We know the women are not lazy. They work hard to provide for their families and when you talk to them you know how empowered they are, how they are able to send their kids to school and even college! But then there are other things that don’t make sense to me, no matter how long I live here.” Marta admitted she didn’t know how to speak to them about these contradictions. Members of organizations like the Clubes de Madres have either never participated in wage work or have done so in what Millar (2013) describes as a “relational autonomy” with wage labor. According to Millar (2013) relational autonomy emphasizes how the desires for economic mobility of those working from precarious conditions who move in and out of wage work, are always tied to other desires for sociality, intimacy and relations of care. Moreover as Esteva points out “those marginalized by the economic society in the development era are increasingly dedicated to marginalizing the economy” (2009:20). This relational

autonomy with the piece wage complicates the perceived centrality of wage work as the main mode of alleviating poverty.

As Tsing (2013) points out, capitalist commodity value is created through tapping into and transforming non-capitalist social relations. This interaction between capitalist and non-capitalist forms takes place in what she calls pericapitalist sites, spaces that exist simultaneously inside and outside of capitalism (Tsing, Forthcoming). It is through these spaces of incorporation and translation that capitalism achieves its creative strength as a system while also being the source of its vulnerability and weakness. I take the piece wage to be a mode of pericapitalism, a site of translation that precisely points to the impossibility or tensions that come about when industry and development actors attempt to enact ethics, in their own terms, within a capitalist supply chain.

This enactment of ethics of the most exploitative mode of wage work to the most ethical is possible through the ways in which non-capitalist modes of indigenous sociality can co-exist and even become part of the wage itself. In this process of translation the elements that are seen as making piece work ethical, such as respect for local holidays, indigenous traditions, and modes of daily life that allow women to work on their own time rather than an externally imposed work discipline; are the same elements that bring about Marta's frustration at the difficulties of making the supply chain both 'ethical' and a sustainable mode of income. While clients in the supply chain are paying for an 'ethical' manufacture that translates these non-capitalist elements into commodity value, they still need the pieces to be made

following specific quality standards on a set deadline, regardless of local holidays, traditional rhythms of life, and any challenges caused by movements across the highland landscape. This ultimately jeopardizes the same notion of ‘ethics’ mobilized in the supply chain by actors such as Marta.

Aesthetics of the Ethical Piece Wage

Rather than enforcing a foreign ‘work-ethic’ or disciplined mode of labor; piecework is seen as enacting ‘ethics’ in the way it allows women the freedom to maintain their culturally important activities and modes of life. Due to long-standing histories of racism towards indigenous communities in Peru, today cultural respect is central to the notion of ethics in development work that serves to re-present these groups as productive members of the nation. Piecework negotiations of wages and how cultural respect is enacted render visible the work central to Andean life. Ironically, as local aesthetic practices are upheld and valued in the industry these need to be open to an expanded notion of what makes textiles authentic, indigenous or traditional. Women can obtain a wage while having the time and space to tend their herds, manage household crops, care for children, cook and engage in other income generating activities. As we saw in Marta’s example these activities bleed into the actual work required for the industry and in the expectations of wages the women negotiate through her. Design practices are in turn affected, creating new surfaces and material engagements, in which imaginings of the women’s indigeneity are projected onto the garments, beyond the actual historical or traditional authenticity of the designs.

These non-capitalist indigenous modes of social life also uphold the women's authenticity as uniquely skilled workers. The autonomy of the piece wage is seen as enabling women to profit from a historical tradition central to their ethnicity. Authenticity is also made visible through the way the women's rhythms of life play out in their engagement and acceptance of piece wages. The unruliness, to use Tsing's term, of the women's non-capitalist social relations and inflexibility with regards to certain elements are translated into an important source of value. Furthermore, respecting these unruly elements and making them work within the supply chain becomes an enactment of ethics. Artisans have the ability to decide when to work, how to fulfill contractual obligations without altering their 'traditional' modes of making, negotiate piece prices and terms of work, and account for activities such as childcare as part of the time/piece expectations. Here authenticity is established by how, when and where the objects are made; what negotiations lead to making a particular design over other and how much the women get paid; rather than simply the visible aesthetic look of the garment. Pieces are typically paid for between 30 and 50 soles (10.24 to 17.06\$) and each artisan can decide how many pieces they will make depending on their income needs or other social priorities. The women as a group, and community organization, can decide if business orders are appropriate, convenient, or unfair. This ability to decide when and how many pieces they will make supports notions of ethics and authenticity, even if they pose a challenge to securing profits and making work in the supply chain sustainable.

Yet, with this autonomy to determine how they work and the piece wages, Marta cannot comprehend the complete rejection of work: “There are times I’m begging for anyone to do work for a client. I go from workshop to workshop asking every *tejedora* I can find to do work and no one wants to do anything!” Clearly, for the women artisans there are other factors besides obtaining a wage, even if it is just a supplemental mode of income, that outweigh wage work in the supply chain. This challenges the underlying assumption that due to their economic necessities women need to engage with waged labor to move out of poverty and that inequality can be addressed from within the capitalist system through capitalist means. It is not expected that impoverished women who have the autonomy to negotiate fair piece wages and can work on their own time will prioritize their own temporality over that of the industry. Yet, they fully reject the work, “sometimes no one wants to do anything.... They only work when it’s convenient for them.”

Marta faced the frustration of this unexpected result of the emerging aesthetic of the piece wage as a fair wage. The ways in which non-capitalist Andean temporalities and forms of sociality become part of the piece wage as an enactment of ethics poses a constant source of surface tension. The Andean temporality women artisans are able to enforce as they negotiate the piece wage ‘ethically’ doesn’t necessarily meet the fast-turnaround times required by the global fashion industry. “But there is no way to convince the *mamas* how imperative and important this is,” states Marta. Yet, disrespecting these factors that outweigh women’s acceptance of the piece wage and needs of the industry in turns puts Marta’s own work and notion

of ethics in a bind. Marta immediately feels the pressure of this contradiction: “You don’t know how hard is for me to reject them...” If the women reject the work and aren’t flexible to the temporal needs of the industry then supply chain work will be unsustainable: artisans will stop getting orders making Marta’s work and the efforts of making the supply chain ‘ethical’ a failure.

The autonomy and fairness associated with the piece wage does not necessarily lead to making manufacture a consistent source of income. In actuality, it complicates the centrality of the wage as a way out of poverty by showing the limits of trying to address issues of exploitation through means that have historically been a cause of exploitation. In this assemblage the piece wage becomes a new aesthetic form to how labor and material practices unfold and are valued, with all the tensions described. Piecework is seen as enacting ethics, by incorporating non-capitalist modes of sociality into wage work as a way of respecting the autonomy of indigenous artisans; even as the industry attempts to solve issues of exploitation mostly caused by the fast-pace of the fashion system. Therefore, it creates a constitutive clash between the industry’s temporal needs which do not match those of the women. On the other hand, forcing the women to adapt to the industry’s needs is understood as enforcing a form of exploitative labor. It then falls on the waged-work of Marta and other development actors and middlemen in the supply chain to be “consummate translators” (Tsing, forthcoming). Her translation work across the pericapitalist piece wage is necessary to make work ‘work’ between the industry’s ethical and timely expectations and those of the artisans so that the supply chain functions. Marta

constantly juggles how ethics is defined through the piece wage and how it is enacted on the ground. The perceived autonomy, fairness and respect the piece wage system creates and makes conflicts like this central to the operation of an ethical supply chain. Moreover, efforts and tensions surrounding what are ethical notions and practices in this supply chain are constantly being jeopardized and re-defined. The ways in which this turn to an 'ethical' wage allows women artisans to bring into these negotiations their own sense of ethics poses a constant problem to how 'ethics' are understood and enacted in the supply chain.

Ultimately, CITE employees gave up on challenging the tejedoras' work rhythm and how they allocated time to different daily activities. "I stopped fighting, now I know when to just quit. The mamas are strong. I've learned now, when I deal with clients I have to be honest and tell them that nothing will get done between December and February. That's the way it is, right? What can you do about it? I see it as vacation, go to Lima, spend time with the family," Luis said in resignation.

Conclusion

For the Peru Moda collection, which had to be done by April, Natalia would only get to spend a total of three weeks working with the women and the visits were spread a month apart from each other. The first visit was in January, once Christmas was over and before the February fiestas took place and no one would work. February is also the peak of the rainy season and the tejedoras with herds travel to take their alpacas to seasonal grazing areas. The bulk of the collection had to be made in January and March.

Natalia explained to me the collection she had done with the mamas the previous year:

“Last year’s collection was based on a regional crochet technique and you have no idea how difficult it was to do it. I previously worked with the mine and the tejedoras there knew how to make it with such ease, but the workshops from the city have forgotten how to make their native typical technique and no one wanted to do it, they said it was too hard and time consuming. It was only hard because they forgot how to make it! In the end we not only finished it but it was a huge commercial success! This year I need to think what to do, I like designing with them, being inspired by being here and my relationship with them.”

After a conference on current trends and seasonal colors, Natalia sat among the women with her large *Vogue* magazines to design this year’s collection. By that Thursday the designs were done and the tejedoras began choosing which ones they wanted to make. By noon all ‘easy’ garments and accessories were gone, assigned to specific tejedoras. The larger garments and more technically complex pieces, however, remained.

In the afternoon the tejedoras would come up to look at the garments Natalia had designed, cluster around the drawings, and whisper to each other comments about them. “Ay señorita, no, this takes too much time to make. Don’t you have something else?” some would ask. Natalia replied, “You said the same thing last year with the *punto brujo*¹¹¹ and in the end you did it and it wasn’t hard at all.” “I’ve worked with you before, I know what this group can do, you can all do it.” “They aren’t as hard, once you get the rhythm of it will be fast and easy.” The mamas would go and sit

¹¹¹ The traditional regional crochet technique.

down in their small groups and work on knit projects for their families, ignoring the designs.

Marta walked in and saw the designs no one wanted to make. She stood in the middle of the room and spoke to the group. “Oh no, you can’t reject this! You know what will happen. You don’t want to do these garments and two weeks, a month from now, you’ll all be standing in front of my office asking for work. This is work, right now; don’t come to my office asking for work. This is all the work we have!” Marta sat down next to Natalia. Slowly some of the woman started to approach the table and reluctantly accept some of the larger more technically complex garments. “Señorita this is too hard.” “This will take me too long to figure it out.” Natalia would reply, “I’ve seen your work, what you knit for your family, you can do it.” As Mama Carmelina, known for her sense of humor, selected a garment she didn’t want to make and said while giggling, “Señorita Natalia, but I don’t know how to do this.” “Ay, Mamas you are all terrible!” replied Natalia as she also laughed.

By the end of the day two garments were left that everyone refused to make. Mama Cirila took a close look at them. “These are hard, they will take too much time. Mama Luciana can make this one,” she stated as she handed it to Mama Luciana who didn’t look happy about having to do it. “I’m going to make a call, if this tejedora can’t make the poncho, you will have to re-think your design” Mama Cirila told Natalia. The tejedora was not part of the group but was considered one of the best in the city. She showed up 10 minutes later, looked at the poncho design and refused to do it. The poncho had to be knit in a circular form, a technique historically developed

in the Andes. Natalia had to scrap the only poncho in the collection and consult with Mama Cirila to see what she could design as a replacement that fit into the collection and someone would want to make.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, development work and NGO involvement makes disparate results and non-capitalist elements function in this supply chain. Moreover, NGO involvement in the assemblage provided rhetoric of moral and ethical responsibility that allowed artisans to enforce their own temporality and have a say in the organization of labor, in what constituted a fair wage, and even in the design process. These tensions in how Andean non-capitalist notions of time and ethics do or do not mesh with capitalist temporalities and ethics are constitutive of this supply chain and to what makes it ethical. These gaps in the supply chain allow for multiple enactments and understandings of ethics to unfold, be negotiated, and translated in order to make fashions.

This odd involvement of development, pre-existing modes of artisanal and community organization, and manufacture for luxury niches allowed for a wide variety of alpaca garments to be produced that fulfilled the differing expectations and intentions of development funding agencies, artisans, and industry buyers. These new designs came out of wage and temporal negotiations between Natalia, Marta and the artisans. NGO workers like Camila and Marta, and fashion designers like Natalia, needed to be flexible in the roles they took within the supply chain, even if the mamas are not as flexible when it comes to certain issues, which have repercussion on the aesthetics and textures of the garments made. As further discussed in the following

chapter, this assemblage for global exports also served as a site for a national fashion world to emerge. Fashion designers, like Natalia, who work closely with artisans as members of the industry and in relation to development work, have been central in the emergence of a Peruvian fashion world. Producing for this specialized niche has served to create a supply chain that is linked and structured not only across diversity, with indigenous and marginalized weavers and manufacture, but through ideas of development, sustainability and social responsibility.

Chapter 5: Un-making Haute Couture in Peru: Creativity, Patchworks and the Inter-weavings of power

“And if one were to ask where culture lies, the answer would not be in some shadowy domain of symbolic meaning, hovering aloof from the ‘hands on’ business of practical life, but in the very texture and pattern of the weave itself.” (Ingold, 2011:361)

Each January government agencies, CSRs and NGOs put out calls for artisans to participate in various national fashion events. The three main ones are: *Peru Moda*, *Lima Fashion Week* (LIF) and *Cusco Always in Fashion* (CAF). All three events are organized around the national flagship materials, alpaca and pima cotton, emphasizing the material qualities that make them unique, desirable, historical, and tactile markers of Peru. *Peru Moda* is the largest garment industry trade show and always includes designer runways. With the recent growth of the industry and increasing sponsorship from CSRs and NGOs, *Lima Fashion Week* emerged as a satellite event to *Peru Moda*. Both events had overlapping sponsors and took place in the same venue. However, they each had different entrances, tickets, and while the commercial side took place during the day, the high-fashion runways took place in the evening. The bi-annual CAF is the only fashion event to take place in the Andes. It seeks to place Cusco as a textile producing region and a site of national culture, history and art. CSRs and NGOs that work with textile workshops subcontract national designers to collaborate with artisans to produce fashion collections for these events. These fashion collections are presented in all three events to national fashionistas, and an audience of international buyers and other industry actors. Fashion designers work closely with artisanal groups throughout the country to make

alpaca and pima cotton boutique and haute couture garments. Most of the alpaca garments are handmade by artisans following the designs of fashion designers.

This chapter moves across the mixed smooth and striated surface spaces¹¹² that constitute hand-made alpaca designer garments. I create a patchwork¹¹³ of three small-scale moments of weaving; creating a trajectory that complicates the separation between design and manufacture, between conceptual creation and making.

Unpacking this distinction is important to understand the constitutive tensions and negotiations that are central to both what makes these garments ‘ethical’ or socially responsible within fashion supply chains, and how a Peruvian national fashion world is being defined with the ‘indigenous’ as a central aesthetic element. I argue that the distinction between design and manufacture, conceptual creation and making, is the basis of a particular system of power relations and value in the fashion and garment industry. In order to understand how different modalities of making co-exist and operate within this system, creating new relations across actors, fashion aesthetics, sources of value, and understandings of ethics; one has to complicate this hegemonic distinction between conceptual creation and making. What efforts go into maintaining this distinctions- between conceptualization and realization, creativity and matter?

¹¹² For Deleuze and Guattari (1998) the smooth space is where the war machine develops, and the striated space is the space instituted by the State apparatus. Both spaces exist in mixture: “smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space” (474). It is commonly thought that smooth spaces (like a fabric) emanate from striated space (a very fine interweaving of threads or microfibers). Both surfaces recapitulate one onto another.

¹¹³ I understand patchwork as an amorphous collection of juxtaposed pieces that can be joined together in an infinite number of ways. It highlights that any seemingly smooth space does not imply homogeneity, a top, bottom or center. “Patchwork, in conformity with migration... is not only named after trajectories, but “represents” trajectories, becomes inseparable from speed or movement in an open space” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:477)

What are contradictions/paradoxes that arise in this process? How does a closer look at these relationships challenge the notion of the ‘author’?

Designers’ conceptions of design and their understanding of ethics as an aesthetic form necessitates and relies on the skill, traditions and handwork of artisans. The relationship between designers and artisans complicates the permeating epistemology of creativity and authorship dominant within capitalist creative industries and Western art-worlds. Artisans’ interventions in various levels of manufacture consistently destabilize hegemonic power hierarchies in this fashion world. By looking at the trajectory set up in this patchwork I seek to emphasize the moments where both smooth and striated surfaces come into being with each other, creating a new surface. Following Deleuze and Guattari, I take smooth and striated spaces as involving both the actual spaces of a woven material surface as well as the social-historical-political spaces that allow for actors to come together under particular relations in order to make fashion garments. I focus on the smooth spaces of weaving and moments of “touching the other”¹¹⁴ that break the striated spaces of institutionalized hegemonic racial relations, national discourses about difference, popular notions of ethics and social responsibility, and power and epistemological

¹¹⁴ I take this concept from Barad (2012) for whom the act of touching entails an infinite alterity. Touching the other, includes touching all others including the self. Moreover, the indeterminacy of touching also allows for touching and being in touch with history. “... there is also the fact that materiality “itself” is always already touched by and touching infinite configurations of possible others, other beings and times” (215) Hence, touching entails not only someone touching an-other (be it human or non-human) but all the possibilities (past, present and future), all the entanglements (social, political and historical).

hierarchies within capitalism. I argue that in the making of these *tejido*¹¹⁵ garments the hierarchies between design over manufacture are muddled, allowing for categories and representations of race and history to be re-negotiated and re-constituted within contemporary Peru and the fashion industry. In light of the growing global trend on ethical fashions, exploring the spaces of the weave and how alpaca threads form a surface helps us consider how an object can be made socially responsible and what social relations around it are seen as inclusive. The actual knitted surface is as important as the process of design or the elements that get woven or drawn onto the fabric. The surface of a weave, in and of itself, is a site where socio-cultural negotiations, histories and layers of meaning are interlaced and touch.

The organization of this patchwork attempts to highlight a particular trajectory of weaving. The first story considers the relationship between conceptual aspects of design and the transition between the idea of a ‘virtual object’ that exists on paper into a material one. The second story skims the textural and haptic¹¹⁶ space of the weave considering it, as Ingold suggests in the quote that opens this chapter, as the site where culture lies, or as Barad (2012) states, the space of “the touch of entangled beings (be)coming together-apart” (208). The final story moves from the weave and threads themselves into the designs that get woven onto a surface, specifically visual iconographic patterned designs.

¹¹⁵ Tejido in Spanish implies a variety of handmade techniques like knitting, crochet, embroidery.

¹¹⁶ The term haptic “does not establish an opposition between two sense organs but rather invites the assumption that the eye itself may fulfill this nonoptical function” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:492).

Following Ingold (2000), I take making as a modality of weaving, rather than weaving as a modality of making. Inverting the relationship between making and weaving moves away from the assumption that there is a clear-cut division between form and substance, that there is a marked difference between the design specifications of the garments and the raw material that compose it. While designers operate within this ideological distinction, in practice they actually have to engage with the ways in which it is not a clear-cut one in order to affirm it. I explore what happens when they have to grapple with the messiness that occurs in this process that complicates this distinction. How is it that this distinction is constantly being challenged and maintained?

I find this inversion proposed by Ingold useful in that it allows us to take seriously the material properties of the raw wool and processes of manufacture as a site of meaning. Within the fashion system, predicated on this divide, the main site of meaning is the conceptual design process. This distinction is necessary for power relations to be maintained, even as part of the efforts that are trying to make fashion supply chains ethical and socially responsible. Yet, I argue that meaning, and what is construed as ethical, happens in the encounter between both processes, in the tensions, contradictions, and negotiations that are necessary for this ‘conceptual’ object to become material. The weave of these relationships means we should not see design as distinct from the woven material, and the relationships established are hierarchical and work in contradiction with the smooth surface of the finished garment.

Form is not simply applied from without; substance is not simply a surface to be transformed. “If making thus means the imposition of conceptual form on inert matter, then the surface of the artifact comes to represent much more than an interface between solid substance and gaseous medium; rather it becomes the very surface of the material world of nature as it confronts the creative human mind” (Ingold 2000:340). The garments discussed here emerge and come into being through weaving; there is no pattern to be applied onto a surface, and the surface itself is always already made in the shape, textures and colors of the garment. There is no separation between the fabric and the garment itself, since the garment emerges already formed as the weave unfolds. The surface itself is a zone of encounters and ontology, “a field where practices-entities-concepts co-constitute each other, make each other be” (De la Cadena –Candea, Matei Cultural Anthro 2014).

Before going into the design stories it is important to unpack the normative view of design central to a Western epistemology of creativity, or what Ingold calls the ‘standard view.’ Within capitalist “creative” industries the category of creativity has become the most valuable asset and driver of production. It upholds distinctions and power hierarchies between the ‘creators’ of the global north from ‘manufacturers’ in the south (Luvaas 2012). The epistemology of creativity that upholds these geopolitical hierarchies is based on a historical Western separation of technology and concept (design), where the creative part of making has been removed from the context of physical engagement between workman and material, and has been placed as an intellectual a priori to production. “A thorough going distinction is thus

introduced between the design of things and their construction. The thing, we say, is visually ‘conceived’ in advance of its realization in practice” (Ingold 2000:295). This dichotomy between conception and execution that posits mental-cultural creation over the manipulation of raw materials has been institutionalized through art worlds and the growth of creative capitalist industries, such as the music industry, interior design, etc¹¹⁷. From this perspective the technical acquires an aura of objectivity and independence from human agency, becoming something mechanical separated from social relations. The manufacturer is seen as simply producing based on given guidelines without any creative or conceptual involvement. The most value is placed on the conceptual work of the designer.

This dichotomy, central to the ‘standard view’ of design, implies the prior presence of a surface to be transformed. The generation of form in the standard view is seen as pre-existing in the mind of a designer and is simply impressed upon any given material. Weaving becomes an example of the limits of this standard view, as there is no pre-existing woven material surface, rather the material surface is what is created as the process of weaving unfolds. An artefact is supposed to pre-exist as a ‘virtual object’ in the mind of the creative designer, existing in advance of any engagement with a material. Form, then, becomes fully explicable in terms of the design that gives rise to it; meaning, intent and purpose are explained in the form regardless of the material substance. Within this standard view, since form emanates

¹¹⁷ For Marx and Engels, this is a trait of capitalist production and what sets humans apart from other animals. Production relies upon an assumption that there is a preconceived image of what is to be produced (1995).

from a design, “the persistence of form can only be explained in terms of the stability of the underlying design specifications” (Ingold 2000:346). Paying close attention to the transformation of conceptual designs into objects shows how complete specification, in the transformation between concept and material object, always fall short. As we will see throughout the chapter, in the process of weaving, a surface is not transformed but built up through the interplay of forces and relations, internal and external to the material that makes it up.

The patchwork of stories in this chapter complicates this ‘standard view’ of design as garments are produced within an industry whose power and value relations rely on this particular understanding. It highlights the relational force fields that cut across the unfolding interface between the weave, designers, artisans, and perceptions of ethics, politics, history, representation, fashion and race. As multiple actors touch the materials and each other it is important to consider that “touch is never pure and innocent” (Barad 2012:215). In these moments all sorts of possibilities, entanglements and separations are interlaced, making up these garments. The properties and meanings of alpaca thread are directly implicated in the form generating process, both reaffirming and blurring the distinctions between substance and form central to the ‘standard view.’ Throughout the patchwork it will be made clear that the templates, measurements, and technical designs set the parameters of the process of weaving without prefiguring the final object or its meaning. “The artefact, in short, is the crystallization of activity within a relational field, its regularities of form embodying the regularities of movement that gave rise to it”

(Ingold 2011:345). Moreover, if measurement is a form of touching (Barad 2012) the conceptual process of design itself is already relational and a form of engagement with a material reality, designers being in touch with the artisans and alpaca thread.

Unpacking these relational fields sheds light on how notions of race, history, national imaginings and ethics constitute these garments. In the particular case of Peru, textiles and forms of indigenous dress have served as emblems of gender and ethnicity. As Femenías (2005) points out “the gendered and ethnic messages they encode, while threatening in other contexts, may seem trivial because of the medium” (15). Textiles are at once considered part of ‘living’ pre-Hispanic legacies, signifiers of poverty and marginality, emblems of bad taste, while also being central to national representations of folklore and autochthonous culture. This patchwork brings people back into the designs, displacing the focus from the final object alone to the humans involved, their experiences and contexts (Escobar 2012), and the alpacas, their pastures, their wool.

Step #1: Making a Slip Knot

This will be the first stitch. Make a loop with the end of the yarn.
Place the loop on top of the yarn to the side of the loop.
Pick up the yarn through the loop.
Pull the knot tight, keeping the loop at the top open.
Slip the new loop onto one knitting needle.
Pull on the ends to tighten the knot around the needle.

Here I take a closer look at Natalia’s design process and her supervision of the manufacture of the CITE’s hand-woven alpaca sample collection.¹¹⁸ This collection was to be shown in *Peru Moda* and at a separate runway event, *Exhibe Peru*, under her authorship. I explore what gets to count as design and who gets to count as the “creative author” of a design.

Natalia, a working single mom, made a consistent income through being subcontracted by NGOs to work with artisanal groups. These types of collaborations allowed her to support her family while fulfilling her passion and enabling her to fund her own fashion collections. Her mother was a *tejedora* and schoolteacher who taught her how to do *tejido* and inspired in her a passion and sense of value for artisanal traditions. As Natalia told me in one of our many conversations: “My mom instilled in me a love for the artisanal and folkloric dances, especially from *la serranía* (the highlands). [This was] during a time in Peru where these things were treated with a lot of discrimination as something ugly, as something bad, as something without *nivel* (roughly translated as class). I was taught the complete opposite of this. Because of this my work is not only tied to designing.... I discovered that through design I could work towards social inclusion, social development, I could empower women...”

Coming from a low-income family, Natalia narrated how reading and learning about international designers and the global fashion world seemed distant from her reality, something vain and frivolous. It was that emphasis on a respect for artisanal

¹¹⁸ I say sample garments because the collection is to show. No pieces from the original collection are sold. Interested buyers can order bulk quantities or see if they are interested in the handwork to place manufacture orders.

techniques and social inclusion that shaped her design practices and allowed her to view fashion differently. More than just a way of making a livelihood, she defined her practice as ethical: situated at the nexus between respect for artisanal traditions and producers, her own personal family history, contemporary Peruvian culture and society, and global fashion trends. For Natalia the incorporation of artisanal techniques, depending on how the elements were used in the designs, could serve to make contemporary fashions as opposed to ethnic ones.

Natalia and I arrived in Huancavelica at 7am after a 12-hour overnight bus ride from Lima. As we walked from where the bus stopped to the nearby central Plaza, Natalia told me we had two hours to rest and acclimate to the altitude before going to the workshop José Escrivá. At 9am we set out together walking to the workshop, located two blocks behind the main plaza. Even though I had rested, I still felt lightheaded and short of breath from the altitude. I took a deep breath and asked Natalia about the collection she was making. She was also out of breath and simply replied, “I don’t know yet.” Natalia didn’t like to bring pre-made designs to the workshops she was working with. After greeting the artisans and CITE employees present, we sat down to catch our breath before work began. Natalia explained to me, “even though I arrived here with ideas and information from fashion magazines and the internet, I like to design here because I design thinking about them [tejedoras], their capacities, their abilities and am inspired by their energy. This helps me to think about new designs, not just the ones I have in my mind That’s why, I need to be

inspired by my relationship with them and the place I'm in... I'll begin drawing tonight.”

Even though Natalia didn't have any designs ready, she hadn't come to Huancavelica empty handed. The first task at hand was to give the tejedoras a seminar on seasonal styles, trends, textures and color; after which she conversed with the artisans about their own textile practices and sources of inspiration. Natalia had brought with her a fashion-forecasting book¹¹⁹ she had bought in France when she participated, as part of the Peruvian delegation, in the *Ethical Fashion Salon* in Paris. After the seminar, which for Natalia was important as a way of having the artisans feel more familiar with the current demands of the shifting fashion industry, she handed the women pages cut out from *Vogue* magazines. While the women looked at the images from *Vogue*, Natalia approached different tejedoras asking them what they liked to make and what inspires them. Natalia saw as ethically responsible and central to her design process that her designs incorporate the technical strengths of the artisans and the objects they enjoy making, while also keeping her own aesthetic and current styles. The artisans' replies to Natalia's inquiry ranged from saying they enjoyed knitting flowers, cats and other animal iconographies, to copying things from

¹¹⁹ Fashion forecasting books attempt to advance and anticipate possible future trends thinking two years ahead from when styles will reach the average consumer. The books are not meant for the general fashion public, but circulate within designers and brands so that those involved in the industry can get a sense of the panorama of possible styles and trends to base their collections on. Designers produce collections a year in advance from when these trends will reach consumers and runways, these books are produced a year in advance from when designers produce their collections. These books imagine, based on subculture styles and emerging street trends, what could be popular for wider consumer base two years ahead of time.

stores around town that they see and like. Mama Cirila's answer stood out from the rest of the women. "We can make anything. We learn to knit as girls, it is what we do here in the Andes, and we have been blessed by God with an ability and ease in our hands to *tejer*."

Natalia's own early motivations and inspirations for design, and to her approach of working with tejedoras, come out of an entanglement of relations between her own positionality and background with various close-distant relations with global fashion trends, and other aspects of Peruvian society. Design, as a practice done by a creative individual, is popularly construed as an obscure process occurring in an abstract space of thought. However, as we see through Natalia's own practices it is a very material and relational practice. For Natalia designing from this nexus of social, cultural, personal and global threads made fashion ethical and socially responsible. While this is Natalia's own particular approach to making ethical or socially responsible contemporary fashion, many designers throughout Peru (two of which will be discussed later in the chapter) are also concerned with what makes fashion ethical.

Ethics, defined by and through encounters between fashion designers-NGOs-artisans, is built up in the surface of the woven garment. What makes fashions ethical is in part based on fostering certain kinds of labor relations predicated on the kind and quality of the relations among actors involved. This emphasis on the kind of relationship among actors, between designers and artisans in this case, somewhat displaces an acknowledgement that these are ultimately labor relations. Since both

Natalia and the artisans are paid by the CITE, they are both accountable to them rather than to each other. The CITE as an NGO precisely hires Natalia, as discussed in Chapter 2, because of the kind of relationship and close dialogue she establishes with the artisans in order to produce these fashions in a way that is seen as ethical for the CITE. The labor relationships formed are important and understood as ethical because they are more than just mere labor relationships. Moreover, we can see how the importance of the relationship among actors displaces a bit the fact these are just labor relations even from Natalia's own approach to design: her designs are contingent on, are influenced by, and ultimately emerge from her own relationship with the artisans. It wouldn't make for ethical garments if she were to show up and expect them to simply replicate her designs, which would be seen as a standard type of labor relation in the industry. In this process not only Natalia's own history and view of design influences what becomes the garment, but also builds up into the surface of the garment the artisans own histories and social realities.

After the seminar was over and the Mamas left to prepare lunch for their families around 11 am, Natalia, Julio (Marta's co-worker at the CITE) and I stayed organizing the work that needed to get done during the week. Julio began explaining to me: "Artisans now deal directly with the public... they've realized that what they sell as their traditional textiles doesn't sell well. But products that are innovative, made with good alpaca fiber, fashionable colors, that are wearable and well adapted to fashion (do sell). That's why they are really interested in learning how to design." Upon hearing this Natalia, who was organizing the alpaca wool thread spools by

colors and kind, jumped in: “but, I haven’t done that with them. I’m doing a collection with them, but I’m not teaching them how to design. Unless some of them already have an idea of design...” Julio calmly and confidently replied to her: “They have ideas and they are all creative. Preparing a course to teach them design would be good because you can give the materials to 12 artisans and say create using your own ideas, but within some pre-determined guidelines and you’ll have 12 different garments. You give them a fashion context to ensure garments will be adapted to the market and they will add their own input to it. You just give them the colors, the textures and some limits for them to create within, they’ll do it.” Natalia stated: “...but do you think they will be interested? You might want to figure out first how many want to learn design. Even though most are creative not all have the drive to sit and plan... many have an idea and just start knitting disregarding design processes...” Julio interrupted her: “they are all creative.”

If the touch of entangled beings (be)comes together-apart, othering and difference is as much a part of the relations of the encounter as the becoming familiar and the dialogue across Natalia and the tejedoras. While Natalia opens up the process in ways that allows us to see how design is material and relational, within the current fashion industry and art-world, we can’t ignore her power position in relation to the women. She stays apart even while she comes together in dialogue with them. Yes, her process of design is contingent and constituted by the relationships, skills and local traditions of the artisans. Yet, she is the only one developing and conceptualizing each design on paper. As we can read through Mama Celia’s final

comment, “we can make anything you want”, the mamas are in a way selling their god-given ability to Natalia. In her conversation with Julio, Natalia echoes aspects of the ‘standard view’ of design, seeing design as an a priori process to weaving, which serves to reify and affirm her position as creative in the fashion system; her creativity holds more value in this system. Yet, Julio also uses the language of creativity, insisting the Mamas are already creative; it is a different notion of creativity. For him creativity is a capacity of all humans and is predicated on an idea of creativity outside of this fashion assemblage. Yet, as he affirms their creativity when the women are key skilled manufacturers, it is also an affirmation of the value of the artisans’ own work within the fashion system. They are not just mechanical reproducers of Natalia’s designs; there is also value in their handwork and interventions.

Besides suggesting how her design process is already inherently relational, Natalia makes a point of emphasizing the relational nature of her design process by engaging with the women in a dialogue about their own practices of weaving. While Natalia sees her own practice of design as socially responsible by collaborating with the women and designing based on the weavers’ strengths and local aesthetics, she still operates within the fashion system and its power hierarchy. She talks to the women about their own practice of weaving and aesthetic tastes, yet she is the one using this to produce the ‘virtual object.’¹²⁰ This realm of producing the virtual object is one she affirms for herself; the women do not follow the right process in order to

¹²⁰ Within the ‘standard view’ of design, and in the general epistemology of creativity, the creator is seen as having control over the process of conceptualizing and directing the processes of making in order to have their vision come to be. This is part of what makes the position of authorship one of power, and also where value is found.

produce one. Artisans can learn but they do not translate their idea into a drawing taking into account the shape, texture, color, how it should feel and fall, before starting to knit. Yet, she does, to a certain extent challenge the power hierarchy within the fashion system she operates in, by including them and being explicit how it is important for her own design process to have a certain type of relation and dialogue with the artisans. It is this space of dialogue encounter that aesthetics of ethics emerges, where artisans intervene where they are traditionally not supposed to, that complicates the division and power hierarchies hegemonic to the 'standard view.' But these interventions need to still operate within the fashion system, and in it is in these moments where the women's own aesthetic sensibilities, histories and understandings of their own work and traditions comes to be part of the garment surfaces created. The entanglement of relationships in the workshop, negotiations between global styles, market needs, personal taste and history, technical skills and aesthetic sensibilities, and the highland environment made up the aesthetic of this fashion collection. It came to be through Natalia's sensibility to artisanal elements learned from her mother, the *Vogue* images she selected to show and pass around to the tejedoras, the tejedoras enjoyment in knitting certain drawings like alpacas and flowers, and Natalia's own experiences in Huancavelica.

However, within the present day structure of power within the fashion system it is assumed that Natalia is at the center of this relationship of design: her relationship with artisans, her relationship with Huancavelica, what skills she considers based on what the women told her are best fitted for fashion worlds. She

decides how these relations come together in a surface. No matter how many *Vogue* magazines Mama Luciana looks at, Natalia is the one with the knowledge of the fashion system that she is teaching the Mamas about in the conference. Natalia is also the one who knows the process of design that positions her in a different position than the women in this fashion assemblage. This allows Natalia to be in the position to negotiate different aesthetic worlds to make garments, not for the bodies of the tejedoras, but for the women seen in *Vogue*, for sophisticated slim tall bodies that dressed in these garments represent Peru in global fashion and ethical fashion spaces.

Let's add another relation, an extra thread in this weave: Julio, the spokesman for the CITE. He explains the women's traditional work is not selling. In his eyes there is disconnect between what the women do and what customers want. The artisans' participation in this industry serves as a way of addressing this problem. Traditional textiles on their own don't sell well, clients want the material in ways that is in touch with the trends and whims of the Western fashion system. However, as Julio asserts in his conversation with Natalia, this problem can't be blamed on the women's lack of creativity; this would be unethical. For him, not only would it be racist to re-assert Andean women as lacking creativity, but in the context of the supply chain denying them this capacity implies a devaluation of their skill. As discussed in earlier chapters, central to the discourses surrounding the alpaca supply chain is an emphasis on re-valorizing Andean traditions and unique skill of the artisans that comes from their long history of textile work. Seeing the women as lacking creativity, a notion that holds value within the fashion system, would posit

them as mere manufacturing labor where skill is not necessarily expected. While the women artisans are seen here as creative with the valuable skill that comes out of a unique history, they haven't participated from this fashion system, not even in the way they dress.

The artisans need to come into touch with fashion through Natalia, through the market, through *Vogue*. In fact, in agreement with Natalia's own view, they can add and contribute their unique sensibilities and skill to this industry. But what does it mean that they are creative, without actually being able to engage in the proper processes that an epistemology of creativity demands? Why emphasize this fact when they are missing the right processes? As Natalia points out, they are missing the key step that holds the value within the 'standard view' of design: coming up with the virtual object, defining it in paper, making visible the process by which they select the kind of stitches to make the kind of surface that will have the desired feel and look, pre-selecting the colors so that they will enhance the look they want before starting to knit. They are not creative in the ways the market demands, yet they are still creative. Their creativity is there in potency; they need to be trained, disciplined in the right process of being creative, one that fulfills the ways value is accrued within the fashion industry and worlds. However, if they do become creative in these ways, if they do learn and partake in the right processes of design as manufacturers, they still pose a challenge to the hierarchies within design worlds. Mechanical or technical labor is not expected to do the creative conceptual work, which is the designers' realm. What I find compelling about Natalia and Julio's interaction is the way in

which it expresses the tension between an abstract notion of creativity that anyone can have with creativity as part of a particular kind of process. The artisans skip the most valuable aspect of design, that which places the value on creativity; they go straight from an idea in their minds to making. Acknowledging their creativity also means acknowledging that the creation of the virtual object loses precedence; it also denies the fact that an object is an imposition of a form over any determining surface. Their own process, or creative ontology, and intimate knowledge of alpaca textile work highlights how weaving is co-produced and constantly modified through the properties of alpaca, the women's taste and aesthetic choices, use of time, and own relations with their cultural, social and historical context.



Figure 12: Naty trying on dress that is further discussed below

As we add another loop to this weave, the next example demonstrates the smooth, as opposed to the striated relationship and virtual surfaces we have discussed so far. With it we will be able to see that both hierarchies of the fashion designer's

process of design and the non-hierarchical working together co-exist in the supply chain process as the women's own lives and social realities force a re-thinking and re-doing of the virtual object, creating new a surface and garment.

Later that week production was slowly going underway, many of the tejedoras had already prepared a swatch¹²¹ and were beginning to make the garments. Natalia was sitting at the table still making garment pattern molds based on industry measurement standards.¹²² In the afternoon, after returning from lunch, Mama Luciana walked into the room and told Natalia that she still did not have anything to do. Natalia grabbed a design she had finished with a pattern mold and showed it to her. Mama Luciana grabbed the delicate crochet sample swatch and looked at the technical drawing. "Señorita, can you give me a different one. My vision is not good and I can't make this, it is too small and delicate. My daughter helps me and she wont be able to help me. My vision is not good," she said as she squinted her eyes. Julio who was sitting at the table looked at her and said, "Mama, what you need is to get glasses." Natalia, flipping through the other designs said, "would you rather use *palitos* (thick knitting needles)?" Mama Luciana shook her head in agreement. "Why don't you get glasses, isn't there a *campañã médica*¹²³ here in town?" she said as she

¹²¹ Also called a gauge swatch. A square piece of knitted fabric that demonstrates how the knitter, the needles and the yarn interact before beginning a larger knit project. It also allows a knitter to know the number of stitches and rows made per inch using a certain yarn or thread, needles or hook. The swatch measurements determine the size of the finished piece, if you don't get the proper gauge the garment will not come out in the proper size.

¹²² Sample garments for fashion collections are all prepared in a size small. If the garments are sold to either a client for export or a national client then they are made in other sizes.

¹²³ Medical campaigns are special medical services offered free of cost or very cheap in impoverished areas of highland communities.

grabbed a different drawing and spools of thread in purple, red, fuchsia and orange. Mama Luciana quickly replied, “Señorita it costs, it’s expensive. I’m a single mom with two kids.” Mama Luciana’s daughter was studying at the local university and she wanted to ensure her limited income would allow her daughter to continue her studies, over her own eyesight needs. Mama Cirila who was sitting in a nearby cluster of tejedoras chimed in, “you can get vision checked by a doctor, but you still have to pay for the glasses. When I went the doctor confused me with another, the one before me, I can’t see anything with my new glasses.” Julio commented jokingly, “Mama at least it was the doctor who confused you with someone else and not your husband.” Mama Antonia grabbed the gray alpaca spool she was using to knit and rapidly walked up to Julio and hit him over the head with it. Natalia, ignoring that, said “Mama [Luciana] can you do drawings? Mama Antonia, why don’t you try to find the woman they got your order mixed up and see if you can trade them?” Mama Luciana said she could and Mama Cirila simply looked at Natalia with a face of resignation, there was nothing the free medical clinic service would do to fix the problem. She would have to re-order glasses, which she couldn’t afford to have re-made. Natalia re-worked a design for a dress and asked Mama Luciana to make a swatch using four different thread colors she had chosen using her thick knitting needles and to make any design pattern she wanted as long as it used all four thread colors.

Even though by this point of manufacture all the designs were ready and the collection was conceptualized as a coherent whole, instances from the tejedora’s economic and even medical context forced a re-working of the designs, the ‘virtual

objects' themselves. Moments like this were common throughout manufacture in artisanal workshops. The women's everyday life situations not only affected the organization of labor (as discussed in Chapter 4) but also bled into the process of design and the creation of the garments. Access to available healthcare, eye care in this particular instance, and their own economic realities, shifted the knit surfaces being built-up, altering the form of the actual objects based on the tejedoras social context over the conceptual plans of the designer. Mama Luciana's lack of access to glasses led to the modification of a whole garment, the new creation of a new form. The alpaca knit was to be changed from light and delicate, to a thick surface, from a light airy dress to be worn in layers to a warm cozy winter one. If the surface of the knit changes from a delicate crochet swatch to a knitted one the whole design becomes something else, a complete new surface. These alterations and the final object made were constituted by the social reality of the lives of the artisans over the fashionable nexus from where Natalia's designs emerge. The re-working of this dress was not based on any decision made solely on the basis of Mama Luciana's abilities or skills, or on any other practical, aesthetic or manufacturing need. Moreover, it was up to Mama Luciana's own discretion and ability to determine the designs to be made onto the surface of the weave. The point of nexus that satisfied Natalia's design and Mama Luciana's lack of access to eye, was to keep a determined color scheme: purple, fuchsia, red and orange. This dress within the collection is the result of Natalia and Mama Luciana's touching: the form and color of the dress suggested by Natalia's aesthetic and knowledge of what is in style; the knit surface that makes the

dress and the drawings by Mama Luciana's skill and knowledge of techniques as well as her eye care limitations, how she needs her daughter's help, and her reality as a single mother. Smooth and striated spaces join in creating a particular aesthetic object that in its process of becoming complicates the 'standard view' of design, crystallizing an encounter that is considered within fashion as a ethical, because of the dialogue it creates across actors, the unexpected interventions that occur, the recognition of artisans as creative due to their textile traditions, and how it is perceived to be responsive to the needs, lives, and conditions of the weavers.

Step #2: Knitting Stitches (Basic knit stitch)

Hold the needle with the stitches in your left hand, and the needle without stitches in your right hand.

Insert the needle without stitches under the front of the first loop and push it through so the right needle sits behind the left needle.

Grab the yarn attached to the yarn ball, and wrap it around the right needle counterclockwise, so that it sits in between the two needles.

Poke the right needle through the left hole to the front of the left needle. Start pulling the inserted needle out of the loop slowly, pulling a loop through a stitch.

The loop you just pulled onto the second needle is a new stitch that will replace the old stitch.

Repeat the knit stitch until you've knitted every stitch that was on the first needle, and they'll be transferred to the second needle.

Knit every row and keep switching needles.

As production was winding down in Huancavelica it was being kick started in Cusco. I went from Huancavelica to Cusco to meet with Harumi, a Peruvian-Japanese fashion designer, whose family had been involved in the textile industry. Her mother had a short-lived industrial jean clothing line and her father worked with indigenous artisans in the highlands producing boutique alpaca sweaters for export to Asia. Her mother recounted to me stories of how she would go from store to store, hoping

storeowners would agree to sell her jeans, an enterprise that ended up being more costly than profitable. It was in this environment that Harumi developed an interest in fashion and artisanal work. Like Natalia, Harumi was able to make a stable livelihood producing collections for exports with artisans, supervising manufacture in artisanal workshops, and producing her own collections in these artisanal spaces. Harumi's own goal was to establish a brand and open a store or sell her line in larger department stores.

Harumi had been hired by a multi-agency development project to strengthen the supply chain of alpaca and build Cusco as a site for artisanal and semi-artisanal luxury garment manufacture. Agencies involved in the project were the regional government, PROMPERU, local NGOs like Ayni and the CSR ISUR¹²⁴. She was hired to do two overlapping tasks: First, to produce her own designer fashion collection to present in the *Lima Fashion Week* with 8 artisanal workshops, including the workshops Ayni worked with; Second, she had to supervise the manufacture of collections of 8 artisanal and semi-artisanal, rural and urban, workshops throughout Cusco to present in *Peru Moda*. While these groups would do their own designs she would serve as a consultant making sure garments looked fashionable, up to date, used seasonal colors, etc.

Most textile workshops are located in neighborhoods surrounding the historical center of Cusco. The regional government provided us with a car and driver to take us from workshop to workshop. As we drove from Wanchaq to Wimpillay, the

¹²⁴ These agencies and their role within the supply chain of alpaca and fashion are discussed in Chapter 2.

paved roads ended and we went into a maze of dirt roads which our car shared with local buses, white hatchback cabs, cows crossing the street, stray dogs barking unafraid of passing cars, and piles of trash lying on the sides of the road. The streets were not named and we drove around trying to make our way to the next workshop by finding key landmarks. First, we needed to find the last bus stop, then a right, finally a left on the corner with a market, we were given a house number... none of the houses had numbers.

Mario, a regional government employee, was accompanying Harumi to the workshops she was serving as a consultant in, but not to the ones she would use to make her collection in. As we drove through the uneven maze of streets, Mario asked Harumi how she saw the level of skill, creativity, and general state of the workshops she had visited so far. Harumi assured him that the technical capacities of most workshops were exceptional, emphasizing how some of the textiles she saw had intricate and complex designs that made them look like paintings. She explained to Mario that in order for this large-scale project to succeed, the focus should be on strengthening industry standards among the groups. They needed to make sure manufacturing workshops kept appropriate sizing measurements (S, M, L, XL), that they were conscious of how much material was being used,¹²⁵ that there were no mistakes in the knit, and that the finishings¹²⁶ were appropriately made. From

¹²⁵ The weight of a garment made in knit is always taken into account in its pricing along with the price of the material used, handwork, technical difficulty, design, etc...

¹²⁶ In textile manufacturing, finishing refers to processes that convert woven or knitted cloth into usable material (i.e. clothing) to improve the look, performance, or feel of the finished textile or clothing. Some finishing techniques used to complete a garment are: straightening

Harumi's perspective all artisans are artistic and creative, which will allow their sense of design to continue evolving 'naturally':

“...all artisanal groups need to have the similar tension,¹²⁷ garments need to have the same weigh, it is all an issue of quality control. But first they need to know technique, and they do, once they have technique then you can focus on finishings, quality control and standardization, but at the level of Cusco as a region. Not just workshop by workshop, we can have the goal that if a workshop gets a large order, in the thousands, all garments will be and look the same.”

Mario agreed that was the goal of the project: to support workshops achieve that level and make them accessible as manufacturing sites for national and international designers and bands. Mario continued asking for a more concrete diagnostics, re-iterating the same question that he had previously made. She outlined to him that she encourages the artisans to think and to change the way they approach technique. Harumi explained: “...it's about their techniques and types of thread... I focus on what they know, but I ask them to mix up their technique to create new textures. A way of breaking with their paradigms. Their usual techniques or knitting stitches they always do, to express these using new techniques or materials, something new will come out. They tell me why are you mixing a thin thread with a thick one... but then they see a new texture comes out...”

curled up edges, straightening any irregularity in the stitches (called blocking), properly joining various pieces with carefully done sewing so that the knit doesn't lose the desired elasticity, making buttonholes or pockets, incorporating elastic bands and securing edges, and reinforcing certain areas of the garment.

¹²⁷ Tension refers to how loose or tense the threads in the stitch are, the looser the tension the less wool used, makes for a lighter more airy and flexible garment. The more tense the threads are the more material used, the more heavy, stiff and warmer the garment is.

In order to turn Cusco into a manufacturing site for luxury, hand-made and semi-artisanal garments for an international and national industry a new textural woven surface needs to emerge. This new surface needs to allow the striated space of the market, a space guided by specific standards, to inter-weave with the smooth space of the artisanal textile, textiles so beautiful they look like paintings. New textural paradigms need to appear, ones that can provide the appearance that the tensions found in the mixing of both spaces seem aesthetically pleasing, that can conform to the standards of the market. Yet, as Harumi points out, this textural paradigm emerges not just from following the trends set up by the global fashion world but by mixing textures and techniques already in use and belonging to the local artisanal traditions. The woven surface cannot help but knot within itself the reality and social context of the artisan, one in which they and their textile traditions are entangled within a growing capitalist industry. The artisan is expected to enter into a dialogue with the surfaces desired at the moment by global trends, while still being a skillful expert in her own traditions. The artisanal textural paradigms, the beautiful and complex surfaces they produce with alpaca wool, do not create the right kinds of surfaces; they do not include (both in form and substance) the referents, standards that come to form an encounter with fashion markets. If the surface becomes a site of encounters, of coming into being at the nexus of a series of relations, then the surfaces produced by the artisans need to change and be re-shaped, as they reflect and constitute their encounter with the fashion system and capitalist garment industry. More than transforming prior surfaces, they are creating new surfaces made out of

this new encounter, one in which different standards and aesthetic styles matter. More than just alpaca thread, Harumi's conversation with Mario and his own concerns as an actor tasked with keeping watch of government interests point to the varying relations that are being interwoven, the interplay of forces that is making the encounter and the new fashionable surfaces. More than considering conceptual design ways of making new objects or new forms to shape the soft texture of the alpaca wool, the need is to actually create new surfaces that represent the skillful mastery of artisanal traditional practices merged within the trends and tactile whims of the global fashion world. Artisans need to view the creation of surfaces in a new light, to mix and match what they know in experimental ways, put together textures and threads that were not mixed within their traditional set of techniques and textural aesthetics. Rather than simply producing what the fashion industry wants, they need to acknowledge and include in the smooth space of the traditional textile surfaces the striations of global markets, fashion worlds, and state sponsored business-led development.

In interactions between designers like Harumi and Mario, where artisans aren't directly part of the conversation, we can see how power relations and hierarchies within design and manufacture are more complex than what is assumed within the garment industry, where manufacture is expected to simply replicate a design according to the technical and conceptual creation done by fashion designers. Artisans on the one hand need to have mere technical skill, capable of following industry standards, reproducing and replicating as close as possible multiple of the same garment without altering the 'virtual object.' On the other hand, they have to be

more than mere handwork; they are sought out because of their specialized skill based on their unique indigenous textile traditions. If they are just mechanical handwork, why go through the effort of going through the mazes of paved and unpaved roads, of dealing with altitude sickness? This tension is inherent in the division between design and mechanical reproduction, and has allowed for certain textures that help reaffirm the 'standard view' of design to become more common within fashion, like more industrialized factory work, where labor relations do not necessarily expected to include relations among actors such as the ones described here. As Ingold (2011) points out, the practitioner's engagement with the material in a skilled activity carries its own intrinsic intentionality, apart from the designs they are supposed to implement over the alpaca wool. The artisan's intentionality in the process of manufacture is needed and becomes part of the surface that is the garment, yet she stills need to inhabit a specific hierarchical position within the industry, even as their participation destabilizes these same power hierarchies.



Figure 13: Harumi selecting stitches for her fashion collection at Señora Camila's house

Unlike Natalia, Harumi had come to Cusco with all of her collection already designed: the concept was determined, all of the technical drawings were complete, and she had selected the colors to be used for each garment. Yet, as she selected the workshops that would make her collection the design process unfolded in a way that was less determined than what it appeared to be at first glance. I helped Harumi pack a large and heavy bag full of alpaca thread spools into a cab taking us to the home of Camila, Ayni's director. Camila managed and organized the work and projects from all the rural groups she and her profesoras' worked at.¹²⁸ As we walked into her home dragging with us the bag of thread, there was a cluster of four tejedoras sitting knitting under the sun in Camila's front yard. Camila was expecting us and had coffee, cheese and bread ready for our meeting. "Excuse the current state of my house," she stated before saying hello. The inside of her home looked like a warehouse full of stacks of textile objects, everything from cheap souvenirs to sell at local tourist stores and markets, to high-end folded garments waiting to be packaged and sent to France, including a large mountain of traditional wool bed covers from the region of Ocongate destined be sold to a French home-décor boutique. There was no place to sit; every piece of furniture was covered with textile objects. Camila made some space for us in a desk located near the front door of the house. Harumi began showing Camila the designs and colors scheme of the garments and asked, "do you

¹²⁸ While Ayni was subcontracted to work with the CSR ISUR in Ocongate, they also worked in partnership with other NGOs, regional government offices and CSRs in different rural areas of Cusco.

have artisans that can make this?” Camila looked at each garment and would then decide what group would be more skilled in making it. While Harumi had carefully planned the garments and colors she had not selected the knit design or stitches each one would be made of. Harumi asked Camila to show her the different techniques, swatches and styles the artisans she works with specialize in. Camila brought samples of knits made by the groups she thought would be a good fit. Harumi would grab each sample, touch it, stretch it, and place it next to the drawings before deciding which textures would compose each garment and with which threads.

The feel of garments is central to its wearability, making the textures, fall and feel of any garment as important as the actual design. This is of particular importance in knitwear¹²⁹ where the garment itself is built up through weaving¹³⁰ without a pattern being applied onto a pre-existing surface. The surfaces are made in the shape, and colors of Harumi’s design. These surface textures she is selecting based on what the artisans do, rather on what she defined previously in her design, will alter the final look and style of the dress, and in turn this will affect the bodies it shapes and identities associated with a style. Again, the surface of the weave is a site of encounters between the skills, knowledge and traditions of the artisans and how Harumi accommodates to them in order to closely match or approximate her design.

¹²⁹ Knitwear refers to any garment made through a variety of knitted techniques. Within this supply chain artisanal woven fabrics tend to fall into what’s produced with alpaca and are intimately associated with knitted ones. This association of two kinds of fabrics that are considered two separate categories in the fashion industry is due to how both are central to traditional Andean textile traditions.

¹³⁰ Here and throughout this chapter I use the term woven as a category of making defined by Ingold and discussed earlier in this chapter.

Yet, in order for Harumi to maintain her authorship as a designer, to keep the value in the ‘virtual object’ where creativity has been institutionalized within fashion worlds and other creative industries, this process is construed as ‘ethical.’ Ethical here operates in two different levels; on the one hand these garments are ethical in how they are inspired in Andean culture, how they incorporate indigenous labor and textile techniques. On the other hand, the category of ethical allows for the intervention of the artisans in determining the textures that will make up the garment as one that does not fully challenge the structural power relation between design and manufacture.

Here the category of ethical or socially responsible allows for certain recognition of the creative and skilled contributions of the artisan while upholding the existing power structure in the fashion system. Because of the division between conceptual creation- Harumi’s technical drawings-, and making- artisans as manufacture- their interventions are somewhat subsumed as part of the latter process obscuring the ways they actually do affect the conceptual design and destabilize these, apparently separate, categories. The ‘ethical’ becomes a nod to such moments that blur the distinction between design and manufacture, without challenging hegemonic power hierarchies.

Ethics has become a meaningful way of framing this encounter as it acknowledges labor relations as more than just labor, more than merely-capital and implied in this is that they are more than just design-sweatshop manufacture. Rather than fully subverting these distinctions it casts relations in terms of a certain dependence of artisans, indigenous artisans, on the fashion world where they have to

maintain a position as a type of outsider in order to help maintain the value of their authenticity and handwork. To act ethically presumes one is in the position of power in this developmentalist context, even as it becomes part of the garment industry. During my fieldwork I never saw an instance where artisans were presumed to be ethical or unethical. Fashion designers and development workers might describe artisans behavior as difficult, stubborn, or not understanding of business or the fashion industry, but never unethical. However, both designers and development workers were constantly checking and finding ways of assuring their engagement with artisans was ethical. The language of ethics serves to promote the good intentions and agency of one set of people, while allowing the agency of artisans to play out in instances they ‘normally’ do not or should not, instances described throughout this chapter.

In a recent article published in the newspaper *The Guardian*'s fashion section, ethical fashions are described as allowing consumers, by wearing certain brands and garments, to feel good about more than just looking good. "...fashion brands have realized that people will buy ethical clothes as long as they don't look like ethical clothes." In order for garments not to look like ethical clothes fashion designers like Harumi along with brand names are necessary. They are the assurance that these garments are still fashionable. The article continued, "And it's easier to go ethical shopping, too. Some great boutiques have appeared which do all the sorting of nice from naff and the worrying about bona fides for you. All you have to do is loll on the sofa browsing their websites and buy." The same article defines ethical as "whether

they're organic, recycled, made in small-scale production, fairtrade or handcrafted, which appeals to me" (Fisher 2015). Harumi, Natalia, Julio and all the others described in this dissertation do the sorting and work for consumer to be able to dress and feel good. The article ends by stating, "Buy some of these wares and you will feel smug. You will be a better person and you might even find the perfect outfit for the perfect occasion. You won't find an amazing bargain, but it's that unsustainable and selfish search that got us and the fashion industry in trouble in the first place" (Fisher 2015).¹³¹ Here the responsibility of an exploitative industry is not in its power and value hierarchy but the unsustainable modes of production and selfish search for the new, constant bargains and perfect outfits. Ethics is about modifying the existing system. This article also explicitly acknowledges that ethical a fashion in its ways of making the industry less exploitative ultimately produces luxurious expensive clothing. Making things ethical comes at a cost reflected on the price tag, something for a particular clientele. This discourse of ethics does obscure many of the relations I am describing in the face of consumers, yet it also complicates and brings out tensions in the ways labor, production and value operate; these tensions make up the actual surfaces and styles of the non-ethical looking ethical garments. Ethics assure that while artisans are more than skilled workers, engaging in more-than mere capitalist labor relations, designers and brands are still the arbiters of value.

¹³¹ How to look good in green: The best ethical fashions.
http://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2015/jul/05/how-to-look-good-in-green-ethical-fashion?CMP=ema_789

Ultimately, the actual surface and feel of the dress is a reflection of Harumi's own encounter with the artisans and is the area where the artisans do the final determining of what the dress will become, limiting their own options in terms of her 'virtual object.' While Harumi does select the texture she feels more appropriate for her design, this decision is ultimately limited by what the artisans do and what they are willing to do. Hence, the textures, surfaces and spaces created by the ways artisans decide to knot and loop the thread are as important aesthetically as the final garment, a point that will be further discussed below. However, as a new textural paradigm emerges within fashion's constant search for the 'new', ethics comes into play to uphold a particular power structure within this capitalist creative industry while creating and fostering different relations among actors that complicate aesthetic practices in ways that allow for new aesthetics to come and be part of fashion: the ethical that doesn't look like ethical; the indigenous, once considered the antithesis of fashion, to be an aesthetic basis for fashion.

Step #3: Casting Off

Cast off to end your piece and transform the live loops into the flat finished edge of a knitted piece.

Knit two stitches.

Insert the left needle into the first stitch on the right needle or rightmost stitch.

Lift the first stitch over the second stitch.

Pull out the left needle, leaving the combined stitch on the right needle.

Knit another stitch and repeat until only one-stitch remains on the right needle.

Slip the needle out of the last loop.

Cut the yarn, leaving a 6-inch end. Put the cut end through the loop and pull it tight.

Mozh was one of 6 fashion designers taking part in the Social Responsibility Runway in the Cusco Always in Fashion (CAF) event. The runways during CAF are

open to the public and take place in sites of historical, cultural and archeological importance, such as various Inca ruins, local marketplaces and colonial cathedrals. As part of the CAF events, ‘urban interventions’ are staged in which models dressed in runway outfits take over public places like the main Plaza as part of the scenery, and conferences on design techniques and brand development. According to the organizers of this Andean fashion week, the event focuses on using local manufacture to produce fashions inspired by Andean traditions, and “encouraging an exploration of identity and cultural inclusion” (CAF Mission statement). For the Social Responsibility runway each designer is paired with a community from the Cusco region to produce a haute-couture collection. The work of designers with these communities is enabled through the same multi-development agency efforts that hired Harumi to prepare collections for *Peru Moda* and *LIF Week*.¹³² Mozh was assigned to work with artisans from the city of Sicuani, the capital of the Canchis province and second largest city in the region of Cusco. Growing up in Cajamarca, located in the northern highlands of Peru, in a family of Iranian immigrants, Mozh had an interest in artisanal traditional textiles, be these from the Middle East or the Americas.

Mozh and I left Cusco on the first non-stop bus to Sicuani at 6am. The direct trip to Sicuani takes 2 hours, and on a bus that makes regular stops it can take up to 4 hours. This was Mozh’s last visit to Sicuani, two days before her CAF runway, to pick up the finished garments from all the artisans that worked on her collection.

After a full day of running around town, we stopped to rest in our shared room at a

¹³² Harumi was also one of the 6 designers participating from the CAF Social Responsibility runway.

small hostel near the central plaza. I took this opportunity to finally ask Mozh why she had an interest in artisanal textiles. Laying down in her bed, which was separated from mine by a small nightstand, she replied, “their meaning, the meaning of working with tejido, its symbology, a handmade garment, is a unique garment. This attracted me to tejido...” She often described her approach to fashion design as a process of research, of “recovery, re-valorizing and reinterpreting ancestral textiles and symbols” working in close collaboration with Peruvian artisans. “Collaboration is a great thing. Sometimes I say to the tejedoras, hey I want to do this, what stitches do you recommend? If you do this things will be pretty. So I say ok, you know more than I do, because this is their specialty. I want this, what is the best way to do it, knitting or in crochet? Collaborating and respecting the specialty of each one just makes for work that is more rich and unique.” Similarly to Natalia and Harumi, for Mozh this notion of collaboration and acknowledging the skill of the artisan as expertise was what made fashion ethical. Letting the artisans have a say in the textures of the design was seen as establishing an ethical relation of labor while also making it visible in the aesthetic and surface of the garments. Her relation with artisans’ expertise was entangled, composing the woven surface of the garment. However, this acknowledgement of collaboration and respect still implied that the conceptual creation was wholly under Mozh’s creative say and control. Yet, the actual material components and rhythmic movements of the artisans’ practice that give her idea material existence are contingent on how artisans materially interpret the design. As will be made clear in the following vignette, the technical drawings of

a design are landmarks found along the way. As Ingold (2011) points out, instructions do not direct the movements of the artisans hands, “they are a means of checking that we are still on track” (358), that something similar, resembling or close enough to the virtual object will be materialized.

I had first accompanied Mozh to Sicuani for her first visit, 20 days before this final trip. We were there trying to find and meet local artisans who would make her collection. Conveniently, most of the artisans were all participating in a local textile and fashion event called *Canchis al Mundo* (Canchis for the World). Instead of going from workshop to workshop Mozh was able to meet and talk to most of the local artisans in one venue. The event was located on the outskirts of town. The closer we got to the venue the larger the agricultural fields found between small clusters of homes. All of the roads of the main street were also unpaved. We turned onto a dirt road, *huayno* music becoming louder as we reached our destination: a newly built cement community center surrounded by green pastures with grazing sheep.

Mozh spent all morning talking with each artisanal group present at the fair. By noon only two groups had agreed to do what amounted to half of the garments for her collection. None of the other artisans were willing to do any of the remaining garments. The regional government’s artisanal affairs coordinator, who served as the sponsoring liaison between CAF and the artisans, arranged for Mozh to meet during lunch with the artisans from one of the few workshops that was not participating in the event. They were her last option to find someone to finish making her collection.



Figure 14: Mozh making changes to her *chaska* designs during a meeting with artisans from Sicuani

Three artisans came from the workshop, two men and a woman, only to talk to Mozh. As soon as we all sat at a table in the food section of the event, Mozh promptly showed the artisans the technical designs along with the book *Tejiendo en los Andes del Peru: Soñando Diseños, Tejiendo Recuerdos* (Weaving in the Peruvian Highlands: Dreaming Patterns, Weaving Memories). This book, written by Nilda Callañaupa Alvarez (2009) director of The Center for Traditional Textiles of Cusco, documents the textile traditions, techniques, iconography and meanings of highland communities throughout the region of Cusco. Mozh’s collection was based on the *chaska* star,¹³³ a common, yet highly varied iconography throughout the region of Cusco and other parts of Southern Peru. She opened the book on a page showing the *chaska* iconography as used in a traditional textile and stated, “the whole collection

¹³³ Some *chaska* stars are shaped like diamonds with lines emanating from the sides and with different details in the center. Other *chaskas* do resemble in shape five pointed stars, while others are embroidered as a means of uniting two smaller pieces of textiles in order to make a larger one, these embroidered *chaskas* are made of rays emanating from a central point.

uses this *chaska*, and I need someone who can make at least these two sweaters.” One was a black tight fitted alpaca crop¹³⁴ sweater with four rows of white *chaska* stars and two black lines at the bottom. The other, a white alpaca sweater with a V-neck back, had a knitted pattern of black *chaska* stars throughout the front and back. The artisans didn’t even glance at the book and focused on the technical drawings. The three artisans looked at each other and stayed in silence, neither agreeing nor disagreeing to make them. “Do you think you can do these? It is easy to make them in *intarsia*.¹³⁵ They are both really easy and fast to make,” Mozh pleaded with them, quickly interpreting their silence as a refusal. “What changes would you suggest that will make you agree to make these?” she finally asked. One of the men suggested she should simplify the iconography. Mozh grabbed the book and replied, “change the star? But this is how your ancestors did it! How are you going to change it? Is there anything else that we could change?” The artisans laughed at her comment and the same artisan then suggested making the *chaska* iconography larger in size so as to minimize the amount of design in the sweater. With this change the artisans agreed to make both sweaters.

In the end Mozh’s design had to change in order for the artisans to even agree to do it. She had to adapt it to meet the artisans’ demands and transform it into the

¹³⁴ Crop top is a short sweater or shirt that exposes the midriff.

¹³⁵ Knitting technique used to create patterns with multiple colors and designs. It can be hand-made or made in semi-artisanal machines with multiple needles. Intarsia is one of the most common textile techniques throughout the south of Peru. The machines arrived in Peru during the 1960s and were advertised as home appliance for housewives in magazines such as *Caretas*. Common examples of intarsia work are the popular alpaca sweaters sold throughout tourist souvenir markets with alpaca designs on them.

kind of object they would be willing to do in the given time span of 20 days. As we have seen throughout the chapter, this process of negotiating with the artisans is central to manufacturing these garments. The authorship and value of the high-fashion object is ultimately a product not of the design of the auteur, but of the interplay of relations and negotiations between the designer's idea and intentionality and the artisans' skill, ability and willingness to make certain types of textures. The designs are always contingent and come into being as a result of these negotiations generated within a specific social-context: artisanal workshop articulated in garment industry. It is here that imaginings of ethnicity, history and of fusion become part of the garment.

The iconography itself was the non-negotiable element for Mozh; it was the formal element that, alongside the use of a certain color palette, visually holds the meaning and intent of the designer across the whole collection. But there is also a reason for this non-negotiability of the iconography beyond the formal aspects of the collection. Mozh extensively researched the textile iconographic traditions that are considered as representative, traditional or common in the communities across the Cusco region. For her it was an attempt to go beyond just working with artisans as handwork, it was a way of coming into touch, of coming together with the local traditions and communities and doing it within the parameters of fashion. The habits, practices of design and belief about authorship are in contradiction with the genuine desire designers have to establish a collaborative relationship with the weavers. Yet, if we look at the whole process, from design to manufacture, it is clear that the design

never comes into existence without the materiality of the garment, the knowledge and needs of the weavers.

However, the encounter of the artisans also highlights these surfaces as a place where things (be)come together-apart. The artisans' investment and response to the iconography was not what Mozh was expecting as a way of creating an interaction that crossed aesthetically from the Andean tradition into high fashion. For them what was more important than the integrity of the iconography, assumed to have been inherited from their ancestors, was being able to do a certain kind of garment, one that could be done in 20 days without complications and that would fit into their workshop manufacture schedule. It is important to note that these smaller workshops in Sicuani mostly manufacture textiles and garments for local and tourist markets. For them altering the iconography did not necessary imply changing the meaning of the *chaska*; this at least was not their main concern. If the iconography is not an element that is negotiable then the 'virtual design' needs to become a site of encounter that crystallizes what can be done within the artisans' own daily labor organization and social context. The spatial organization of the iconography, the design itself, was altered based on the needs of the artisans, who regardless of their relationship with the iconography ascribed to their community, replicated it based on the image selected from the book. The iconography became larger, easier to draw within a woven surface, making the *chaska* the visible space of fashion, the stronghold of meaning that was composed of their business relationship, the tensions of turning artisanal labor into fashion manufacture.

These garments constitute a particular encounter between two actors that occupy different spaces, geographic and representational, within the Peruvian nation. On a visual register, it will be the iconography, located on the surface of the garment that is seen as carrying the cultural meaning of Andeaness, social inclusion and ethics in fashion. This iconography is also what constitutes a link with a history, a history of Peru and its textile heritage; it is an element of the past that can continue into the present. In a way it is the size and re-organization of the iconography in the garments, and the surface of the weave, that holds the encounter with the present reality of artisans who are negotiating their participation in the garment industry while maintaining their temporality of daily life, something that will be further discussed below. This attempt at social inclusion or a (be)coming together also shows the ways in which both come apart, and what is created in this process¹³⁶.

Two days before the CAF Social Responsibility Runway, I accompanied Mozh to pick up the garments. We stayed overnight to ensure we had plenty of time to run around town from workshop to workshop collecting the garments and making sure everything was ready for the runway. After dropping our bags at the hostel, we headed towards the first workshop, but no one was there, it was still too early. When we arrived to the next workshop the only two artisans present were crocheting the necks of the oversized two-headed *chaska* alpaca sweater. This was meant to be a

¹³⁶ While I must admit I was not able to talk extensively with artisans in Sicuani due to the limits of how manufacture unfolded, I did spend a lot of time with artisans in other parts of Cusco. Based on these conversations, wehre we discussed the work they do for the fashion industry and the transition to working in this new industry, many didn't necessarily see the garments made as authentic reflection or representations of their traditions. That is not to say they weren't invested or proud of their work.

showpiece of the collection, a performative piece, completely unwearable, that would serve to tie together the rest of the garments in the collection. The artisans held up the giant sweater for us to see. The white *chaska* iconography that ran across the black sweater was a different *chaska* than the one Mozh had selected from the book.

Mozh sat in a sofa across from the women, after admiring their technical skill and handwork, mentioning how beautiful the sweater was, she shyly stated: “Hey, but you made a different star.” The artisan replied, “No this is the *chaska*, the star.” “But this is not the one I gave you” replied Mozh. “No... it didn’t look like a *chaska* it looked like a...” said the artisan before Mozh interrupted her. “But that was the one, all of the collection is made with that one.” “Ay, you don’t say,” said the artisan. “Why did you do something else? Because I’m doing everything with the other one, this is why I gave you a drawing...” This time the tejedora interrupted “yes, well, it was like some squares, no, rhombus with little legs...” “You know there are different versions of the *chaska*,” Mozh insisted. “We thought that the *chaska* was a star, and the star...” Mozh interrupted once again “But in the technical drawing you had the drawing, you should have followed that one, all the other artisans are doing the same drawing, all of them.” “Ay, you don’t say.”

Mozh turned to the other artisan and asked, “Laurita, why did you make a flower, different than what I gave you?” Laurita replied, “you said *chaska* and we made a *chaska*. In the drawing you didn’t see this (referring to a star) you saw some rhombus with... they looked like little fleas.” “This looks to me more like a flower” referring to what the artisans had made, “I think it’s beautiful, but it’s not the theme

of the collection,” insisted Mozh. Laura immediately corrected Mozh, “this is a star,” she stated while referring to the design on the sweater, “the flower is different. You said *chaska* and *chaska* is what we did. This is a square not a star,” and pointed at the drawing of the *chaska* Mozh had selected. We left the workshops with Mozh looking visibly frustrated, “*que se le va a hacer*. Let’s see what I can come up with now.” The sweater was finished and the artisans paid, but it never made it to the runway.

Unlike the first group of artisans, the women from this workshop took it upon themselves to correct the iconographic mistake made by Mozh, regardless of her research. For Laura the *chaska* selected by Mozh was not the correct *chaska*, it looked like a flea. Even though Mozh’s intention of basing the collection on this iconography was to engage and re-think local community designs within fashion, a mode of collaboration and inclusion, the assertion of the artisans own native knowledge in correcting the star was just not acceptable. Here the intervention is unwanted; it separates and even excludes the garment, as it hinged on Mozh’s authorship and a certain notion of aesthetic cohesiveness that is central to fashion worlds.

In a way Laura was doing Mozh a favor, correcting a well-meaning mistake done by an outsider who wants to re-valorize their community traditions within fashion, while also providing them work. In Laura’s view, the version of the *chaska* they selected not only was the right *chaska*, but it was prettier. For the artisans it was not the visual continuity of a collection that was muddling the differences between traditional and modern, or between fashionable and ethnic; it was their perception of this commitment with local aesthetics. Their logic was not the logic of the runway; it

was a moment of “constitutive exclusion” (Barad 2012:215). They pushed power hierarchies more than typically allowed within ‘ethical’ manufacture, showing us the limits of the meaning of ‘ethics’ in fashion but also what iconographies are not the right ones, even if they have the same meaning. Their aesthetic intervention pushed beyond what is acceptable within fashion, threatening the logic of how a runway collection is composed and Mozh’s authorship. If Laura and the artisans that work with her want to continue working for this supply chain, beyond making garments for local consumption and tourist markets, they cannot repeat interventions like this. Not all of their actions and decision as skilled experts are acceptable in this encounter, in the same way that not all of the aesthetic signifiers of indigeneity can cross over and (be)come part of fashion.

Conclusion

I have focused in this chapter on small moments of negotiation that are necessary to manufacture fashions. These negotiations complicate the ‘standard view’ of design that serves to structure capitalist creative industries supporting a hierarchy of labor and value, design over making, concept over material. By looking at these instances of weaving and focusing on the textile surfaces, one can see how a certain notion of ethics unfolds and becomes material. This patchwork of stories allows us to approach what is meant by ethics in particular entanglements, and what are the limits of the category of ethics within a fashion system that seeks to address issues of exploitation without altering power structures and hierarchies of value. It also allows

exploring what is opened up, created and made anew through the material act of weaving alpaca wool.

The negotiations in weaving are constituted by specific histories, politics and social contexts. Thinking in this way about the process of weaving, as a modality of making, a way of touching each other as we touch the knit, helps bring people and care back into the designs. For example, working in a region, there is a particular set of textures and techniques designers need to work with. The lack of access to eye-care in a highland community becomes constitutive of the knitted garment being made. It is in these common moments of negotiation that shapes, textures and whole designs are re-constituted creating a complex surface that's actually full of depth. The relations and garments are both being interwoven; there is no prior surface to be transformed. The garments are made up by these negotiations, by decisions about what iconography is the 'correct' one and when does having the 'correct' iconography matters. The ways discussed here that challenge and destabilize the distinction between manufacture and design within this category of the 'ethical' do allow for an inclusion of indigenous people and traditions previously considered as the antithesis of fashion to become part of fashion worlds. These fashions are not frivolous aesthetic objects. Miscommunications and assumptions about each other are not just reflected in the garments, but constitute the very surfaces and actual designs muddling what can pass as fashion and what counts as ethnic and ethical.

As these garments move outside of workshop spaces into haute-couture runways and boutiques in Peru and abroad, and for fashion editorials, their meaning

changes. They need to be able to pass from these moments of negotiations into the fashion world, something that the double-headed sweater did not do. Fashion designers and artisans, are all engaged in what Kondo (1997) calls complicitous resistance: one can resist certain aspects of the Western fashion system, yet in order to be part of this world a level of complicity is required. For example, even if Laura is honestly operating under the assumption that the 'real' iconography matters, that her voice and intervention as a local textile expert is warranted, in this 'ethical' supply chain her intervention is not complicit. Even though Mozh genuinely wants to engage through fashion with local aesthetic traditions, accepting Laura's intervention would break the coherent logic that gives cohesion to her collection according to what's expected in a fashion runway. While the national fashion world, through figures like Mozh and other development efforts is trying to bring into fashion Andean aesthetics, acknowledging them as beautiful and contemporary, this has to be done in a way that works in the system of fashion. As we have seen through this chapter, there are limits to the participation and intervention of artisans, interventions that constitute the surfaces in ways that do not threaten designer authorship and go with what's in style. This interplay of complicitous resistance is how designers and development actors operate. In order to carve out a space for Peruvian design in the fashion industry complicitness is necessary. Yet, moments of resistance are part of what differentiates Peruvian design making it both ethical and distinctive. These resistances and interventions that are not typically accepted in the hegemonic understanding of design and how fashion is produced are constitutive to the process of defining a Peruvian

fashion world and the new textile surfaces created. Certain resistances are translated not only as fashion but as moments of ethical behavior. The negotiations of a particular fashionable national aesthetic hinge on re-imaginings and engaging, a (be)coming in touch with historically defined racial representations and imaginings of race. In this process fashions are made of constitutive exclusions, where artisans, their aesthetics, skill and position are both simultaneously made part of fashion worlds while being maintained in a certain position. Yet, in this process elements of indigeneity become contemporary and fashionable.

These negotiations where discussions of textile surfaces, textures and iconographies underlie perceptions of race, continue as these garments move from workshops into runways, albeit in a different manner. As these garments move from these moments of weaving as making farther away from the hands of artisans into runways, fashion editorials, bodies of models, and in some instances the bodies of consumers; new layers of meaning will come into play. These new layers of meanings subsume the negotiations and contradictions discussed in this chapter, but will not necessarily be made part of the surface of the garments. They will be projected onto the garments, as they become part of new spaces. The fashions and processes discussed here explore how these garments come to be seen as 'ethical', made up from a patchwork of smooth and striated spaces, of moments of Andean life and traditions, of designers that seek genuine collaborations while maintaining their position of power as designer, all unfolding within the striated space of the capitalist fashion industry. The moments in weaving discussed here, while not necessarily

legible once the garments appear on a runway, are not merely erased, but exist latent in the weave, making up the textures of the garments and translated into a source of value.

Chapter 6: Entretejido

Artist Statement/Synopsis:

This film (see supplemental file) is a 30-minute audiovisual-haptic exploration of the supply chain, from animal to runway.¹³⁷ This supply chain located in Huancavelica, in the Central Andean highlands, were Quechua speaking communities already marginalized and historically relegated by the state, were devastated during the Shining Path insurgency. While the shining Path would take over communities, by force if necessary; neither para-military nor military groups differentiated between Quechua speaking Andean communities and insurgents. Forms of state-driven and state-sanctioned violence towards highland communities, including forced sterilizations, continued through Fujimori's regime that ended in 2000. Today, grassroots forms of community organizing, like artisanal workshops and Clubes de Madres, have become the preferred site of market driven development projects that seek to articulate highland communities into supply chains as a form of poverty alleviation, socially responsible trade, and cultural inclusion.

In this film we attempt to use the haptic space of cinema to explore the textures that compose this supply chain, from animal to runway. By focusing on the materiality of fiber, throughout its many forms and stages- animal, thread, garment- the film offers insights into the textures of a complex market and the ways objects we wear are entangled in national racial politics and postcolonial histories. It's a film about the creation, depth and tensions of surfaces.

¹³⁷ See Supplemental Materials

Following aesthetic theorist Giuliana Bruno (2014), I understand surfaces as the material configurations of the relations between subjects and objects, surfaces as sites of mediation and projection. Historically in Peru, the symbolic weight and burden of race and racism has fallen on women's dress (Gandolfo 2009, de la Cadena 1995, Poole 1997). Dress and other sartorial elements became signifiers of the indigenous carrying the weight of the contradictions of the position of indigenous communities within Peru's shifting socio-political climates. Bodies continually diluted into dress.

Throughout the film we seek to show the processes by which these textile surfaces are negotiated, mediated and produced as a way of understanding present day imaginings and anxieties surrounding the indigenous that are projected onto these garments during a time of reconciliation and socio-economic inclusion. We hope to show how indigenous artisans (their bodies, dress and aesthetics) are introduced and positioned within fashion worlds in relation to how their indigeneity is re-imagined as cosmopolitan and fashionable. By focusing on the surface materiality of alpaca wool and processes that go into making these fashions, we explore how cinema can be used to create a sense of intimacy and closeness that can help move from- and be critical of- popular racial representations that simultaneously sustain, challenge and celebrate forms of racism in Peru.

Conclusion: A Socially Responsible Runway?

As the school bell rang in the historic Colegio San Borja elementary school near the center of Cusco, children walked out of their classrooms standing in lines behind their teachers. They went in an orderly manner downstairs to the central patio in the middle of the old colonial building. The school, founded in 1621, is an old colonial building overlooking the main plaza of Cusco. Light blue wooden balusters in the second-floor hallway overlook the open-air yard in the middle. A small plaza with three fountains is located in front of the main entrance of the school building. The school serves children in nearby neighborhoods where there are long time residents as well as migrants from all areas of Cusco, Apurímac, nearby Puerto Maldonado and other highland regions. Many families have close ties to rural communities and may speak Quechua or at least practice Quechua cultural traditions. In the area one finds many small informal textile workshops that produce objects that fill the market stalls and tourist shops in the area. Harumi worked with some of these, as well as, Pía, one of the seven designers participating in the Cusco Always in Fashion (CAF) Social Responsibility runway. This was no ordinary school assembly; the children excited for the day's activities as the opening Social Responsibility runway was starting.

Members of the school choir ran up to the back hallway of the second floor overlooking the central patio. A large bright red runway crossed the middle of the patio, contrasting brightly with the light blue of the balusters behind where choir students stood. Two large flagstaves with the flags of Peru and Cusco stood to each

side of the runway. Some of the upstairs classrooms had been transformed into dressing rooms where hectic designers made sure they had all accessories, dresses and shoes ready for their runways. Models, with their hair and make up done chatted with one another in final moments to relax before the runway started. Guests walked into the school, finding available places behind the school children and in hallway areas of the second floor. The press-stand at the front of the runway, filled quickly with members of the national press, international fashion press, and independent fashion bloggers. The school bell rang again, marking the opening of the CAF 2011. The school choir opened the event singing the Peruvian national anthem and another song they had prepared for the event. As they sang two kids holding banners with the school emblem walked to the middle of the runway.

Unlike most traditional fashion events, all of CAF's events are open and free to the public, taking place in sites of historical and cultural importance in an attempt to bring fashion, traditionally the realm of urban Lima, to the Andes. Inclusion of local communities is key to linking the event to "social responsibility." This Cusco fashion week always starts with a Social Responsibility runway that takes place in important community spaces where members of the community help organize the event. In past years it has taken place in the Central Market of Cusco, where market women help get the space ready and sell their fare to guests. This Social Responsibility runway featured the work of seven designers, five from Lima and two from Cusco. Each designer from Lima had been paired with a community in the

region of Cusco through partnerships with different NGOs and government agencies, which included both Ayni and ISUR.

I conclude this dissertation analyzing one of Peru's main fashion events and how 'ethical' or socially responsible garments are presented as runway fashions. Throughout this dissertation I have explored how ethics is enacted throughout the supply chain that enables such garments to be made. Here I delve into how these garments are displayed as Peruvian fashions: shaping the models of bodies and creating particular styles through the way they are combined with different accessories. If indigenous and artisanal elements have been included in fashion, what forms of exclusion do they produce? What are the terms of how the indigenous is presented as fashion and how are indigenous bodies positioned within this space? What do social responsibility and ethics mean within the space of a fashion event?

Runway Styles: Westernizing the Indigenous-Indigenizing the West

Colegion San Borja is a public school serving low-income class children from the neighborhood surrounding the tourist center of Cusco. In 1621 viceroy Francisco Alvarez de Toledo founded the school with the sole purpose of educating children from the Inca nobility. The aim was to distance the children at a young age from what Spanish priests saw as idol worshiping and other customs and rituals practiced by their parents. All students were given silver insignias with the colonial coat of arms adorned with flowers to wear as the uniform. The promotion of the Catholic faith was seen as an important means of westernizing the Inca nobility, instructing children in Spanish ways and culture. The hope was that they could eventually work for the

crown dealing with local indigenous populations by collecting taxes and managing *mita* workers¹³⁸ who were central to the development of Haciendas and *obrajes* (textile mills).

Over 300 hundred years after its foundation, San Borja schoolchildren were being exposed and introduced to the beat of techno-*huayno* music to the Western fashion system as an act of Social Responsibility. Instead of Inca children being disciplined into Spanish values and political system, impoverished Andean children were being exposed to a capitalist system of dress they should become familiar with and participate in, if they desire to do so, as consumers/potential producers to create new identities that could represent contemporary Cusqueño and Peruvian identity. For organizers the runway served as a space to foster the children's creativity and imagination as to what can be done with the textile traditions and aesthetics they are familiar with. There is a hope that this exposure to fashion would influence children who could grow to participate as manufacturers in the industry, and some that could potentially see learning design as a career option.

¹³⁸ A system of mandatory labor used during the Inca Empire and later maintained during the colonial era, and that shaped and helped sustain the *Hacienda* system. Members of the Inca Empire had to do mandatory seasonal work in tasks that were to benefit and sustain the empire such as construction (roads, temples, aqueducts, etc.), textile work, and agricultural labor. During colonial times the Spanish sustained this system in order to develop an internal economy with goods and services of need for the Spanish crown. Indigenous people were forced to provide the crown with a determined number of activities during various months each year. They could be assigned to work for private own *haciendas*, and members of indigenous communities could be mobilized to different regions as part of this process. While *mitayos* (workers) would get a salary they often times lived within Spanish owned *hacienda* lands where they had to pay taxes and were in debt to the hacendados. Conversion to the Catholic faith was central to this system and imposed on all *mitayos*. Hacienda owners were mandated to convert all their indigenous *mitayos* to Catholicism and outlaw local religious practices. Mining became an important aspect of the colonial *mita* system, as well as the establishment of *obrajes* (textile mills).

Models began walking into the runway. As one reached the front and briefly posed for photographers, another one would sashay onto the runway. Models walking in opposite directions would pass next to each other mid-runway. All the garments were made with alpaca wool, and manufactured using a wide variety of textile techniques. Not all of the collections had visible Andean elements, but within this context the techniques used to create these surfaces and textures are taken as signifiers of Peruvian design and the Andes. Harumi and Mozh were both participating from the event with their own garments discussed in Chapter 5. Natalia was not presenting in any runway, but was in Cusco on her way to teach a series of workshops in Ocongate on color theory and fashion. She had been hired by ISUR to do this after the event ended. Alejandra Posada, another Lima designer known for her urban styles, had also been assigned to produce her collection in the region of Ocongate, through the support from ISUR and the Alliance of Native Arts.



Figure 15: Model getting ready with one of Alejandra Posada's fashion. Photo by The Androgyny.

While in Ocongate, Alejandra was struck by the beautiful woven textiles produced in various types of looms to make mantas and blankets. She asked the workshops to make a series of large pieces of textiles incorporating some iconographic elements following design specifications she suggested in terms of the size and spacing of the iconographies. For one of the dresses shown, she stylized the colorful straight lines commonly woven in the *licllias* or mantas women make and use to carry things on their backs, including babies. Stylization is used to describe ways in which designers adapt traditional aesthetic designs to make them more palatable to the tastes of the Western fashion system. For example, instead of a dress made with small straight lines in combinations of bright colors- green/fuchsia/blue/yellow/green/red-, she had artisans make the lines thicker with a

pre-selected a palette of bright, but not neon colors, to use in a particular sequence. She then took these textiles to Lima, where she made patterns, cut and sew the textiles to make an urban fashion collection. While she has never been one to shy away from the use of color, Ajenadra's combinations are consistent with color theory.¹³⁹ Models walked onto the runway wearing trousers and woven alpaca blazers: one had a traditional diamond-shaped iconography half woven in two shades of dark blue and half with the pattern in blue over white; the other followed the same iconography but going from the white with blue pattern to blue with dark blue pattern, to salmon with salmon, and pink with the salmon; and one in bright yellow with rectangular details in lighter yellows and black. Even the models wearing her outfits done in combinations of black and white were all wearing casual vans sneakers further affirming her urban-Andean style.

¹³⁹ Color theory in the visual arts (Western visual arts) is a body of practical guidance to color mixing and the visual effects of specific color combinations. This part of the standard teaching of art and is based on the color wheel: primary colors, secondary colors, tertiary colors, and learning which are complementary colors, which cancel each other's hues, what are harmonious color or contrasting combinations, etc.



Figure 16: Model's at CAF Social Responsibility runway wearing Mozh's *chaska* collection.

Mozh's *chaska* collection seemed completely transformed from the pieces I saw made and helped her pick up in Sicuani. Her tight fitting outfits- dresses, short crop tops and high-waisted woven pants and pencil skirts- highlighted the silhouettes of the thin models emphasizing small waists and midriff. The outfits in combinations of white and black; white and black with pink details; or pink and white; paired with the accessories and make up transformed what I had seen earlier as the skinny, tall, white models walked onto the runway with serious and tough look on their faces. I remember telling her in the backstage classroom, as the models were getting ready to walk out with her outfits, that her collection was a feminine Andean interpretation of punk-rude boy styles. Her models walked onto the runway wearing the *chaska* alpaca

outfits, white Doc Marten boots, dramatic black cat-eye liner, black lipstick, and black swimming caps Mozh had attached a silver-white long bag tucked to the side.



Figure 17: Model wearing Harumi's dress at the CAF Social Responsibility runway.

Unlike Alejandra and Mozh, Haru's collection had no visible Andean iconography or patterns. She showed a wide variety in styles of dresses with drapery, layers of weave, tassels and hanging unfinished threads that created a dramatic but elegant sense of volume. Some dresses had been hand-knit and made in crochet by artisans working with Ayni, while others were made using intarsia in small urban workshops in Cusco, like the ones the children's families might work in or own. Not only did her outfits mix different alpaca wool textures and stitches, but she had also made voluminous statement necklaces with alpaca wool for some of the outfits. A sober color palette united the collection: all dresses were made in different shades and tonalities of grey, whites, and blacks. Unlike the urban casual looking models of Alejandra, or the rough edgy avant-garde ones of Mozh's collection, Haru's models

looked feminine and classy wearing textured pantyhose tights that made parts of the models legs more opaque than others. On top of these outfits all of Haru's models also wore distinctive silver jewelry done by a national luxury jewelry brand using Peruvian silver.

It would be safe to assume the school children and community members present had never seen anything like this. Even outside of Peru, fashion runways tend to be very elite events that are not open or easily accessible to the majority of citizens in any country. Fashion weeks, like those in Milan, Paris, New York or Shanghai, are not just a type of cultural event; are not only accessible to an elite and celebrity clientele but are industry trade shows, a fact often times obscured in popular media representations. Behind fashion weeks a complex network of garment industry actors look at what is being shown to commercialize the garments and styles proposed by designers and brands. Business deals are cemented between stores; brands and manufacturers, while others in attendance adapt trends for fast fashions accessible to most consumers. These runway events are supposed to spark manufacturing deals that will eventually make it to the public in various forms: under designer labels in prêt-à-porter lines, other fast-fashion labels, department stores, etc. Fashion events are rarely ever separate from industry, while they are also staged as art events, showcasing the work of auteurs regardless of marketability. Runways are supposed to not only define what will be the next coming trend, or create a national fashion image; they are the centerpieces of business deals to come. Collections solidify a brand image and create the wish-image of the styles, lifestyles and subjectivities of those who will wear them.

While no major business deals come out of the CAF (we will not see versions of Mozh's *chaska* outfits in Forever 21 or of Harumi's dresses in a store like Ann Taylor), organizers of the CAF are conscious the double image and function of fashion events. They maintain this connection explicit as they establish free workshops for artisans while maintaining the elite event aura in the runways and designer collections being shown. Moreover, they seek to anchor it in national history, tradition and culture; one way of doing this is by maintaining accessibility to all events for anyone who wishes to attend. This is an attempt to democratize fashion, which in Peru has not only been a marker of class distinction but also one of geography and race. For Lipovetsky (1994) fashion is a democratizing influence that promotes individualization and the formation of consumer-subjects who hold the democratic values of tolerance, pluralism, and openness to transformation. This is a project unfolding in Peru's recent democratic turn in light of the recovery of violence and racism. But as Kondo (1997) points out in her critique of Lipovetsky, in this celebration of the individual promoted in this democratizing view of fashion does little to acknowledge "the ways the emergence of the liberal humanistic choosing subject is above all a consumer-subject, inextricable from the growth of capitalism, and the formation of bourgeois possessive individualism," a perspective that erases histories of power and domination (115). Moreover, in Peru this perspective of fashion as a democratic arena runs into the issue of cultural respect and non-individualistic subjectivities, Andean ontologies, and a population without the means or even access to become consumer-subjects. No one in the event considers that

community members should abandon their system of dress, and many are conscious of the lack of access to fashion as consumers. There is a way in which social responsibility and democratization in this ethical light carries implicit in it the reality that the participation of many community members in attendance will be as producers rather than as individualistic consumer-subjects. In order for manufacture to be creative and up to par with the expectations of global markets alpaca wool moves through, artisans need to have good technique and an understanding of the fashion system even if only from the margins. As discussed throughout this dissertation, their status as outside the system serves as another important marker of value in these supply chains and an assertion of ethics and social responsibility.

This event also serves to cement and affirm a wish-image of the Andean within Peru's democratic multicultural present. In order to affirm this within global networks of fashion, the image of the designer cannot be sacrificed or minimized. The authenticity of the artisanal and their skilled techniques adds aggregate value to the designer's work. This relationship between the designer and textile traditions positions fashion as a system outside of and within Peru's textile history, still an art form a space for the creative display and creation of with-images of citizens: bodies as moving sculptural pieces. And it does this without erasing the racial weight Andean dress, in particular women's dress; it simply posits it away from notions of the ugly and backwards, finding it a particular space within a multicultural capitalist present.

Always in Fashion- Siempre de Moda

Besides the more traditional designer runways the CAF includes a series of other events such as public interventions where models take over public spaces like the main Plaza of Cusco, the entrance to the main cathedral and the *Qorikancha*.¹⁴⁰ As part of the social responsibility agenda organizers maintain and make explicit the relationship between fashion runways as a cultural and industry event. During CAF workshops (*capacitaciones*) are given, free of cost, for textile workers in the region on different aspects of the fashion and garment industry. These workshops cover themes on Andean textile design, textile history, and how to incorporate and translate these into modern design and fashion following industry standards.

Organizers describe the event as homage to the Andean sources that have marked Peruvian design, while seeing fashion as an art form that should not be in opposition to traditional textiles, but that should also not be limited to only working with these traditions. There is space for runways of formal wear made by seamstresses alongside ones that turn Andean *polleras* turned formal dress, others that display alpaca woven garments made by artisans, or ones that seek to re-imagine a contemporary Inca aesthetic produced industrially. While not all participating designers engage with the Andean in fashion, every year the CAF has a guiding

¹⁴⁰ *Qorikancha* (temple of the sun or house of the sun) was the most important temple in the Inca Empire, dedicated to Inti, the Sun God. This temple was located at the center of Cusco and what the Inca's considered to be the center of the world (el ombligo del mundo- the navel of the world). From Spanish chronicles it is said the outside temple walls were covered with sheets of solid gold and the courtyard was filled with a replica of all the goods of the empire made from solid gold: fields of corn, alpacas, etc. Spanish colonists built the Church of Santo Domingo on top of the temple. They did leave the foundations of the building, incorporating Inca stonework into the structure of the colonial building. Today the church is still operates and doubles as a museum.

theme to encourage designers to find inspiration in aspects of Andean culture beyond just using alpaca wool. The guiding theme for the CAF 2011, discussed here, was the Andean sacred year. Three designers that organizers saw as embracing the theme were invited to give a workshop on how they were influenced by the theme and to talk to artisans about their creative process. Central goals of the CAF, as stated by organizers across various conversations we had, included not only to situating the highlands as a site of fashion and culture, but also to democratizing fashion while celebrating textile traditions and handwork from the region. They saw social responsibility and inclusion as central to the event, something that could be done without sacrificing its status as a fashion and industry event.

During my research attending other Lima based fashion events, like *Peru Moda* and *Lima Fashion Week* (LIF), I heard various fashion actors criticize the tendency of event organizers to confuse Peruvian design with design that should incorporate folkloric and ethnic elements. For many in urban Lima, fashion is about innovation and cannot be trapped in a Peruvian past and the local. I heard comments like: ‘artisans should never be confused with designers;’ while traditional elements and artisanal handwork can be present in fashion they should not become a parameter for designers to obtain support from organizers and others; that the result of designers working with artisans should not lead to audiences seeing the same textiles and embroidery over and over again. For many of those fashion actors who religiously go from event to event, the value of these collaborations rely on the recognition that artisans have the technique and that the role of designers is to contribute to the style

and research that allow artisanal skills to go beyond what they are- craft-making- in order to be translated into products that can obtain added value in international fashion markets. There is a fear that this engagement with the artisanal will provincialize Peru's fashion world, casting it as ethnic or not contemporary. This fear is grounded in particular historic perceptions about the role of the indigenous in Peru. These perceptions co-exist with the interest of designers in national cultural elements as a basis for their designs, and with the global industry's turn to the artisanal to make luxury ethical fashions. For many, even within Peru, the CAF seems to be the one national fashion event that successfully marries these desires, appeases such urban concerns, asserting that the encounter between designers and artisans, and between Western design and the Andean culture, can produce a wide variety of innovative national fashions.

For Edward, one of CAFs main organizers, a professor at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru and a fashion designer, these aims should not be considered mutually exclusive. He told me that Peruvian fashion should not be limited to an engagement with the indigenous or traditional but does need to develop a distinct national identity that will help position it in a global system. Fashion events and worlds in other countries such as those in Brazil, China and Japan; have gained prominence because of how they managed to create a national identity across the designers. These national design identities have to be distinct, unique, and identifiable, while still being able to engage with the aesthetic expectations of the broader fashion world. More importantly, for him fashion is part of a nation's own

cultural identity just as painting, gastronomy and music are. From this perspective fashion should not just be part and parcel of Lima and other urban spaces; especially in a country that has some of the most luxurious textile materials and where textile traditions have great historic importance. As Peru's economy grows and the political climate of the country stabilizes, moving past authoritarianism and violence, fashion cannot just be the domain of the urban or the elites. According to Edward, how people dress and think about dress should reflect these changes; that is not to say everyone should stop dressing in traditional dress, but that multiple systems of dress should co-exist and blend in unique ways that constitute the bodies of citizens, and represent contemporary understandings of Peru's multiculturalism.

Post-Event

After all seven designers presented their collections they each came out onto the runway with one model still wearing one of their garments. They all walked to the front of the runway and continued onto the plaza in front of the school. The mass of schoolchildren and guests flooded the plaza surrounding the models and designers. An increasing number of curious tourists joined the crowd making it harder to move through the plaza. The models, standing taller than most people present, became a point of reference as I tried to make my way through the crowd. Children walked up to the models staring at them, commenting and snickering to their friends about what the models were wearing. I overheard comments like, "this doesn't look like anything we make," possibly referring to a workshop her family either worked or ran. As I kept trying to make my way, I kept hearing children making other comments like "how

pretty,” “such a pretty lady,” or “how weird” in reference to some outfits. To my surprise, and that of those involved in the event, children were tearing pieces of paper from their notebooks or using CAF flyers asking models and designers to sign them. As I helped models and designers get to the white buses taking them back to the hotel that served as event headquarters I heard them comment how shocked they were by the children’s requests for autographs. Many models mentioned they felt like celebrities.

Even though I had shadowed some participating designers tracing the manufacture of their collections, my own access to the event was through the organizers. I had promised to share with them images and video documentation I would gather as part of my research. Because of this I had to wear the same t-shirt everyone associated with the event- except for designers and models- wore. Edward had made a series of screen-printed cotton shirts with a faded re-print of traditional iconography from the Cusqueño art school.¹⁴¹ My shirt had a faded reproduction of

¹⁴¹ Cusqueño Art School was started upon the construction of the great Cathedral in Cusco. Started by priests to teach indigenous painters Western art in order to decorate Churches and as a means of evangelization. It is recognized by its baroque style and begins to distance itself from the influence of the predominant styles found in European art. Thematically, it is characterized by an interest in costumbrism and religious art characterized by their incorporation of elements of Andean life, beliefs, flora and fauna. Art historian Francisco Stansy (1982) describes this inclusion of Andean and Incan elements into the baroque paintings as iconographic warfare. They also began doing portraits of Inca nobility. Technically speaking, it displays a detachment from perspectivism, emphasizing a fragmented use of space depicting concurrent spaces or compartmentalized scenes. Another distinctive factor is the predilection for intense colors. At the end of the XVII indigenous and mestizo painters broke way from the Spanish ones, due to issues of exploitation. Since then there have been, and still are, many industrial workshops that produce and reproduce paintings to sell.

Virgen de la Merced or, as it is popularly known, the Virgin of the Milk- an image of Virgin Mary lactating baby Jesus- with the gold logo of CAF in the back.

As we all moved back to the hotel, everyone was commenting on how successful and moving this runway had been. The success in being socially responsible was partly due to the fact that ‘fashion’ had not been sacrificed in the making of innovative garments through collaborations with local artisans. Collections were diverse, innovative and appropriate fulfilling hegemonic expectations of what is displayed in an auteur runway. It was also seen as successful in how the children participated, how they reacted, and how the runway was accessible to the community. Those typically excluded from such an event were able to participate, attend and consume fashion without having to sacrifice what a runway is really about: innovation, style, and creative proposals for how to dress a cosmopolitan body.

Another level of success in being socially responsible was found in the way Andean manufacture and aesthetics were incorporated into runway styles, something that in the eye of organizers would help maintain some familiarity to the local community audience. For them this made fashion a cultural event, a celebration of Andean culture and textile traditions embedded in the local Cusco communities. What was being shown was not totally foreign; it was seen as elevating local culture within this traditionally highly elite space. Fashion is part of culture, part of textile traditions and as such it should, like gastronomy, be seen as part of what makes citizens Peruvian. While not many have access to the booming restaurant scene in Cusco and Lima, everyone knows what the dishes are, since this fine dining movement is based

on familiar ingredients and what people eat on a daily basis. Food becomes an element that everyone recognizes and can claim as theirs, as citizens, even if they have limited access to it. Many involved in this booming fashion world and industry believe a similar relationship should be fostered as the one that took place with the world of Peruvian gastronomy and the food industry.

Here the democratization of fashion is established through exposure rather than through access to fashionable garments via consumption. Children and community members can see what a runway is, what fashion is about, what bodies it shapes, and how Peruvianness and Andeanness is evoked and celebrated within the parameters of this space. Making the event in local venues of cultural and historic importance further seeks to anchor current fashions in a longer history of Peru, and mainly Cusqueño, textile traditions as a contemporary affirmation of national culture. These fashions are put on par culturally alongside Inca ruins, colonial spaces, and centers of daily life. But as designers want to participate and carve a space in this system the Andean and indigenous have to engage with standards of style in fashion, made for thin Western bodies, and within the loose boundaries of the aesthetic appropriate for the format of a runway. While making this space accessible to local populations is a transgressive act, demystifying this elite space for those who would normally never access it, it makes visible and present the limits and conditions for Andean and indigenous inclusion, at a human and aesthetic level. These runways establish the terms of how indigeneity within Peru's present multicultural is being imagined as part of national culture.

While for many critics, Peruvian fashion's turn towards the indigenous and traditional is a site of contention: it is acceptable only as long as it unfolds within the language of fashion, trends, cycles of innovation, and bodies shaped by a Western disciplinary regime. The indigenous has to be moved away from its associations with static traditions and un-modern bodies, without losing the authenticity of its ancestral and pre-Hispanic traditions. There is a constant tension between particular perceptions of the indigenous as authentic and timeless, and the contemporary cosmopolitan that is predicated on the logic of the avant-garde.

In my view it is important to stop excluding these elements from a space and system that creates representations, or wish-images, of what it means to be a citizen of the world, but we need to be critical and conscious of how these inclusions take place and the exclusions they inevitably produce. These imaginings are a means to move away from racist attitudes that assume that indigenous timelessness cannot operate within a modern capitalist world. But the system itself cannot simply include other systems of dress within its highest sphere, not just due to perceptions of beauty, but because the Western canon of aesthetic and beauty is established as the hegemonic norm, where power and value lie. Andean *polleras* as they are regularly worn cannot be on the same position as auteur fashion: their value in the system lies in the certain distance and outsidership that sustains one aesthetic canon over another. Sustaining this distance is seen as a form of cultural respect. In order to move away from racist attitudes one needs to be tolerant of difference, accepting it and finding value (both market and non-market) and beauty in it. Uneven power

relations are already embedded in this encounter, and as these ‘othered’ elements of dress (be)come part of fashion they do so destabilizing, but not completely altering, relations of power and domination. Andean indigenous elements cannot be celebrated as fashion without a transformation that reflects this encounter and the shifting racial and economic political climate of Peru. While *polleras*, for example, can’t become fashion without some transformation, bodies wearing them can now enter spaces of fashion, and maybe even walk alongside a designer in a runway. Those that operate within the system determine and interpret what counts as successful in this enactment of social responsibility. The desire on the part of organizers that the children’s exposure would spark their creativity, leading them to make new things with their textile traditions as they become part of the industry, poses an interesting take on how the traditional is being conceived.

Although some involved in the event did make statements like, “we never know, maybe one of them will be a great Peruvian fashion designer,” many knew that this would not be a realistic outcome for many. While in Cusco I spent time in several urban rural migrant family owned workshops. The owners of one such workshop, a young couple in their late 20s, wanted to produce their own brand and were actively creating their own designs. This had led them to be seen as capable of some of the highest quality manufacture in the area, getting a constant flow of industry orders and working with national designers. Yet, to the frustration of the couple, no one recognized them as designers. As he finished making garments for one of the designers from this social responsibility runway, the husband (who I’ll call Manuel)

said to me: “there is this event, they say it inclusive that they want to include designers from Cusco, yet no one includes us. We want to try, we are designing but no one pays attention to us. We work with designers, we see what they make we have our own ideas, we show them and people like them, but we are not invited to participate in that way.” While not all workshops want to do this transition, those who do, like Manuel and his wife, do not seem to be able to do so or get recognition as more than highly skilled manufacture. These are the kinds of workshops many of the children present at the event are familiar with and might end up working in. That such workshops are making original designs is irrelevant to their position as manufacturers within this assemblage, even if their original garments are inspired by what they make for designers or brands and in dialogue with global fashion styles.

Implicit in this performance of social responsibility, and the democratization of fashion, is establishing the positions of the different guests in relation to this cultural world and industry. Another organizer in the conversation added, “they (children) can see they don’t have to be making the same alpaca sweater over and over again.” Artisanal and textile traditions are predicated on a repetition of the same, partly where their value lies in the long histories they sustain. In post-authoritarian Peru for many involved in the various booming cultural arenas, the indigenous and Andean reality of the nation should (be)come part of the active present of the country, not by simply being recognized but by representing this encounter and ‘new’ racial attitudes.

Cultural production unfolds within capitalist creative industries and in order for them to succeed tradition has to be made novel. The traditional is always in flux, yet, the perception of the static and repetitive creation still exists for objects categorized as crafts. Artisans, to participate and belong, need to adapt to this new logic of making and the power structures that come with it. However, this does not assume they will be recognized as something more than high-quality manufacture. The fundamental tension, which is unresolved and has to be maintained as unresolved, is that artisans cannot abandon the traditional; they need to sustain it within this new system. The traditional needs to exist to maintain value, national design uniqueness and cultural respect.

There is space for bodies that are both traditional and cosmopolitan, urban-Andean, punk-Andean, chic-Andean, without being one or the other, being able to fuse these realities and styles, while also being able to transition from one to the other. These new styles and fashions constitute and reflect the Andean indigenous existence in urban space, the cultural tastes of Andean youth who also hear and enjoy diverse kinds of music and participate from various subcultures further affirming the fluidity of identities. Young people in the Andes dress in jeans and casual Western clothing while in the city but change into traditional outfits when they go visit their families. As this is represented in fashion it has to do so from within the system, where the position of the designer who is not part of such a reality but is coming in touch with it imagines it. Yet, this imagining of designers is not a mere act of appropriation. As discussed through this dissertation, it occurs through many

negotiations and interactions with artisans, in their spaces, in their workshops, as they assert their labor in ways that re-constitute designers ideas of the fashions they are producing. Even though power relations of who is creating the wish-images is sustained in the figure of designers, the surfaces of the garments presented in the runway are composed of the depth of these contradistinctions, tensions, desires of moving past racist attitudes, of desires to forge true collaborations, of finding beauty and value in what has been considered ugly and outdated, of opposites that become complementary. These garments condense aesthetically how their production hinged on how artisans asserted their labor and how fashion designers entering the artisans' world had to accommodate to a different social life, labor practices, and daily life. This is latent in the textures, iconographies and final garments, affecting how the garments feel and look on the models; yet not necessarily visible once they are part of this spectacle.

Designer and Artisan: Hand-in-Hand

At the end of runways the designer walks onto the runway followed by all the models to salute the audience. In Peru it has become commonplace for designers working with artisans to walk at the end of runway hand in hand with a representative from the artisanal group. This does not happen in all runways; it depends on how far away the artisans live, and on the sponsoring agencies of the events that can cover the costs for artisans' travel and stay. It did not happen in the particular CAF runway in Cusco discussed earlier.

But on these occasions designers walk out dressed in fashionable outfits and introduce the artisans standing next to them wearing their full traditional dress. In the backstage, while models dress and undress changing the outfits they will present in the catwalk, the artisan changes from her street clothes to the full typical dress of their region. Bringing artisans out onto the runway is a way of giving them recognition for their handwork. Typically, seamstresses and other manufacturers do not walk out onto the runway, leaving the designer as the sole focus of value and authorship. In Peru the artisan is made visible and her work recognized next to the designer; both are acknowledged. However, the designer has a name and the value placed on the artisan is marked by her typical dress rather than by her individual person. Her dress marks the garments as authentic, skillfully made regardless of her individuality. Even if the audience cannot recognize the region signified by the dress they know the handwork and manufacture of the collection is one of a kind, ethically produced, authentically Peruvian. In this performance what matters is the signifier of the dress worn by the artisan rather than her as an individual or as standing for a specific artisanal workshop. I have been to runways where an actual artisan from the group has not been able to make it and someone they know, from the region, living in Lima walks in their place wearing the typical dress.

For those in the fashion world who I talked to, which include designers, organizers and NGO-development actors; it is important to bring artisans to the fashion and runway events. On the one hand it allows them to see, in the same way the children did, the garments they made, how they are presented, become familiar

with the fashion system and with what makes a fashion outfit. As I was told, artisans can see how the garments they make as individual pieces are transformed, not only in the body of the model but as part of the complete performance: the ambiance created, music, lighting, etc. Within the industry bringing them to runways is seen as fostering pride and enthusiasm in artisans for their work and the industry they are participating in, a brief taste of belonging. Yet this performance and recognition hinges upon their dress. Their bodies do not need to be disciplined by the fashion system but celebrated by what they ‘typically’ wear, marking them as makers not creators. Where in the past you would never see anyone dressed in any kind of indigenous dress in such fashion events, today one can. A celebration and ability to enter this space in their own kind of dress; but more than a simple acceptance of Andean dress as capable of inhabiting this space as is- without any transformation or fusion with fashion- they enter these fashion spaces in a particular position.

Social responsibility within fashion unfolds in the garments, the process of making, the event’s accessibility and demystification of the hyper-elite world of fashion as a cultural arena that’s in continuation with pre-Hispanic textile traditions. In this process it re-positions actors, aesthetic systems and materials within the fashion system. Indigeneity can be part of fashion within certain parameters that reflects the power relations and constitutes the textures of the encounter. Fashions are woven through dialogues across different actors in different power relations that are attempting to enact different notions of ethics, which are re-imagined aesthetically in the garments. What results is a specific wish-image of the indigenous within a

capitalist fashion system as it unfolds in Peru, bringing with it national histories and anxieties towards the country's multicultural reality. It is an iteration of how indigeneity can be imagined to be cosmopolitan, while upholding notions of beauty and systems of power intrinsic to the West and capitalist creative industries. In this process boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are re-drawn. While the wish-image affirms Peruvian, non-Western designers and their engagement with the indigenous reality of Peru, it does so within the terms that allow for their participation while attempting to maintain cultural respect and finding beauty and value in Andean culture and dress.

In an event like CAF the distance between the worlds of fashion and that of the children and artisans were made really explicit and visible to me, more so than when I was in workshops or in Lima's fashion scene. In its attempt to bridge this gap across systems of dress entangled in perceptions of cultural value and racism it all seemed so foreign, and in a way beautiful, ultimately creating a new space, a new aesthetic. While no one wants to impose one system of dress over another, the idea is that both can co-exist and even merge to create something that reflects Peru's present, but this encounter unfolds in a system where the encounter is marked by the positions of power that both systems of dress inhabit: it is by no means an encounter of equals.

Children were faced with garments made for bodies that reaffirmed a particular notion of female beauty, one unattainable not only to them, but to most throughout the world. To be part of fashion, garments need to dress bodies that are considered beautiful in this system: tall, thin, long-legs. Children and artisans are

supposed to see the garments as theirs, part of their culture. They should feel a sense of ownership, of them even as they know these fashions are not for them. Even if they wore the garments many would not look like the models. This is a reality and issue with fashion that is not specific to what's unfolding in Peru. Many in the West engage in what Taussig (2012) calls 'cosmic surgery' in an attempt to discipline their bodies to meet those impossible standards in order to wear outfits that look just as they did on a model. Surgeries, diets, exercise regimes and in more extreme cases diseases like anorexia and bulimia have become the side effects of this system. Fashion magazines provide advice on how to 'pull-off' a style based on your body type, if you are too curvy, not curvy enough, too busty, etc. Even standard sizes (small, medium, large) do not fit right most body types leading to special lines of jeans for curvy or petite women. Peruvian fashion runways participate in this system make garments that fit and shape the bodies that follow this Western ideal of beauty. I cannot help but think of the artisans' amusement in Ocongate when they tried on the garments they were making and commented they look so funny. Was this amusement due to how unfamiliar those garments were to them, or by the way they looked on their bodies?

Fashionable Cosmopolitan Indigeneity

All garments presented in this runway and others mix historical, iconographic, and traditional textile elements from different eras and indigenous communities. These mix of textures and techniques come into play with contemporary fashion styles: formal dresses, semi-formal, chic, punk, urban, etc. Andean traditional textile techniques are used to create surfaces and garments that do not look Andean or

traditional, making iconographies like the *chaska* and others from Ocongate not look ethnic. In this aesthetic formation all of these elements exist beyond their cultural and historical specificities, carrying with them the excess of their histories as they (be)come part of a cosmopolitan multicultural Peruvian fashion world. The specificities of these elements become marked as Peruvian. They make up the textural surface and shape the national body of Peru's present political and economic climate, one that attempts to include those on the margins of the nation, as reparations to the violence they have felt and marginalization in the national project of modernity.

Those present at the CAF's social responsibility runway were encouraged to come in-touch with this world, albeit in a specific way that celebrated the Andean while creating forms of exclusion. To be fashion/able traditions, textiles, colors, had to be transformed, tailored for other bodies. Artisans, community members, and children are confronted by processes through which they and their culture are included in this new imagining of a multicultural post-violence, post-authoritarian Peru. Indigenous bodies and dress entering in this world in a particular way, mostly emphasized as skilled makers, valuable authentic hands with the technique and knowledge that will allow designers to make fashion. Their participation as consumers, while encouraged by event organizers, is dependent on accessibility to fashions -which would be through fast fashions that are not available in the

highlands- and on the economic capacity to buy garments spending whatever limited funds they have.¹⁴²

Social responsibility in this performance is based on the inclusion, participation and celebration of the artisan and elements of Andean culture while creating new terms of exclusion of how indigeneity is re-imagined within fashion. This is how fashion is being made accessible and familiar. We cannot ignore the complex negotiations and enactments of ethics that allowed these fashions to come to be, as part of a growing trend within the global fashion system towards 'ethical' practices. New textures of power relations and dialogues are woven along with the garments. The indigenous becomes part of the nation, as a source of value more than an emblem of a past. These runway fashions also asserts to the global fashion industry that Peru has a design identity, that as a nation it has a fashion/abled body with it's own specific textures, even if the designs, bodies and forms do not steer far from what is accepted as fashion.

Most of us in many parts of the world and the west are always engaging with the hyper-elite world of fashion, one way or another. Many claim familiarity with it, even those who reject it, without actually having access to it. We consume fashion without attending such events, led by the wish-images and ways models bodies look in different media. Fast fashion allows us to attempt closeness with this system,

¹⁴² In the years after my fieldwork ended the fast fashion stores Forever 21 and H&M opened in Lima. While this, a marker that those in Peru can finally participate more broadly in fashion; is exciting for many in the fashion world, others are concerned by how it will impact the growing national industry and fashion world. Consuming in these stores not only has the cache of global fashions but they are cheaper than garments from local brands and designers.

wearing cheap garments made in relation to what is presented in Milan, New York, Paris. Runways and fashion weeks in their limited accessibility and staging maintain a Benjaminian like 'aura' of the system obscuring its highly industrial-business network, labor and environmental exploitation, sustaining and fostering a vision of frivolity. Ironically, even ethical fashions seek to maintain this aura and vision, assuring all the other negative issues are being minimized by adding a simple line on a label: ethical, hand-made, artisanal, fully organic. Magazines show us how to dress like the celebrities or models that wear these garments on the cheap, accessible to whatever our budget is. No matter the style individuals choose to clothe their bodies in, it is always in relation to what is available in stores and a choice of how to position oneself in relation to this system, including if we wish to disregard it and how we will do it. But as many have written, as new movements that reject or push back, as new subcultures come into existence they are always emerging in a continuum with the garment industry some even becoming part of dominant styles and creating their own niche supply chains. This is also a capitalist world of dreams: we can be whatever we like or try to be ourselves through it as long as we can consume what we need to shape our own bodies with garments. The ethical turn of the global garment industry and many other national fashion worlds does not seek to sacrifice or change these dynamics. Brands marketed as green or fair trade are seen by consumers and fashion elites as ethnic, not fully fashion; these categories do not partake or support these capitalist wish-images. The notion of ethical maintains this system, keeping its dream worlds, the wish-images of fashion as central, still

obscuring the industrial and business nature of these commodities with a simple assurance.

Supplemental Files

Entretejido (33min) documentary film directed by Patricia Alvarez Astacio.
Artist Statement and Synopsis see Chapter 6.

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