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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF CLOTHING PRODUCTION IN LIMA, PERU

(Spine title: An Ethnographic Study of Clothing Production in Lima, Peru)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Brandon E. Rouleau

Graduate Program in Anthropology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada

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Abstract:

This thesis draws on three months of multi-sited ethnographic research conducted in Lima, Peru. Initially, the aim was to understand how micro and small-scale textile producers in Gamarra internalize global fashion trends, however, it eventually became necessary to include actors outside of Gamarra. This thesis problematizes what it means to "copy" by viewing the activities of small-scale textile producers as tactics to resist the strategies deployed by department stores, brands, and the government to channel and control their activities. In addition, I consider the relationship that local small-scale textile production may play in challenging the distinctions between different social groups in Lima, especially between popular actors and more elite social groups arguing that the discourse of "copying" may also serve to maintain social distinctions. In order to destabilize the discourse of copying further, I juxtapose small-scale textile production in Gamarra and the production of ethnic fashion.

Keywords:

Peru; textile production; informal sector; Gamarra; tactics; strategies; distinction; intellectual property; consumption; popular culture; globalization

To my humble parents who taught me to see with my heart.

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This thesis would never have come to fruition had it not been for the contributions of the textile producers, vendors, and countless others in Gamarra, Villa El Salvador, Polvos Azules, Puente Trujillo, and many other places in Lima who consented to having a tall lanky gringo ask them questions about what they do. My greatest debt is to these anonymous heroes who toil so that their families may have a better future. Thank you does not quite cut it.

For those who I interviewed outside of Gamarra in Indecopi, Saga, or quaint boutiques on quiet sidestreets, I am grateful for your candidness with me. Please take what I had to say as an expression of my desire to understand this world more profoundly.

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A very special nod goes out to Miguel Arriola at PROMPYME in Gamarra and his concern with my project. Those who were part of the *redes empresariales* program and agreed to be interviewed, my only hope is that what I have done somehow meets your expectations.

The various people at Western who supported me deserve a more than just honourable mention. Sherrie Larkin, Regna Darnell, Dan Jorgensen, and Randa Farah all had a hand in the final product. And, who could forget Andrew Nelson's patented "So what?" I cannot say enough about how great my supervisor Andrew Walsh was throughout this project. He has a special gift for listening to students and knowing what matters. He gave me the right amount of space to figure things out for myself and came through to help polish things up in the end. It was a pleasure working with you Andrew. Although she could not give me the time that she would have liked, Kim Clark, my advisor, made the time that she did give me for this project really count. Her keen insights throughout the design and writing of this thesis were well received and appreciated.

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The foundation of this thesis was really my family -both Canadian and Peruvian. Had it not been for Oscar I may not have taken an interest in Gamarra. Gisela was there when I needed her and pushed me to pursue my studies in Canada. *Gracias por creer en mí.* Pepe was there when I needed a hand and a stern talking to. Delia was my inspiration and my *gemelo*. Martha, my *suegra*, is to be thanked for her tenderness and compassion. I could not have done this had it not been for the support of my three brothers at crucial moments as well. Scott, Greg, and Russ -thanks there lads! For those of you who I did not mention here, know that you are all in my heart.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

The following thesis is about the connections that exist between different places in the world and how these connections play out in a complex urban environment. While living in Lima, Peru between October, 2002 and August, 2005 I became interested in the influence of foreign cultures in Peru. Eventually, I decided to focus my research on clothing because everywhere I went within the city, foreign influence in tastes was prolific. But, what did it mean when a Peruvian adolescent wore a pirated Nike shirt? As an anthropologist, I knew that this was complex and was curious to understand why this was happening. When I mentioned my interest in the subject to a Peruvian colleague of mine, she suggested that I look at a textile production complex composed primarily of thousands of small scale textile producers in Lima called Gamarra.

Even though I had heard about Gamarra, read about it in newspapers, and had seen it on the television, I did not go there until December of 2004. At that time, I visited a relative who had a textile workshop there to help decide what I would investigate more thoroughly. Later, in March of 2005 he invited me to a seminar being given to entrepreneurs in Gamarra by the director and chief assistant of a local design institute called Nina Design. The talk was sponsored by a government organization charged with promoting micro and small businesses. In an interview conducted after the session, I asked the director if she thought that the popular class[1] in Peru had their own fashion. She bluntly responded: "There is no popular fashion." I understood this statement to

[1] Popular class here refers to the mass of people perceived still as migrants by more affluent Limeños who have tastes and behaviours contrastable to dominant tastes and behaviours. The idea of popular culture and class will be discussed further in Chapter 2. My use of the word class is closest to that argued by Bourdieu in Distinction (2002), where class is defined as a patterning of tastes and dispositions rooted in a habitus.

mean that most textiles being produced in Gamarra for mass consumption were not creative enough to merit being referred to as fashion, or that the popular class had no sense of fashion they could call their own. I wondered if things could really be this simple. If her statement was true, then it would be worth investigating what stifled creativity in Gamarra.

What further interested me about her statement was that I knew that popular classes - many of whom are first, second, and third generation migrants[2] from the provinces of Peru and especially the Andes- have interacted with coastal and global cultural influences to produce new cultural hybrids. Chicha, a musical genre which blends melancholic Andean *huayno* music with more upbeat and tropical Colombian *cumbia,* is indicative of processes of hybridization within Lima. The genre itself is believed to have emerged in the late 1960s and reflects a contestation of traditional coastal cultural production (Bullen 1991; Turino 1988, 1993; Romero 1998). I wanted to see if similar processes might be occurring with clothing.

The general consensus in Lima seems to be that clothing design in textile production complexes such as Gamarra consists mostly of "copying" because producers here base their production on garments bought elsewhere, or on designs from the Internet or catalogues. Throughout Lima, there is also a widespread phenomenon of clothing brand piracy, which is often associated with the small scale textile production that occurs in places such as Gamarra. The following excerpt, which appeared in the flagship magazine

[2] I realize how problematic my use of migrant is here. Migrant is a relational term more often than not. One is often designated as a migrant by others who perceive themselves as non-migrants. Migrant, in this sense, is a perceptual category of urbanites who contrast themselves with backward migrants. I am uncertain when one stops being a migrant, or if all want to stop being migrants. The category is further complicated by people who live in Lima and travel to a town or city outside of Lima with regularity. Many people are in a constant state of belonging to more than one place.

for the complex under the subtitle "Pirates", illustrates the centrality of creativity and intellectual property rights in Gamarra.

> Sadly, as Morante [expert on embroidery who has a business in Gamarra] tells us, piracy has sprung roots here "Not long ago, a client was fined for producing the figure of Mickey Mouse without the authorization of Walt Disney, however this is changing. There is a lack of creativity, what Peruvian textile producers need to do is launch more new fashions. They are too static, they are always waiting for what the market demands, and according to this they move. That, in conclusion, is not a good way to push the local market." (Torres 1996:17)

In conducting the research on which this thesis is based I hoped to shed more light on what copying entails and contribute to a reconceptualization of piracy within the textile sector that would have implications for policy presently in place. I also sought to assess the effects of globalization on textile production in Gamarra. I was especially interested in the process where local textile producers appropriated elements of global design and consumption in textiles ascribing new meaning to them within the Peruvian context. There certainly had to be an explanation for the "static" nature of Peruvian textile producers, if indeed they truly were static.

To date, research on Gamarra has focused on the relations between producers and vendors in the complex and how structural problems in the organization of the complex might be ameliorated (Távara 1991, Mendoza 1998, Gonzales 2001). Others have looked at labour relations between employers and employees (Portocarrero and Tapia 1992). One work, pertinent to Gamarra, but not focused on it specifically, looked at the reproduction of Andean productive strategies in small enterprises created by migrants and their families in Lima (Adams and Valdivia 1991). Apart from these more academic studies, there have been numerous studies conducted by marketing and consultancy firms for private interests and governmental interests (PROMPYME 2003a, PROMPYME

2003b). I build on this existing body of literature and create new directions for research by connecting Gamarra to other parts of Lima, and also the wider world. This required a combined historic and ethnographic approach. Inspired by Bourdieu's (2002) reflections on the connections between taste and social groupings in a society, I first hypothesized that clothing consumption patterns in Lima reflect social groupings and that studying clothing production might offer insights into changing relations among social groups here. Understanding changing social patterns is essential in government policy design that focuses on addressing problems within the textile sector and society at large.

I also hoped that an investigation of Gamarra could provide insights on urban migration and the manner in which clothing demand may or may not reflect an emerging urban identity.[3] In analyzing the consumption patterns of a transnational Andean community in Ecuador and the emergence of a more affluent indigenous class, Anthropologist Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld outlines what he calls a process of cultural improvisation. Cultural improvisation differs from previous understandings of consumption that focused either on how people merely imitated dominant social groups (cf. Veblen 1994), or how people used new wealth to enhance their position within their social milieu by appropriating the traditional accoutrement of more dominant groups. Colloredo-Mansfeld views consumption as contingent and prefers to give agency to actors, adding that it is "a social practice through which people improvise their culture" (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999:32-49). Rather than viewing textile producers as "pirating" designs from department stores, or "stealing" them from magazines, or the internet, it was my hypothesis that style, or designs, are appropriated by textile producers and employed

[3] When I say emerging I mean it in the sense that Raymond Williams uses it when he talks about the emergence of a new class that coalesces in opposition to a dominant class and infuses everything from values, practices, and social relations with novelty (Williams 1977:123-126).

tactically within a new social context to contest symbolic power. This argument is developed more in Chapter 3.

So, why choose clothing to get at social tensions and divisions within a complex urban environment? I decided to look at clothing in Lima in particular because I felt that as a marker in a largely anonymous urban context it served to very succinctly transfer information about who people are. Grant McCracken (1990) argues that the meaning of clothing is both fixed and socially circumscribed. In showing ensembles of clothing to participants in a research study he found that certain ensembles produced very restricted interpretations about the wearers (McCracken 1990:65-67). Semantically speaking, clothing can be employed to arrive at the social discourse of power relations within a dynamic urban field because social relations between people are what fix the meaning of clothing. Ultimately, by highlighting the production and consumption of clothing in this thesis, I hoped to get at how popular culture challenges power by consuming it (Fabian 1998).

Methodology and Evolution of the Research Project

In his discussion of ethnographic fieldwork, George Marcus delineates two modes of fieldwork: long-term community based research and multi-sited research (Marcus 1995:95-102). In the first and more prevalent of the two, the anthropologist goes to a place to live with a community and assesses how the community operates and is affected by the world that surrounds it. In such studies, themes such as resistance, accommodation, and cultural change are common. In community based studies, the local

serves as a baseline for studying more complicated political, economic, and historical processes. The second and less common form of ethnographic research described by Marcus moves out from the local and attempts to decentre the investigative field by focusing on connections between different places. Instead of entering the field with a theory of how things are working and deducing relationships, one works from the relationships themselves using induction to form models of how the macro may be working. With this decentring of research we see an emphasis on connecting places and a search for how they dialectically configure each other. This type of research is very promising in a complex urban landscape.

Doing research in an urban environment is fraught with pitfalls. In discussing his involvement in a multi-disciplinary research project in Mexico city, Néstor García Canclini accurately describes the challenges that social scientists face when doing research in a complex urban environment.

> Nowhere is common sense and ordinary language so much in need of epistemological criticism as in large cities: we cannot record the diverse voices of our informants without wondering how far they are aware of what they are saying and of its implications. It is precisely the fact of having lived through an intense experience that obscures the unconscious forces motivating people's actions, which in turn motivates people to edit facts in order to construct a personally advantageous version of the truth. An uncritical study of the fragmentation of the city and its discourses tends to fall into two traps, either reproducing urban fragmentation in monographs while failing to explain it or pretending that urban fragmentation can be "sutured" by choosing the "explanation" given by the weakest informants. The methodological populism of anthropology thus becomes the "scientific" ally of political populism. (García 1995a:774)

In line with García, one of the main challenges I encountered while doing research in Lima was deciding how much of what people had to say I could trust. One certainly has to avoid isolating different parts of the city or choosing to blindly privilege the weakest informants. If we lapse into a form of academic populism, as García argues, we risk

having the results of our research being dismissed outright or being co-opted for populist political agendas. For this reason it became necessary to include people outside of Gamarra in my investigation, and to juxtapose what these people were saying and doing with what people were saying and doing in Gamarra. This approach was especially helpful in problematizing what is means to copy, for example. Another way I addressed the pitfalls discussed by García was to interview actors in government institutions and private enterprises that seemed to be implicated in the problems that were voiced by small scale textile producers in Gamarra. The research that I conducted was therefore organized around following objects, conflicts, discourses, and figuring out the connections among the activities of different groups of people in Lima (Marcus 1995).

To address my research interests, I used a combination of semi-structured interviews, open-ended interviews, and participant observation. I spent a period of three months during the summer of 2006 doing research in Gamarra and other locations throughout the city. While I was in Lima I applied to become an affiliate at the Institute of Peruvian Studies. My affiliation gave me access to distinguished Peruvian sociologists and anthropologists who did research in Lima and other areas of Peru. On various occasions I met with these experts to talk about my research and receive critical feedback about what I was doing. In addition to these experts, other students and affiliates gave me helpful suggestions on numerous occasions as well. The collection of published material at the institute aided me in understanding what Peruvian intellectuals thought about some of the issues that I was dealing with and gave me access to information unavailable in Canada. My affiliation with the institute did much to facilitate my access to other libraries throughout Lima as well.

It took me three weeks to find a contact that would facilitate introductions in Gamarra. Rafael Tapia, a sociologist, placed me in contact with one of his key informants who, in turn, put me in contact with Miguel Arriola, the coordinator of PROMPYME[4], a government agency formed to direct micro and small businesses. While I was in Gamarra, PROMPYME was sponsoring a pilot program called *redes empresariales* (business networks). The purpose of the program was to improve the competitiveness of a select group of producers and organize them into productive teams headed by a professionally trained manager with experience and/or contacts in the textile industry both inside and at times outside of Peru. Groups were divided in terms of what they were producing, e.g. children's clothing, women's lingerie, jeans, t-shirts. The ultimate aim of the program was to increase the overall productive capability of smaller producers by integrating them into a network that could fulfill the larger demands of bigger buyers and/or facilitate their entrance into external markets. Among other things, PROMPYME provided information on the requirements and demands of foreign markets, encouraged producers to travel to promote their products and meet potential clients, and gave advice to producers about how to streamline their production.

Miguel was indispensable over the course of my research project arranging meetings with the leaders of production groups that the program sponsored and passing along studies and surveys conducted in Gamarra by PROMPYME. My interviews in Gamarra were obtained for the most part through these group leaders who would contact micro and small enterprise owners in their web to see if they wanted to meet with me for an

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[4] El Centro de Promoción de la Micro y Pequeña Empresa (Centre for the Promotion of Micro and Small Businesses). PROMPYME is a government entity whose stated objectives are to: find markets and assess the needs of these markets, adjust local supply to meet both national and international demand, and to promote business through expositions, trade shows, etc. (PROMPYME website, http://www.prompyme.gob.pe/portal/prompyme.php, accessed March 15, 2007.)

interview. I conducted semi-structured and open-ended interviews with these producers. Some interviews consisted of a single meeting. Others involved follow-up meetings to clarify points and to take pictures. Due to my concern with the creative process behind textile production in Gamarra, there was an ineluctable focus on actors who make creative decisions in the productive process. These actors were often the very busy owners of micro and small textile businesses themselves. For the most part I focused on clothing that was being produced for older adolescents and young adults, although I also gained a general knowledge of the production for other age groups as well. Other interviews that I conducted within Gamarra were spur of the moment events resulting from meeting a journalist who worked for a local magazine that covered the daily occurrences in the complex. He brought me around to some of his informants and I later contacted a number of them to clarify points, and/or conduct recorded interviews. In the end, I managed to interview 16 textile producers in Gamarra. When I made trips to Gamarra to do interviews I often spent the day there wandering through the complex talking to people and making observations.

By the end of July I began to realize that what my informants in Gamarra had to say was becoming redundant, so I decided to follow their suggestions that I visit different consumption places throughout the city –markets, department stores, and boutiques- so that I could get a sense of popular consumption. Everywhere I went I took note of how people dressed. I took hundreds of photos of public places in different parts of the city. I asked family, friends, and acquaintances of mine questions about what they wore and why they wore it.

Pursuing the conflicts that began to emerge in my interviews meant that I had to speak to representatives of Indecopi[5], and department stores. Consequently, I interviewed the representative of Indecopi in Gamarra and spoke with him regularly, which eventually yielded an interview with the head of the copyright section of Indecopi. Persistence would eventually reward me with an interview with the manager or marketing and buying for Saga Falabella, one of the two major department stores in Peru. This manager put me in contact with a young artist who produces what is locally referred to as underground fashion. In time, I interviewed her, and gained an insight into a new genre of more elite urban wear which challenged conventional local and global brands. I managed to get an interview with the son of the owner of Chio Lecca (the fashion institute responsible for keeping producers informed of fashion trends in Gamarra at the time I did my research). Later, I would get in contact with a secretary at the institute who would distribute an open-ended survey to some of the senior design students in the institute. I received 16 completed surveys, although much to my chagrin they have not been incorporated into this thesis. To create a juxtaposition with what small scale textile producers were doing, I decided to investigate the chullo and ethnic fashion in general. I interviewed three artisans and one of the originators of ethnic fashion in Peru because I thought that the perception of ethnic fashion represented a nice contrast to the perception of what producers in Gamarra were doing. While the appropriations of textile producers in Gamarra were often perceived as copying, those of ethnic fashion were often perceived

[5] El Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual (The National Institute for the Defense of Competition and the Protection of Intellectual Property). The web portal for this government entity explains that it was created in 1992 by the government to "promote a culture of loyal and honest competition and to protect all forms of intellectual property: from trademarks to royalties to patents and biotechnology." (Indecopi website, http://www.indecopi.gob.pe/quienes-somos.jsp, accessed March 16, 2007)

as creative and worthy of nationalistic pride. This contradiction is treated more thoroughly in Chapter 4.

When I returned to Peru during December of 2006 and early January of 2007, I took the opportunity to conduct interviews with two textile producers in Villa El Salvador (a shantytown in Lima) to ask about the relationship between textile production here and what was being sold in other areas of Lima. The interviews helped to confirm my hunch about the role that place was playing in affecting consumption patterns within the city and reinforced conclusions that I had drawn from my research in Gamarra.

Organization of the Thesis

The second chapter of this thesis gives the reader more detailed information about Gamarra. I discuss the history and formation of Gamarra, underlining the roles that urbanization and government policy have played in shaping this place. Part of my efforts in the chapter is also to give the reader a better sense of the composition character of Gamarra. The concept of popular culture is discussed, and I give my understanding of what is "popular" in Lima, emphasizing that it need not always involve the production and consumption of hybrid products. I argue that a focus on the agency of subaltern actors can provide insights on the various ways that they resist and respond to domination. The chapter ends by giving the reader a sense of the present orientation of the complex toward growth and exportation.

Building on the foundation created in the second chapter, the third chapter moves into what is being done in Gamarra and attempts to relate it to both local and global

influences. There are two ideas that run throughout this chapter. The first idea is that the activities of small scale textile producers are tactical responses to the strategic operations of the state and private enterprises (de Certeau 1988). The second idea is that production in Gamarra involves the appropriation of symbols of social distinction in Lima (Bourdieu 2002). Seen in this light, invocations of the dangers of copying and piracy come to reflect discourses that obscure the challenge that the activities of small scale textile producers represent to state control, the desires of larger enterprises to expand markets, and the need of social groups to distinguish themselves through clothing. Despite the influence that global fashion trends have on production in Gamarra, I argue that analysts must consider local contingencies to avoid falling into the trap of viewing small scale textile producers and their popular clients as passive victims of marketing strategies.

In the fourth chapter I juxtapose the appropriations of subaltern actors with the appropriations of more powerful others. My aim here is to complicate notions of what copying is by comparing the products of people in Gamarra to those of elite fashion designers. I highlight the case of the chullo – a hat associated with groups in the southern part of the Andes- and discuss ethnic fashion in general to demonstrate how the sort of borrowing engaged in by dominant social actors is either considered to be creative flair or justified as a patriotic duty which promotes social equality.

Chapter 2 - "Gamarra is a monster."

Gamarra Now

When I had completed one of the first interviews I conducted in Gamarra I made a comment on the immensity of Gamarra with its labyrinths of buildings and shops hidden away within them. I expressed my desire to understand what was happening in the complex. Alex, the young textile producer I was interviewing, responded by saying: "Gamarra is a monster." (personal communication, July 5, 2006) As I conducted my research I would come to appreciate this analogy. It is a monster not only because of its complexity, but also because of its unruliness.

Gamarra is a massive textile production complex located within a 74 block area in the district of La Victoria, Lima whose area is marked by four principal thoroughfares: Avenida 28 de Julio, Avenida Aviación, Avenida Mexíco, and Prolongación Parinacochas (see map on page that follows). In truth, a sizeable portion of producers within the complex have workshops and retail spaces (both real and virtual) spread throughout various districts of Lima, but for anyone in the textile industry in Peru it is very difficult not to have some relationship with the impressive concentration of producers, wholesale and retail vendors, suppliers, and service providers located in Gamarra.

Recent estimates by Juan Infante indicate that this area is home to approximately 17 thousand establishments which account for US$800 million in sales annually (Infante 2002:66).[1] If one is a regular reader of daily newspapers in Peru and professional journals, the success stories of local producers and retailers abound. This

[1] Due to the relatively high number of informal businesses and informal transactions it is difficult to find precise figures for the amount of businesses or their sales. It is safe to assume that the figures cited here are a rough indication of the true economic importance of Gamarra.

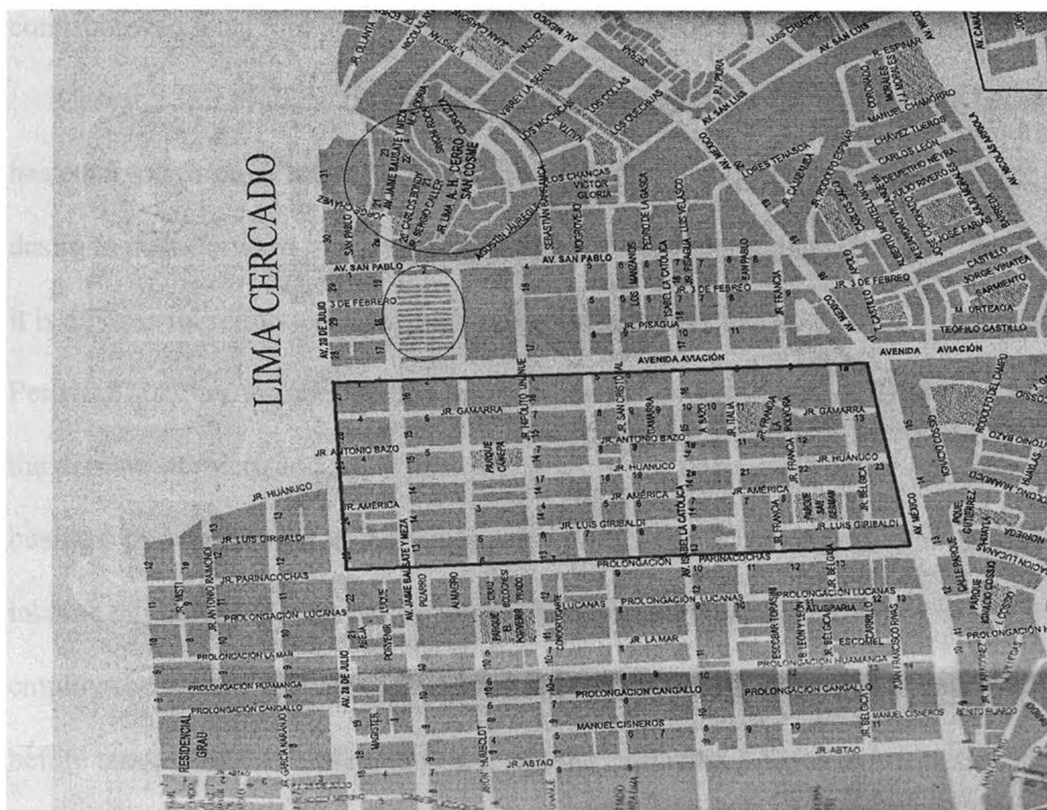

Figure 1 The upper circle on the map roughly circumscribes Cerro San Cosme. Just below this circle one will notice the location of La Parada or the Wholesale and Retail Market in the ellipse. The area outlined with the darker rectangular line is the area that encloses Gamarra. Avenida Aviación is the main road just above Gamarra. The relationship between these areas becomes more apparent from this bird's eye view. Source: Guía capital de Lima, Callao y sus distritos. Lima: Chirre, n.d.

contributes to local lore that fortunes can be both made and lost in Gamarra.

Gamarra is a source of both pride and consternation for Limeños: pride because it has emerged through the collective efforts of thousands of rural migrants and their desire to push forward improving their material conditions, and consternation because it is a powerful reminder of the high rate of informality that still exists in Peru and the Peruvian state's continued failure to tap its vast potential. Gamarra is predominantly the domain of micro and small businesses. A micro business is defined as any business that employs from one up to ten workers and does not exceed an annual income of CAN$171, 036 before taxes while a small business is defined as one that employs between 1 and 50 and does not exceed an annual income of CAN$969, 156 before taxes (PROMPYME 2003a:6).[2] Of the estimated 2 529 516 businesses in Peru the overwhelming majority, 99.6% are either micro or small businesses. Of these businesses, 73.9% are informal. Even in the case of formal businesses, it is not uncommon to see some sales go unrecorded.

[2] I base these figures on the definition of a micro and small business as per the definition provided in the 2003 law for the promotion and formalization of micro and small businesses. The amount in soles varies each year and is set by SUNAT(National Superintendent for Tributary Administration).

Table 1 Distribution of formal and informal businesses according to size (2004)

Peru: Distribution of formal and informal businesses according to size (2004)

Type of business	**Number of businesses**	**%**
Micro Business Formal 1/	622209	24,6%
Small Business Formal 2/	25938	1,0%
Small Business Informal 3/	15395	0,6%
Micro Business Informal 3/	1855075	73,3%
Medium and Large Business Formal 4/	10899	0,4%
Total	**2529516**	**100,0%**

Source: SUNAT. Annual Income Statement 2005, INEI 2002.

1/ Annual sales less than US$ 80,000.

2/ Annual sales between US$ 80,000 and US$ 750,000.

3/ Estimate.

4/ Annual sales over US$ 750,000.

Preparation of table: PROMPYME.

Table accessed at: http://www.prompyme.gob.pe/portal/estadisticas_mype.php#1 on January 27, 2007

According to official 2001 SUNAT tax declarations, there were a total of 509 424 formalized businesses in the country with micro and small businesses representing 98.6% of this total. SUNAT figures for the subsection of textiles in 1994 indicate that approximately 91%, or a little over 24,100 businesses were either micro or small businesses with 75% of these businesses concentrated in Lima. Just to add weight to the number already cited and reinforce the pre-eminence of the textile sector in Lima, sales records indicate that 93% of all sales in the sector occur in Lima. It is also worth noting that medium and large businesses account for 96.81% of all exports in terms of value (PROMPyME 2003a:6-9).

What these figures indicate is that in Peru the majority of textile businesses are micro and small businesses with the vast majority of their sales occurring in Lima. Figures also illustrate that there is a preponderance of micro and small businesses, the overwhelming majority of which are still operating outside state control and fulfilling a primarily domestic demand. Export demand on the other hand, is being fulfilled by medium to large scale operations which are able to offer higher quality products in higher volumes to more demanding international consumers, or draw on the productive capacities of smaller producers. It then comes as no surprise that recent government attention has been focused on directing micro and small enterprises toward formalizing and producing for external markets.

The aim of this chapter is to give the reader a sufficient understanding of the history and composition of Gamarra and its present predicament so that they can more critically weigh the arguments that will be made in the two following chapters. I will start by discussing the development of Gamarra against the backdrop of the political and economic events and processes that have helped to shape it. After considering the historical context of the complex, my next concern will be to give the reader a general understanding of how Andean productive strategies played and continue to play a role in how micro and small scale businesses are organized. Once the reader has become familiarized with the historical background and organizational makeup of Gamarra, I will briefly discuss what makes consumption and production "popular" in Gamarra. To conclude the chapter, the present predicament of Gamarra and state and "philanthropic" efforts to encourage exportation, and consequently formalization, will be explored.

A Brief History of the Emergence of Gamarra

To understand the present predicament of textile producers[3] in Lima and Peru as a whole it is necessary to understand both the origins of textile production in what has come to be known as Gamarra and its relationship with migration in Lima. I owe a great debt to the Peruvian economist and consultant Carlos Ramón Ponce (1994) for compiling a history of Gamarra and its gradual formation. What follows is a synopsis of his investigative endeavour. Where not indicated it can be assumed that I have drawn directly from his history when giving factual details. I assume full

[3] Before going any further I should clarify what I mean when I say "producers" in Gamarra or elsewhere in this thesis. Throughout the work I will be using producers to refer to those who are involved in the production of clothing. The reality is far from a cut and dry scenario where one group produces, and another group sells clothing in Gamarra or Lima as a whole. People who produce textiles may sell them as well at times, thus dedicating themselves to both activities, and if they are only producing they may still have an extensive knowledge about what they are producing comes from and why they are producing it. Throughout my investigation I dealt with some people who solely produced clothing, others who did both, and some who exclusively sold clothing. In a survey prepared for PROMPYME in 2003 (PROMPYME 2003a) we get a clearer sense of what is going in terms of production. Of the 403 businesses surveyed they were broken down as follows according to size.

Table 2 Demographics of PROMPYME (2003a) survey of Gamarra

Number of Workers	Frequency	%
1 to 3	325	80,65%
4 to 6	62	15,38%
7 to 9	11	2,73%
More than 9	5	1,24%
Total	403	100,00%

Based on 403 Interviews
Source: PROMPyME 2003a:30

Of note here is that the vast majority of these businesses fall into the category of micro and small businesses, therefore the relevance of their activities is highly pertinent for our analysis. More significantly, within this sample the surveyors found that 61.04% of those surveyed were engaged in commerce, 30.77% in manufacturing and commerce, 4.47% in services, and just 3.72% in manufacturing alone (PROMPyME 2003a:13). People who were at both ends of the spectrum –solely producing or selling- did not always seem to have a clear understanding of their counterpart's activities in their entirety, however, as I state before, this does not mean that some of them do not possess intimate knowledge of both activities. Those who had experience in selling, or moved between the two fluidly were extremely deft at determining consumption trends and making fine-tuned adjustments to production. These duo producer/vendors were often innovators and trendsetters. With the vast majority of the producers who I surveyed many had knowledge of both the selling and the manufacturing side of the business.

responsibility for the interpretations of the historical details.

The concentration of textile production in Gamarra is directly related to the formation of the Mercado Mayorista y Minorista (Wholesale and Retail Market) on lands ceded by the Cánepa family. The present Parque Cánepa in Gamarra is named after the family and testifies to the local lore of the production complex. President José Luis Bustamente y Rivero inaugurated the Mercado Mayorista y Minorista (also known locally as La Parada) in 1945 due to insufficient space in the Mercado Central (Central Market) in Cercado. Aside from fulfilling an obvious necessity, the wholesale market was strategically positioned near the Carretera Central (Central Highway) which leads directly into the South Central Andes, thus providing a powerful attraction for mercantile activity.

Shortly after Bustamente y Rivero's government created the wholesale market, the first land invasion occurred just behind the market near Cerro San Cosme (see preceding map). Initially, the market and Avenida Aviación served as focal points mainly for the movement and distribution of agricultural goods and people from the South Central Andes. This invasion was a landmark in the history of the city of Lima because it was the first of a series of "invasions" or human "inundations" that would see the population of Lima skyrocket over the following decades and provide the bulk of the labour force and entrepreneurial spirit of what would become Gamarra.

According to historian Peter Klaren, there were a number of factors that contributed to mass migrations to urban areas during the middle of the twentieth century (2004:356-374). Firstly, after the Second World War, antibiotics, sulphate, cortisone and other medicines and medical techniques were introduced to the Third World. This caused a decrease in infant mortality rates and led to a concomitant rise in birth rates. In Peru, the growth rate of the population rose from 1.9 percent per

year in the 1940s to 2.2 percent in the 1950s and continued rising in the 1960s to 2.7. Other authors argue for an even more dramatic increase maintaining that the growth rate shot up from 1.5 percent in 1910 to 3.0 percent in 1960 (Burga y Flores-Galindo in Klaren 2004:358).

Secondly, this population growth in conjunction with a propitious export market for cotton, sugar, minerals, and wool led hacienda owners to maximize the production of their lands. Wars abroad had the effect of fueling a booming export economy in Peru. Maximizing production to take advantage of such an export boom entailed a shift toward wage labour and a movement away from tenant farming, which resulted in the expulsion of tenant farmers from more productive lands along the coast and in the highlands.

Gavin Smith (1979) gives more detail on how such attempts to maximize production in the indigenous community of Huasicancha in the Central Andes led to various changes in the economy of this community in the same time period. A decrease in available lands and the increase in wage labour forced many to migrate to cities or the coast to earn cash resulting in a system of reciprocal relations that linked rural farming with urban wage labour. The economic success of some of these families in an urban milieu and a shift towards strategies of surplus accumulation motivated many migrants to opportunistically invoke traditional community labour relations to accumulate more capital. It is important to note here that rural and urban areas still remain linked despite the overwhelming exodus of people toward urban centres.[4]

Peru would continue to ride a tide of export demand well into the fifties under the military dictatorship of Manuel A. Odría. Unlike Bustamente y Rivero, Odría

[4] Karsten Paerregaard discusses the problems that arise when one divorces community studies from migration studies (1998).

embarked upon a campaign of populist appeasement reminiscent in many ways of Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina. For example, his government initiated public works projects in many of the emerging shantytowns of the capital in an attempt to curry the favour of the incipient migrant community. At the same time, his government brutally repressed the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), outlawing the political party, and extended his repression to other left leaning parties, while adopting orthodox economic reforms and strengthening ties with the United States. A lax attitude toward land invasions and a readiness to support public works projects in these growing sectors of the city were the final factors in stimulating rural to urban migration.

Coinciding with this rural to urban movement, a new sort of consumer appeared in the capital –one that came from a rural area and sought to assert an urban appearance through the clothing that he or she wore. One store that began to fill this demand in the early fifties was Scala. It was typical of a number of bargain retail stores that opened up along Jirón de la Unión, a store-lined street in the old colonial heart of Lima that was closed off to vehicles. Scala focused on mass producing shirts, blouses, children's shirts, school shirts, summer clothing, shorts, and bathing suits, but in such volumes that they could sell them at prices that were unbeatable. Scala acquired brands and paid royalties to produce these brands. The owners even went to the extent of establishing ties with foreign businesses which sold them designs, technology, and provided technical assistance in manufacturing. What was available in the United States became available in Peru. In addition, Peruvian brands became more developed and eventually came to displace imports and domestic artisan production.

At the same time that Jirón de la Unión was in its textile heyday the street vendors

around La Parada, who had previously specialized in the movement of mainly perishable goods from the Andes, began to address the growing demand for urban clothing in both Lima and the provinces where they originated. The concentration of people and the outward growth of the city from La Parada made this area an increasingly important centre for commerce. Throughout the 1960s and by the beginning of the 1970s, the foundations for a production and retail boom in the vicinity were set. Now, I would like to turn to analysing some of the events and conditions that laid the groundwork for this explosion.

The main catalysts for the growth of Gamarra and the concomitant concentration of small informal enterprises were initiatives taken by the nationalist revolutionary government of Juan Alvarado Velasco (1968-1975) in reordering the tax regime of larger businesses. The Velasco government placed a limit on foreign capital involvement in domestic enterprises and the domestic market was sheltered from foreign competitors. Companies with more than 5 workers were forced by law to include workers in 25% of their profits. The General Sales Tax also jumped from 5% to 15%. Even Velasco's agrarian reforms channelled capital that had at one time been locked up in large haciendas toward new ventures such as this new booming textile sector. The combined effect of these measures was to discourage medium and large formal businesses that paid taxes and encourage the proliferation of small businesses that functioned outside of formalized control.

Not only did legislation which seemed to mete out a heavy toll for large capital enterprises encourage the emergence of smaller producers, but the shift toward a productive model of flexible accumulation may have favoured the shift from large factories that mass produced large quantities of ubiquitous textiles toward small workshops that filled real time demands for specific products (Harvey 1989). This

shift resulted in the demise of a number of large textile factories that had at one time predominated in Lima and left an opening for the emergence of new smaller scale producers who responded to more rapid changes in consumer demand. The closure of these larger operations in turn meant that workers had to find a new means for subsisting. Pensions and severance pay were often substituted by machines that workers once used to fabricate textiles allowing many workers to move directly into satisfying a demand for textiles that was increasing in Lima. Street vendors quickly accumulated capital to move into production and many were deft at amassing fortunes and prospering from a veritable textile rush. What is interesting about the case of Gamarra is that productive fragmentation seemed to anticipate the shift toward just-in-time production and was couched in emancipatory terms. The end result may have been to decentralize capital, disperse unionisation, and fragment workers into antagonistic cells.[5]

In the district of La Victoria, where Gamarra is located, there were a number of mayors involved in industry and commerce during the 1970s. They were instrumental in recognizing this changing environment and working to facilitate and prioritise the growth of Gamarra. Zoning changes that occurred in 1972 transformed Gamarra on paper from a residential zone to a commercial zone. This transformation was too quick and effective for some. Over a short period of time many entrepreneurs in the area were forced to move production outside of the complex due to a dramatic escalation in property prices. Here we see signs of a process that Anna Tsing

[5] Coinciding with this productive shift we see the emergence of discourses of mestizaje y cholification. Florencia E. Mallon has more to say on this:

> Commercialization in the rural areas and migration to the city were seen as parallel processes that together would incorporate the Indian into the modern world, through cultural transformation. In the cases where this transformation was considered complete, it was called mestizaje [miscegenation]; where it remained incomplete, it was termed 'cholification'. (Mallon 1992:38)

(2005:75-76) has termed "speculative accumulation" whereby a gold rush mentality which promises quick fortunes in an obscure frontier backs soaring land and stock prices. In the case of Gamarra, speculation was successful and actual growth did take place, nevertheless we should not ignore the speculative nature of the initial enterprise and the convergence of local labour surpluses and capitalist interests which colluded to make Gamarra a reality.

Technological innovations in synthetic fibres and the availability of high-quality natural fibres also played a role in the emergence of Gamarra. Peru produced polyester and had a natural source of cotton that was of extremely high quality. These two fibres were often combined to produce cheaper blends of fibres. The availability of these nationally produced fibres lowered production costs, favouring growth.

The familial character of many of these new small enterprises further motivated workers to acquire experience to start their own businesses. In general, a growing demand for informal wear, especially t-shirts, jeans, and sportswear meant that investment in product development was kept to a minimum. To this day, the vast majority of consumers of clothing produced in Gamarra tend to prefer clothing that falls within the limits of a more ubiquitous urban fashion. Taking a brand name product and adapting it for a consumer of modest economic means has become the mainstay for a large segment of the producers and vendors in Gamarra.

A brief review of the physical expansion of Gamarra is instructive. Ponce divides the growth of Gamarra into three phases. The first, or germinal phase, has its roots in the commercial history of the district of Gamarra. This phase provided the foundations for the second, growth, phase of the complex in the 1970s culminating in the emergence of a culture of mass consumption, which provided positive feedback for the continued growth of the complex and the web of small enterprises that formed

the backbone of Gamarra. In its final phase, entrepreneurs in Gamarra have pushed the complex to the point where almost everybody who is in the textile business in Peru now has a stake in Gamarra. Ponce argues that businesses in Gamarra set trends for mass consumption, determine prices, and are the supply point for both inputs and products of the textile industry throughout Peru.[6] Nevertheless, it is absolutely imperative to recognize that these small enterprises share an intimate relationship with larger businesses such as department stores and large and medium scale producers that subcontract at times. These larger businesses either export or supply the domestic market. Hence, we can consider small producers as an essential element in a decentralized industry where workers are fragmented to supply larger businesses which specialize in capital intensive activities. I would argue that the role of larger businesses is to promote consumption through a complicated marketing system which both feeds on the labour of small producers and structures their productive efforts.

Understanding the demographic, economic, and political conditions of the rise of Gamarra has been fundamental in my attempt to ascertain the relationship of textile producers in Gamarra to both local fashion and global fashion trends. If we are to understand what Gamarra is in its entirety it becomes incumbent upon us to analyze in a more detailed manner the organization of these small informal businesses and their relationship with a rural Andean organization of production.[7] I move on now to attempt to provide the reader with an overview of the ethnic composition of this conglomerate of predominantly small scale enterprises.

[6] It is important to note that these statements were made in 1994. The incursion of department stores and cheap Asian imports has affected the pre-eminence of Gamarra to some degree certainly.
[7] Peasants in the Andes are estimated to have dedicated 90% of their time to agricultural production. This meant that a work ethic characterized by prolonged and sustained effort, reciprocal relations and obligations, respect for verbal contracts, productive flexibility (communal and autonomous labour organization to meet different needs and demands occurring in distinct spaces requiring specialized knowledge), and planning and provisioning became endemic (Golte 2001:64-103,112).

Urban Growth and the Andean Work Ethic

Thus far we have discussed the history of Gamarra and its intrepid entrepreneurs. To extend this treatment further this section will give the reader a more in-depth idea of urbanization and at the same time trace the productive strategies that migrants brought to Lima and how they have come to bear on the activities of generations of migrants.

With the wheels of urbanization inexorably set in motion after the post WWII boom in exports, cities throughout the more prosperous coast of Peru experienced dramatic rises in population. Anthropologist José Matos Mar characterizes this movement as:

> ...a spontaneous process, the result of abandonment, poverty, accentuation of the rural crisis, of people from the sierra especially, discriminated against and marginalized for much time. It was an alarm call, a popular mobilization of great transcendence –a true cultural revolution of the "other" Peru. (Matos 2004:143-144)[8]

Overcrowding in the previously walled core of colonial Lima led to a steady rise in shantytowns outside of the core (see map on the following page). These shantytowns are presently in areas commonly referred to as the Conos (the Cones) in Lima. Lima grew from a city with a population of 1 380 615 in 1957 with 9.5% of the population living in 56 shantytowns to an estimated population of 8 500 000 in 2004 with 59% of the population living in areas that have become consolidated and socially stratified places (Matos 2004:149-153).

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[8] How much of a cultural revolution this mass migration to cities and increasing participation in a capitalistic system has been is certainly moot, none the less I have included Matos Mars' characterization of this movement to demonstrate a point of view that I believe pervasive in mainstream media and the general mood of the populace in Lima at present. It is clear that there are wealthier migrants and success stories within Gamarra, but whether we can say that all migrants have benefited is another story. Furthermore, whether the economic success of these migrants translates into acceptance by more entrenched wealthy groups in urban areas is a theme of current debate and investigative work. Despite the success of some businessmen it is hard to deny that the average worker in Gamarra still receives slightly less than the government minimum wage (PROMPyME 2003a:32). Whose revolution is this? Who gains?

When these migrants came to Lima they were forced to generate their own work in the majority of cases. Successive governments may have recognized the need to gain the political favour of these migrants, but the principal responsibility for making a living fell directly on them, leading to the emergence of a burgeoning informal sector. Many of the workers in La Parada and the shantytowns began to engage in informal economic activities. Informality here points to the tributary habits of such workers, or better said their lack of tribute to a formal bureaucracy and social welfare state in direct terms, and their tendency to rely on interpersonal relationships over the more formalized bureaucratic Creole[9] structures associated with the descendents of Spanish migrants in Lima.

Norma Adams and Néstor Valdivia have investigated the reproduction of rural social relations in an urban context, where traditional productive strategies form a basis for small scale informal businesses in Lima. In this work, they propose an outline of what they term an "Andean work ethic". As far as the authors are concerned, tradition here pertains more to the value placed on work, austerity, family relations, regional affiliations and reciprocal ties within the modern work environment that has worked to invigorate the rigid and inefficient bureaucratic tendencies of Creole culture. In contrast to Creole culture, migrants[10] place more value on manual labour, diligence (often working long hours), sacrifice, productive independence, and honesty. In contrast to the Protestant ethic, the Andean ethic refers to "a culture

[9] Creole in this case refers to the state that was founded by the descendents of Spanish migrants who lived in Lima and other urban centres throughout Peru and were the main architects behind the founding constitution of the state. Much of the rancour and distrust between the formal state and more informal structures persist to the present day. When an Andean acquires the habits of the city that person is said to be "creolised". Laziness, deceit, egoism, and moral degradation are perceived as Creole mannerisms. Creole is therefore used to denote a set of behavioural tendencies as much as it is an organizational philosophy.

[10] I am aware of the problems associated with the term migrant. There is still a tendency in Lima to refer to people living in the Conos as migrants, even though they actual demographics of these areas is extremenly complex. I am still working on refining this category and thinking of ways that one might go about speaking of different groups in Lima.

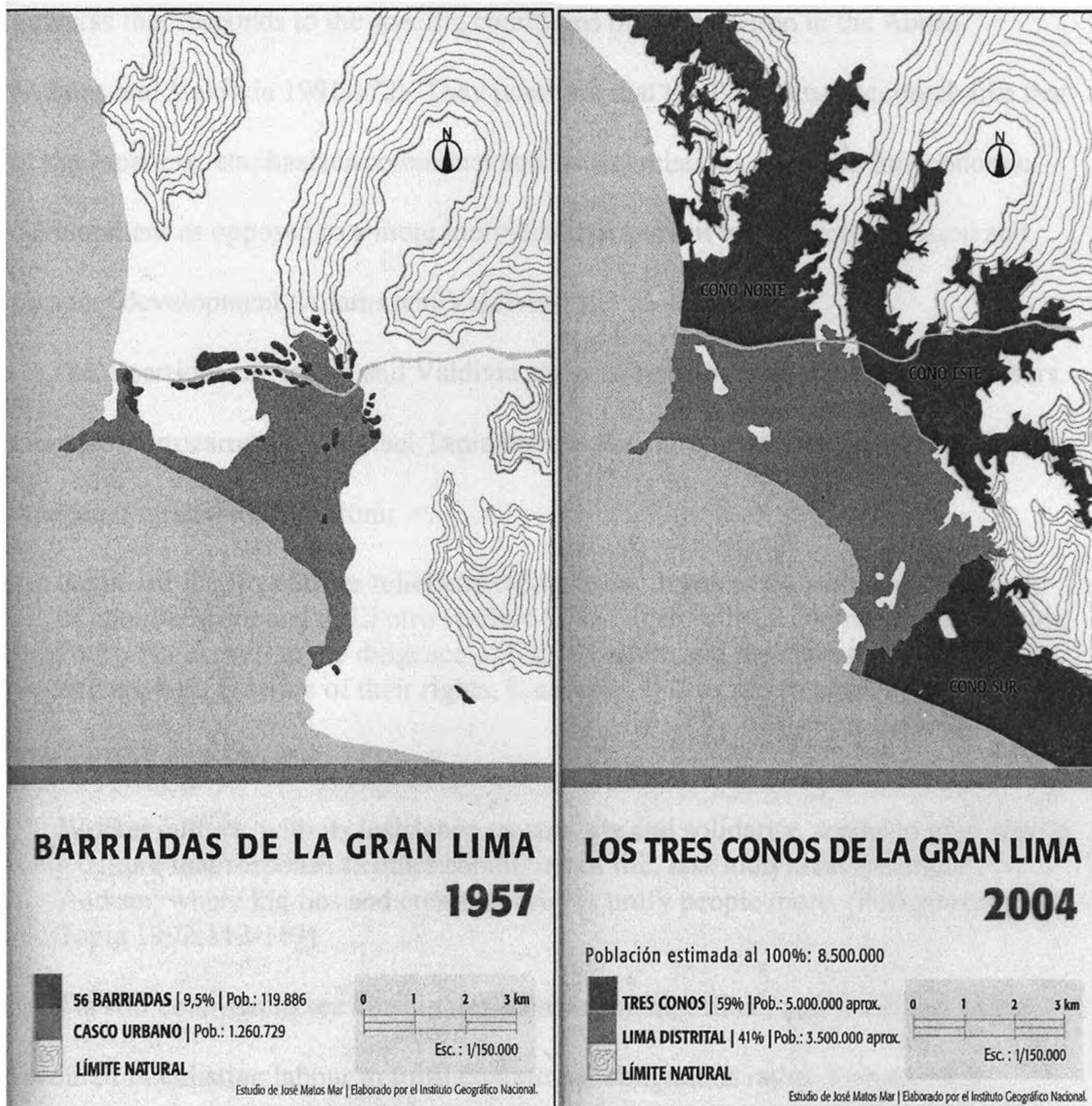

Figure 2 In these two representations of the areas of greater Lima we can see how the city core expanded and at the same time we see the creation of the North, East, and South Cones which were primarily populated by migrants coming to Lima from provincial towns and cities. (Source: Matos 2004:149,153)

universe that responds to the specific conditions of reproduction in the Andes." (Adams and Valdivia 1991:172) They point out that the Peruvian case, much like that of the Japanese, emphasizes communal and family relations as a base for economic development as opposed to a more individualistic pursuit toward accumulation and personal development (Adams and Valdivia 1991:33-69,172).

The assertions of Adams and Valdivia are confirmed by a number of other authors. Gonzalo Portocarrero and Rafael Tapia believe the entrepreneurial ambitions of Andean migrants to stem from:

> the possibility to achieve relief and recognition. It has to do with the importance of neoliberalism and of El otro sendero [The Other Path -in contrast to the Shining Path], but as well to the diligence of Cholo culture and the autonomy which every citizen, who is aware of their rights, is capable. (Portocarrero and Tapia 1992:112)

The authors go on to state:

> Worker culture, with its insistence on struggle and solidarity, seems to give way to a culture that responds to other conditions of life, less individual and more Andean, where kin ties and common origins unify people more. (Portocarrero and Tapia 1992:112-113)

It is still common to see kinship ties -consanguinal, affinal, and fictitious- being favoured in enlisting labour to fulfil contractual obligations rather than non-kin relations in Gamarra. Julia Gonzales confirms this predilection for familial ties statistically in her survey of Gamarra, but, as her survey indicates, this should by no means be taken as an absolute modality. In the beginning, 74.3% of the businesses she surveyed used family members, but by 1998 this number had dropped to 61.0%. She notes that there has been a tendency, even among migrants from the Andes, to move toward contracting outside labour in their businesses as the business grows. The choice to contract outside labour is even higher among entrepreneurs from the coast and Lima (Gonzales 2001:118-119). In the majority of the cases that I am familiar with, businesses were run by family members and in many cases the children

of entrepreneurs were in the process of taking over the reigns of the family business, but as enterprises grow one obviously will run out of willing family members to contract.

It was not uncommon to hear of children who studied various professions that would increase the competitiveness of the family business. Some smaller scale producers sent their children to domestic institutes to study design, industrial engineering, fabric production, or any of a variety of skills that would contribute to the growth of the family business. Some of my informants were second generation migrants who studied anything from business administration to accountancy to aid in the family business. It is not rare to see cases where parents have sent their children abroad to study a career in fashion design, industrial engineering, or a field which will somehow aid the family business. There are ample cases where excellence in study at a national level has led to some children leaving to pursue university or postgraduate studies as well. In some cases, however, this strategy backfires and children refuse to continue with the textile business and opt for something entirely unrelated.

For a smaller enterprise one would expect such a tendency to hire family members in my opinion. I have noticed similar tendencies even in Canada. What seems to differ is the overall frequency of this entrepreneurial spirit and cooperative links vis-à-vis a common opposition: coastal Creole culture. I would attribute the lack of entrepreneurial spirit of workers in Canada to the relative prosperity of an individual worker in Canada. The extent to which low pay, lack of social security, lack of job stability, and poor working conditions in general contribute to an urge to become independent deserves more consideration, although I must admit that it would be difficult to separate such a consideration from other mitigating factors. It seems likely that we have a number of variables at play in Gamarra that are creating the conditions

for entrepreneurial endeavour. More ethnographic works needs to be done on how becoming capitalistic might undermine many aspects of the Andean work ethic. Intuitively, individualistic and adversarial competition does not seem reconcilable with communal cooperation. This concern will undoubtedly find its way into future investigations that I undertake, but for now it remains a valid research question.

Having spent some time on migration and the reproduction of Andean productive strategies within Lima let us now turn to an exploration of what happened when these migrants became established in Lima and began to mix with lower classes already in the city creating what is referred to as the popular class.

Popular Culture and Class in Lima

In order to better understand what is meant when I use the terms popular culture and popular class in Lima it is necessary to consider the way these terms are defined by various authors. In this section I will outline various perspectives that I believe useful when thinking of the popular. After having discussed these conceptualizations I will discuss how production in Gamarra is popular.

It is with a mixture of consternation and curiosity that I begin this discussion. My consternation arises from the vagueness of the adjective popular in general, and my curiosity from a desire to understand things more profoundly. In the United States and Canada we associate popular culture with its abbreviated form "pop", as in the common vernacular expression: pop culture. Here, we make reference to mass media culture for the most part and all that whittles its way into our wooden heads through various mediums of communication. But, this pop culture has been globalized to an astonishing extent. Everyone on the planet who has an email account with either

Yahoo or Hotmail, for instance, is inescapably bombarded with trivia Americana. Entertainment columns the world over follow the lives of Hollywood stars. We are now more than ever part of the global village that Marshall McLuhan presciently talked of decades ago. Néstor García Canclini lucidly points out that the weight of local folk and popular production has suffered in "a market hegemonized by transnational electric cultures". Youth have now become fond of non-places such as shopping centres. The information and entertainment of the majority now originates from outside the national sphere. (García 1995b:102-104)

Yet, despite this undeniable connectedness that has come with the hypermodern age, local places, like Lima or Gamarra in our case, retain dichotomous cultural characterizations (popular vs. non-popular). The usage of the notion of popular culture abounds in social science literature much as it does in the media in Peru. Popular culture is often interchanged with *cultura chicha* (chicha culture), after the music genre that became popular in the late 1960s which fused tropical *cumbia* and melancholic *huayno* music from the sierra. The term *cultura chicha* highlights the inventiveness and uncanny ability of the marginal majority to fuse symbolic elements of dominant groups with their own myriad cultural expressions. The popular aesthetic is composed of seeming congeries of decontextualized images stylised and given a local flavour –deterritorialized signs which are reterritorialized in a local dialectical field. Images that challenge mainstream sensibilities are everywhere: posters with florescent colours which advertise musical concerts; tigers, dragons, and other powerful animals are painted on vehicles; erotic portrayals of women clash with middle class notions of sensibility and modesty; Che Guevara and the marijuana leaf proliferate on mini-buses; epithets combine with courteous reminders of considerate behaviour on mini-buses –the popular is an inversion and challenge to mainstream

sensibilities. It is an attitude.

The ability of the popular to transgress dominant norms is what is most focused upon by especially the media in Peru –normally to denigrate, mock, patronize or reinforce stereotypes about a lewd, immoral, ignorant and criminal popular class. What is most striking about this portrayal is how it contrasts sharply with the portrait of industriousness, austerity, honesty, sacrifice, and family put forth by social scientists who study popular class labour organization. Nonetheless, such a portrayal is suspect because those who own the media represent the other constructing at the same time a position counter to their own which legitimates their position of authority over this decadent mass. Equally suspect is the academic penchant for trying to classify the "popular". In naming and classifying the popular we as academics may be reproducing these homogenizing representations that often legitimate social inequalities. We can complicate this picture by simply acknowledging the fact that migrants (now with generations of their children living in the city, yet still considered migrants) come from a plethora of ethnic backgrounds which in many cases have interacted with occidental culture for centuries, and reflecting honestly upon the classifications that are imposed upon the popular. As Victor Vich so eloquently states, "…the popular subject is not only an active receiver of multiple traditions but also a creative agent of his/her own signs, that is to say, a producer of culture, understood –in its broadest sense- as the fabric of all symbolic forms that construct and permit social life." (Vich 2004:65)

In his book *La comarca oral* (The oral region), Carlos Pacheco outlines the use of the adjective popular: "In current Spanish terminology, the adjective popular tends to identify cultural manifestations that originate from and are destined for the consumption of a large sector of the population, of the "people" in general, which are

overall opposed to sectors socially, economically and culturally "elitist". (Pacheco in Wood 2005:17) Guillermo Nugent (2003) cogently notes the more political connotations of the "people" when discussing the present division of Peru into misery or opulence:

> the citizenry is replaced, discursively and practically, by the "people" (*el pueblo*). An entity that has as its central characteristic not that which forms the basis for the legitimacy of modern power, rather a crowd incapable of adequately representing its interests. (Nugent 2003:24)

A corollary to this binary that Nugent describes is that the government must paternally rule over the unruly masses who, in their ignorance and infancy, do not possess the ability to do so themselves. In this division between opulence and misery, Nugent takes the position that the middle class, once the political backbone of urban Peru, has effectively disappeared with the urbanization process that began in the 1940s, thus opening up a space for political instability. The "people" then become the problem to be fixed. Peru is more likely to be unstable now because it is finally facing the return of the boomerang (Fanon 1963) -a boomerang that has returned as the result of the very processes that have kept Peru subordinate to larger nations (I remind the reader of the economic situation that pushed many to urban centres in Peru).

For Néstor García Canclini, "the popular is the excluded: those who have no patrimony or who do not succeed in being acknowledged and preserved." (García 1995c:145) Later, along the lines of Vich he clarifies himself by noting, "the popular is constructed in hybrid and complex processes, using as signs of identification elements originating from diverse classes and nations." (García 1995c:157) In fact, the caveat to García's notion of popular seems to be to resist the tendency to homogenize it. Instead, he suggests that we view it as a process with actors who constantly negotiate their relationship with mainstream culture often subverting it in a

manner similar to that described by Johannes Fabian in the towns of Shaba in southeast Zaire.

In describing genre paintings, the Jamaa religious movement, and performance, Fabian notes the ability of popular culture to "eat power whole," thus creating power to counter power in acts of creation and negation which he refers to as "moments of freedom." (Fabian 1998) Fabian further complicates the idea of popular culture by emphasizing the ability of popular culture to negate and contest itself thereby engaging itself in a dialectical process. Fabian notes that, "What makes a culture, any kind of culture, viable, that is, imaginable as a way of living and surviving, is the capacity not only to negate and resist that which attacks you but also to contest that which embraces you or makes you embrace it." (Fabian 2001:96)

When characterizing the popular, authors oscillate between portraying the marginal majority either as a ubiquitous mass susceptible to the machinations of the media and juxtaposed to an elite, or as a celebrated front that contests the machinations of the elite (cf. Matos 2004 for a Peruvian example). Whatever way one decides to look at it, the popular is characterized as an immeasurable mass. Perhaps quantification is not so necessary, especially when we are dealing with what seems a position or stance in relation to constraining pressures. Recent works in the social sciences in Peru (and I am probably just seeing the tip of the iceberg) have done much to dispel a more monolithic and static expression of the popular placing emphasis on the emergence of new middle classes (cf. Portocarrero 1998 for a number of definitive articles, Zolezzi 2003).

Alejandro Ortiz (1999:130-131) contrasts the identities of popular Peruvians to Europeans as being much more versatile and malleable, able to conform to new social stages and extremely contingent and -despite glaring contradictions- stable. He uses

the idea of concentric circles to capture the ability of popular actors to assume many identities at once contrasting this with the European tendency to assume different identities in different contexts. So, instead of compartmentalization and separation he sees lucid and sometimes contingent bricolage. Playing such an eclectic part requires a social actor who is conscious of social hierarchies, and savvy in tacking between identities, thereby provoking and pushing boundaries in creative play. Ortiz might be right, however his archetypal representations of Europeans versus popular Peruvians could be a little more nuanced. What I do agree with is his observation that assuming multiple identifications does not seem to be unnatural, but rather a natural state of flux in which people feel comfortable.

So, how do textile producers and consumers in Gamarra reflect the character of a popular culture? From my interviews most of my informants indicated that they were producing for categories C and D predominantly. These categories, as far as I am able to discern, reflect socio-economic indicators used most commonly by market consultancy firms. In the standard utilized by the consultancy firm APOYO and APEIM (Peruvian Association of Market Investigation Businesses) this socio-economic indicator reflects the following demographic patterns in Metropolitan Lima:

Table 3 Socio-economic class and percentage belonging to each respective class

A1	High	0,80%
A2	Middle high	3,50%
B1	Middle typical	6,50%
B2	Middle low	8,80%
C1	Low ascending	10,90%
C2	Low typical	21,50%
D1	Very low poor	36,10%
E	Very low extreme	11,90%

Source: Arellano 2000:29

What can be noted from this table is that the textile production of my focus group was directed toward the lower end of the socio-economic scale where the bulk

consumers in Lima would be placed. I asked for clarification and many told me matter-of-factly that everyone wore their clothing. Who was everyone, I wondered? My observations of people on the street and marketplaces throughout the city indicated that C and D could roughly be equated with that nebulous popular culture. Even the middle that is indicated here is an oversimplification of Peruvian reality. Many successful entrepreneurs who can be classified as high, middle typical or middle choose to stay in their original barrio for questions of identity (cf. Zolezzi 2003), or make an awkward move to more affluent neighbourhoods in Lima if they move at all (cf. Varillas 1998). Instead of a homogenous middle class that has emerged from the popular classes, we can then more accurately speak of middle classes. In short -and much to the horror of more established social groups in Lima- there is movement, and consequently desire to move up socially. Furthermore, saying that textile producers in Gamarra only produce clothing for people of more modest incomes and origins would be an oversimplification. Even the most economically elite sectors of Peruvian society will admit to buying from vendors in Gamarra, or asking producers to reproduce something they have seen in a magazine, catalogue, or the Internet. They, however, would not be caught dead wearing a pirated shirt costing no more than a dollar U.S. When looking at clothing I was consciously trying to match production with consumption without realizing, as I do now, that the very act of creating in itself can reflect the dialectic between large scale brand production and small scale production (remembering once again that the majority of producers in Gamarra are small scale producers).

While I am inclined to view popular culture as a position taken as a counterpoint to a more established order in Lima I also favour the idea that it constantly incorporates disparate elements creating a taste in itself that distinguishes the popular sector from

more elite sectors in its ability to embrace multiple roles simultaneously. With this said, I by no means feel that everyone who is popular will wear clothing from Gamarra solely. Popular sectors also wear second-hand clothing and cheap Chinese imports. I will demonstrate later in this thesis that textile producers in Gamarra transform and interpret what people are consuming in more exclusive areas of the city (especially the brands of boutiques and department stores) and the media (both local and international) and adapt them to a popular taste in essence "eating power" to borrow Fabian's words. This act I will argue is in itself an act of defiance and one that challenges the established order. The products of these textile producers are unique in their ability to creatively capture power and turn it against itself in ways that are difficult to classify. As much as Gamarra is a monster, its detractors seek to tame it for its unruly behaviour encouraging businesses to export or to desist in "copying". In the following section I will look at one element of the taming of Gamarra: promoting growth and exportation.

Promoting Growth and Exportation

The desire to progress is one that is shared by textile producers, foreign consultants, and governmental agencies in Peru. In the following section I will demonstrate that there is a thread which unites governmental neoliberal objectives and the goals of textile producers. Despite the historically high rate of informality and the use of productive strategies from the Andes, the recent strategies of textile producers and the government alike suggest a move toward incorporating textile workers into a more formalized economy.

There is no mistaking that exporting seems to be a very appreciable and widely

shared aim of business entrepreneurs in Peru, from micro business owners all the way up to large scale operations. A recent interview that appeared in the newspaper, El Comercio, illustrates the spotlight that small business entrepreneurs receive as well as the import that is placed on exporting, even amongst small producers. Tina Ccanto López, a dressmaker who hails from Ayacucho remarks on her level of production:

> I work with approximately 30 people, and if we didn't have to do dresses to order for clients we would make 50 to 60 dresses a day. And this is little because the demand is greater. If a wholesaler comes, my whole stock is bought up. My goal is to produce here, give more work here, but export as well. I am always travelling, trying to see where I can find a market. Now, I have clients in Venezuela and Ecuador primarily. (Anonymous 2007a)

Tina's desire to increase production, look for external markets, and eventually export reflect desires that were shared by almost every textile producer that I interviewed. With increased competition in the domestic market, producers often feel that the only opportunity for growth is to look for external markets. Foreign markets are attractive compared with the Peruvian market because, as many of my informants told me, Peruvians do not buy enough clothing in comparison to markets where consumers change more frequently.[11] The problem often is finding that external market or trustworthy contacts in another country. Therefore, it was not surprising to encounter various producers who approached me asking me if I wanted to bring clothing to Canada.

Recognizing that some producers do export is important because production for foreign markets has an impact on what ends up in local ones. I was told by a number of my informants that people who export often sell what remains of their production locally. Curiously enough, in not one of the interviews that I conducted did my informants mention this as a significant source of inspiration. I am uncertain of the

[11] This comment seems to suggest that the discipline involved in being fashionable still has room for expansion in Peru. We might ask why some groups of people resist the dictates of marketing and the pressures of conformity and explore what effect different cultural systems have on the creation of the modern urban consumer(s).

impact it has on local production, although if this clothing is being sold in Gamarra one can be certain that someone is copying it. This only adds to the complexity of the production in the complex.

Various foreign consultants come to Peru to aid textile producers in synchronizing their production with the demands of the foreign market. Laurence Dols (1995) describes one example in detail: CISE. CISE or The International Body for Executive Services was founded by David Rockefeller. The organization's purpose is to give non-profit technical advice to budding entrepreneurs throughout the world. With its force of mainly retired high level executives, it offers what other consultancy groups offer to aspiring industrialists at a fraction of the cost. Normally, the host must pay an institutional honorarium, the expenses of the consultant and their spouse, airfare, and any other incurred costs. For a stay of up to two months in the factory, costs are quoted as being approximately US$18,000. It goes to reason that with such high costs these consultants are reserved for the small group of large and medium sized factories, but assistance in forging links with clients in the United States, suggestions for improvements in production, product development hints for the market in the United States, and even access to credit make the consultancy offered by CISE very attractive (Dols 1995:19-20).

Support for Gamarra's producers also comes from government organizations such as PROMPYME (Promote Micro and Small Business) or SNI (Society of Domestic Industry) who hire fashion consultants to inform these producers and keep them abreast of foreign fashion trends. From this point, producers can develop their own lines and attend fashion shows or expositions in either Peru, or, better yet, abroad to receive orders from potential clients. With the promulgation of the law for the promotion and formalization of micro and small businesses in September of 2003

there appears to be more government interest in promoting micro and small businesses at least nominally. I was unable to ascertain whether this is the reality. The incursion of PROMPYME, Indecopi, Lima Chamber of Commerce, and other government entities in more recent years in Gamarra seems to demonstrate increased government interest in the textile complex, however my observations remain only qualitative.

Indecopi, in particular, has taken a solid stance against piracy and copyright infringement. According to Juan Lino, the manager in charge of the section of Indecopi which oversees these infractions, the position of the institution in relation to piracy and copyright infringement in the case of small scale vendors is to give violators "an ear pulling" (*jalón de la oreja*) with aim often being corrective. Normally Indecopi, reserves the brunt of its punitive efforts for clandestine workshops that supply vendors (personal communication, August 11, 2006).

While doing my fieldwork I had the opportunity to attend the Third Summit of the Society of Domestic Industry on July 5, 2006. I went mainly because I wanted to get to know the role that the government expected micro and small businesses to play in the economy and get a sense of the attitude of those who were making the plans and passing the laws that would affect micro and small producers. The summit was set up in a spacious patio, which was covered with a canopy, and had booths ringing the central seating area promoting both national and international products. Various representatives of the press, labour unions, entrepreneurs, and an assortment of people dressed in formal attire gathered to the sounds of triumphal eighties music. There could be no mistaking the purpose of this conference; the banners of various government agencies charged with encouraging growth and exportation were splayed across the podium (SNI, COMEXPERU (Peruvian Society of External Commerce),

ADEX (Association of Peruvian Exporters), and CONFIEP (National Confederation of Private Business Institutions) just to mention but a few of the notable agencies). Congress members, mayors from different towns and districts, and special guest analysts from countries such as Mexico were in attendance to share their wisdom on how Peru could best benefit from a free trade agreement with the United States. Business jargon such as: productive chains (whereby small businesses form linkages with larger businesses that export), National Plan for Competitiveness, productive development, and clusterization were in continual use.

The much lauded priorities of those assembled were to help formalize micro and small businesses and connect them with larger exporting businesses. Some alluded to the exponential growth of the sector since the 1980s and representatives from different areas of Peru gave presentations about success stories or used the opportunity to speak as a chance to promote promising businesses from the place they represented.

Those of my informants who had ambitions to export did not hesitate to take whatever government help they could get. Despite all the hype about supporting micro and small producers to gain access to external markets, however, the majority of producers I spoke to often griped that the government is not doing enough to aid them in doing so.

Even if we concede that the aim of officialdom is not to eliminate textile producers in Gamarra, there is no denying that agencies like those listed above exert pressures which constrain and direct their activities, generating antagonisms between those who "succeed" and those who are left just making a living. The promotion of exportation is a perfect example of governmental heteroglossia -who should be exporting and how it should be done varies depending on who one listens to. Government figures

mentioned earlier clearly indicate that the vast majority of the sales of these micro and small producers are for a local market and that the majority of exports are often enjoyed by large producers who, it appears, subcontract to smaller producers. On one hand, some aim to promote links between larger and smaller producers, while on the other hand, some seek to band small producers together to export, or else aid them in independently moving to enter foreign markets. The former seems to reflect the interests of larger businesses, while the latter seems to reflect the interests of smaller producers more closely. The continual complaints of these small-scale producers that the government is not helping enough (interest rates too high, not enough training, a reactive stance instead of a proactive stance to mention but a few of the more common complaints), while department stores aggressively expand, indicate that textile producers are alone and that their efforts are in every respect tactical.

In an interview that I conducted with a government official at the Indecopi office in Gamarra I was told that there is a marked distrust for government entities, a lack of accurate information about the services offered by these agencies, and the problem of having third parties who inflate the costs of the paperwork (Juan, personal communication, July 18, 2006). The one thing to take from Juan's sentiments is that most producers view government interventions in Gamarra with some suspicion, but this does not stop some producers from seeking what gain they can from the initiatives of government entities. Afterall, rules are either made to be broken or turned to one's own advantage. Subaltern groups know how to break and use rules to their advantage.

Having given relevant background information for Gamarra, let us now move on to an analysis of what is being produced in Gamarra.

Chapter 3 - Tactics and Textile Production in Gamarra

To understand what is being produced in Gamarra was, from the beginning, a formidable task. The variety of clothing produced for all sectors of Peruvians -and the transcendence of the reach of this textile production complex beyond the physical limits of Lima into the highlands, coast, and even jungle- meant that I would have to strategically limit my study. I tried to limit my focus to what I felt was the urban wear of young people in Lima from the popular class and the relationship that the production of this clothing has with socially constructed places in Lima and both domestic and international media. The study of micro and small scale textile producers is one that I have attempted to connect with what is going on around these producers both locally and globally. The reader will notice that connections are far from clear at times and that the people who talked with me will at times contradict one another depending on their perspective in the textile industry at large. Making sense of these different voices proved a real challenge and frankly one that still merits further investigation.

I approach the activities of Gamarra's producers as tactical responses to strategies of inclusion and control being operationalized by both government and larger private enterprises. According to Michel de Certeau, a tactic is usually a form of activity undertaken by a social actor or group who, being in a subordinate position, find(s) a means of subverting power exacted upon them by outsmarting their oppressor. Strategies, in turn, are deployed by actors or institutions to rein in and define the rules of engagement between those in power and subordinated groups, thus exacting a form of control over them.[1] My central argument for this chapter is that small textile

[1] Michel de Certeau defines a strategy as:

producers are besieged by marketing and merchandising giants who inculcate desires for their products through the mass media and blanket marketing strategies. Far from being passive victims, small textile producers appropriate these images distorting and bending them to the more myriad desires of a wider range of consumers. In an accommodation of taste envisioned by Bourdieu whereby subaltern groups continually push elite groups to shift their consumption patterns to maintain the characteristic symbols of power associated with their social position. And so the cycle of strategies and tactics continues. As new dispositions emerge it is incumbent upon producers to adjust their activities to the demand of consumers, therefore we can say that consumption, production, and demand often coincide (Bourdieu 2002:230-231). Ultimately, I argue that these producers engage in symbolic warfare when they appropriate, through copying, the accoutrement of dominant social classes, which in turn respond by changing their tastes, and deriding would-be pretenders. What is condemned as "copying" really has the effect of maintaining distinction, thus permitting dominant groups to categorize dominated groups. It is only in this light that discourses of authenticity, gaudiness, and governmental strategies against textile producers in Gamarra make sense.

The battle is also one between producers attempting to better gauge, and as a consequence, capture, a final consumer. Small scale producers have a flexibility and

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> the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. (de Certeau 1988:35-36)

Conversely, a tactic is:

> a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. ... The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to keep to itself, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a manoeuvre "within the enemy's field of vision," as von Bülow put it, and within the enemy territory. (de Certeau 1988:37)

proximity to consumers that larger scale operations do not have. Herein lies the tactical advantage of small scale producers. In spite of all their resources and collusion with the legal system in Peru, corporate fashion (department stores and established brands) cannot cope with the tactics of small scale production. The Peruvian government can hardly afford to eliminate the jobs that conglomerates such as Gamarra provide, so they try to gently and sometimes forcefully get them to play by the rules. This governmental pressure usually involves urging producers to formalize their activities for export, while placing more pressure through operations within Gamarra to intimidate producers who "copy".

Bearing in mind the tactical nature of textile production in Lima, I will illustrate how textile producers respond to marketing strategies of department stores, brands (both local and international) exhibiting productive strategies that are capable of making "use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers," as de Certeau so eloquently states (de Certeau 1988:37).

Initially, I would like to give the reader a sense of the competition that goes on in Gamarra by focusing on "copying" and all that it entails within Gamarra. Copying often occurs among fellow producers reinforcing my argument that production in Gamarra is highly tactical in that it can shift directions quickly and seek out opportunities as they present themselves. The act of copying often goes beyond producers in Gamarra. I will demonstrate that department stores, boutiques, the Internet, magazines, trips abroad, and even fashion consultants all serve as sources for the creative efforts of textile producers in Gamarra. In this section I will attempt to move beyond the notion of copying and cast the activities of these producers as creative tactical responses to an unlevel playing field.

Next, I will attempt to consider what makes fashion in Gamarra popular by emphasizing the tactical and subversive nature of its production. I will also argue that the lack of creative constraint or formality allows for a wide gamut of tastes, but simultaneously reflects a pragmatic functional aesthetic in taste emphasizing maximum effect for the minimum of expenditure and one not dissimilar from that noted among the French working class finding its opposition in the more cultured tastes of elite classes (Bourdieu 2002:372-396). The variety within Gamarra can be contrasted with the homogeneity of established brands who often offer only a fixed range of clothing that can be identified with that brand. There is evidence to suggest that provincial migrants and their children have maintained a certain taste in clothing, yet at the same time there is also evidence to suggest that youth are strongly influenced by global fashion trends and tend to align themselves with fashion trends that are dictated by global marketing consultants and branding strategies. Differences in tastes between youth and older generations reflect generational variations in taste and the ability of youth to follow fashion trends due to higher disposable incomes. This is not to say that micro and small scale textile producers are victims of globalization. On the contrary, I will demonstrate that they have found innovative ways of turning a promotional disadvantage into a material advantage giving them a creative flexibility that goes beyond the parameters set by brands.

In order to decide whether copies are providing a stepping stone to more conspicuous forms of consumption I will look at the allure of foreign products briefly. This section is not meant to provide a definitive analysis of processes whereby the global is internalized, rather I hope to propose some hypotheses for why this may be occurring and what it may mean. Once again, I would favour the argument that the allure of the foreign is more of a tactical effort to appropriate the symbols of power, in

this case clothing, thus skewing boundaries and forcing elites into a form of inconspicuous consumption (cf. Veblen 1994).

From this point, I will move on to a brief look at consumption spaces where my informants indicated I would get a better sense of what popular classes consume. This section represents a cursory treatment of the subject and one which I hope to build on in the future with more intensive fieldwork in the shantytowns of Lima focusing on the consumption habits of provincial migrants and their children.

From here, it only seems fitting that some attention be paid to power that places exert in defining lower class consumption in Lima. The final section shall then include observations and comments that I received in my travels throughout Lima placing emphasis on the relationship between different places and the contrasts that can be made between them. These contrasts are by no means insignificant and the very freedom of movement of popular classes means that the power imbued in more upscale places tends to make them more susceptible to acts of appropriation.[2]

Copying and Competition in Gamarra: What's in a copy anyway?

One of the activities that I undertook while conducting the research on which this thesis is based was taking pictures of clothing and people in different parts of Lima. When I asked to take pictures of clothing that was *bamba* (pirated clothing) my informants often hesitated. I later learned why in an interview with the head of the copyright section of Indecopi. It turns out that brands hire investigators to find people

[2] Upscale consumption places in Peru are for the most part public, although like more exclusive shops in Canada one must know where to find them or be part of a group that is aware of what is fashionable or not. Even though some places may be open to the public, people express a reluctance to visit these places at times because they may not fit in, feel out of place, or feel that what is being sold there is out of their reach. This does not stop consumers from recognizing hierarchies of taste and being aware of what are the trappings of social elites.

who pirate their clothing. Their aim is to decommission merchandise, level fines, or in exceptional cases, close businesses. All that is necessary is for someone to pay for the paperwork to denounce copyright infringement and merchandise can be seized to investigate if someone is breaking copyright laws. There was not mention of photographs being used as evidence; however some of the producers and vendors I interviewed made efforts to hide clothing that contained copyrighted material. A number of my informants told me that operations would on occasion be sanctioned where vendors had their clothing confiscated and were asked to pay a fine, thus reinforcing their fear and distrust toward formal entities and curious people with cameras. It was not only in Gamarra, however, that people reacted to my photophilia. Department stores and commercial centres required me to present identification and ask permission from security to take pictures. In malls I needed the explicit permission of the owner of a store. As I discovered, even the humblest brand name boutique has a security guard outside with orders not to allow anyone to take photographs because textile producers and pattern makers use photographs from a high resolution cameras to "steal" designs. These two reactions I think sum up what is at stake when it comes to fashion in Lima and work to explicate the negative connotations that copying often carries there.

If one were to ask what goes on in Gamarra, many people would say that people are copying clothing. Copying can mean many things in Gamarra. Someone can accuse another of copying something that they have produced, implying that what was produced was theirs and that it was wrongfully and unjustly appropriated. Some of the textile producers in Gamarra laughed about how people copy, and just accepted that nothing could be done save keeping abreast of newer trends. Another response is to declare that everyone copies, thus calling attention to the tendency of even

designers to follow trends that emerge from the fashion meccas of the world diffused via a complex web of print and electronic media. For the producers of Gamarra, one must accept that it is only a matter of time before someone forces you to change. Alex, one of the younger textile producers I spoke with, who literally, as he says, “grew up in the world of textiles” explains the precariousness of originality in Gamarra.

> Say I come up with the latest thing. An attractive new article of clothing costs 20 soles. I am giving you an idea because it is [the case of] something new. Over there, my neighbour sees that people are buying it and it is [practically] selling itself. [The neighbour decides that] he/she will imitate it, but secretly they sell it at 18 soles. They do it because they know they can earn more. It is convenient for people to buy it because they are humble, and because there is [eventually] another [copy] that appears for 17 or 16 [soles] the article has lost its value. (personal communication, July 5, 2006)

This example illustrates the intensity of competition that exists in Gamarra, but also the consequences of informality and a lack of protection of designs. If someone can figure out what you are selling and see that it is selling well for you there is nothing to impede them from selling something very similar to what you are offering. As Alex lamented, "even if you patent it, now that Indecopi is around...someone is always going to copy you." (personal communication, July 5, 2006) Numerous people with whom I spoke commented negatively on this behaviour stating that it spoke of a real lack of creativity on the part of someone who does such a thing. Nonetheless, I noticed that many who condemned such behaviour often drew inspiration from the work of others outside of Gamarra. Perhaps copying is somewhat of a Robin Hood complex: it is fine to steal from the rich, but to do it from your equals is less accepted. Some of my informants expressed exasperation with people copying their designs, yet most conceded that it is impossible to protect a design and senseless in a way because of the ephemeral nature of fashion, thus resigning themselves to the inevitable. Henri

Sr., a specialist in men's wear and veteran of Gamarra sagaciously stated: "One has to change quickly, or one is left behind." (personal communication, July 20, 2006)

Many of the people with whom I spoke in Gamarra longed for the textile boom of the 1980s, recounting how fortunes were quickly made at that time. Now, one has to be quick to innovate, stay informed of the latest changes in trends, and be subtle enough to find ways that people will not easily copy your clothing. Some of the people with whom I spoke went to the extent of ensuring their fabrics where exclusively produced. Yet, even in this case Henri Jr., a producer of men's apparel for sectors B and C, explained:

> but that is not going to be for much time because after they can copy the fabric from you too. Unless you go and patent it, understand? [You can patent] certain designs of fabric and everything, but that costs you so much that eventually in two or three months you have to change the design. [One has to] change constantly. (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

The necessity to change constantly has become a requirement since the 1980s when consumers began to take note of fashion more. The incursion of Saga Falabella and Ripley, the two big department stores in Peru, in the mid 1990s, has had the effect of making the public more fashion savvy and has consequently forced micro and small producers to pay more heed to fashion and quality. These department stores have brought more than just new trends to the local market. They have also brought increased competition due to their more prestigious locale and the symbolic nature of making a purchase in an environment which is imbued with a lot of symbolic capital due to intense advertising campaigns.[3] The recent emergence of Megacentres in the North and South Cones of Lima mean that producers in Gamarra have had to work hard not to lose their clients, but despite their efforts many of my informants seemed to agree that the two big department stores had an impact on their sales. According to

[3] What is noteworthy here is value that material objects are imbued with as a result of where they are being sold and the visual imagery that they embody (I am thinking of the investment that marketing is able to bestow upon an otherwise ubiquitous object).

an interview that I conducted with Alex Zimmerman, manager of marketing and buying for Saga Falabella, the company has experienced a tenfold increase in sales over the past decade with sales rising from just over 30 million in their first year to 310 million in 2006. Apparently, Saga has sectors A and B well covered, but has yet to dedicate more efforts to B and C and a little of D. Interestingly enough, the department store buys 60% of its merchandise locally, although it was not mentioned where this 60% came from.[4] (personal communication, August 22, 2006)

These figures seem to give credence to the complaints of some of my informants that department stores were affecting them, although there were also informants who claimed that the department stores had no effects on their sales. Indeed, some producers in Gamarra had positive views of department stores, seeing them as providing new opportunities for small scale producers. Others were quick to accuse department stores of unfair practices such as acquiring products without informing producers that they were for department stores. My understanding is that if producers knew the buyer was a department store, they would have charged more due to the mark-up that department stores are able to demand. Still, others accused department stores of dumping cheap merchandise that they were unable to sell onto the local market.

There are numerous examples of local designers and textile producers who have managed to place their brands in Saga Falabella. Jorge Luis Salinas, a young designer and son of a one-time street vendor and now textile magnate Leonardo Salinas in Gamarra, is a beacon of hope for micro and small scale vendors. Jorge went on to

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[4] This figure however does not really say as much as one might think because many larger factories in Peru produce different brands under international licencing agreements, which in turn end up in exclusive stores or department stores. I am not certain how much this figure benefits smaller producers or merely sets up an outsourcing chain for local consumption where promoters reap the overall benefit of these productive relationships. More research could certainly be done here.

study in the United States at the Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science.[5] Applying what he learned abroad he vaulted himself to success. He describes his return from his sojourn in the United States: "I arrived with a different mentality. I learned that if you do something different and moderate, you rise. [This is] something that does not happen in Gamarra because instead of creating everyone copies."[6] Jorge managed to earn a spot for his clothing in Gamarra and department stores becoming a household name in Lima. His story and that of others who have risen have contributed to the lore of Gamarra that I mentioned before.

That department stores exert a powerful influence is undeniable. Alex Zimmerman bluntly told me that "they dictate the market". (personal communication August 22, 2006) To some degree this may be true, however one cannot help but notice that things are not exactly being dictated. Micro and small textile producers are able to distort, innovate, and subvert department stores and the brands that they promote defending their place in the market and their livelihoods.

The importance of Saga and Ripley was supported by Sanchez, a producer of jackets for sectors C and D. His case is by no means atypical and illustrates the tactics deployed by small producers to outmanoeuvre merchandising giants like Saga and other retailers that seek to control the terrain through their promotional campaigns and strategic alliances with local and international brands.

> One always stays in line with what is in fashion. Depending on what is coming out of those stores, one more or less asks for a prototype, according to what one sees in Saga and Ripley. (personal communication, July 22, 2006)

Style is not enough, however. Quality matters too, and since the 1980s Gamarra has increasingly improved the quality of its products allowing it to mount a resistance

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[5] Since 1999 the college has been referred to as Philadelphia University.
[6] Electronic document, http://www.caretas.com.pe/1999/1557/gamarra/gamarra.htm accessed on June 6, 2007.

to retailers and brands. Benito, an ex-labour organizer, explains the increasing attention of producers to quality:

> Now many people like to buy in Gamarra and they dress themselves from [what is available] here. Yes, there is little difference for the first time because before there were not beautiful colours here, firstly. Secondly, the quality of fabric was not very good either. Thirdly, the sewing and final details were not that good because there were not machines, there were not modern machines before. Now there are computerized modern machines. Now, they can do almost perfect embroidery. Before, all the seams were not straight.
>
> There has been a lot of evolution [in textile production in Gamarra]. What happens now? If you buy a poor product a product like this [a poorly made product]; if you make a product like this (a poorly made one), like what one did before, well, you cannot sell it because the majority go and say: "This seam is bad," and they don't want it. Before, whatever you made you sold because there was no competition, or you made anything. One sold more, even poorly sewn things that could come apart like that. People used to buy it. Now, no, people inspect [what they buy]. (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

Another characteristic of Gamarra is the variety that one can find. It is certain that many producers are still producing cheaper versions of brand-named clothing, however Elisa, a hat and t-shirt producer, echoes the voices of many when she explains:

> E:…I remember that people looked for brands.
> B.R.:And there was a lot of pressure to buy brands?
> E:They did not want to buy clothing, or jeans [that were not brandnames]. Even my children, [when they were] adolescents they wanted brand-named jeans such that [if they] were not brand name [they would say:] No, no, no, no. Everyone wanted brands, but now. [Instead] they buy new brands that appear with designs. If you like it, you buy it. [There is an] extent to which they have become conscious of that. Sometimes the brand is not important at all, [what is important] is the fabric, understand? Or, [it is as if] it has changed a little now. Before young people were more demanding. We looked for brands, well-known brands. (personal communication, July 21,2006)

Even though Elisa would later concede that brands were still important to young people, she held firm to the idea that people were changing their attitudes and beginning to recognize that producers in Gamarra were now producing high quality clothing that is on par with the much publicized brands and not just copies and knock-offs. The point that we should take from what Elisa and Benito have to say is that

textile producers in Gamarra can no longer afford to ignore foreign and domestic competition and they have taken measures (without the assistance of the state for the most part) to ameliorate production problems, thus mounting tactical resistances to the strategic manoeuvres of capital rich enterprises. As many would tell me: Gamarra produces fashion. Now, let us move on to an analysis of how this actually happens.

Producing Fashion in Gamarra

From the interviews that I conducted with producers in Gamarra, it became apparent that there was no one method of deciding what one would produce. There are a variety of sources from which producers draw inspiration, transforming what they see fit to the needs of their clients. Clients (both vendors and final consumers) have a lot of say in what one will produce and, as many explained, it is often the interaction between consumers and sellers that ultimately determines what will continue to be produced. In this section, the role that various mediums of communication play in textile production in Gamarra will become apparent. Producers, it will be noted, are active recipients of fashion trends taking the "meaningful framework" established by hegemony (the hegemony in this case is the one created by the global fashion machine) and distorting it (Roseberry 1994:361). I will outline the manner in which various informants go about deciding what they will produce in an attempt to give the reader an idea of the relationship between fashion in Gamarra, mediums of communication, and urban spaces and consumption.

Producers who are involved in sales are responsible for all aspects of clothing production. In comparison to department stores and brands, with which these producers must compete, they possess a strategic disadvantage in terms of their ability

to promote their clothing, yet they cleverly manage to turn this disadvantage to their advantage. Benito comments on the polyvalency of producers who also have a sales point.

> Here you have to do it [all]. You design your fashion, you do your publicity, your presentation, many things, that sometimes you do not have the ability to do. In Italy, I see that the government dedicates itself to doing that. To promote it [fashion] is important in order that Peru is identified with fashion. Once the country is able to come out with a special fashion, then in one form or another, this creates an influence on a global scale. But, as long as we do not [do this], we are only copying things that come from foreign places, imitating what comes from foreign places, or now taking fashion from foreign places by Internet. (personal communication, July 8, 2006)

In expressing the desire for the government to support small industry like they do in Italy, Benito indicates an awareness shared by the textile producers interviewed of the strategic advantage that countries such as Italy, department stores, and brands possess in marketing their clothing and in dictating the market. Despite lacking the ability to create their own fashion, textile producers in Gamarra find ingenuous ways of developing clothing that both adheres to and subverts international fashion trends.

Henri Jr. was quite lucid about the way in which he went about deciding what men's clothing he would produce. Here, he describes the way he susses out fashion:

> It is a mixture of two things, certain trends from outside and references from what our clients want because I produce to order (a pedido). Here, I basically begin to navigate through the Internet pages of the most known brands. Oh, I also subscribe to a specialized magazine. Basically, that is my method of investigating what fashion designs are going to be. Now, one thing is to see the photographs, which is important, but the next step is to translate them, to look for alternative fabrics which resemble them. (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

Henri Jr. still has the ability to suggest creative directions to his clients, however it will ultimately be the market analyses of his clients which decide the final product. His case is indicative of cases where producers are making textiles for a client who can afford marketing consultancy and advertising. In this case, the client has the final word. With his other major client, a men's wear store, Henri Jr. told me that they

often dictate what they want in terms of materials and designs. The business of textiles is all about following trends and manoeuvring within parameters defined by industry leaders, yet in even the most rigid of cases one is still "translating" fashion.

Benito elucidates an older strategy of some producers, which now has become somewhat obsolete or unnecessary due to the Internet, although I did hear of successful shop owners in Gamarra who did still travel quite frequently buying samples from other countries and basing newer designs on these finds.

> B:Due to the fact that one finds oneself travelling in some countries in Europe, one looks around. For example, in my case, being specialized in uniforms for students in schools, when I used to go to Europe, I was always going to see schools, going and visiting educational institutions [paying attention to] how they dressed. Because I always used to go and observe, I take these ideas and I make suggestions to each business [I work with]. When I go to work with them, I tell them that: "This is going to be an item. What do you think if with what you see [we make] some changes with the materials we have here in Peru?" Therefore, a special fashion is designed for them here and what we design we see if people like it.
> B.R.:Therefore, you have to adapt what comes from outside, or it is not an exact copy, you are only borrowing ideas?
> B:That's right. We borrow ideas. (personal communication, July 8, 2006)

Despite the obvious adaptation involved here we need to ask why a man from Peru feels the need to look for inspiration in another country for what people in his country would want to wear. Perhaps what Europeans wear is a novelty for him in the same way that Andean textiles are a novelty for Europeans (I develop this argument more in the next chapter). So, then why is what he does referred to as copying, or perceived as an act lacking in creativity? While Benito maintained that producers were able to produce special fashions, he was also adamant about the proclivity of many to follow established trends set by brands.

> B:I think that it (fashion in Gamarra) is an imitation, nothing more, imitation. The majority of the fashions that come out on a global scale have a lot of influence. When they see, for example, a person of great importance wear a product with the brand Adidas, they make it here. They do it everywhere. Therefore, sometimes because of imitation they put something like this (brand logo) [on something]. They do not do it with the same material, they do it with the material that they find

> here in Peru, but they do it. It has always been like this. (personal communication July 8, 2006)

Many of the people with whom I spoke commented on the impact of branding and global fashion. Most felt the influence of brands was due to their promotional campaigns, others felt that television and the media in general (movies, radio, newspapers, magazines) played an important role in promoting mainstream global fashion. At this point, it is easy to dismiss these acts of "imitation" as pure emulation, yet the very illegality of the act forces us to look beyond this facile conclusion.

Another one of my informants, Cristóbal, explained how he adapts designs for jeans that appear in magazines from the two local department stores. His clients come from markets located in shantytowns throughout Lima and in the provinces of Peru.

> One sees everything in the magazine and from there everything [that is in] the magazine is adapted (se acomoda). Yes, from here, everything is adapted. We change the concept. It is different, some are completely changed. Sometimes an idea appears when another model is made. (personal communication, July 17, 2006)

In the case of Cristóbal, it becomes clear that we are dealing with a creative process. The producer must "adapt" this clothing. Sometimes the concept is changed and in the process ideas emerge for new models. In the interview that I conducted with Cristóbal, his accountant and team leader in the PROMPyME program business networks, and a lingerie producer, the three explained how magazines are often favoured by producers because internet photos do not have the same resolution. In fact, in a number of galleries within Gamarra one can find what are locally referred to as *patronistas* (people who make patterns for clothing). These *patronistas* often have a variety of catalogues and magazines (domestic and international) at their disposal from which their clients can select the base for an article of clothing that they would

like to produce, although a number of producers told me that they did not trust these pattern makers not to give the designs that they requested to their competition.

It would not be entirely accurate to say that everyone is doomed to imitate department stores, well-known brands, or strictly adhere to international fashion trends. I would like to give a few examples of small producers who have managed to obtain a relative level of success within Gamarra through the production of wholly original styles, thus demonstrating that global trends can be locally accommodated in very non-ambiguous ways.

After enjoying relative success with the production of surf and skate wear, David, the son of Andean migrants[7] who started out as street vendors in Gamarra, has moved on to creating his own brands with underlying concepts that appeal to local consumer realities. His case demonstrates the ability of some producers to draw on both local and global influences fusing the two into unique local products. With one of his brands, City Stars, he incorporates amusing slogans on t-shirts that often highlight the insecurities of men, romanticize drunkenness, or brazenly make sexuality and people's sense of sexual propriety the brunt of the joke. For instance, one of his shirts reads: I dated your girlfriend. Another depicts a woman becoming increasingly more beautiful after a determined number of beer. A female friend of mine qualified the messages of this brand as sexist, degrading, and commented that the lines were typical of male chauvinism in Peru.[8] Her indignation aside, the shirts and the messages they bear reflect local attitudes about sexuality, the use of one's leisure time, and correctly judge the insecurities and sensitivities of some young men and women in Lima.

[7] His father was from Juliaca and his mother from a town in the region of Apurimac. David is now a member of a network of migrants from Juliaca.

[8] This "crude" sense of humour is an affront to more prudish middle class sensibilities. Conversely, it seems to adhere to a discourse that is prevalent amongst those who do not identify as migrants. As much as it grates against dominant notions of morally correct behaviour it adheres to an undercurrent that is well understood in Lima. The very appraisal of it being vulgar reinforces the moral superiority, and therefore right of dominant classes to lead the dominated.

David's fashion does more than just reflect local attitudes, however. It also seeks to influence them. One of his other brands, called Epidemik, embraces many concepts found in global ecological, political, and social movements. In my interview with David he shared his thoughts on what Epidemik embodies.

> D:...it is an epidemic, but a wave of good vibration. We see that poverty in the world is not only a problem of one country, of one continent, but of all the world. I know that a lot of carbon dioxide emission in the world is not only a problem of those who have it, I mean, of the country that produces, but of the country that does not produce it as well. Because when the ozone layer is damaged from emissions this does not only affect one country, but the entire world. (personal communication, August 5, 2006)

David continued to discuss problems such as the extinction of animal species, racism, nationalism, declared his country is the world, and emphasized that he sought human connection above all. Another key element of his work is understanding "human nature," accepting that humans also have a destructive tendency and not only a creative one. He strives for human understanding and development. Later, David would send me some of the designs on his shirts. The designs reflected what he had already stated, however some included slogans condemning the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq, and other slogans which admonished people to not steal, lie, or be lazy[9], for instance.

David's attitudes demonstrate just how cosmopolitan and creative some of Gamarra's textile producers are. He was very unambiguous about his articulation with European social movements and as we can see this interest extends to environmental issues. The combination of these moral causes with local youth attitudes reflects the multiple positions that a cosmopolitan actor is able to embody. The concepts behind his two brands also reflect David's recognition of the importance of branding. He

[9] The expression is one taken from Quechua: ama suway, ama llullay, ama qillay. David sought to promote these Inca values through his shirts.

stated: "my business is not to sell a product, my business is to sell you the concept of a brand." (personal communication, August 5, 2006)

Another success story is that of Cecilia, a producer and vendor of fine women's jeans and blouses who conceded that fashion comes from Europe and that representatives from the Society of Domestic Industry provided courses for textile producers to inform them about international fashion trends. She also told me about how a local fashion institute, Chio Lecca, gives courses and talks on fashion trends. I have attended a similar event sponsored by PROMPYME (March 2005) in Gamarra where a designer from Nina Moda (another fashion institute) displayed fashion trends that would appear in the following year (2006): hippie, camouflage, faded jeans, etc. PROMPYME had changed to using Chio Lecca as a fashion consultant the winter that I was conducting my research. Fashion consultants are often brought in to Gamarra to help keep producers informed of fashion trends for both local and international markets. According to Cecilia, fashion trends usually appear two years in advance. With the presence of competitive department stores and cheap imports, people like Cecilia cannot afford to ignore fashion trends. When asked about the secret to the success of her small enterprise she pointed to the lessons of her late father and government sponsored seminars. She explained:

> Apart from perseverance, [it is important] that we are prepared, up-to-date, [and] that we attended seminars and courses. We must study and above all else train. We have trained. I learned the importance of training from a government sponsored seminar. (personal communication, August 8, 2006)

Cecilia has managed to place her store in the most exclusive selling point in Gamarra, *Parque Cánepa*, demonstrating that being attentive to international fashion trends and creating an original product can still bring one success. This success however, was hard earned and was built upon the sacrifices of her late father who started the business about nine years ago. It should be noted that her success is more

of an exception than a rule. Only a select group of producers have their own successful stores and the ability to place their stores in the most exclusive selling points in Gamarra.

Other producers that I spoke with showed me magazines that they subscribed to and from which they drew inspiration. One young woman who had a successful brand based much of her clothing on what she found on Internet websites such as Victoria Beckham's among others. She griped that no sooner did she come out with something new, would another vendor appear in another gallery in Gamarra with a copy of what she was producing. With confidence I can say that fashion is internalised from the global fashion realm (Internet, department stores, magazines, transnational movements, brand marketing campaigns) then refracted in a myriad of streams locally.

All in all, producers in Gamarra who may sell in Gamarra or supply vendors in other areas of Lima are in touch with the latest innovations in materials, technology, and fashion. A survey conducted for PROMPYME in 2003 (PROMPYME 2003b:3) found that clients come to Gamarra for three principal reasons: price, variety (in terms of colours, designs, characteristics of textiles, and sizes), and the possibility of finding clothing which reflects the latest fashion trends. Clearly, we need to acknowledge that Limeños, whether poor or rich, are connected to global consumption and highly sensitive to vagaries in the clothing industry. These connections, however, should not lead us to conclude that brands dictate tastes, or that both producers and consumers in Lima are passive victims of global merchandising or marketing strategies. Textile producers in Gamarra actively appropriate clothing which is symbolic of a higher social status while transforming it to the tastes of local consumers of more modest means. Some textile producers create clothing which directly reflects the attitudes of

the subaltern. The messages on David's t-shirts embody local realities quite accurately demonstrating the cosmopolitan nature of textile producers in Gamarra. Even in cases where brand logos are placed on polar fleece pants, the Lacoste alligator is embroidered on to a cheap shirt, or an oversized Bruce Lee is stamped on to a t-shirt, the mixture of recognizable references to mass media and advertising is done in a way that demonstrates local understandings or misunderstandings of dominant symbols and messages.

The imposition of the verb "copy" to signify the activities of textile producers in Gamarra represents an attempt to dismiss their activities (which as we see may be more transformative in nature) and downplay the challenge that their activities represent to more exclusive production and consumption. The internalization of the stigma associated with "copying" by some textile producers should not discourage this interpretation for Bourdieu has taught us that systems of inequality almost always integrate strategies of misrecognition which prevent us from seeing how power is exerted (Bourdieu 1977, 2002).[10] If the activities of textile producers were so innocuous there would be no need to harass, disparage, legally condemn, or dismiss their activities as being unoriginal. The importance that is also indirectly placed on authenticity by the designation of pirated clothing as *bamba* seems to indicate that there is more at stake than just copyright infringement. For the most part, textile producers in Gamarra cleverly deploy tactics against brands that seek to dominate the market. Make no mistake about it, business is as the old adage says a dog eat dog affair, therefore "copying" makes complete sense. "Copying" seen in this light becomes a survival tactic. Now, I would like to move on from the question of

[10] At the same time, I am reluctant to condemn actors to a cell of their own making. I believe that actors are aware of power relations and actively seek to avail themselves of whatever means possible to move up the social ladder. My entire argument rests on the ability of the popular class to recognize symbols of power (clothing) and appropriate these markings of status.

copying clothes to that of copying fashion to try and understand the attraction of fashion trends, especially foreign trends.

Gusto for the Foreign

Throughout my research I tried to understand why youth and adults alike tended to be influenced by foreign fashion trends. On the side of consumption, it was not always easy to get at this relationship. Studying consumption requires ethnographic fieldwork into the daily lives of people, not random questioning of consumers. A number of producers were able to opine in a way that tended to complicate the popular notion that this taste for the foreign was simply due to a lack of creativity.

In an extended interview with Henri Jr. I tried to get an explanation for foreign fashion influence in Peru. He felt that a predilection for the foreign was:

> H:because Peruvians think that what comes from outside is better, its as simple as that. Peruvians have to think that we are a deeply entrenched culture and very important on a global scale. That is what people must think, but the majority do not feel like this. So, the most practical thing to do is copy and feel like those from outside, understand? Like a foreigner, understand? (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

A preference for foreign trends seems to have a relationship with the political economic relationship between Peru and the rest of the world. Some of my informants felt that Peruvians had a certain "complex" when it came to following foreign trends. This complex often entails valorization the foreign over the local. To much the same effect, people would comment that Peruvians did not "appreciate" what was theirs. Henri Jr. gives some further indications of why this complex may exist as we continued discussing the phenomenon.

> H:I see the perspective of the people. I do not see them as nationalistic, I do not see them as nationalistic enough to wear something that is ours. I do not see them as being that nationalistic. (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

It is interesting that he would say that Peruvians are not nationalistic. Henri Jr. is avoiding a bigger issue here I believe: racism and cultural assimilation. I am not so sure about whether Peruvians are not nationalistic. My feeling is that the particular type of nationalism in Peru only half-heartedly embraces the past of Peru and the ethnic diversity in Peru, therefore each person that one asks is likely to perceive the nation in a different way depending on what their experience with the nation is. Wearing ethnic dress in cities often separates one for ridicule. While ethnicity appears to be embraced at times, it is often a very different type of ethnicity from that of more rural communities (cf. de la Cadena 2001, Romero 1998 for some interesting discussions on urban mestizos). If one wants to step outside the established norm of conventional dress it is often an invitation for mockery. Perhaps, dressing "foreign" is a protective measure just as much as it is a sign of popular adhesion to foreign trends. Seen from this perspective, being urban tends to contrast with ideas of being rural, backward, and stagnant. Being urban then becomes a mask that one wears (Fanon 1967) and, concomitantly a marker of distance from the past. Migrants to Lima thus become torn between an identity that they cannot openly celebrate and one that they are expected to embrace.

As I have already argued, copying may also be a means of subverting the symbols of power and conflating social classification schemes. This becomes more explicit in my conversation with Henri Jr..

> B:They do not want to seem...(discussing Raggaetón and lack of acceptance for ethnic dress in general)
> H:They do want to seem like Peruvians (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

Being a Peruvian, according to Henri Jr., means accepting the past and present indigenous heritage of Peru. Part of the reason that Peruvians do not buy more local dress, especially modernized ethnic dress, is because the prices are prohibitively high

Henri Jr. argued. I agree with him on this point, but I would also add that much of the "typical" dress available in Lima is manufactured for tourists. The tastes of tourists, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, is far different from national consumers. The picture seems to become more complicated when Henri Jr. elaborates on the widespread phenomenon of adapting foreign trends.

> H:...people like to copy things from outside. Known brands are a delight for poor people, of modest means, because they want to imitate those who have money that buy these brands. So, that is going to be a delight. To buy a brand, that is what people look for. Here you go to Gamarra and you see Lacoste shirts, don′t you? You see them (brands) in plain view. There is Nike. There is Reebok. Furthermore, one sees even more in Polvos Azules. I don't know if you have gone, have you gone? There it is worse than Gamarra. (personal communication, July 27, 2006)

Henri Jr. is very blunt about what is occurring, however other informants reiterated the same points, claiming that there is so much imitation because of the promotional campaigns of these products. Logically, it is easier to follow suit and produce what is already promoted than to try and compete, especially when the demand has been created for one. Significantly, however, this inclination to imitate is derided by some in ways that may indicate underlying racism. Condemnations of imitation I feel may reflect an upper class derision toward the symbolic appropriations of subordinate classes. Some of my friends from San Martin de Porres and Rimac referred to this tendency of people to follow trends as *monería* (denoting a phenomenon whereby people imitate what they see). My informants explained that this word refers to the tendency for people who reproduce the tastes and habits of others to resemble monkeys. We might liken this to a phrase we have in English: Monkey see, monkey do. Like the internalization of the stigma associated with copying, *monería*, I argue, tends to work to discourage the appropriation of symbols of social difference. Perhaps the term is also a commentary on a tendency toward emulation that lower classes abhor, but nevertheless are forced to partake in by the strictures of urban dress.

Benito was a little more explicit than Henri Jr. on this matter when I asked if a popular fashion exists.

> B:No, in that sense, no. The majority of people, for example, wear what classes A and B wear. We manufacturers make and imitate [what they wear] identically. So, there is a point where everyone comes to dress almost the same.
> B.R.:*There are only some details to distinguish some things?*
> B:No, one barely notes a difference, there is almost none.
> B.R.:Why is it like this? How do people from classes A and B react when they see that lower classes are imitating their clothing?
> B:They don't care, it is all the same to them. (personal communication, July 8, 2006)

From what I could gather, upper classes in Peru tend to buy outside of Peru, whenever possible, from countries that are renowned for their proper taste (European countries [France and Italy in particular], United States, and Argentina are names that I heard most often). Another trend one sees is that of people asking producers in Gamarra to adapt clothing from international fashion and foreign popular culture magazines. In reality, one sees a mixture of consumption patterns with some consumers preferring to shop in boutiques where they buy both local and foreign brands for exorbitant prices. There is also a segment of ethnic and underground fashion designers who seek to create a distinctly Peruvian fashion by annexing the ethnic and popular into their wear.

As we can see, the appeal of the foreign has much to do with what the upper echelon of Peruvian society wears. At the same time, the closest affiliation with the foreign is felt at this stratum. A taste for the foreign then has as much to do with not being rural as it has to do with not being ethnic and imagining oneself as a more cosmopolitan civilized citizen of the world. Having a "complex" might be something that is more than just something that we can associate with lower classes, especially when they are in many cases appropriating what their social superiors don.

Although Benito seemed to feel that upper classes did not care when people imitated them, my observations indicated that they did. Why would elites buy outside the country, seek out obscure boutiques with prohibitive prices, ask for textile producers to custom tailor their clothing, and at the same time treat popular approximations of their dress with disdain if they did not care. Laws governing copyright infringement also seem inconsistent in what they consider to be an infringement. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate that property rights tend to be the right of multinational corporations and those with enough capital to pay for this protection. For now, let us return to Gamarra and a brief discussion of what is popular about fashion and production in the complex.

What Is Popular About Production in Gamarra

Deciding on what is popular about textile production in Gamarra is not an easy task due to the variety of markets that are being supplied by producers in Gamarra. My focus here will be on Lima and not the provincial cities and towns outside of Lima. From what I was able to discern, there is a distinct difference in what provincial clients demand and what urban clients in Lima demand, but that is the subject for another study. The market in Lima that is being supplied by Gamarra spans all social sectors, but in this section I will try to give some indications of what I apprehend to be trends that exist in sectors that are referred to as popular from the perspective of the producers I interviewed.

Elvira, a 29 year old producer and vendor from Pasco explained what characterized the consumer who had come to Lima from the provinces. She told me how, in general

"they are always classic". They wear clothing of one solid colour, without many details, and in the provinces even less..."

She continues,

> They do not vary as much as young people, as people from other districts who are much more fastidious with skimpy clothing, with ribbons, things like this, some applications. It is not where the store is located. It is not that. They rarely buy [more embellished clothing]. (personal communication, August 2, 2006)

People who come from the provinces and older people are:

> more modest (*recatados*). Everything [they wear] is classic. It is because of this that people do not change much...sweaters, jeans, pants.... It is not formal, it is not like in other countries (she is referring to Venezuela primarily, and the market she is involved with in Venezuela is constantly changing), in other countries the young women are more coquettish. (personal communication, August 2, 2006)

What Elvira had to say about people from the provinces was echoed by an interview that I conducted with Julio, the son of the owner of a local fashion institute which offers design consultancy. He held the view that consumers in Lima in general were more "classic" or conservative in their tastes and reiterated what Elvira had to say about the popular class being more "modest." (personal communication, July 24, 2006) This was a view held by other producers and vendors as well. Elivra's point on more elaborate dress not being something that one would associate with the popular sector is not surprising. From my interviews with producers it became evident that the more elaborate a clothing article and the finer the material, the more one would demand for the article logically. People who do not prioritise what they wear either lack the means or the desire to flaunt what they have sartorially speaking. All this tends to point to a more pragmatic aesthetic, yet things are far from being clear cut and it also bespeaks an aesthetic of the body which is entirely different. The svelte sculpted body of upper classes that is to be publicly displayed does not hold the same appeal among lower classes it would appear.

Contrary to the view that I have given above, Elvira states: "There is one sector of the population that is always in fashion, but it is small." According to Elvira, this sector of the population borrows a lot from adolescents. She was explicit when she revealed: "Everyone else is more classic in reality, very uniform."

A point which Elvira emphasized was the idea that for people of more modest means, clothing was a last priority. This view coincides with what other people had to say and meshes well with my experiences with friends and family in Lima where food and other basic necessities did seem to take precedence over clothing. The more a population also roots itself in consumption practices that are communal, the less one would suspect they would become concerned with individualistic consumption practices. It is possible that an "Andean" consumption ethic[11] may accompany the work ethic that was discussed in the previous chapter. This point is certainly worthy of further investigation.

Although some popular class consumers certainly place a lot of emphasis on their appearance, for the most part a "taste of necessity" (Bourdieu 2002) prevails in Lima. Conformity is the norm over non-conformity. I interviewed a number of punks from popular neighbourhoods on the reaction of people in their surroundings to their very distinct appearance and they commented that they were met with various aggressions: hair pulling on public transit, name calling, and even being chased out of a market by vendors. As David, the urban dress producer I highlighted earlier commented:

> It is not like in other countries where people have their own style or something like that and that is respected. On the contrary, if someone here dresses differently they start to make fun of them, to fuck with them. It's like that. We don't have that consciousness. (personal communication, August 5, 2006)

[11] The challenge here would be to account for generational patterns, class dynamics within a complex urban environment, gender differences, and extra-local influences.

In other interviews, many of my informants pointed to the recent trend of Raggaetón. Raggaetón is a genre of music now popular originating from either Puerto Rico or Panama embracing influences from Raggae, Hip Hop, Salsa, and other music genres that have been commoditized in Latin America.[12] Lyrics are ribald at times, and often talk of the tough life in more economically depressed areas of the city, highlighting social concerns and realities. As a result of what many considered a trend, popular youth especially were wearing baggy pants, sports jerseys (often NBA, MLB team jerseys), loose-fitting t-shirts, baseball caps with NBA or MLB team logos or bandanas, and jewellery. This image is one that is exemplified by Raggaetón artists such as Daddy Yankee, and one that does not deviate much from Hip-Hop artists in the United States. This way of dressing did not spread to more affluent sectors of Lima with the popularity of the genre itself in the city. Most of my friends and informants were unequivocal about its rootedness in more popular areas.

Just as there are trends and tastes that may be more distinctive there is also a predilection for brands and what other more affluent classes wear. Alfredo, a middle-age producer, explained to me why people copied brands.

> [They do it] because of their idiosyncrasies. There is not much creativity. There is not much money and it is better to have the idea that you are wearing a prestigious garment, a brand name, than to buy the same brand name garment that costs a lot of money. However, when one copies it costs a quarter of the price, but it gives the idea that it is what a more prosperous (exelente) class wears. (personal communication, August 4, 2006)

Once again, we see the desire to usurp or conflate differences that coincides with a desire to conform. As one notes, there is no one style of clothing which represents

[12] There are a number of interpretations on the consumption of this musical genre in Peru (cf. Vich 2005, Ubilluz 2005 for some engaging interpretations on the local significance of Raggaetón). Locally, it's more explicitly sexual form of dancing to the music is referred to *perreo* (I would translate this as doggy-style or something along those lines) in Peru. More affluent Limeño youth profess a taste for the music (Raggaetón), but speak disparagingly of the manner in which popular Limeños dance to the music. My observations indicate that the music has gone through a process of sanitization as it passed from popular discotheques to discotheques frequented by more affluent youths. This movement is worthy of further investigation.

popular taste in clothing. As I argued in the previous chapter, the popular is more of an attitude in Lima. Sometimes the simplest conclusion is the correct one. What defines popular fashion is its lack of fixity, multiplicity, and ability to appropriate symbols of power. Informants' insistence that migrants and more modest consumers still maintain a more "classic" taste seems to indicate that there is some resistance to prevailing fashion trends that coincides with what appears to be multiple tactics of appropriation and distortion of dominant and elite fashion trends. Modesty could also be a form of resistance to the labour and disciplining involved in modern consumption (Appadurai 2005:81-83). Not paying attention to the dictates of fashion and maintaining a humbler appearance is a refusal to engage oneself in the labour of keeping in line with what is fashionable.

Talking to Vendors and Observing Consumption Places

After talking to producers I decided to extend my research to include vendors throughout the city. Taking the advice of some of my friends and informants, I went to a number of different locations in the city to make some observations on what people were buying in these places and what some of the consumers, who were among my friends at times, had to say about the clothing they were buying. I also asked vendors for their opinions on what people were buying from them.

As luck would have it, a couple of my main informants had their shops[13] in Galería Guisado in Gamarra, which was the place I was told reflected popular tastes fairly accurately. I began at the shop of Cristóbal in Gamarra. He sells jeans and jean

[13] For the sake of simplicity I am using shop. There are a variety of shops in Gamarra, from the most simple boxed-in space with a counter in front, to more elaborate displays which resemble the presentation of brand name stores. On some of the streets both inside and outside the secured heart of Gamarra there is also a proliferation of street vendors.

jackets for men, women, and children. The men's jeans are straight leg jeans with a variety of washes and styles. Focalized jeans and classic (simple jean material) are the most commonly requested according to Cristóbal's wife. The most popular women's jeans taper in at the knees and have embroidered designs, although some people avoid designs and special washes because they fear that they are only a passing trend. In this case we see buyers who want to follow the latest fashions and also those who want to be more secure buying something that will be wearable longer. Children's jeans almost always have a straight leg and embroidered patterns celebrating the World Cup. The fact that the World Cup became a theme on these jeans is testimony to the ephemeral nature of fashion for even more modest consumers. I asked a friend of mine who had attended the University of Lima what he thought of such patterns and he commented that they were garish.

Buyers at this gallery usually buy in large volumes. Many of the buyers would go from shop to shop on the same floor looking for the newest models, which change every two months, or even more quickly as competition demands. In a brief survey of the buyers over a period of two hours, I found that many came from outside Lima from zones such as Huancayo, Huaraz, or other places. Cristóbal's wife confirmed that buyers come from Ecuador and other contiguous countries. When the jeans are bought clients ask for the bags that the jeans are sold in. I suppose this adds to the authenticity of the product and the assertion that these products are original. Interestingly enough these jeans are sold to middle and upper class youth in the provinces pointing to a delayed and less refined taste in outlying areas. Within Lima the majority of the buyers are from the Cones. We see a sharp division between what people in the central core of Lima are buying and what people in the surrounding migrant areas are buying.

As far as creativity is concerned, the jeans sold here are based entirely on what is being sold in department stores. When asked if they had the money to buy a well-known brand name pair of jeans and one of Starky's (the brand name of the jeans at the shop), the girls working at the post said they would buy Starky's and not change their preference because Starky's was essentially the same thing. The girls also said that they preferred to buy two pairs of jeans instead of one popular brand name pair of jeans. Pragmatism seems to be a more prevalent trait amongst some consumers. More affluent youths would not feel the same way about buying an unknown brand of jeans. It seems that environment plays a role. More affluent environments of youth in private universities tend to stress the origins and brands they prefer. If one is to conform, one has to buy what they do, or be perceived as provincial or low class in their tastes.

"Women always want to be in fashion." commented one of the young clerks at Cristóbal's shop. Why do people prefer shirts with English? I asked. "It is in fashion" she said. This opinion was repeated by others. On occasions I just drew a blank expression. Many of the male youths from the Cones asked for loose fitting jeans like the jeans worn by Reggaetón artists with different washes, but the simpler washes were more popular.

Once I felt that I had reached a point where opinions were not going to vary much and I had grasped the flow of the store, I went up to the ninth floor of the same building to look for Elvira's sister Betty. I found her and her youngest of eleven siblings at their small shop. The size of their shop was comparably smaller and the clientele were comparably more modest. Most of the clients were attired in the polar fleece pants and vests that she was selling and really wanted to bargain prices down. She joked saying that people wanted clothes for nothing at times. The one sports

jacket they had on display was based upon a Puma model, but did not have the brand name. Betty told me that her sister decided not to put the Puma logo on the jacket. I suspected this was for reasons that some of my informants had mentioned before: most crackdowns are not formalized and consist of the police showing up, confiscating merchandise, then asking for a sum of money for its return. More often than not it is the competition that turns you in one of my informants commented to me as we walked to his shop.[14] This opinion runs counter to the information that Juan Lino provided me with at Indecopi. He told me that either the trademark bearer, or a representative of the bearer (often a lawyer) has to make a formal claim of copyright infringement. Juan Lino may have been holding back some information on this point because I have watched televised operations of police raids on markets where pirated goods are sold and read the same stories on numerous occasions while living in Lima. It is difficult to forget the emotionally charged sight of vendors fighting with police over the confiscation (*decomiso*) of their goods. That some government officials have views or information that does not conform with reality should not surprise. The state in Peru is by no means an entity whereby directives descend perfectly from top to bottom. Police overstep their authority, and officials occupy different positions vis-à-vis the public and behave differently as a result. Consistency, in state positions, therefore, is not always easy to discern.

Betty told me that most customers do not prefer *polina* (soft shiny fabric of Adidas track jackets) because it gets dirtier quicker and is more difficult to clean. Polar fleece vests and pants are preferred in the winter because they insulate the body well and are cheap. This tends to reinforce the notion that people of more modest means

[14] I think the perception that it could be anyone is a reflection of the air of general distrust that has been created by the state when it comes to piracy. This reinforces my argument that copyright laws are strategic in nature.

either lack the means or desire to spend on clothing adopting a more practical attitude toward dress.

When asked about colour preferences, Betty explained that people of modest means prefer incendiary colours (*colores incendidos*) because they help to mask their sadness. She noted that people were often concerned with what colours went together demonstrating both a lack of knowledge and a desire to overcome prejudices that view lower class people as tasteless. This year's popular colours included: mustard, apple green, and fuchsia. Last year red was the colour to have. And who says that lower classes do not have tastes? In the summer, aqua green, Italian, and incendiary colours become more fashionable.

For those who think popular classes always wear bright colours, well I am not so sure that this is entirely true. Although the stereotype is that lower classes like loud colours, numerous informants told me that what had opened up the market for these bold colours in Lima was the fashion industry. People began to wear these colours more when fashion condoned and popularised their use. Similar to the case of the chullo, which will be discussed in the next chapter, outside forces created the chance to wear colours that had been previously associated with indigenous people in Peru.

While conducting my fieldwork I visited many more vendors throughout Lima asking questions and trying to figure out how much of what they were selling was what the producers I spoke with in Gamarra were producing. Places such as Polvos Azules and Avenida Grau (blackmarket areas that the government has attempted to slowly formalize) had a heavy concentration of *bamba* produced in clandestine workshops throughout the city, including Gamarra. There were some places around Grau where Asian clothing was being sold, however I did not hit the mother lode that most of my informants were telling me about, or I did not know the difference most

likely. The Central Market certainly had some clothing that was from Asia, but I always viewed clothing here as a complement to Peruvian produced clothing. I need to investigate clothing sales here more I must admit. Puente Trujillo and small markets in shantytowns such as San Martin de Porres and Villa El Salvador had more modest adaptations of brand named clothing interspersed with cheap Asian imports. I even stumbled upon a second hand clothing store in San Martin de Porres; however a friend of mine in his mid-twenties said that people preferred to buy something new. If people shopped there it was to find brand name clothing or clothing that appeared to have not been worn.

Most of the time when I asked why people liked something they were wearing they responded vaguely. They would say things like: I like the colours, the design is attractive, or simply: I like it. I became disheartened and figured that this approach was not going to yield any profound answers, or perhaps this clothing was just normal for them and my questions were absurd. But, this may suggest that most people are not aware of what drives their consumption habits. When I asked vendors why they sold clothing that had a brand logo on it, they flatly told me that sales were brisker. Furthermore, if competitors sold brand adaptations and they refused, then they would be out a sale. As I travelled around different parts of the city it occurred to me that space was an important factor in determining tastes.

Spaces that Talk to/past One Another

It is not just Saga or Ripley that provide templates for many producers. A notable feature of the urban landscape, and one that is fundamental in understanding fashion in Lima, is the movement of people within the city. Through my conversations and

observations I can state with confidence that people from the Cones circulate freely through the centre as quasi-flaneurs admiring the life of those in more affluent areas. In the magazine *Gamarra* an article describes the difference between those who see "it" and those who do not. The "it" in this case I interpret as being how to gain a competitive advantage in textile production. Those who see it are compared to a fly with "their eyes wide open looking at what the competition does, observing window displays to see novel things, passing through the most affluent neighbourhoods (*barrios pitucas*) to see what people are buying." (Anonymous 1994:3)

This necessity to move and observe the "other" does not hold true for many who live in the more affluent areas in the core. It is simply not necessary to traverse the periphery of the city for people in the core of Lima, however almost all bus routes that bring people to the Cones traverse the core. The result is striking because the marginal sectors of the population are easily able to see the dominant core areas, whereas the same does not hold true for most people based in more affluent areas of the core. Marcos, a textile producer in Villa el Salvador, who I interviewed, was unequivocal about what one had to do if one wanted to figure out what was en vogue and at the same time how it makes its way into shantytowns.

> It comes through the youth. That's right. When I was 25 here in Villa El Salvador, 21 years ago, young people my age did the same. We used to meet in Miraflores on a grand scale in that era. There was fashionable clothing as well, so one went to look at the colours and the models (in the sense of designs) bringing fashion here to Villa El Salvador. Now, it is the same in this era. We are not yet elderly, we are adults. Who does it [now]? It is the young people. Everything my children wear ----running shoes, shoes, and clothing- comes from a store in Miraflores. They browse around there and if they have enough money they buy something because it costs a little more. On the contrary, [if they do not have enough money] they look at the model and they have it made. (personal communication, January 2, 2007)

I wanted to speak with some textile producers in Villa El Salvador just to see if the trend was isolated to Gamarra, but my interview with Marcos and another producer in

the area has led me to hypothesize that there is a strong relationship between consumption in the newer Cones of Lima and the older core of the city. People from more marginal areas of the city pay attention to the consumption habits of more affluent urbanites and appropriate what they see, transforming it to their tastes and according to the materials they have at hand. Once again we see popular actors finding ways around barriers with a bit of ingenuity. This behaviour also threatens the exclusivity that one expects when they pay more for a garment. It is no wonder that authenticity becomes important in marking distinction.

Judging by the fact that I needed to ask permission to take photos in upscale malls like Jockey Plaza, exclusive mini-malls like *El Centro Commercial El Polo* (Polo Commercial Centre), and brand name boutiques (both national and foreign brands) I suspect that producers from all areas of Lima continue to engage in this activity. In fact, when I failed to ask permission at one of these places, security approached me and asked me to desist or my camera would be confiscated. I complied.

In Lima, certain spaces possess an aura which seems to demand obeisance. In more elite spaces the presentation of merchandise is entirely different. In these spaces we see an aesthetic of cleanliness and symmetry –there is a sheen from the play of display case lighting on glossy advertising images. Posters with neatly dressed unnaturally exuberant models are carefully placed inviting consumers to vicariously partake in their ideal lives. Headless models with perfect physiques invite consumers to transpose their body into the clothing on display. A pane of glass also separates the consumer from the items on display reinforcing the control implicit in modern consumption.[15] Costly retail space is not cluttered but left open promoting an overall ethos of conspicuous waste (cf. Veblen 1994). Credit advertisements in department

[15] I am indebted to Andrew Walsh for this insight on control and the spatial organization of malls and boutiques. I would argue that discipline and seduction come together in modern retail spaces. It would be interesting to explore this point in further detail.

stores and malls admonish consumers to indulge their desires. One does not need to haggle. If one runs the risk of waiting until the end of the season, and this is a risk as all shoppers will admit, then one may be rewarded with a bargain sale. The only downside to the bargain sale is that one is not likely to find the most requested sizes. We can then say that the fashion cycle demands attentiveness and draws the consumer in with easy credit and payment schedules for those of more modest means. Incidentally, Gamarra has attempted to come out with a Gamarra card, but the majority of shops in the complex still do not accept it.

The market space is a sharp contrast to this scene. Rarely does one see models, although some shops in Gamarra have sussed out the relationship between advertising and sales. In shantytown markets one will find cubical spaces entirely covered with the clothing articles being offered by the vendor. It is not uncommon to see an overlap in what neighbours will offer and at times they will undercut each other slightly, however I always have suspected that there is a limit to most haggling that is set by profit margin and an unspoken rule between vendors whereby all tacitly agree not to go too low. Afterall, they are all in the same proverbial boat. An order exists in market spaces, however it is not the obsessive-compulsive cleanliness of more elite spaces and the control implicit in the spatial organization of the mall and boutique is lacking in the market. Vendors cram as much as they can into their posts maximizing space. The euphoria of advertising posters is absent for the most part and if there are mannequins, they possess smiling heads, which is interesting in itself due to its contrast with the headless mannequins of department stores and boutiques. Nevertheless, the message is the same: happy is one who wears this.

The luxury of department stores and their sharp contrast to more modest markets, which often sell food and other goods, has an impact on consumers I believe. People

often go to malls to loiter around and watch people. Markets do not have the same draw and their reputation for attracting incorrigible types seem to deter people from prolonging their stays. Malls are where people are obliged to wear their best outfits and to compete in a form of conspicuous competition. If one is drawn in to these spaces enough, there is a pressure exerted as well to adhere to their environment and take notice of what others are wearing. Frequent visits to malls allow merchandisers to constantly introduce new options for distinguishing oneself to consumers.

Discussion

My argument for this chapter has been that the people in Gamarra who produce clothing for popular classes are engaged in a series of tactics which are a response to the strategies of the government and the private sector to control their activities by either formalizing them (thus drawing them into the sphere of control of the government), or depriving them of their market. Textile producers in Gamarra have resisted these pressures until this point by subverting (sometimes through imitation) the marketing ploys of department stores and brands. Nevertheless, their grip on their market is a tenuous one that can easily be undone as some textile producers in Gamarra begin to grow bigger, thus becoming part of the group which deploys strategic marketing. The incursion of department stores and brands, who prepare to move into this new territory with more force, is also a very present threat. As Alex Zimmerman expressed, sectors A and B of the market are well-covered. All that remains is to expand into sectors C and D. The opening of Saga stores in both the North and South Cones of Lima worried some of the producers that I interviewed.

The other thrust of my argument in this chapter has been to postulate a different interpretation of what it means to copy. I prefer to think of copying as a tactic once again where producers use the superior marketing strategies of department stores and brands to promote their own adaptations. Competition within Gamarra also ensures that every copy is distinct from every other copy creating a diversity of variations that further complicates dominant ideas that claim what is produced in Gamarra is unoriginal. I have also resisted the temptation to seek out a hybrid, but I by no means deny that there are indeed hybrid products. Instead, I have placed more emphasis on accounting for what I see as the prevailing trends in Lima and sought to understand them by attributing the consumption of foreign styles not simply to a lack of originality, but as an appropriation of clothing which symbolizes dominance. By following trends that are set by upper classes, lower classes in Lima force some classes to constantly change their appearance (to maintain distinction) and at the same time challenge and fluster attempts at classification within the city. In the next chapter, I will juxtapose these appropriations from below with appropriations from above, buttressing my argument on copying and tactics and bringing power relations within Lima out in sharper relief.

Another prominent theme in this chapter has been my attempt to determine what is popular about what is being produced in Gamarra. Modest incomes and a more pragmatic outlook on life combine to force popular consumers to look for high quality fashionable items at bargain prices. Hence, most consumers avoid items that may be more of a fad. Youth do not seem to be as practical and are inclined to follow trends endemic to popular groups such as Raggaetón. Another characteristic that I believe to be more popular is the variety, due to the intense competition that exists in Gamarra. Even if one's neighbour is going to copy, they have to do so in a way that

differentiates them from someone else. This tactic of observing and noticing what is able to sell is one of the most salient features of small scale textile production allowing for an extremely versatile system of production which exhibits more variety than a mall. From the cases that I presented it became clear that producers draw on a plethora of print, electronic, and institutional sources for inspiration. I also demonstrated the importance that spaces and public observation play in influencing popular textile production. Adapting is a creative endeavour, and as we will see in the next chapter, one that even elite designers engage in.

Chapter 4 - Globalization of the Chullo

In recent times the chullo, a circular knit woollen headpiece that has been customarily worn by Andean peasants at high altitudes since colonial times, has proliferated throughout the world.[1] The preferred material for making this hat in the Andes is sheep's wool, although recent machine-made tourist stylisations often use a mixture of synthetic fibres and alpaca wool. They resemble a toque, but have distinctive ear flaps, which may or may not have strings attached to them. The chullo is more than just a hat, however. As a metonym, the chullo represents a global movement that exoticizes elements of the local, often transforming conceptually static traditional objects into fashionable commodities.

Studying the "biography" (Kopytoff 1986) of the chullo gives us the opportunity to see how this garment, the product of indigenous groups in highland communities, has become both a fashionable commodity and a contested expression of nationalistic pride at present. As Igor Kopytoff argues, cases which allow us to see the movement of cultural objects into the commodity sphere and the interactions between different

[1] Theories abound on the possible origins of the chullo. I scoured Spanish chronicles for mention of the conspicuous hat, but I could find no mention of it. Historian Luis Repetto, following the investigative lead of Arturo Jiménez Borja, argues that the article owes its origins to the Spanish birrete (Repetto in Loayza 2006:19). A visit to the textile museum Amano in Miraflores gave me the chance to peer upon a four-pointed woollen hat (I am not sure if the material was alpaca or vicuña) from the Huari culture. The Huari culture, based just outside the present day city of Ayacucho thrived between approximately A.D. 600 – 1000, extending its ideological influence over the central coast (Moseley 1992:209,217). Fixing the exact origin of the hat is difficult because one would require eye-witness testimony, or archival sources that would mention the movement of this garment. The problem is that the recorder would have had to see the emergence or transformation of this headpiece as a significant reportable event. For our purposes it is not necessary that we have a definitive answer to this question. What we do know, and my interviews reinforced this, is that the headpiece was worn by rural indigenous communities in Central and Southern parts of the Andean highlands at high altitudes before it became a fashionable commodity.

During my first visit to Peru in 1998 I bought a chullo in an artisan market in Cuzco. As a Western tourist, the hat was novel, warm, and aesthetically appealing. At the time, it was a popular feature in artisan markets. I would not rule out tourist acquisition as playing a role in its proliferation. I would suspect that this is an important link in the recent appreciation of the hat.

systems of commoditization offer valuable theoretical insights (Kopytoff 1986:88-90). The chullo confirms Kopytoff's point. Not only does it allow us to look at how an object outside the sphere of modern market economies becomes incorporated into a global market, but it also provides a focal point for discussing what the object comes to signify to different people in different contexts. To better understand the present meaning of the chullo it becomes necessary to relate it to ethnic fashion within and outside Peru. I will demonstrate that looking at an object in different places can yield insights that when taken together allow us to approach an understanding of how local social, political, and economic relationships can be both deduced and connected to larger transnational relationships between media, corporations, and people.

The argument presented in this chapter is as follows: global fashion, fashion designers, advertising and celebrities contrive to exercise what I term creative power over local ethnic cultural products. The reappraisals of the local they are able to enact, whether intentional or not, malevolent or benevolent, necessitate a local accommodation which reflects local contradictions in its attempt to deny these contradictions. As a starting point for this chapter, I will go to the source which my informants cited as sparking the present chullo furore: the fashion world. Next, I will move on to discuss the chullo's newfound popularity within Peru and attempt to tie it into the discursive world of ethnic fashion in the country. To finish off the chapter, I will discuss the interpretations that can be made of the data and how this relates to other literature and ideas that have emerged vis-à-vis ethnic fashion. Despite the apparent shift in this chapter away from Gamarra, the research presented here is intended to call into question what it means to "copy." Some types of borrowing are more acceptable than other types, and it is this contradiction that teases out power

inequalities in the proclivity to classify the production and consumption of different social groups.

The Foreign/Local Connection

To understand the popularity of the chullo and other ethnic accessories I went to interview a married couple, Ana de Carbajal and Javier Carbajal, who had been highlighted in recent newspaper and television coverage of the chullo. The children of artisans, they own a shop called Sidrick's. They have been in the business of knitwear for twenty five years and take pride in the fact that they have created a successful enterprise, which they hope their daughters will continue to nurture. When I inquired about the recent popularity of the chullo, they told me it had begun three years ago.

> Ad.C.: The trend began in Europe. They started to model it.
> J.C.: on international runways
> Ad.C.: And that actor, what is his name?
> B.R.: Tom Cruise?
> Ad.C.: Tom Cruise started to model it, and the wife of Toledo[2], Eliane Karp, favoured us a lot because she always wore [ethnic dress]. When she would go to Europe she would put on [ethnic dress].
> J.C.: typical, autochthonous
> Ad.C.: autochthonous clothing
> J.C.: They are typical, aren't they?
> Ad.C.: So, she has been a good promotion for artisanal work[3] (*artesanía*) and art. As a result, it has had more acceptance (*apegado*) here. International artists came to Peru as well and they always appreciated the chullo.
> J.C.: The scarf.
> Ad.C.: Then that also promoted us and also Inca Kola, Inca Kola is a Peruvian product as well
> J.C.: that supports what is national a lot too
> Ad.C.: artisanal work

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[2] Alejandro Toledo Manrique was the democratically elected president of Peru from July 28, 2001 to July 28, 2006.

[3] I use craft here and throughout the text with supreme resignation. What dismisses the creative endeavours of one as a craft and elevates the creative efforts of another as art? The designation of an object as craft clearly engenders a power relation. I maintain the use of craft as a reflection of the categories expressed regarding material culture in Lima at the time of my research.

> J.C.: For example, crafts are in everything, on television, on the radio, on...here one sees a promotion, a big chullo, the advertisement in a big billboard, outside in the street, there is a chullo, consume what is ours it says, here comes the Peruvian chullo, fashion has become popular among youth. (personal communication, August 25, 2006)

In this excerpt there are a number of things that are noteworthy. The chullo and other accessories owe their recent popularity to international fashion runways. According to Ana and Javier, celebrities had to wear the chullo before it became popular locally. At one point, Javier is uncertain whether the ethnic dress of Eliane Karp was really autochthonous. This seems to indicate that there is some ambiguity about where the line between ethnic dress (in a traditional sense), ethnic clothing produced for tourists and more modern ethnic chic lies. With the attention the chullo and ethnic dress in general received by foreign aesthetes it became necessary to respond locally, be it for nationalistic pride or to account for the apparent contradictions between international acclaim and national disdain. Eventually, Inca Kola, the national soft drink would launch an advertising campaign featuring chullos, which praised the inventiveness of Peruvians. While I was doing my research in Lima there was a prominent billboard along the Paseo de la Rępublica that had a young man wearing an aquamarine machine-made chullo with geometric designs drinking a bottle of the cola. A caption read: Peruvian Creativity. Interestingly enough, the televised version of the ad campaign inverts the trajectory of the chullo claiming that it was celebrated locally before taste-makers (in this case foreigner fashion designers) decided to showcase the hat.

We must not conflate the apparent enthusiasm for the recognition given crafts by the fashion world, celebrities, and a corporation with the reality of what is occurring here. In the case of the Inca Cola campaign we see an appropriation of the sort that Deborah Root (1996:78-81) discusses with North American aborginals, whereby an

economic disparity between the creator and appropriator allows the market to commoditize and misrepresent aboriginal culture in the marketing of their products. In this case, a subsidiary of Coca-Cola decides that a hat typical of Andean ethnic groups in the Andes with its more traditional technique of production is reduced to a commercially reproduced object. This transformed object, now semantically bleached of its original importance, comes to represent the idea of a tolerant multicultural nation, and a substitutable equivalent to the value given by the company to its own beverage. What power enables this company to enact a process of cultural usurpation upon this hat, trivializing its original import as a marker of social identity and repository of weaving tradition and replacing it with a synthetic sanitized de-ethnicized stylisation? For that matter, what enables a Parisian designer to excise the chullo from its original world of culturally specific signification and revel in its exotic novelty and timeless authenticity?

The theories of Ana and Javier are eloquently confirmed by one of the progenitors of ethnic fashion (*moda etníca*) in Peru, Olga Zaferson, who estimates that she has been "recreating" for over thirty years. She gives much credit to ex-president Alejandro Toledo's wife, the anthropologist Eliane Karp, for having deliberately promoted ethnic dress because of her position as a foreigner and culturally sensitive anthropologist. Olga cites the Peruvian poet César Vallejo to make her point.

> Every act or brilliant voice comes from the people and goes toward it directly or transmitted. That says everything. What does that mean? Transmitted because it is already transmitted because it already left, but now returns, but from the people. For me, this synthesizes what is happening now, first they have to see it outside because it is always appreciated more. I am telling you, for the bourgeois, everything that is from outside is pretty, and what is from here, they do not see, therefore I always say to my students: Why don't we see our nose? Because it is too close to our eyes. It is true. Someone always has to come from outside. (personal communication, August 28, 2006)

What is curious about Zaferson's explanation here is that previously she had launched a diatribe against racism in Peru when explaining how she had fought against all odds to promote indigenous textiles. Even though she is acknowledging a tendency for local elites to respond to foreign appraisals, she backpeddles on indicting compatriots of her generation as being racist and attributes their behaviour to a form of cultural and generational myopia. Later in my interview with her, she explained how indigenous people in the Andes lack the enterprising know-how to sell their products and often need the assistance of someone from Lima to do so. So, it may be connections and not knowledge that Andean producers lack -a perspective that was corroborated by an artisan named María from Chincheros.[4] Zaferson, with her boutique comfortably nestled in a side street within a short walk from the Marriot in Lima, provides a very lucrative sales point indeed. Although in fairness, there are plenty of merchants in tourist markets that take advantage of this lack of connections as well.

Corporations such as Coca Cola are not the only ones to have appropriated the chullo. In the following section I discuss how the fashion world also freely borrows from the cultural repertoires of the Andes.

[4] Chincheros is a small city located about 30km north of Cuzco. It was located along the route to the sanctuary of the Inca, Machu Picchu. The economy of the community is more agricultural based, however this does not seem to preclude the participation of local weavers in the domestic and foreign textile trade as I discovered in my conversations with a local weaver who sold textiles in a craft fair in Lima. These economic activities clearly provide an individual source of income which benefits the community directly and indirectly, however this does not seem to stop unscrupulous individuals from acting as intermediaries that seek their own personal benefit. Money earned in the sale of textiles was used obviously as an income source as a means to "educate children" (María, personal communication, September 5, 2006).

Ethnic fashion

Parisian fashion designers have certainly played a pivotal role in the drama of the chullo. In Paris, the chullo falls under the rubric of ethnic fashion -a label that incorporates dress from indigenous groups of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America into one vast category commonly referred to as ethnic fashion. Its foremost promoters are well-known designers who have the ability to make something stick and exert a creative influence. A few of the designers who incorporate ethnic elements into their collections are: Jean Paul Gaultier, Ralph Lauren, John Galliano, Shirin Guild, among a multitude of others (Maynard 2004:79). Once something becomes chic it is hard not to follow suit, and what is chic bears strongly on what is produced for domestic textile consumption. Let us consider the case of John Galliano to illustrate the creative power exerted by one paragon in the fashion world.

John Galliano saw his star as a designer rise slowly, but surely. After graduating from design school he drifted in life eventually coming to settle as head designer for Dior in Paris. With the successful completion of a trial at the house, Galliano was named house designer. Exotic themes often figure in his collections. Galliano is famous for his research trips where he brings members of his team to other countries to observe autochthonous dress and draw inspiration from the world (McDowell 2004). His collections showcase influences from as far afield as India, Latin America, Central America, Mongolia, China, and the streets of Paris.

John Galliano began to showcase Andean textiles around October of 2001 (Loayza 2006). Whether he had these tendencies prior to this date is not hard to believe. Collectors and museums began their salvaging of Andean textiles en masse in the

1980s (Zorn 2005:135-137). No doubt the inherent beauty of these textiles was known within learned schools for some time. For our purposes though, we need only concern ourselves with what fashion writers had to say about Galliano and what he had to say about himself around this moment in time.

The fashion designer has become a pop connoisseur par excellence, an adept in the art of pastiche, and a forerunning protagonist in the modern cult of beauty. John Galliano is characterized by one admirer as follows:

> In recent years, Galliano has proved himself a fashion leader, credited for much renewed trends as designer denim, camouflage and the globe-trotting gypsy look, to name but a few. His intimates say it's the sheer force of his imagination, knowledge, and radical approach. "He's not thinking where everyone is going and how he can get there first," Simonon says. "He's just thinking the way he thinks." Again, it comes down to the essence of being John Galliano, eating, breathing and dreaming fashion –and dressing the part. (Socha 2002)

So, what is it that Galliano strives for in his collections? Michael Specter (2003) has more to say on this:

> Galliano often refers to things he sees on the street or at work as 'very John Galliano.' I asked him what that meant. 'It is something incredibly refined mixed with something savage,' he explained. 'Savage' is another of his favourite compliments. Tribes of all kinds interest him, and he collects the Native American photographs of Edward S. Curtis. 'Refined is boring and savage can be too obvious,' he said. John Galliano is all about trying to strike the perfect balance between the two.

This was how one reporter qualified Galliano's Fall 2001 collection in Paris:

> In support of his chaos theory, the designer's models stomped down the runway – as they've been stomping for several seasons now- piled high with all manner of clashing layers. An adorable hooded argyle sweater was shown under a denim jacket and mis-matched with a full patchwork print chiffon skirt. Out came delicate chiffon dresses detailed with bungee cords that dangled in bunches at their hips, slick leather jackets and a trenchcoat bordered with tribal beading. These pieces all looked great, like Galliano classics. (Anonymous 2001)

Here we see the eclectic Galliano at work, mix-matching at will, and all the while seemingly comprehended and encouraged. What lies beneath this logic of taste? Is it simply the position that Galliano occupies that gives him such clout in the fashion

world? Whatever power Galliano may possess, Peruvian journalists (Loayza 2006, Vadillo 2006) and the public alike seem to concur: he was one of the many who made the chullo legit. Well, he and other well known celebrities such as Tom Cruise, Flea (from the Red Hot Chili Peppers), and other celebrities who have donned the chullo. Add to this list hoards of tourists who descend upon Peru every year in June, July, and August to see a bit of Peru, and one can begin to contemplate which forces may have conspired to lift up the humble chullo.

Fashion is presented as a spectacle to the media, which, in turn, promotes fashion, interlocking the two in a symbiotic relationship. The media and the acceptance that media alone can generate enshrine fashion and have its proponents push fashion. This is what may have happened with the chullo, but as I stated before we are not concerned so much with when. The runway as a consumption ritual is worth considering. Fashion with all its pageantry is acted out on a stage (the runway), with soundtrack, sound effects, costumes, actors, directors, and producers. So, who is the audience? How do people become convinced that x really is more appealing than y, or that z no longer holds appeal. This is where the ritualistic nature of the event really comes into play. Through some sort of trick, garments become imbued with the moment, with a myriad of images: a kaleidoscope of the world as global village. The advertising industry sells allusions to some mirror-self that is clothed, stylised, and affirmed in a public sumptuary ritual (Baudrillard 1988:166) dominated by multinational corporations who have but one sole purpose: to maximize profits. And it works.

By setting up the modern fashion show as a spectacle one wonders how much semblance they bear to the 19th century colonial exhibitions that Timothy Mitchell (1992) analyzes in his work. These exhibitions effectively objectified the East putting

it on display for a dominant European gaze. Perhaps the dominant gaze has been traded in for a sympathizing one, but with the same result somehow. We should not allow ourselves to dismiss the sort of power involved in the sort of "borrowing" -or "copying" that Galliano and others do. Appreciation for the other often accompanies an overt repression of the other, as Root reminds us in her discussion of the French bohemian Théophile Gautier who while praising the cultural virtues of Algerian culture supported French domination of the colony. She views this attitude as engendering what she terms a "double man" -one who praises another culture while adhering to a system which simultaneously oppresses it (Root 1996:18-21). The hypocrisy of the double man abounds in contemporary "civilized" society and I would argue finds its contemporary embodiment in many purveyors of ethnic dress.

In Galliano's acts of exoticization we see both a rejection of conventions and a search for something lost or overlooked in industrial society, and therefore more desirable in its purported ability to revive people from their pallid existence. In the process, however, the local is stripped of its contextual cultural meaning and ascribed a stereotypical decontextualized meaning –a misapprehension. In a misapprehension one mistakes what one is perceiving in favour of a preconception (often based on stereotypes) that somehow becomes favoured over the new sensorial stimulus. Ethnic dress misapprehended then becomes nothing more than wonderfully colourful wear that can be mix-matched with drab elegant wear. With the case of Galliano, we also witness a situation where borrowing from an "other" is considered an elevated act. In other contexts, as discussed in the previous chapter, this act is referred to in the best cases as adaptation and in the worst cases as copying. The artistic licence granted to a Parisian designer far exceeds what is allowed for a textile producer in Gamarra. As discussed, the "borrowing" of the latter is often subject to legal sanction. We might

venture to begin to speak of cultural or creative power at this point. Its functioning is simple: those with greater capital (cultural or material) often assume ownership or rights to ideas not their own in contexts isolated from the environment that gave rise to the cultural product and exert an ability to sway taste through a highly developed and globally diffused mass media machine. Some seem to possess more of it depending on their association with the fashion media machine.

This trend is not restricted to the chullo. The more recent case of the Palestinian *kaffiyeh* is indicative of a similar trend. In an article that appeared recently in the New York Times (Kim 2007), Ted Swedenburg attests to the scarf's appeal as a fashion accessory. Many people wear the *kaffiyeh* for some intrinsic exotic association it is capable of evoking. Many of the wearers interviewed for the article seemed oblivious to any political connotations that the scarf seemed to have. Swedenburg points out that the scarf became a fashion trend in 1988 shortly after the first intifada. What is strange is the ability of the fashion world to appropriate objects associated with resistances against power at particularly sensitive moments. A Colombian colleague of mine pushed me for the reasons behind the emergence of military fashion -camouflage especially- nowadays. The timing seems impeccable. It seems almost as if fashion trends are dissimulating or normalizing both resistances and aggressions, so that when one sees a Palestinian or an American soldier one somehow gets the feeling that this is somehow quotidian or mundane.[5]

When discussing the point at which more value began to be given to indigenous products in Peru, Zaferson related this change directly to the period of the dirty war in

[5] The commercialization of the image of Che Guevara and the mimicking of Zapatista wear in the fashion world creates a state of constant war where war is banalized and resistance is glamourized to the point of losing its significance. We are in the era of mass media counter-warfare.

Peru.[6] At this time and afterwards a change in the attitude of people began to appear in terms of their acceptance of ethnic fashion. She notes:

> Now they [people looking at ethnic clothing] say: ah that is what is in fashion, although it may only be on account of curiosity, before, before it was an open rejection without shame. (personal communication, August 28, 2006)

So, if it were not in fashion, what would people say? Or, does this mean that because it is in fashion that it is fashionable and because it is fashionable it really does not count as indigenous anymore? There seems to be more to this attitude. It raises the question: How does one go about making ethnic fashion?

The Making of Ethnic Fashion in Peru –Two viewpoints

In this section I will juxtapose how the Ana de Carbajal and Javier Carbajal describe what they do with the way that Zaferson describes what she does. By placing the two explanations side by side I will demonstrate that despite Zaferson's intentions to salvage and promote ethnic dress, when compared to the creative processes of artisans, a disparity in power becomes apparent. While she produces ethnic fashion, I am not sure that what artisans produce even counts as fashion. Certainly Zaferson appreciates and has a passion for the textiles of Peru, but I

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[6] The dirty war is said to have started with the taking of the occupation and subsequent destruction of ballot boxes of the first democratic election in Peru after twelve years of military dictatorship on May 17, 1980 by an armed column of the Shining Path (Manrique 2002:14). The symbolic fall of the Maoist revolutionary movement is commonly perceived as occurring with Fujimori's capture of the leader, Abimael Guzmán on September 12, 1992. None the less, the Commision of Truth and Reconciliation extends this period to the flight of Fujimori from the country in November of 2000 considering his government and its anti-subversive infrastructure as a de facto dictatorship which used the pretext of an imminent threat to maintain control over the state and media (CVR 2004:61-77). A dark shadow has been cast over the nation as many of the social, historical, and economic causes of the conflict (cf. Manrique 2002:44-63) remain to be solved in my opinion. Neoliberal triumphalism largely ignores the factors that caused this conflict and assumes that a trickle down effect will be a palliative for all the demons that haunt the past, present, and future of this troubled nation-state. The emerging popularity of ethnic fashion at this point in time could be mere coincidence, or it may be indicative of a movement to mask difference by a feigned acceptance. More investigation here would be fruitful. With the examples that I have cited beforehand, it seems like a plausible hypothesis worthy of further investigation.

question why it is that she and others who possess more economic and cultural capital have to be the protagonists of ethnic fashion and why the artisans who inspire these now trendy garments and continue to produce textiles are not at the forefront of this industry.

One thing I wanted to understand was how Ana and Javier determined what they would produce. The designs that they incorporate into their clothing articles are their own, adapted from clothing samples, magazines, photographs, books, and *mantas* (mantles).[7] It is not uncommon for the couple to base their designs on pre-Inca textiles. Ana and Javier succinctly detail this process of transformation, whereupon more traditional textile patterns are "modernized".

> J.C.: Those *mantas* are
> Ad.C.: from the Incas
> J.C.: ancient (antiguas) and one sees the designs that are made. It is a part where you have to change this (design on mantle or book). For example, you see this in a *manta*, or a book, and what you have to do is to modernize it, improve it, or incorporate it surreptitiously (pasarlo disimuladamente). (personal communication, August 25, 2006)

Instead of saying that the designs come from indigenous communities throughout Peru it became necessary to make an association with the Incas, however it should be noted that pre-Inca designs are also used. What is interesting is that we see a preference for focusing upon the more glorious past of the region and a downplaying of ethnicity. This tendency is reminiscent of Creole nationalism's propensity to emphasize the achievements of the Inca Empire at the expense of contemporary indigenous people (cf. Mendez 1996). We also see a reproduction of the valorization of modernity over tradition implying that what is traditional is somehow in need of revamping and is not acceptable for a modern urban Peruvian. Although it may be

[7] Mantles are the colourful pieces of fabric that are woven by Andean women and drapped over their shoulders and fastened with a pin. The patterns as Maria, a weaver from Chincheros, explained to me combine mythological animals, landscape features, objects that figure in the productive activities of Andean groups, and serve to distinguish one community from another (personal communication, September 5, 2006).

tempting to dismiss what the couple does as no longer authentic, in his study of Oriental carpets, Brian Spooner reminds us that:

> authenticity (as we understand it now) became an issue at a particular stage in our [Western as an heuristic category] social evolution –when with the appearance of mechanically produced clone-commodities we began to distinguish between the social meaning of handicraft and that of mechanical production, as well as between uniqueness and easy replaceability. (Spooner 1986:226)

Spooner goes on to question the power that collectors and buyers alike are able to exert in what counts as an authentic Turkmen carpet, concluding that Turkmen artisans often fail in their attempts at producing authenticity mainly due to their inability to anticipate foreign tastes correctly (Spooner 1986:226-231). The case of this artisan couple could not be more similar. Like the Turkmen carpet weavers, they attempt to ascertain foreign tastes, bending to the will of their clients, while at the same time distancing themselves from the authentic products that they are expected to produce. Nevertheless, the need to sneak in details illustrates that modernization is not without its own contradictions and resistances.

A pertinent example of tactics that artisans deploy are the flowers which adorn the now fashionable belts they produce for Limeños and tourists and which appeared in a catalogue for the department store Saga Falabella. These flowers are based on flowers that are native to the Andes, like the *hantu*. It was difficult to arrive at a definitive understanding at what modernizing entailed exactly, however from the conversation I had with Ana and Javier I came to understand it as a process with two outcomes. First, it involves making something indigenous or something from the indigenous past appealing to a local urban consumer in Lima, a tourist, or a consumer abroad -like sneaking in the flowers into a popular accessory. But, unbeknownst to many consumers, it also involved slipping in referents that artisans will recognize as representing a shared past -not just any flowers, but flowers native to the Andes.

Objects and sites that form part of the imagined community of Peruvians (Anderson 1991) are also incorporated into designs; the Nazca lines, Stella Raimondi, llamas and other tourist emblems are often embroidered or incorporated into accessories or clothing. Accordingly, the creative process almost always involves interaction with the buyers or consumers. Clients will bring in ideas or use the consumption patterns of their own customers to help the couple to decide what will be produced and what will not be produced. In this sense, modernization seems to fall within Henry Glassie's appraisal of tradition. Glassie allows for a much broader understanding of tradition than many others do, and one specific to artisans and producers of oral traditions. He argues that:

> In modernization, the individualistic, the material, and the international claim attention and drive the planner. But the dramatic changes of modernization depend on the simultaneity of continuity, and they are countered by revival, by efforts to revitalize the perduring collective, spiritual, and local dimensions of human existence. (Glassie 1995:405)

In other words, what Ana and Javier are doing is contributing to the continuity of their craft by adapting it to modern circumstances. Glassie allows for traditions whose expressions can oscillate through time -at times static, at times innovative, at times integrative- emphasizing the will of the producer of tradition (Glassie 1995:405-409). Tradition, in Glassie's treatment, resides in the hands or minds of its recipients. So, when the Ana and Javier told me that they are descendents of artisans they are emphasizing that the they are continuing a family legacy, only the technology and the materials have changed.

Zaferson conceptualizes what she does in a completely different manner. She enumerates three possibilities when making ethnic dress. One can stylise typical regional costumes, meaning creating different types of dress based on the daily and festive activities of what is assumed to be indigenous people. A second alternative is

to stylise and recreate pre-Hispanic iconography, requiring the study of books and textile collections to find elements that can be utilized. Zaferson was careful to emphasize that "recreating" does not involve copying, rather the aim is to "create over what is created." (personal communication, August 28, 2006) The final possibility is to apply contemporary craft elements into contemporary clothing. This occurs when a fashion designer, for instance, travels to a rural area to buy textiles from artisans which can then be incorporated into their own clothes, on the waistline of a pair of jeans, for example.

As noted above, instead of saying that she is modernizing something from the past, Zaferson prefers to call what she does "recreating". I asked her if this meant reproducing something and she responded that reproducing something would occur only in the case where what one was producing was exact –this would mean that one would have to have the same knowledge as the original producer. Zaferson explained what she does: "I recreate, (ancient textiles) inspire me and I make something else." (personal communication, August 28, 2006) In contrast to how the Ana and Javier choose to refer to their activities, Zaferson's wording seems to distance her more from a pecuniary motivation for what she does toward a moral pursuit which is a virtual palimpsest. Throughout my interview with her she made frequent reference to her struggles to inculcate Peruvians with an appreciation for ethnic wear. Why was is so important for her to justify her clear economic prosperity, thanks very much in part to her recreations, while for Ana and Javier their activities were clearly and openly indicated as being economically motivated? Zaferson is fraught with such contradictions that continually legitimate her creative authority. When I asked her why she recreated, she responded:

> Because I like it, it is one really strong side of identity, above all, the identity of an entire city, because here, recently, it seemed a sin or something terrible that a

> Limeño or any person did not recognize what Peru has. It made me furious. Sometimes I would wear a beautiful *faja*, a *chumpi*[8] that I thought was from some other place, not from Peru, at that time I started to call that ethnic fashion (*moda étnica*). More than twenty years ago, and a friend said to me: Don't call it ethnic because one very well knows that it will go nowhere here. It is better to call it folk fashion or ecological fashion. And, I told her no and little by little people would find out from me that it was that [ethnic fashion]. I stuck with it...now everyone uses it. (personal communication, August 28, 2006)

This anecdote illustrates the aversion for even the mention of ethnic in the 1980s. With the raw traumas of the civil war people would eventually show increased tolerance for the usage of ethnic fashion to such an extent that it is in widespread use at present, however what this acceptance means on a larger scale merits more attention.

The more I delved into Zaferson's writings, which she conveniently placed on her website[9], and the more I analysed the interviews to which she assented, the more nuanced my understanding of the framework for ethnic fashion in general became. What makes me confident that her voice is representative of ethnic fashion designers is that she is an instructor and recognized authority on ethnic fashion in Peru. Her interviews in the mainstream press clearly attest to her position as such. In an article entitled "Ethnic Fashion a Question of Identity" Zaferson argues:

> What example are we going to give to Peruvian designers if we continue looking outside. The thing is to create with what we have, look at the world and offer our images as well. Logically, it [this interpretation] will have to go in hand with fashion, but we should have a presence with more identity. (Zaferson 2007a)

The idea of creating a look that encapsulates identity and the plethora of materials and iconography available entails a certain process.

> The work over this iconography and materials requires the ability to discriminate between the elements of the ensemble so that the result is not multi-coloured and shocking. We have to part from a particularity toward the general which does not necessarily have to be found in the garment, rather in the content to which the garment makes reference. What one does in the field of fashion design, keeping

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[8] Faja is the Spanish and chumpi is Quechua for the woven belt worn by men and women in the Andes.
[9] At the time I accessed the documents I site her website address was: http://home.maine.rr.com/lz/OlgaZaferson

> in mind our ancestral and present culture, must be made with care and responsibility to be continuing a labour began a thousand years ago, when the man who populated our lands maintained a vigilant relation with the forces of his surroundings, where his survival depended on the existent equilibrium between them .... (Zaferson 2007b)

That Zaferson views her work as a redemptive endeavour rife with moral responsibilities and earnest exhortations about respecting the textile traditions of a community that seems to have existed since time immemorial is without question. Another element that seems to course throughout her writings is an urgent appeal for Peruvians to recognize their rich common heritage. I went so far as to insinuate in our interview that what designers were doing was appropriating the ethnic, although she emphatically denied doing this in her work. She agreed that some other designers might in fact be doing this. When can we say that a person has a right to borrow and when does this borrowing become an infringement on the livelihood and artistic traditions of others? How do we determine if an ethnic designer is exoticizing for their own aggrandizement? By listening to what one ethnic designer has to say about what she does we can see that in addition to conclusions drawn about Indian ethnic fashion as being a form of internal exoticization based on an Orientalist appreciation for ethnic dress (Tarlo 1996), a closer inspection reveals that ethnic fashion in Peru also reflects identity projects which work to support notions of an all inclusive nation-state.

Weaving in the Andes

At this point, I would like to shift to the plight of Andean weavers to see if their circumstances can shed some light on how we might go about interpreting this urban business of recreating the past. Based on efforts of designers to rescue traditional

textiles, one gets the impression that Andean weaving is somehow a waning tradition carried out by a dying breed of specialists who lack entrepreneurial skills, thus necessitating the involvement of designers to discriminate between elements which may insult the good taste of urbanites and take the national international. Is this really the case?

Although somewhat unsung, weavers continue to weave their identities in Taquile, Peru (Zorn 2004), Caylloma, in the Colca Valley in Peru (Femenías 2005a, 2005b), Otavalo, Ecuador (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999), and northern Potosí, Bolivia (Zorn 2005). But, to what extent can they be said to maintain their traditions? By tradition I mean the manner in which Glassie (1995) uses it, placing emphasis on volitional temporal action. Conceived as actors who wilfully produce through time, weavers are producers of a tradition that continues –vibrant, creative, innovative, and above all receptive to external tastes and influences. They are vibrant in the way they incorporate new brightly coloured synthetic yarns and they are creative in their surreptitious tactics to subvert the meaning and associations of textile influences and integrate them into their evolving artform and lives in general. Textiles allow Andean weavers to identify one another, differentiate between age groups, positions, spatial and/or ethnic affiliation, determine whether a person is single or married; however at the same time they are susceptible to outside influences which constrain, freeze, appropriate, disguise, and work to represent a notion of ethnic which is defined by actors that speak for/on behalf of/or to weavers (Zorn 2004, 2005; Femenías 2005a, 2005b; Rodman 1997; Franquemont 1997; Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999) . How is one to

conceptualize these interactions[10], these actors with different trajectories and subjectivities that constantly collide?

In order to understand these interactions in other contexts we have already delved into the discursive world of an ethnic designer and an artisan couple. They demonstrated how ethnic dress and the process of making it vary depending on the market, social history, and conceptual framework of the producer. Now, I would like to compare these perspectives on "ethnic dress" (Maynard 2004) with the productive activities of highland weaving communities.

Elayne Zorn (2005) demonstrates that Sakaka people from northern Potosí exhibit various types of fashion. One sharp contrast they often draw is between their clothed bodies, referring to themselves as *runa* (clothed people) versus outsiders who are termed *q'ara* (naked) (Zorn 2005:115-116). *Runa* often bear the brunt of derision in their encounters with outsiders forcing most to change their clothing when going to urban areas. There are various categories of clothing that people wear according to Zorn (2005:128-130). One of the most remarkable for our case is a category of *runa* fashion which corresponds with an innovative weaving genre that incorporates new influences and materials. At the same time, we see a mixing of "traditional" dress with more modern mestizo dress. Zorn argues that conceptual categories of clothing are fluid and reflect the ability of categories to collapse into one another. In effect, we see a combination of elements which has been described by Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld (1999) as engendering a process of hybridization whereby actors mix-match clothing in tastes that are acquired in the transnational trade archipelago. Running shoes, sweat suits and windbreaker jackets combine with modern versions of the weaving of

[10] I propose we look at these interchanges (in a four dimensional sense with multiple paths) as interactions between actors with multiple identifications which create a myriad of possible scenarios in every social event in time. With this concept of an interaction front we can roughly see a hegemonic field (Roseberry 1994) which constrains the actions and choices of subaltern actors.

past generations. The caveat here is that Andean actors are able to incorporate new materials, technologies, and clothing articles into their lifestyles without compromising their identities as indigenous people.

Ethnographic work done in Taquile and Caylloma (Zorn 2004; Femenías 2005a, 2005b) allows us to measure the impact of both domestic and foreign actors on textile communities in the Peruvian Andes. While Femenías seems to take a more optimisitic position, arguing that tourists have made it possible for weavers to continue weaving textiles for their own personal use, Zorn expresses concern over a decline in weaving activities for personal use indicating that the predicament of weavers varies depending on the community.[11] In a similar fashion, both condemn the impact of collectors and the mass buy-up of older more "authentic" textiles. Zorn (2005) finds the repercussion of this deliberate attempt to "conserve" the past suspect in Bolivia as well. What this mass appropriation of the repertoire of old textiles did was to deprive weavers of the message carriers of their predecessors. I agree for the most part with the critiques of these authors, but two factors that these studies are not accounting for is the published print material and electronic access to textile collections that contemporary indigenous people have. From my experience, I know that textile museums which are open to the public operate in Peru, and a number of collections are available in print in Lima at least. It is not such a far leap to imagine artisans gaining access to such material, whether it be through printed material or electronic images. What this access amounts to in reality is uncertain due to the

[11] In my interview with an itinerant artisan from Chincheros I asked her opinion on the use of "traditional" textiles by local designers. Her comment was quite unambiguous: "It is pretty." This opinion is understandable given the continued disparaging treatment received by outwardly indigenous people. It may also reflect the realization that this recent trend may increase the demand for the textiles that are being produced by weaving communities. The expectation that I quite erroneously held was that she would feel that people were being insincere and merely appropriating ethnic textiles. Was I being romantic, or did she just not want to come off as being overly critical, or was she just thinking of more immediate benefits? This raises a point that we need to consider as anthropologists: Can we decide on behalf of our informants if something is unjust?

digital and information divide between the haves and the have-nots. Despite the potential availability of collections, we still need to question what it is that gives these publishers and collectors the authority to decide what is traditional and valuable in weaving. To some degree the artisans are able to make their own interpretations, yet, the frame is still being made by those who present the ethnic to the ethnic (often someone outside of the community). My interview with Javier and Ana illustrates quite unequivocally that some more enterprising artisans choose to consult these archives. I think this point is far from resolved and demands further attention, yet I think that the chullo and its recent popularity allow us to view these processes as they are occurring in Lima.

The chullo is susceptible to the same creative processes and constraints as other exemplars of ethnic fashion. Despite originating in the middle class and upperward, the newly popular chullo has now lost market segmentation. Everyone has been purchasing chullos. Ana gives some insight into the reason for this proliferation:

> People in Lima and Peruvian people, see that a product is in fashion and they begin to buy. This year the chullo has become very fashionable. People from Lima buy a lot just as they do in Europe. (personal communication, August 25, 2006)

At this point, it became necessary to ask for some clarification of this statement because upon inspecting the variety of chullos not all seemed to be the types I had seen worn in Lima (they told me that there were fifty models they had in stock for the national market alone). In general, national and international clients ask for chullos which keep pace with international fashion colour trends. For example, the couple told me how clients often asked for the newest colours. Consequently, the business is forced to respond to these demands. These colours are more often plain darker colours (*colores sobrios*). More vivacious colours (*colores fuertes*) commonly used in the Andes are not favoured in the city because as Javier explains: "They attract

attention for rural dwellers." Normally, "The city does not want this. It is difficult for them to wear them (*colores fuertes*)." In fact, the more traditional chullos that are hand-knit and use natural dyes are reserved almost exclusively for international tourists, but tourists "that know, that appreciate knitwear." (personal communication, August 25, 2006)

Due to the fact that it may take up to a week to produce one of these hand-knit chullos, they are prohibitively expensive for most Limeños. In fact, the explanation that handmade crafts are too expensive was shared by a number of people that I knew. I did not find this to be a valid explanation as the prices of brand named hats was more than a hand-knit chullo. Prices of mass-produced chullos, due to the efforts of artisans like Ana and Javier, are now economical. *Mantas* and other woven pieces will and should remain highly priced because of the labour involved in producing them. Nonetheless, even those who have money are not flooding to buy indigenous textiles. One of my friends who accompanied me to Sidrik's bought two modernized chullos –both were stripped of their ethnic elements, but the form was maintained. To my knowledge, my friend did not wear the chullos at all. She explained that it was too hot on the coast and that she would wear them outside of Peru. Wearing ethnic clothing appears to draw attention that some people are not likely to relish in Lima. Other textile producers and friends who migrated from the Andes or were second or third generation migrants simply explained that the chullo was not something that one wore on the coast. It was for high altitudes with cutting winds and cooler temperatures. The trend in this light seemed like nonsense. Yet, as one of the vendors of chullos in an artisan market explained, cheaper models were being sold in circuses to children. These models are the cheap thinly knit exemplars with little

llamas on the sides. Even though people and the media continued to extol the celebrity of the hat, I was hard pressed to spot people wearing chullos in Lima.

It is hard to ignore the fact that the chullo, which is now emblematic of the acceptance that one may extend to all modernizations or recreations, is based upon a chullo that was most likely a tourist product. The media did not simply accept it. There was a delay, or a clear nod of approval that had to originate from outside indicating the role that foreign mediums of communication play in opening up spaces for expression locally. These spaces, however, may not always benefit the subaltern. On a more negative note, this process seems to complicate notions that Peruvians are all equal or equally appreciated and raises questions about the motivations behind the present nationalization of the chullo. As David, a young textile producer who I interviewed stated: "the success of the chullo was the marketing." (personal communication, August 5, 2006) This marketing included campaigns by Inca Cola and, as we will see in the following section, a group of people who advocated the chullo as a symbol of national pride.

Nationalizing the Chullo

The analysis of the discursive milieu of the chullo suggests that it has come to take on aspects of what Eric Hobsbawm refers to as an invented tradition, but of the type that works to legitimate relations of authority (Hobsbawm 1983:9-14). For some, there is a simultaneous need to root the chullo in the past and represent it as something that all Peruvians should accept as being symbolic of the nation. As an object with a clear indigenous association, it provides evidence that all are equally accepted in a democratic society, however on closer inspection the admonition that all

wear the hat seems both impractical and idealistic. Whatever the case may be, there appears to be an overwhelming consensus of its actual contemporary importance. In an interview for the El Peruano weekend supplement Variedades, Zaferson is unequivocal about the contemporary importance of the chullo:

> When we buy we should take into account that the chullo is an icon of our culture. Peruvians should visit towns, go to the craft markets where the artisans sell their traditional products or those who give added value to this type of handicraft should acquire them. (Vadillo 2006:7)

Vadillo's piece, "*El chullo se puso de moda*" (The chullo becomes fashionable), goes on to illustrate the importance of the chullo for the nation-state (Vadillo 2006:5). We should take these sentiments seriously because the piece appears in a weekend supplement for the daily newspaper that publishes amendments made to Peruvian laws.

Vadillo, along with the various experts he interviews regarding the threat that this garment faces from abroad (mass-produced Chinese chullos), wonders how long it will be before the chullo possesses its guarantee of origin (like the case of Pisco, or a wine)[12], or is recognized as a flag product (*producto bandera*). Historian Luis Repetto states: "what guarantees that there is no problem with the guarantee of origin is the continuity of the product in the daily use of the Peruvian man [sic]." (Vadillo 2006:6) Not only is it wished that the chullo be recognized as distinctly Peruvian, but what is more, it should be the patriotic duty of the Peruvian man to don it to ensure that nobody forgets where it, or he came from. Vadillo goes on to claim that "international fashion has been instrumental in allowing youths from socio-economic sectors C, D, and E to proudly wear this garment that was pejorative when their

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[12] Over the past couple or years there has been an ongoing row between Chile and Peru over which country has the right to use pisco to designated a distillate made from grapes. Slogans such as: Pisco is Peruvian have been stamped on to T-shirts and local authorities throughout the country have declared Pisco days inviting the public to imbibe the beverage pure and in its more common mixed form: Pisco sour. These debates are frequently used by the media to reinvigorate chauvinistic antagonisms, thus reinforcing national solidarity.

grandparents, of Andean origin, wore it to so that the solitudes of the Andes did not cool their thoughts." (Vadillo 2006:6)

The Ana de Carbajal confirms this nationalistic attitude, however her tone is somewhat different. When asked why people liked ethnic things Ana responded:

> Ad.C.: Runways [domestic and international] are giving much importance to what is ours, always rescuing the values that the people have had and young people are realizing that it is a pretty accessory to show off. Why not wear what is ours? (personal communication, August 25, 2006)

While the couple acknowledges the current popularity of the chullo, they still admit that some people mock those who wear clothing from the highlands. This point seems to reinforce the idea that the chullo has undergone a transformation that has seen the weakening of its ethnic association and the emphasis of its role as homogenous national symbol.

This process of sanitization and erasure reoccurs frequently with elements that originate in popular sectors in Peru. Another recent example that I would give is the music genre Raggaetón and the manner in which people dance to this music. At first, the sexually suggestive manner in which popular youths were perceived of as dancing to this music genre resulted in widespread condemnation by people in more affluent areas of the city. After two years, however, the music was being played in the most exclusive discos in Lima. Youths that danced to the music in more exclusive bars tended to de-sexualize the dance practicing a form of self-regulation in sharp contrast to some of the bars where the more sexually explicit form of dance still prevails (personal observations, 2004-2006).

Despite the seeming popularity of this traditional Peruvian hat, I was surprised to find out that in London, Ontario retailers that sold a version of the hat did not know what a chullo was. I asked a young man at one of the local clothing shops what the hat, incidentally made in Nepal, with the prominent earflaps was called. He looked at

me quizzically and responded sarcastically, “A toque?” The opinion of this vendor helped me to realize that not many people in Canada know what a chullo is. For most people it is just a novel new form of toque that unlike its predecessor manages to cover the ears of the wearer. The Peruvian nationalistic fear that the world goes about obliviously wearing chullos that are produced in countries other than Peru seems warranted at this point. It also serves to reinforce the idea that the world is out to steal the treasures of this marginal nation, thus contributing to the need for there to be a nation to protect the rights of its citizens.

Not only is print media involved in promoting the chullo as a national symbol, but Internet sites (both national and international) have also become an important forum for chullo nationalism. The numerous websites that sell “traditional” Andean chullos tend to confirm the provenience and historical trajectory of the hat. One tourism site translates chullo helpfully as “Peruvian hat”.[13] This site has also thoughtfully categorized all Peruvian handicrafts available to the tourist. Philanthropic organizations such as Novica, which is affiliated with National Geographic, offers us the opportunity to buy Maria Ramos Sanchez’s transformation of “traditional attire” in a set of six minature chullos for one’s Christmas tree. The site[14] claims that:

> Mainly worn in the Andean highlands, chullos have been one of Peru’s trademark accessories. Sanchez knits each one from 100% alpaca wool in cheerful shades of orange and green. Alpaca wool has been used in the elaboration of clothing since time immemorial. Inca emperors preferred this type of wool due to its warm and...[it trails off here]

There is then a brief history of Maria explaining her humble origins in the “southern Andean region of Peru” in 1959. Much effort is put into emphasizing the authenticity of the handicrafts that are being produced or to emphasize their use of “traditional”

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[13] Website, http://www.andeantravelweb.com/peru/handicrafts/peru chullos hats handicrafts.html accessed February 13, 2007.
[14] Electronic document, http://www.novica.com/itemdetail/index.cfm?pid=65440&si=0 accessed February 13, 2007.

techniques. There is even a band named Chullo which, "explores and stands out in its production of Andean music with modern vision to touch the heart of people."[15] It seems our penchant for the exotic and local nostalgia reinforces the Peruvian argument that chullos are Peruvian.

Toward a Synthesis –Bringing together the pieces

From Parisian fashion designers, to Peruvian ethnic fashion purveyors, to urban artisans, to rural artisans, the chullo and other articles of ethnic dress have come full circle. By looking at the connections between these actors the larger picture comes into focus. The chullo, like the Cuban *guayabera,*[16] has transcended its humble rural origins and become a metonym used by politicians who seek to identity themselves with popular sentiments (Miller 2005). It is tempting to accept the moral discourse of Peruvian designers and their attempts to salvage identity and reconcile differences; however we must be wary of the authority that these figures possess and ask ourselves: What gives these designers the ability to decide what becomes representative of identity? What is the identity that they promote and who stands to gain? Why are the artisans who traditionally made these hats and other textiles not the proponents of this new fashion? Ultimately, we need to ask who stands to gain from all of this talk of a new appreciation for the ethnic.

The process that we now bear witness to is one whereby local meaning is deftly suppressed with objects being appropriated by both local and international actors who recode objects with values or associations that make objects acceptable to new consumers. At the same time, these new objects become emblems of nations and part

[15] Electronic document, http://cdbaby.com/cd/chullos accessed February 13, 2007.
[16] Light cotton shirt believed to owe its origins to peasant agricultural workers now widely worn outside of Cuba.

of an assemblage to attract tourists to a nation that is still divided by its own internal contradictions. Only time will tell if being fashionable is enough for Peru to overcome centuries of division. One cannot help but notice that at least some shadow of continuity of an exhibitionary order seems to be cast on the appropriations of Europeans in this case. The intention behind these appropriations may not be consciously malign, but the outcome seems to reflect a flow between the runways of France and Peru that does not seem to run equally both directions.

Like print capitalism, mapping, literary endeavours, museums, and the shared histories that Anderson (1991) argues serve to create an imagined community, some hope that ethnic dress and its celebration might help to bring Peruvians from the most forgotten areas of Peru together. If successful, this strategy will illustrate that hegemony need not resort to arms; arms only become necessary when the cajoling fails. What we also seem to see indications of is the ability of actors to reject this flattery by dismissing the exhortations of the state and private enterprise as being impractical. People, especially migrants from the Andes, question why they should wear what is not really even a chullo anymore in the city. Despite the feeling that the chullo may be an impractical thing to wear on the coast, Ana de Carbajal's sentiment that now people seem to be recognizing what has always been present and her sincere challenge question: "Why not wear what is ours?" expresses the hopes of subaltern actors. As anthropologists we seem more drawn to violence and moments when force is being used to dominate people. Perhaps it is time we look at how effective a nod of approval from the outside can be and what this nod really entails.

The case of the chullo further demonstrates the complete lack of intellectual property rights granted to indigenous people for what was originally something that they produced. It is also an indication of who benefits most from intellectual property

rights. When someone decides to borrow from indigenous designs or replicate techniques of artisans this is not viewed in the same light as copying a Nike t-shirt is. For some reason people view adapting a brand as copying, yet the appropriation of the knowledge behind indigenous textiles can be viewed as a creative act and an act that in most cases does not even arouse outrage. On a larger scale the appropriation of cultural products of subaltern groups goes unchecked, but the commercial products of people who can afford to produce and promote them receive a disproportionate and often unfair amount of protection.

Conclusion

From its emergence as a market hub for incoming agricultural produce from the Andes, to its eventual rise as a domestic centre for textiles, what has become Gamarra testifies to the sacrifice and perseverance of generations of migrants in Lima. In this thesis, I have used a multi-sited ethnographic approach to complicate the picture of what occurs in productive complexes like Gamarra where one finds a complex concentration of small scale informal producers. By way of concluding this thesis I will highlight a few key arguments that I have made, and point out possibilities for future research.

What makes the case of Gamarra so fascinating is that one sees in its history not only various state efforts at accommodating and incorporating the growing numbers of popular class migrants that began flooding into Lima in the 1940s, but also the tactics employed by migrants themselves to undermine such efforts. One of the central points I have argued in this thesis is that what typifies Lima's popular class is their ability to constantly subvert and thwart efforts of physical incorporation and cultural assimilation. The businesses that many of these migrants began are today still subject to the same strategies of inclusion enacted by the state. In recent years, some efforts have been made by factions within the state, in the form of state-sponsored programs, to tame Gamarra by registering informal micro and small businesses, encouraging their participation in exportation (which would require formal registration), and cracking-down on the illegal copying of clothing: all strategies that, however well-intended, are received with mixed feelings by the proprietors of these micro and small businesses.

Coinciding with Gamarra's textile boom was an increase in domestic textile demand, reflecting the emergence of an individualistic consumer. The adoption of urban dress and a concern with fashion involved a new type of work for popular classes in Lima which Appardurai argues requires "the social discipline of the imagination, the discipline of learning to link fantasy and nostalgia to the desire for new bundles of commodities." (Appadurai 2005:82) The history of textile consumption briefly outlined in chapter 2 suggests that this work may not be so new and has been occurring since at least the 1950s. What has changed is the intensity of consumption that accompanied the shift to just-in-time production, thus permitting a wider range of individual tastes to be created at a greater pace. According to interviews that I conducted with textile producers in Gamarra, consumer imagining and nostalgia come directly from the everyday interactions of people in Lima as well as the media that textile producers and consumers alike consult when making their decisions: international and domestic magazines, television, marketing campaigns, movies, and the Internet. We should take what small scale producers say as a reflection of consumer behaviour because they have direct contact with consumers often and respond to their fickle demands. In most cases, these textile producers live with the consumers who buy their products.

In future research I hope to complete a genealogy of popular class consumer demand in order to determine the reasons for a shift to the consumption of urban goods. The ubiquity of urban dress and the tendency of social groups to adhere to defined parameters of what it is, even while subverting them, confirms the disciplinary nature of fashion. What is interesting is the necessity of rural Andean, coastal, and jungle migrants to adhere to urban dress codes, however much they might be doing it on their own terms.

This tendency is suggestive of some overarching framework that consumers in general are forced to adhere to. Recent ethnographic work conducted by Zorn (2005) and Femenías (2005a) indicate that some wear urban dress to avoid ridicule in cities. This pressure to become urban in one's consumption habits indicates that the rise in urban dress and fashion in Lima was at least partly due to assimilative pressures, although there are undoubtedly other mitigating factors worth considering.

Ethnographic research with textile producers in Gamarra points to processes of adaptation to and of global fashion trends that have entered the market and popular consciousness through department stores and different modern mediums of communication. The adaptation of global fashion in Lima is complex in nature and worthy of a more intensive investigation than the cursory treatment that I have given in this thesis. It is truly a "monster". Such a research endeavour should consist of an ethnography of consumption in shantytowns since the 1940s. Changes in the tastes, and reasons for these changes could be determined by interviewing first, second, and third generation migrants. At the same time, efforts should be made to link these changes in tastes to processes of identity transformation in an urban environment. The focus should also be on the dialectical construction of place, and especially on the connections that exist between popular places and more elite places within the city. The preliminary work that I have done here suggests that these directions would be worth pursuing.

Chapter 3 clearly indicates that one of the strongest local forces remains the marketing of local department stores and the consumption habits of more elite social groups. I have argued that the production of textiles that follow patterns established by social superiors is a form of symbolic appropriation that constantly forces social superiors to change their

consumption patterns as a consequence. Some elites go the extreme of buying their clothing outside of Peru or asking tailors to make custom clothing for them. The importance of having an original product and emphasizing where one shops takes on more importance as well in an environment where everything is potentially reproducible. As Bourdieu notes in France, it is this constant appropriation that generates continual change in the consumption patterns of socially superior classes (2002:244-256).

What reinforces the argument that textile production in Gamarra represents a form of symbolic appropriation is the common perception that what goes on in Gamarra is "copying". On closer inspection the variety of what is being produced in Gamarra, and the insistence of producers that what they do is “adaptation”, complicates the idea that people here just "copy". Furthermore, copyright laws privilege the rights of department stores and brands in general over small producers. Juan Lino, head of the copyright division of Indecopi, argues that with current copyright laws and enforcement practices "informal businesses are going to make an effort to formalize and make original products." (personal communication, August 10, 2006) This is where the issue of intellectual property rights becomes murky. There are certainly small producers in Gamarra who create original products and would like some sort of protection, and yet the laws that would protect them also give an unfair advantage to their competition: larger brands and the businesses that sell these brands. Small producers are effectively forced to play by the rules dictated by the market leaders who often possess more capital to promote their brands. When one Peruvian brand succeeds, it is taken as evidence that all can achieve the same success if they “play by the rules”.

I strongly feel that copyright laws are wrongheaded because the causes behind why textile producers are producing what some consider to be "illicit" products are misunderstood by institutions like Indecopi. I argue that the reason textile producers are doing this is because they are outmatched by the marketing efforts of brands and department stores. By dedicating resources to Indecopi for the continued harassment of small scale textile producers, the government reveals its intention to reorganize the productive activities of conglomerates like Gamarra. There seem to be two possible outcomes that the government is implicitly favouring: either (a) the growth of a select group of micro and small enterprises into larger formal enterprises (which will contribute to the state) or (b) the subordination of micro and small producers to larger businesses which either supply the domestic market or export. In either case, it is hard to imagine that the bulk of Gamarra's producers will benefit much in the end.

The imbalance of power between department stores and brands, as well as state efforts to formalize micro and small businesses led me to propose that small scale producers are really engaged in tactical behaviour. As much as the government tries to reel in informality with its strategies of inclusion, small informal businesses find new ways of eluding capture. It is this constant play that makes de Certeau's metaphor of a military engagement apt. Textile production in Gamarra in this light comes to take on the appearance of guerilla tactics which resist neoliberal agendas.

My research in Lima has also shown how appropriation seems to go both ways. The case of the chullo and ethnic fashion illustrate how "borrowing" from others has become part of a nation building project. This project purports to give equal recognition to all. Fashion designers outside the country view their activities as those of benevolent cultural

aesthetes bringing beauty to the attention of the general public. Meanwhile, artisans who produce textiles incorporating new materials and techniques of production go unrecognized. Perhaps this is understandable because the two are often producing for very different markets. Artisans, however, do not attribute the same amount of moral weight on what they do as do local ethnic designers, nor do they seem to receive the limelight as local and international ethnic fashion designers do. The attitude of these two positions seems very different, and frankly one that merits further investigation. Artisans are elated to finally be recognized and are beginning to modernize their production in the search for new markets, while ethnic fashion designers speak of creating new identities and what amounts to rescuing ethnic dress, thus downplaying the fact that there are artisans who share similar objectives. I am not certain how reconcilable these two positions are and if there are possibilities for dialogue. Needless to say, this is an area that I still need to investigate further.

One lesson to be learned from the juxtaposition of the creative processes of micro and small textile producers in Gamarra and those of fashion designers is that the "copying" of some and the "creativity" of others may have more in common than many acknowledge. Fashion designers have creative license that is not comparable with that of Gamarra's small scale producers. Designers are free to take as the please without any legal consequences. Textile producers in Gamarra, however, must constantly be careful not to get too close to the coveted brand identities fostered by private enterprises. Even if they draw inspiration from elsewhere, they are often seen as producing inferior imitations. So, while large merchandising corporations and brands inundate markets with images of their products, textile producers in Gamarra are generally perceived as criminals, or

unimaginative followers, for attempting to find ingenuous ways of gaining a competitive advantage. I am still not convinced of the logic that fostering originality will automatically lead to formalization, nor am I convinced that a crackdown on what is now deemed "copying" is in the best interests of the majority of micro and small businesses in Gamarra. This seems to be a question more suited for the expertise of an economist. What I can say with confidence is that the perception that all that goes on in Gamarra is copying is overly simplistic in that it ignores the creativity inherent in small scale producer's responses to a dominant system of ideas about what appropriate dress is and is not and who has the right to draw inspiration from whom.

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SURVEILLANCE REPORT ~ NMREB

SR Frequency: **Annual**

This form must be returned to the Office of Research Ethics by: ***September 30, 2006***

Send signed original ~ Do not fax.
Failure to complete and return this form in a timely manner may result in withdrawal of ethics approval.

Review Number	Investigator: Dr. A.K. Clark	
12280S	Anthropology	University of Western Ontario

Understanding global and local discourses in Gamarra

Approval Expires: September 30, 2006 ← Check this date carefully.
If Imminent - Close or Extend End Date

Signature of Principal Investigator (Local) : Date: Sept 29/06

STUDY STATUS	√	Instructions
Completed		If study completed, fill out **End of Study Summary Report on reverse**.
Continuing		Complete balance of form. Soon to Expire? **End Date Extension on reverse.**
Start still pending		On an attached sheet indicate *why study has not yet started.* N.B. Studies that do not start within 12 months of ethics approval date will be required to reapply for ethics approval. For multi-centre studies, studies will be deemed to have started if entire study is underway even though no local subjects have yet been enrolled.
Study not to be started		On an attached sheet indicate *why study not to be started.* N.B. The ethics approval for this project will be withdrawn. If you want to proceed with the study in the future you must reapply for ethics approval.

	The following questions are *to be completed only for studies that have started*. Please respond for **YOUR SITE ONLY.** How many participants...	In past 12 months only	Cumulative since study start including past 12 months
a	**have been enrolled?** (i.e. total enrolment including dropouts)	58	58
b	**have completed the study?**	58	58
c	**have had a serious or unexpected adverse event?** *If an adverse event has not yet been reported to the REB submit a letter with this report explaining the problem.*	Ø	Ø
d	**have dropped out or been withdrawn from the study?** *If participants have dropped out or been withdrawn from the study in the past 12 months please describe, on an attached sheet, the reasons for their departure from the study.*	Ø	Ø
	How many participants remain to be enrolled at your site?	Ø	

CHECK THE APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE

If you want to extend the Expiry Date that is shown above, you must complete the End Date Extension on the reverse of this form. Indicate the revised end date and provide a brief explanation/rationale.

NMREB END OF STUDY SUMMARY REPORT/END DATE EXTENSION
FORM 3F-006a Revised 2006-08-01 *SR Attachment*

SECTION A
FILL IN SECTION A ONLY IF THE STUDY IS COMPLETE & THE REB FILE IS TO BE CLOSED.

I confirm that this study is now complete and request that the Research Ethics Board file on this study be closed.	
Signature of Principal Investigator:	Date: Sept 29/06

	If this is a multi-centred study please respond for your site only. How many participants...	FOR ENTIRE STUDY PERIOD
1		
a	have been enrolled?	58
b	have completed the study?	58
c	have had a serious or unexpected adverse event or experience?	Ø
d	have dropped out or been withdrawn from the study?	Ø

			√
2	Have all local serious and unexpected adverse events or experiences been reported to the UWO NMREB? N/A.	YES	
		NO	
	If NO, submit them with this form		
3			√
a	Have all the data been collected? *(Study may **not** be closed out until this is complete)*	YES	✓
		NO	
b	Has all contact with study participants concluded? *(Study may **not** be closed out until this complete)*	YES	✓
		NO	
c	Have all study-related data analyses been completed? *(Study may be closed even if data analyses are not complete)*	YES	
		NO	✓

SECTION B
FILL IN SECTION B ONLY IF THE STUDY IS CONTINUING & YOU REQUIRE AN EXTENSION OF THE END DATE

END DATE EXTENSION REQUEST	**Revised End Date:**	
Explanation / Rationale for extension:		
Signature of Principal Investigator:		**Date:**