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Weaving Social Change(s) or Changes of Weaving? The Ethnographic Study of Andean Textiles in Cusco and Bolivia

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Abstract

Through a comparative and multi-sited ethnography in Cusco (Peru) and Bolivia, the article shows how, by mobilizing Andean textiles, local actors are weaving social change(s) while also changing the way of weaving. These two ideas are interwoven: 1) Andean textiles contribute to local population to weave social change(s) by bringing alternative economic opportunities; 2) weaving practices are changing, since new fashionable, industrial, and “hybrid” production has been created and adapted to an urban-oriented/tourist-oriented market which provides money to make the social change(s) possible.

Résumé

À travers une ethnographie comparative et multi-située à Cusco (Pérou) et en Bolivie, l'article montre comment, en mobilisant les textiles andins, les acteurs locaux tissent des changements sociaux tout en changeant le mode de tisser. Ces deux idées sont liées : 1) les textiles andins contribuent à tisser ces changements en offrant des opportunités économiques ; 2) les pratiques de tissage changent, puisqu'une nouvelle production de mode, industrielle et « hybride » a été créée et adaptée à un marché urbain/touristique qui fournit de l'argent rendant possible ces changements sociaux.

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Introduction*

The present article approaches contemporary Andean textiles, by comparing ethnographic data from my fieldwork research in Peru (2014-2015) and Bolivia (2016). I show how Andean textile activity and objects allow local people to weave social change(s) while changing ways of weaving, in response to demands by contemporary market. Adopting the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) perspective, Andean textiles are considered as important non-human actors. By articulating commercial transactions and cultural elements, Andean textiles play a major role in making the social change(s) possible in human daily life.

I will first present my two fieldworks in Peru and Bolivia, including my theoretical perspective and methodological approach. Then, by comparing these two fieldworks, I will deliver the principal findings organized in terms of diversity, circulation, roles and economic-cultural-patrimony entwined dimensions. Two main ideas will be analyzed, namely how “weaving practices are changing”, and how “weaving practices bring about social changes” among local communities. To conclude, the two ideas will be interwoven, shedding light on the “other-modernity” problematic in this issue.

1. Contextualization

1.1. Into the Contemporary Andean Textiles in Cusco

My doctoral research analyzes the human-object relationship taking the case study of Andean textiles in the Cusco region.¹ Based on ethnographic fieldwork in 2014 (one year) and 2015 (two months), my study shows the contemporary

importance of the Andean textiles, such as playing several “roles” in both local and tourist spaces. It highlights how, in daily life, people interact with textile objects, acting *together*² for different purposes: utilitarian, decorative, protection against spirits, ritualistic, identity-related, as a source of income, etc.

But, what do “Andean textiles” mean? People usually associate “Andean textiles” to a handmade production, mostly performed by Andean indigenous communities. Frequently considered as “traditional”, these objects bring us back to the pre-Hispanic period, at least to the Incas (1250-1532). Indeed, Incas and other pre-Incas societies mastered textiles production using looms and elaborating a huge amount of garments they used in different ways.³ The Quechua term of *away* – to weave – refers to this handmade production using looms, in the case of Cusco the most used being back-strap loom (Fig. 1, left side). If this production is generally performed by *comuneros*, indigenous people of Andean communities,⁴ it is not always the rule. The term *away* has been translated in Spanish by *awayo* and refers even to industrial-made production because of the similar aesthetic appearance (Fig. 1, right side).

However, what do I – as anthropologist – understand by “Andean textiles”? By doing my research I have enlarged their scope since other garments were associated to them, materially or by the people’s discourse. I propose 6 sub-categories of “Andean textiles” (Fig. 2).

This proposition shows contemporary features of Andean textiles both in terms of material production (i.e. objects’ diversity) and materiality⁵ that is more and more industrial-manufactured (i.e.

* The present article is rather an approximation of contemporary Andean textile by comparing ethnographic data from my fieldwork research in the Cusco region, Peru (2014-2015) and my research in Bolivia (July-August 2016). It shows how Andean textile activity and objects allow local people to weave social change(s) while the way of weaving is also changing adapted to contemporary market. I especially thank Professor Silvia Naef for encouraging me to submit this manuscript. I also acknowledge Minja Leko, Anina Riggenbach, Emanuele Politi, and Danilo Bolano for improving the writing quality of this article.

¹ Cristian Terry, “Tisser la valeur au quotidien. Une cartographie de l’interaction entre humains et textiles andins dans la région de Cusco à l’heure du tourisme du XXI^e siècle” (PhD Dissertation, Université de Lausanne, 2019).

² See *togethering* below.

³ See Lila O’neale and A.L. Kroeber, “Textile Periods of Ancient Peru,” *American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28, no. 2 (1930): 23–56; John V. Murra, “Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State,” *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962): 710–28; Raoul D’Harcourt, *Textiles of Ancient Peru and Their Techniques* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002 [1934]).

⁴ In Peru, the official name is “Peasant communities” (*comunidades campesinas*). However, I prefer the term “Andean communities” or “*comuneros*” since people who live there are of course peasants, but they work in different activities such as tourism or textile.

⁵ Tim Ingold, “Materials against Materiality,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, no. 1 (June 2007): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1380203807002127>. See also Fernando Dominguez Rubio, “On the Discrepancy between Objects and Things: An Ecological Approach,” *Journal of Material Culture* 21, no. 1 (2016): 59–86, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183515624128>.



Figure 1. Handmade and Industrial awayo. Left side: an adolescent *comunera* weaving on back-strap loom. Cristian Terry, January 10th, 2015. Right side: industrial *awayo* sold in Cusco City. Cristian Terry, January 8th, 2015.

industrial *awayo*, sub-category 3) or sometimes “hybrid” (sub-category 5). For instance, nowadays people can buy shoes or bags that combine leather with *awayo*, mostly industrial-made. These contemporary objects are sometimes inspired from pre-Hispanic production contributing to the idea of past-present “continuity.” For example, *Kuna* – one of the most important Peruvian industrial-made Alpaca cloths (sub-category 6) – has recently created a women line called *Millenium* that reproduces pre-Columbian iconography.

The contemporary aspect of Andean textiles’ production brings also together rural and urban spaces. Different products I mention are in fact fabricated not only by rural *comuneros* weavers of the Cusco region, but also by urban *Cusqueños*.

Although this categorization can be criticized and needs certainly further adjustments, it is rather a tentative to apprehend the emergence of new textile objects that have a certain familiarity with what people broadly considered as Andean textiles and that show a tendency to appear more and more physically close to a “global” production (like sub-categories 5 & 6).

Apart from the clarification of my broad Andean textiles’ definition, I have to explicit my use of the term “roles.” Inspired by Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as an epistemological approach,⁶ I look at Andean textiles as “actors,” like human beings, considering that divers “modes of existence”⁷ play roles in our daily actions. Other social scientists

⁶ Since I learnt about the existence of ANT after my fieldwork, I cannot pretend to use it as a methodological tool, as proposed by Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Nonetheless, I use ANT as an epistemological tool to rethink Andean textiles as being part of the materiality of our social work (Dominique Vinck, “De l’objet intermédiaire à l’objet-frontière. Vers la prise en compte du travail d’équipement,” *Revue d’anthropologie des connaissances* 3, no. 1 (June 22, 2009), 52, <https://doi.org/10.3917/rac.006.0051>), as “mediators” (Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; Soumhya Venkatesan, “Rethinking Agency: Persons and Things in the Heterotopia of “Traditional Indian Craft,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15, no. 1 (2009): 78–95.) to promote a non anthropocentric anthropology (Ives Citton and Saskia Walentowitz, “Pour une écologie des lignes et des tissages,” *Revue des livres*, no. 4 (March 2012), 37.), which can be linked somewhat with the so-called “ontological turn” in anthropology (Philippe Descola, *Par-delà nature et culture*

(Paris: Gallimard, 2005); Tim Ingold, “Rethinking the Animate, Re-Animating Thought,” *Ethnos* 71, no. 1 (2006): 9–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141840600603111>; Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (Londres; New York: Routledge, 2011); see in the Andes Marisol De la Cadena, *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice across Andean Worlds* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2015); Geremia Cometti, *Lorsque le brouillard a cessé de nous écouter. Changement climatique et migration chez les Q’eros des Andes Péruviennes* (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles [etc.]: Peter Lang, 2015); Geremia Cometti, “Chapitre 14. Changement climatique et crise des relations de réciprocité dans les Andes péruviennes,” in *Penser l’Anthropocène*, ed. Rémi Beau and Catherine Larrère (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po (P.F.N.S.P.), 2018), 235–47, <https://www.cairn.info/penser-l-anthropocene--9782724622102-page-235.htm>.
⁷ Bruno Latour, *Enquête sur les modes d’existence: une anthropologie des Modernes* (Paris: La Découverte, 2012).



Figure 2. Andean textiles' categorization. Elaborated by Cristian Terry.

consider these non-human entities as actors, namely Alfred Gell when speaking of artworks⁸ or Soumhya Venkatesan vis-à-vis textiles,⁹ the latter inspired by Bruno Latour's work.¹⁰ I also follow other authors using ANT and this broader conception of social actors, who are interested in tourism dynamics.¹¹ Others working in Science and Technology Studies (STS) are also aware about these non-human actors playing an important role in society, being part of it.¹² Within this framework, the action here must be understood as a "interaction," i.e. as an action *between* actors, humans or not (see Ingold's *togetherness*¹³). This *interaction* acknowledges the constant human-non-

human reassemblings and relationalities, highlighted by ANT and STS.

By walking around Cusco city I have seen locals, and national and international tourists using textiles for clothing. Local women usually use them to bring their children back on their shoulders. During Carnivals, *comuneros* perform dances using ponchos, *lliqla*,¹⁴ hats or *chullos* as a part of their *trajes típicos* ("typical clothing"). Their colors and iconography are seen as a sort of "flags" belonging to a particular Andean community (Fig. 3).

At weddings, I have also seen the future married couple wearing *trajes típicos* as a wedding clothing. In hotels or restaurants, it is possible to find

⁸ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁹ Soumhya Venkatesan, "Rethinking Agency: Persons and Things in the Heterotopia of 'Traditional Indian Craft,'" *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15, no. 1 (2009): 78–95.

¹⁰ See also Claire Tollis, ed., *L'effet Latour: ses modes d'existence dans les travaux doctoraux* (Paris: Glyphe, 2014).

¹¹ Carina Ren, "Non-Human Agency, Radical Ontology and Tourism Realities," *Annals of Tourism Research* 38, no. 3 (2011): 858–81,

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.12.007>; Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson, Carina Ren, and René Van der Duim, eds., *Actor-Network Theory and Tourism: Ordering, Materiality and Multiplicity* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012).

¹² Dominique Vinck, "Les objets intermédiaires dans les réseaux de coopération scientifique. Contribution à la prise en compte des objets dans les dynamiques sociales," *Revue Française de Sociologie* 40, no. 2 (1999): 385–414; Nicolas Veyrat, Éric Blanco, and Pascale Trompette, "L'objet incorporé et la logique des situations. Les lunettes au fil de l'histoire et au gré des usages," *Revue d'anthropologie des connaissances* 1, no. 1 (February 1, 2007): 59–83,

<https://doi.org/10.3917/rac.001.0059>; Marie-Pierre Julien and Céline Rosselin, eds., *Le sujet contre les objets... tout contre: ethnographies de cultures matérielles* (Paris: CTHS, 2009); Dominique Vinck et al, Alexandre Camus, and Florian Jatton, "Localités distribuées, globalités localisées: actions, actants et médiations au service de l'ethnographie du numérique," *Symposium* 22, no. 1 (2018): 41–60.

¹³ Ingold, *Being Alive*, 221.

¹⁴ A rectangular textile used by women on their backs as a part of their clothing.



Figure 3. Ponchos & Chullos from different rural Andean communities in Pisac (Cusco). Cristian Terry, February 14th, 2014 in the Chawaytire community.

industrial or handmade *awayo*, displayed on tables or employed as a decoration. They can also be used for enacting rituals. Once a Q'eros¹⁵ shaman “read” coca leaves to me and told my future. This reading is performed by using a handmade *unkhuna* – rectangular piece of textile – as material support that allows to read the leaves according to their positions. In Q'ero as in other Andean communities like Chawaytire (Pisac district), *lloqepaña* is used as a protection against spirits. *Lloqepaña* is a technique that combines natural fibers (wool or alpaca) spun in left (*lloqe*) and right (*paña*) directions. Besides, for weavers, other textile artists¹⁶ and sellers, the commercialization of these

objects constitutes as source of income. This highlights the economic importance or role of Andean textiles beyond the utilitarian, decorative or ritual uses. Today, new forms of production are invented as *telar* (adaptation of back-loom production in a pedal-loom) in order to accelerate the production and increase income.

This economic dynamic mobilizes often a “cultural” or “patrimonial” dynamics, since production aspects are linked with “tradition,” “authentic,” “heritage,” or even “symbolic” features that are not only present in peoples’ mind but also in academic works, mostly by anthropologists.¹⁷

¹⁵ Q'ero is very well-known region (province of Paucartambo) for its shamans (*paqos*), romantically catalogued as the “last Incas.” See Jorge A. Flores Ochoa and Juan Victor Núñez del Prado, eds., *Q'ero, el último ayllu inka: homenaje a Óscar Núñez del Prado y a la expedición científica de la UNSAAC a la nación Q'ero en 1955* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura; Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 2005 [1983]).

¹⁶ To simplify, I use here the term of “artists” which includes the so-called “artisans.” The border between arts and crafts is permeable and rather arbitrary, and the terms

are used sometimes as synonyms. See Bernard Lafargue, ed., *Artiste - artisan* (Paris: PUP, 2004).

¹⁷ E.g. Rita Prochaska, *Taquile y sus tejidos* (Lima: Arius, 1990); Edward M. Franquemont, Christine Franquemont, and Billie Jean Isbell, “Awaq ñawin : el ojo del tejedor. La práctica de la cultura en el tejido,” *Revista Andina* 10, no. 1 (1992): 47–80; Katherine E. Seibold, “Textile and Cosmology in Choquecancha, Cusco, Peru,” in *Andean Cosmologies Through Time: Persistence and Emergence*, by Robert V. H. Dover

Last but not least, Andean textiles are also important for tourists, particularly in terms of souvenir, as I could witness by observing and talking to tourists in Peru and Bolivia. “Souvenir” is understood here in a double meaning: the material souvenir (i.e. the object) and the (senti)mental¹⁸ souvenir (i.e. what the object evokes to the person). Tourists buy souvenirs for themselves or as gifts. These objects acquire a personal value for the visitors as they remind them the place or the moment where they bought the item, the person (weaver, producer or seller) who sold it, a particular anecdote that happened in that moment, the person that gave to them (in the case of gifts), and so on. These objects are thus part of their touristic experience and peoples’ souvenirs.¹⁹

1.2. Toward a “Multi-Sited Ethnography”: from Cusco to Elsewhere

The latter description shows the importance of Andean textiles in terms of roles they play in different local and tourist spaces in Cusco. However, this is not limited to this region. Indeed, my fieldwork brought me to other regions inside and outside the country. By doing my research, I have realized that Andean textiles move away from my “initial” fieldwork for commercial reasons (i.e. offer diversification), but also because visitors bring with them and use them at home (i.e. mostly in utilitarian, decorative roles and/or as a souvenir).

In this context, Andean textiles circulate in different material forms and in different places. They are

produced in the Cusco region and can move outside or be elaborated elsewhere and sold in Cusco. This circulation aspect, along with my travel experience, has pushed me to adopt a “multi-sited ethnography.”²⁰ In Peru, I have visited for instance Lima and Arequipa’s “Handicraft Centers” (*Centros Artesanales*) where sellers affirmed that some garments come from the Cusco region. Even far from the Peruvian Andes, in the Amazonian city of Iquitos, I have observed people selling Andean textiles, if not the “same,” at least “similar” to those that are frequently commercialized in Cusco.

In Chile and Argentina, people were also selling these kinds of goods. Sometimes, the “same” hat has a different inscription: “Chile” rather than “Peru,” “Cusco,” or “Machu Picchu.” Outside South America, I have found these “same” objects in Panama, mostly industrial-made, or in France and Switzerland during Christmas fairs. Usually, some fair-trade associations or Peruvian migrants were selling those. Besides, in Switzerland, people at the University or walking in the streets were using one of “my Andean textiles.” I was told that they were either a gift from “some place in the Andes” (if the answer was not “Peru,” “Cusco,” or “Bolivia”) or a souvenir from their Andean trip.

Even though my core research remains the Cusco region, by “following things,”²¹ i.e. Andean textiles, sometimes while I was doing tourism, my fieldwork became a multi-sited going beyond regional boundaries. Actually, my position as “tourist-researcher”²² contributed to following Andean textiles in different places and regions. Rather than

and Katharine E. Seibold (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Gail P. Silverman, *El tejido andino: un libro de sabiduría* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1994); Andrea Heckman, “Textile Traditions of Ausangate, Peru and Indigenous Strategies for Dealing With Tourism and the Cuzco Market,” *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 1998, 184–93; Denise Y. Arnold, Juan de Dios Yapita, and Elvira Espejo Ayka, *Hilos sueltos: los Andes desde el textil* (La Paz: ILCA, 2007); Sophie Desrosiers, “Lógicas textiles y lógicas culturales en los Andes,” in *Saberes y memorias en los andes: in memoriam Thierry Saignes*, ed. Thérèse Bouysse Cassagne (Paris: Éditions de l’IHEAL, 2014), 325–49, <http://books.openedition.org/iheal/825>.

¹⁸ I use the parenthesis to include a possible sentimental dimension. This can be related to the “attachment values” described by Anne Beyaert-Geslin, *Sémiotique des objets: la matière du temps* (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2015), 145. See also Laurier Turgeon, “La mémoire de la culture matérielle et la culture matérielle de la mémoire,” in *Objets & mémoires*, ed. Octave Debary and Laurier Turgeon (Paris; Québec: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l’homme; Presses de l’Université Laval, 2007), 24. At this respect, see the famous example of Proust’s madeleine which reminds him his childhood in France. Marcel Proust, *A la recherche du temps perdu. Du côté de chez Swann* (Paris: Gallimard, 1946), 95–96, 100, <https://beq.ebooksgratuits.com/auteurs/Proust/Proust-01.pdf>. If this example is not directly linked with tourist objects, it evokes the (senti)mental souvenir I argue here.

¹⁹ Mary Ann Littrell, “Symbolic Significance of Textile Crafts for Tourists,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 17, no. 2 (1990): 228–45, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(90\)90085-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(90)90085-6); Soyoung Kim and Mary A. Littrell, “Souvenir Buying Intentions for Self versus Others,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 3 (2001): 638–57, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(00\)00064-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(00)00064-5); Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt et al., eds., *Performing Tourist Places*, New Directions in Tourism Analysis (Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate, 2004); Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, “On Souvenirs and Metonymy: Narratives of Memory, Metaphor and Materiality,” *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 1 (April 1, 2005): 29–53, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797605062714>; Marie-Blanche Fourcade, “De l’Arménie au Québec : Itinéraires de souvenirs touristiques,” *Ethnologies* 27, no. 1 (2005): 245–76, <https://doi.org/10.7202/014029ar>. See also Octave Debary and Laurier Turgeon, eds., *Objets & mémoires* (Paris : Sainte-Foy: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l’homme ; Presses de l’Université Laval, 2007).

²⁰ George E. Marcus, “Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117.

²¹ Appadurai, Arjun. “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value.” In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [1987]), 5. See also Marcus, George E. “Ethnography in/of the World System,” 106–110.

²² See Simoni & McCabe who talks about “tourist/ethnographer” in Cuba. Valerio Simoni and Scott McCabe, “From ethnographers to tourists and back again. On

overshadowing the interlocutor's experiences, being a tourist doing ethnography was complementary to the research. As argued by other social researchers, apprehending and living the phenomenon personally completes classical ethnography,²³ “a method that allows ethnographers to use their own experiences as a route through which to produce academic knowledge.”²⁴

1.3. Following Bolivian Andean Textiles

It is important to acknowledge the previous description of my doctoral study to better understand my three-week research in Bolivia from 15th July to 7th August, 2016. My multi-sited approach had actually pushed me to build a research project around Bolivian Andean textiles. Moreover, my interviewees in Cusco – mostly sellers at Handicraft Centers and at the men's jail²⁵ – told me about the Bolivian textiles sold in Cusco either as merchandise (mostly industrial *awayo*; sub-category 3) or used as a raw material to produce manufactured “hybrid” items (e.g. shoes, bags, wallets, etc.; sub-category 5). The cheaper price was the principal motivation of buying Bolivian textiles (which was also the main argument to buy industrial *awayos* from Juliaca, Peruvian highlands city close to Bolivia). This phenomenon was indeed the manifestation of and contributes to the textile circulation that I found doing my doctoral research. My travel to Bolivia was thus important in order to figure out this circulation from the other side of the Peruvian border and to know more about industrial *awayos*, besides the very well documented Bolivian handmade *awayos*.²⁶

positioning issues in the anthropology of tourism,” *Civilisations. Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines*, no. 57 (December 29, 2008): 173–89, <https://doi.org/10.4000/civilisations.1276>.

²³ Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner, “Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject,” in *Autoethnography*, ed. Pat Sikes, vol. I (Los Angeles, etc.: SAGE Publications, 2013 [2000]), 125–73; Leon Anderson, “Analytic Autoethnography,” in *Autoethnography*, ed. Pat Sikes, vol. II (Los Angeles, etc.: SAGE Publications, 2013 [2006]), 69–89; Pat Sikes, “Editor's Introduction: An Autoethnographic Preamble,” in *Autoethnography*, ed. Pat Sikes, vol. I (Los Angeles, etc.: SAGE Publications, 2013), xxi–lii; Claire Vionnet, “L'ombre du geste : le(s) sens de l'expérience en danse contemporaine” (PhD Dissertation, Université de Lausanne, 2018).

²⁴ Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Los Angeles: Sage Publ, 2009), 64.

I was then aware of this handmade production before arriving to Bolivia, for instance, about Jalq'a textiles shown by Teresa Gisbert & al.'s book²⁷ that were unfamiliar to me in comparison to handmade *awayos* in Cusco and in Peru. By doing my research in Bolivia, I was interested in following the Andean textiles.

1.4. Weaving my Research in Bolivia

The summer doctoral school's theme was “Law, Ideology and Social Change.” So I decided to focus on social change by addressing the following research question: “to which extent are local populations weaving social change(s) by mobilizing Andean textiles, activity and objects”²⁸? By “weaving social change(s),” I consider local people using Andean textiles to build their own present/future in socio-economic and cultural terms, to perform change(s) in their daily lives through textile activity and objects. If so, who are these “local people”? Only weavers? And, as in the Peruvian case, is there any local self-consumption production and/or marked-oriented production, for instance for the tourism market? These questions were formulated before my arrival to Bolivia.

The doctoral school I attended was located in La Paz, Sucre and Santa Cruz. I was interested in actors being directly concerned by textile activity. I arrived three days before the beginning of the school, which gave me a little time to start with some observations in La Paz. I did my research in the city center, mainly around the “handicraft” market (with an important tourist frequentation). Several shops actually sold textile items, either familiar or rather new to me. I also visited some

²⁵ Within a socio-professional insertion program, prisoners produce for instance handmade *awayos* in back-strap or *telar* looms. According to the selling responsible, some of the merchandise goes to Bolivia.

²⁶ E.g. Sophie Desrosiers, “Le tissu comme un être vivant? A propos du tissage à quatre lisières dans les Andes,” in *Lisières & bordures. Actes des premières journées d'études de l'Association Française pour l'Étude du Textile (Paris, 13-14 juin 1996)*, by Sophie Desrosiers, Danielle Geirnaert, and Nicole Pellegrin (Paris: Les Gorgones, Bonnes, 2000), 117–25; Arnold, Yapita, and Ayka, *Hilos sueltos*; Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2010 [1987]).

²⁷ Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*.

²⁸ I follow here the Femenías' definition where Andean textiles are “the process of becoming” (i.e. textile activity) “as well as the thing that is” (i.e. textile object). Blenda Femenías, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress in Contemporary Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 24.

places such as El Alto (La Paz's outskirts) that produced industrial *awayos* or the Museum of Folklore and Ethnology (MUSEF) that has an important Andean textiles' collection and sells handmade *awayos*. I also met a fashion designer who uses Andean textiles in her creations.

Outside La Paz, I was particularly interested in the work of ASUR – the Foundation for Anthropological Research and Ethno-development, Anthropologists of the Southern Andes.²⁹ ASUR owns an Indigenous Textiles Museum featuring handmade *awayos* from the Sucre and Potosi regions. I also met a weavers-based association, *Inca Pallas*, that sells textiles, principally from Sucre and Potosi as well. In Santa Cruz, away from the Bolivian Andes, Andean textiles were less used and present, though sold in some tourist shops. Besides, while travelling or staying in hostels in these three places, I interacted with tourists in Bolivia which was very informative about their practices of buying textiles (for personal use or as gifts). Unlike the Cusco region, where I met foreigners and national tourists (mainly from Lima), in Bolivia, I have interacted only with international tourists from South America and Europe principally.³⁰

The research in Bolivia was mainly based on participant-observation and interviews. I have also looked at some articles in newspapers, advertising or brochures. Unexpectedly, my four-day tour to Uyuni with my family in August gave me another opportunity to apprehend Andean textiles in a commercialized context along with the local uses.

2. Main Findings

Below I sum up the main findings from my fieldwork research in Bolivia. By a comparison with my doctoral research, I show similar dynamics in Bolivia and Peru, besides their particularities, giving a broader picture about contemporary Andean textiles. I first develop the idea of “changes

of weaving” and then I continue with that of “weaving social change(s).”

2.1. Changes of Weaving

Textile Diversity & Diversification

Andean textiles in Bolivia share certain common elements with those in the Cusco region (Peru), beyond their particularities. The used fibers can be more or less the same (wool, alpaca or synthetic). The clothing objects are rather similar: hats, scarfs, socks, etc., mostly in Alpaca or baby Alpaca and sold in shops like *Atelier Alpaca & Arte* (La Paz). This kind of shops resembled those that one can find in Cusco such as *Kuna* or *Sol Alpaca*, that exist also in other Peruvian cities and even outside Peru (e.g. Santiago de Chile).

Besides this clothing garments, a huge range of objects sold in the “tourist” handicraft markets entails my Andean textiles' categorization. For instance, there are “hybrid” objects that mix mostly leather and textiles as in the Cusco market. In comparison to Cusco, in Bolivian shops the quantity seems nonetheless to vary from one type of object to another. I have observed only few shops that sell for example shoes (boots or sneakers) with *awayo*. In Cusco, different shops specialized in this domain sell these “hybrid” shoes. On the contrary, I have bought as a gift for an Italian friend a leather wallet with handmade *awayo* (see below Fig. 4, left side) that I had never seen in Cusco, though the pattern (i.e. *Loraypo*) is supposed to be from Chinchero (name of the village and the district).

Similarly, I have seen in Bolivia other *awayo* objects for the first time. For instance, I have bought two pieces of work conceived to store iPads or tablets made with Bolivian handmade *awayos*. Similarly to these, other Jalq'a and Tarabuco's textiles have a totally different aesthetic from *Cusqueño* handmade *awayo* in terms of colors and patterns. In this respect, Jalq'a creations are completely different

²⁹ <http://www.asur.org.bo/en/home>

³⁰ Mainly from Western Europe (Spain, France, Switzerland, Germany), in a lesser degree from Asia and other continents. The heterogeneity of visitors is considerable in Cusco (see Nathalie Raymond, “Cuzco : Du 'nombri du monde' au coeur touristique du Pérou,” *Cahiers Des Ameriques Latines*, no. 37 (2001): 121–39; DIRCETUR-Cusco,

“Boletín estadístico de turismo 2013” (Cusco: Dirección Regional de Comercio Exterior y Turismo Cusco, 2014) and in Bolivia (INE, “Estadísticas de turismo 2008-2013” (La Paz: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2014), <https://ibce.org.bo/images/publicaciones/Estadisticas-Turismo-2008-2013.pdf>). In Cusco and Bolivia, the tourist I met oscillate roughly between 19 and 60 years old.

from what I have observed elsewhere. The “disorder” of the patterns’ disposition (mostly zoomorphic and anthropomorphic) tends to characterize Jalq’a aesthetic.

It will be impossible to describe any object I have observed in Bolivia. However, it is possible to apprehend the Andean textiles’ diversity exposed for instance in museums (e.g. MUSEF or ASUR) or sold on the market. The latter nowadays encourages production of new objects adapted to contemporary user needs (e.g. iPad case). The market is therefore contributing to increase the objects’ diversity, which is considerable if we take together the Peruvian and Bolivian creations. In this regard, the market demand has to be seen as a source of creativity.³¹ The emergence of new objects is sometimes accompanied by the disappearance of others. This configuration is part of the “social life of things,”³² here of contemporary Andean textiles, where their commodification is one step of their life,³³ probably getting more and more important in the case of objects such as Andean textiles sold in tourist and urban markets. This expansion of commoditization has already been argued by Igor Kopytoff.³⁴

Textile Circulation: Andean Textiles as Travelers

Andean textiles are travelers: this is more than a metaphor. As mentioned before, by doing my doctoral research, I have realized the textiles’ circulation (objects, patterns, ideas, techniques, etc.).

In Bolivia, the situation was not different. Actually, vendors explicitly confirmed the circulation of objects between Bolivia and Peru. Depending on the object or the raw material, the circulation was from one side to the other. For instance, Alpaca fibers seem to be imported from Peru, according to

some vendors. This idea is supported by statistics showing that Peru has the most important quantity of Alpacas in South America and Bolivia has more Lamas.³⁵ By the way, Bolivia produces some cloths using Lama-fiber which is, as far as I know, a less common practice in Peru.

In La Paz, different shops sell sweaters that are famous among tourists. For the anecdote, almost all of the eight doctoral researchers in the doctoral summer school, including myself, had bought at least one of these sweaters. I mention this kind of clothing object – which has different models – because some vendors told me the differences between Peruvian and Bolivian sweaters, for example related to a particular pattern or to the item’s size. No matter if the criteria are reliable, these discourses confirm the presence of Peruvian items, at least in the city center shops of La Paz. Yet more interesting, a woman nuanced her talk by saying that nowadays Bolivian people had already copied the Peruvian aesthetic and produced the “same” items. This idea of copy is not limited to Bolivia but is a widespread practice among weavers or artists in the Cusco region. By copying another person’s work, they contribute to the diffusion of some creations that, at a certain moment, become widespread. This phenomenon is therefore closely linked with textile circulation (objects and ideas).

The previously mentioned leather wallet with handmade *awayo* I bought in La Paz is a very good example of textile circulation, even though I am not able to affirm whether it is rather a circulation of objects or ideas. This wallet features a *Loraypo* pattern that refers literally to a medicinal flower, according to different weavers from Chinchero. *Loraypo* is supposed to belong to Chinchero since weavers present it as representative of their

³¹ See Nelson H. H. Graburn, ed., *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Rudi Collaredo-Mansfeld, *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999); Elaine Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island* (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 2004); Femenías, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress in Contemporary Peru*; Cristian Terry, “Le textile andin à l’heure du tourisme : continuité, renouvellement et enjeux économiques et culturels. Le cas de la ‘renaissance textile’ dans la communauté quechua de Chawaytiri” (Master Dissertation, Université de Lausanne, 2009).

³² Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2010 [1986]).

³³ Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” 16.

³⁴ Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [1986]), 64–91.

³⁵ Edgar Quispe et al., “Producción de fibra de alpaca, llama, vicuña y guanaco en Sudamérica,” *Animal Genetic Resources* 45 (2009): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1014233909990277>.



Figure 4. Loraypo's circulation.
Left side: Hybrid wallet bought in La Paz. Cristian Terry, July 16th 2016. Right side: Bracelets acquired in Chawaytire. Cristian Terry, January 9th 2015.

locality.³⁶ By decomposing different elements of *Loraypo*, they often talk about the mountains around the village (diagonal lines) or the lakes that are nearby (circles) (Fig. 4). That is why this wallet raises the question: did somebody bring it from Chinchero (or Cusco) to Bolivia? Or is it rather a Bolivian person who knows already how to weave *Loraypo*? I would rather incline for the first assumption but the second is also possible. In this regard, in 2014 I have met a very talented *comunera* weaver from Chawaytire who was making bracelets that display *Loraypo* (Fig. 4, right side).

This kind of bracelet did not exist elsewhere, even in Chinchero. To add a broader perspective to this phenomena, arriving to the Cusco airport from La Paz, I encountered an anthropologist from the USA. Talking about our travels and interests, we ended up referring to Andean textiles. He was very well aware about textiles in Cusco and showed me a picture on his iPhone of Otavalo textiles (Equator). Among those, he mentioned a scarf with *Loraypo* pattern produced by an *Otavaleña* weaver thanks to a workshop given by *Chincherinas*. After this conversation, I became aware that *Loraypo* travelled far from what I would have imagined.

During my visit to El Alto, trying to find an industrial *awayo* factory, I met a couple who run a little family factory for 28 years. The man explained to me how they started by adapting a Brazilian machine (named “Draper”) to produce Andean textiles in huge quantities (today 50 meters per day, per machine). He told me about the long process needed to imitate handmade *awayo*. He showed me the piece the machine produced that is the “exact” imitation of what people do in the Copacabana region. That’s why these textiles have the inscription “Copacabana de Merino.” He affirmed that they have exported this kind of machine to Juliaca (Peru) and taught people how to manipulate it. According to him, since then Juliaca has its own industrial *awayo* production. He also claimed that workers of their factory learned quickly and ended up opening their own businesses. These examples show the circulation of machinery and knowledge.

Spatially speaking, I was surprised about the Andean textiles’ presence in places I wouldn’t have expected to find them like Santa Cruz and Uyuni. In Santa Cruz, there were some tourist shops around the city center where one can find a similar offer in comparison to La Paz and Sucre, though much less large. This offer was mixed with some local textile

³⁶ Urban and rural *Cusqueños* also relates *Loraypo* to Chinchero, though two of my interlocutors has affirmed that the same pattern exists elsewhere in the Cusco region.

production and even with other Peruvian items such as “typical” embroidery from the Colca Canyon (Arequipa) that one can also buy in Cusco or Lima. In Uyuni, the offer was displayed even in remote villages such as Colchani where tourists pass to go to the Salar. I have found there some Andean textiles in different forms like a little leather money and cardholder wallet with industrial *awayo*. It was indeed the same model that I have bought in Santa Cruz with other colors and patterns and that I have not seen in La Paz nor in Sucre.

Even more astonishing, Andean textiles are apparently produced in Asia, according to some vendors and other Bolivian interviewees like the MUSEF’s director (see below). In an instrument shop, a seller – who sold me a charango (string instrument) with its industrial *awayo* bag and explained to me the difference between Peruvian and Bolivian *awayo* – told me about people from El Alto who go to China and bring “Chinese Andean textile” to the country. According to him, it is much cheaper to do so, above all for huge quantities. These textiles are much thinner and the quality is lacking. My guide in Uyuni also confirmed the existence of these Chinese garments. My doubts about the existence of the “Chinese Andean Textiles” shows the difficulty to notice the difference. By the way, *Cusqueños* sellers also affirmed existence of garments from China, but I haven’t observed any of them.

Textile circulation is therefore a contemporary reality without implying that it did not exist before.³⁷ The explanations given by the *Museo Amano* (Lima) emphasize the styles’ circulation from a pre-Colombian society to another (conceptualized as “transitions”). The particularity of the contemporary circulation is its association with the market. As I have argued in my doctoral dissertation, the circulation contributes to textile diversification. By moving from one place to

another, contemporary Andean textiles are nowadays travelling in Peru and Bolivia, and even elsewhere. These travelers seemed to come from different places, and apparently, even from China.

Andean Textiles Actors Playing Diverse Roles

As argued before, I understand Andean textiles as non-human actors that play different roles in everyday life in the framework of *interactions* with human actors: buyers, users, vendors, weavers, etc. My research in Cusco made me more sensible to the diversity of existing roles.

In Bolivia, the first visible thing that one can realize after arriving from the El Alto airport is the “*cholitas*”³⁸ using textiles, mostly industrial *awayos*, to carry things on their back, sometimes babies, sometimes their merchandise (e.g. food to sell in the streets). This picture was completely familiar to me, even though the *awayos* women used in Cusco were different (aesthetically closer to that of Puno or Juliaca, Altiplano cities like La Paz). Nonetheless, the degree of use changes from place to place, apparently linked to a particular rural/urban distinction. For instance, in Tarabuco village (Sucre’s rural region), I have observed several men and women using Andean textiles as cloths, much more than in Sucre city. Although not all the villagers were wearing ponchos, hat, *acsu*³⁹ or other textile clothing elements, I have realized that several people, particularly old people, were still using them as the ASUR museum described it (Fig. 5).

According to the museum information, the use can be linked to some extent to the Tarabuco regional identity (without mentioning regional clothing differences). This identity dimension is very well known in rural Cusco: each village or community has its own clothing.

³⁷ See in pre-Hispanic time: Amy Oakland Rodman and Vicki Cassman, “Andean Tapestry,” *Art Journal* 54, no. 2 (June 1, 1995): 33–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.1995.10791690>; Sophie Desrosiers, “Le textile structurel. Exemples andins dans la très longue durée,” *Techniques & Culture. Revue semestrielle d’anthropologie des techniques*, no. 58 (June 15, 2012): 82–103, <https://doi.org/10.4000/tc.6268>; Chloé Tessier, “L’art textile préhispanique, témoin des schémas migratoires (l’exemple de la côte sud du Pérou, Intermédiaire Tardif),” *Amerika. Mémoires, identités, territoires*, no. 13 (December 9, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.4000/amerika.6858>.

³⁸ I use this emic term to refer to “indigenous” women without any negative connotation as the word can have in Peru (see Marisol De la Cadena, *Indígenas mestizos: raza y cultura en el Cusco* (Lima: IEP Ediciones, 2004)), less the case in Bolivia (see Nell Haynes, “UnBolivable Bouts: Gender and Essentialisation of Bolivia’s Cholitas Luchadoras,” in *Global Perspectives on Women in Combat*, ed. Christopher R. Matthews and Alex Channon (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 267–83, <http://www.palgrave.com/us/book/9781137439352>).

³⁹ A rectangular piece of textile. According to ASUR, the *acsu* can have an identity dimension related to a specific community place.



Figure 5. Tarabuco poncho. Cristian Terry, July 22nd, 2016 in Tarabuco village (Sucre).

The combinations of both colors and patterns in ponchos, *lliqlla*, or *chullos*, are key elements to determinate the wearer's provenance. As a weaver from Chawaytire told me once "they are like ID cards" (see Fig. 3).

However, this dimension is not limited to rural contexts. In Cusco city, the *Fiestas del Cusco*⁴⁰ is the perfect occasion to show this dimension among urban *Cusqueños*. For instance, during the main parade, that is held every year on 23th June, during the entire day, thousands of people march in one direction towards the *Plaza de Armas* (i.e. city main square) principally wearing ponchos. I have witnessed this kind of dynamics in Bolivia during a

University celebration in La Paz where some dancers were wearing Tarabuco clothing to perform the *Pukllay* dance. I have not interviewed anyone about the feeling of wearing this kind of indigenous clothing, but the way it was presented on TV, gave an idea of Bolivian identity dimension constructed through dance performances such as *Pukllay*.

In 2014, the political campaign for Cusco's regional elections was also an opportunity to realize this identity dimension in urban places. During political meetings, the candidates were wearing ponchos or scarves (mostly handmade *awayo*) to express their *Cusqueño* identity with the electorate. This conjectural case is not that far from Evo Morales'

⁴⁰ The main celebration of the city throughout the year, each June (the entire month).

affirmative use of Andean textiles (i.e. jacket with *awayo* application).⁴¹ To a lesser degree, the Peruvian presidents wear ponchos, but this is rather limited to their visits to the Andean region. The utilitarian role of Andean textiles, here linked with clothing uses, can be then invested with an identity dimension, both in rural and urban contexts, sometimes in conjectural situations and ranging from the civil population to politicians.

Apart from this utilitarian role (observed in the three Bolivian places to different degrees), there is a decorative role in some urban spaces such as restaurants, hotels and cafes. Different places I have visited in La Paz or Sucre displayed this kind of decoration. One cafe in Sucre had for instance several handmade *awayos* installed on their roofs. In Uyuni Salar, the main restaurant where tourists ate had tables covered by industrial *awayos*, which is very common in Cusco (either in local or tourist spaces), even in high-class hotels (decoration for living rooms and bedrooms). In the *Turismo Rural Comunitario* (TRC) (Peruvian name for “Community-based tourism”), *comuneros* are nowadays more inclined to use their handmade textiles or industrial *awayos* bought in the market for decorating the tourists’ rooms. My family, as other *Cusqueño* families do, might use *awayos* as decoration. I also bought different items for ethnographic purposes but ended up using them as decoration. My personal example shows that the objects’ roles are not necessary clear-cut but change from one situation to another or they are intertwined.⁴²

Another more “exotic” Andean textiles’ role is linked with rituals. It is true that I have not observed a ritual in Bolivia as I did among Q’eros shamans in Cusco city or their rural communities: *despacho*⁴³ (Fig. 6) or “coca leaves lecture.”

⁴¹ See Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié, *Les néo-Indiens: une religion du III^e millénaire* (Paris: OJacob, 2006).

⁴² The Uyuni example shows also how a utilitarian role is intertwined with a decorative role, since the table can be protected by this element while serving at the same time as a decoration. These examples invite to consider these roles rather as analytical categories or as “enrôlement” (Callon, Michel Callon, “La domestication des coquilles Saint-Jacques et des marins-pêcheurs dans la baie de Saint-Brieuc,” *L’Année Sociologique*, no. 36 (1986), 189-90; see also Dominique Vinck, *Du laboratoire aux réseaux: Le travail scientifique en mutation*. (Luxembourg: OPOCE, 1992), 75, <http://bookshop.europa.eu/uri?target=EUB:NOTICE:CGNA14487:FR:HTML>.

⁴³ For further information, see Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Books, 2002); Cometti, *Lorsque le brouillard a cessé de nous écouter*.

Nonetheless, the ASUR museum shows the analogies with these *Cusqueños* rituals, shown also by other authors in Bolivia⁴⁴ and Peru.⁴⁵

The museum exhibited for instance a *mesa ritual* (ritual table) where handmade *awayos* served as a material support to put other elements such as coca leaves and lama fetus to enact the *pago a la pachamama*, a ritual to honor the Mother earth in order to give or “pay” for having prosperity in the near future (good harvest, health, etc.).

The museum exposed other examples of this ritualistic role of Andean textiles for protection matter, as a handmade *awayo* (i.e. *primera faja*) woven for new born babies to use on them and protect them from bad things. Another example is that of *lloqepaña* mentioned above. Some *comuneros* from Chawaytire and Q’eros told me about the importance of this technique in terms of protection, for instance against bad spirits. Once a Chawaytire weaver told me about *lloqepaña* while joking: “*lloqepaña* protects you even from your wife.” The *lloqepaña*’s effects are well documented in other places not only in the contemporary Andes but also in pre-Hispanic societies.⁴⁶ The case of *lloqepaña* is more than a ritualistic role played by Andean textiles. It stresses more broadly the idea that Andean textiles can go beyond utilitarian or decorative roles, although *lloqepaña* has an aesthetic dimension and is not merely (or necessarily) related to protection matters. In Cusco, several weavers by looking at *lloqepaña* highlighted its beauty by using the quechua term *munaycha*.

⁴⁴ Verónica Cereceda, Johnny Dávalos, and Jaime Mejía, *A Difference and a Meaning: The Textile Designs of Tarabuco and Jalq’a* (Sucre: ASUR, Antropólogos del Surandino, 2001); Ricardo Ulpian García López, “el mundo animado de los textiles originarios de Carangas,” *Tinkazos* 12, no. 27 (December 2009): 145–58; Axel E. Nielsen, Carlos I. Angiorama, and Florencia Ávila, “Ritual as Interaction with Non-Humans: Prehispanic Mountain Pass Shrines in the Southern Andes,” in *Rituals of the Past*, ed. Silvana A. Rosenfeld and Stefanie L. Bautista, Prehispanic and Colonial Case Studies in Andean Archaeology (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017), 245.

⁴⁵ Elayne Zorn, “Un análisis de los tejidos en los atados rituales de los pastores,” *Revista Andina* 5, no. 2 (1987): 489–526; Andrea M. Heckman, *Woven Stories: Andean Textiles and Rituals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

⁴⁶ Prochaska, *Taquile y sus tejidos*



Figure 6. Despacho. Name given to a ritual addressed to the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and *Apus* (Spirits of the mountains). The shaman (*pago*) enacts the ritual in his house by putting different elements offered to these Andean divinities such as red and white flowers, coca leaves, corn grains, shells, candies, and lama fat. All these elements are placed on a Q'eros textile (i.e. a poncho folded in half). The *despacho* finishes when all the elements are carried outside the house (wrapped in a *lliqlta*) and burned. Cristian Terry, September 18th, 2015 in Charkapata village (Hatun Q'ero community in Cusco region).

The former examples have shown more about Andean textiles' role in local sphere, but nowadays they also play an increasing role among tourists and within tourist markets and places. As a "tourist-researcher" in Bolivia – being in tourist-related places like the handicraft center in La Paz city center, shops in Sucre or Santa Cruz, museums like ASUR or MUSEF, or famous tourist destinations like Uyuni Salar –, I was frequently confronted with Andean textiles. They were part of the "colorful Andean landscape" to put it in some interlocutors' words referring to markets (i.e. colorful items) or clothes (e.g. colorful *trajes típicos*). This "colorful landscape" is diffused before travelling to the Andes, in press articles or TV (or even in situ through post cards or Peruvian advertisings).⁴⁷ In this perspective, Andean textiles as other tourist-related objects such as Cuban cigars, "are 'things' that not just represent, but actively constitute [tourist destinations]."⁴⁸

Actually, the Andean textiles' importance goes beyond the place we visit. They become tourists' souvenirs, both in material and (senti)mental terms (see above). By their materiality, they *materialize* something representative of the places tourists visit (here the Andes), above all since Andean textiles are considered as "typical," "traditional," or "authentic," to use my tourist interlocutors' terms. At the same time, they encapsulate moments, anecdotes, sensations, i.e. travel souvenirs. The inscriptions as "Cusco," "Machu Picchu," "Puno," or "Uyuni" (Fig. 7) put for instance in the Andean *chullos* materialize the souvenir and serve as a lived-experience reminder.

My industrial-made *chullo* with the inscription "Uyuni" often reminds me for instance that place along with other (senti)mental souvenirs: travelling with my mother and sister, the place I bought this hat (i.e. Colchani village), the people I

⁴⁷ Cristian Terry, "Desvestirse de los imaginarios, repensar América andina: una etnografía de los trajes típicos en los Andes (Cusco, Perú)," *La Revista*, no. 80 (2019).

⁴⁸ Valerio Simoni, "Tobacco's World: Tourism, Cigars, and the Shaping of Realities in Cuba," ed. David Picard and Mike Robinson, *Things That Move: The Material Worlds*

and *Tourism and Travel* (CD ROM) (Leeds: Center for Tourism and Cultural Change, 2007), 2.



Figure 7. “Uyuni” industrial-made *chullo*. Cristian Terry, August 2nd, 2016 in Colchani tourist market (Bolivia).

met during the four-day travel, of course the Salar, among other souvenirs associated with Uyuni or Bolivia (e.g. the doctoral school). For another person who looks at it, my “Uyuni” *chullo* will not have the same signification, or if this person has visited Uyuni other souvenirs will probably come up. The main idea here is that souvenirs become personalized through the human-object *interaction* linked to our proper experiences. People collect souvenirs throughout their travels and travel back through them. It is a world-wide tourist practice that is not limited to the Andes experiences.⁴⁹ It is perhaps a form to “inhabit” momentarily these

visited places⁵⁰ as well as to have a reminder of them. Simultaneously or independently of the souvenir effect, Andean textiles as other travel objects can enact roles such as utilitarian or decorative ones when tourists are back home. It is the case for example of the *chullos* worn by these people.

In conclusion, Andean textiles, as argued, play several roles in both local and tourist spaces. In Peru and Bolivia, they act and enact these roles *with* the human beings, sometimes in a very personal way. Tim Ingold uses the preposition “with” to signify his idea of *togetherness*,⁵¹ preposition that

⁴⁹ See Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*; Christine Ballegee-Morris, “Tourist Souvenirs,” *Visual Arts Research* 28, no. 2 (2002): 102–8; Fourcade, “De l’Arménie au Québec”; Morgan and Pritchard, “On Souvenirs and Metonymy”; Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday: Consuming the Orient*, 15 (London; New York: Routledge, 2010); Jean-Claude Vimont, “Objets-souvenirs,

objets d’histoire ?,” *Sociétés & Représentations*, no. 30 (2010): 211–28, <https://doi.org/10.3917/sr.030.0211>; See also holiday photographs in Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt et al., eds., *Performing Tourist Places* (Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate, 2004).

⁵⁰ Équipe MIT, *Tourismes : Tome 1, Lieux communs* (Paris: Belin, 2008).

⁵¹ Ingold, *Being Alive*, 221.

refers here to this Human-Andean textile interaction.

2.2. Weaving Social Change(s)

Interweaving Economic and Cultural-Patrimony Aspects

The textile activity is important for local people in both economic and in terms of cultural patrimony. Rather than being separated, these two dimensions are frequently interwoven.⁵² Economic and cultural aspects are both highlighted by *Cusqueños* interlocutors, sometimes stressing one of these dimensions rather than the other. That's why I do not separate these and treat them here as two different sections. The cultural aspects include patrimony-related elements; as I will show these are correlated.

The textile activity appears as a rather rentable economic activity for different directly involved actors such as weavers, artists and vendors. For *Cusqueños comuneros*, weaving is a complementary economic activity to agriculture, less rentable since the prices tend to decrease in the market.⁵³ As I have shown elsewhere in Pisac (Cusco),⁵⁴ *comuneros* complained about this situation and highlighted the importance of tourism and textile activity to deal with it. As the TRC's offer in Cusco shows, tourism and textiles are most of the time interrelated activities.⁵⁵ The TRC activities are by the way more interesting from the *comuneros'*

viewpoint than other "classic" tourist-related jobs such as porters of the Inca Trail, frequently precarious in terms of condition and sometimes regarding the income (i.e. payment delay or non-respect of the payment agreement).⁵⁶ Moreover, the TRC is promoted by the Peruvian government as a tool to reduce poverty in the country, particularly in rural areas.⁵⁷ Then, the socio-economic benefit of the TRC is explicitly stressed by the national government but also mobilized by local governments more particularly in the Cusco region, in which textile activity is one of the most important TRC's components. Other institutions like NGOs are also working with the TRC and/or textile activity within tourist market: NGO Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, Centro de Textiles tradicionales del Cusco, etc. This socio-economic dimension is thus highlighted by institutions and people, sometimes as a selling argument. They stress the socio-economic effects as argued in my studies in Pisac and my doctoral research, even though the effects are not homogenous and there are critics to the TRC model.⁵⁸

Besides this, institutions and people refer to the textile activity as belonging to "culture" (*la cultura*). This argument is frequently linked with a "tradition" or "heritage" that goes back to the pre-Hispanic period. If "tradition" is a social construct – and social scientists can participate to reify it⁵⁹ – like "heritage,"⁶⁰ this argument highlights the importance attributed to the textile activity as a

⁵² Anath Ariel de Vidas, *Mémoire textile et industrie du souvenir dans les Andes. Identités à l'épreuve du tourisme au Pérou en Bolivie et en Equateur* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Femenías, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress in Contemporary Peru*; See also Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (México, D.F.: Editorial Grijalbo, 1990); John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); ⁵³ Jordi Gascón, *Gringos como en sueños: diferenciación y conflicto campesinos en los Andes peruanos ante el desarrollo del turismo* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005).

⁵⁴ Terry, "Le textile andin à l'heure du Tourisme"; Cristian Terry, "Tourisme et réduction de la pauvreté: études des impacts socio-économiques de l'agrotourisme du Parque de la papa (Cusco-Pérou)" (Master Dissertation, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, 2011); Cristian Terry, "Turismo Rural Comunitario: ¿una alternativa para las comunidades andinas? El caso del agrotourismo del Parque de la papa (Cusco, Perú).", ed. Jordi Gascón and Claudio Milano, *PASOS. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, El turismo en el mundo rural: ¿Ruina o consolidación de las sociedades campesinas e indígenas?, no. 18 (2017): 139–59.

⁵⁵ Annelou Ypeij, "The Intersection of Gender and Ethnic Identities in the Cuzco-Machu Picchu Tourism Industry: Sácamefotos, Tour Guides, and Women Weavers," *Latin American Perspectives* 39, no. 6 (2012): 17–35, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X12454591>; Beatriz Pérez Galán and Norma Fuller, "Turismo rural comunitario, género y desarrollo en comunidades campesinas e indígenas del sur del Perú," *Quaderns de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia: Etnografies Contemporànies de l'Amèrica Indígena ICA*, no. 31 (2015): 95–120; Cristian Terry, "Por una antropología del turismo en el Cusco: perspectivas y pertinencia estudio de

cambios e impactos del turismo," in *Tinkuy en Los Andes. Nuevos enfoques sobre la cultura andina*, ed. Jorge Flores Ochoa et al. (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Andinos Cusco, 2016), 265–97; Luis Gustavo Gonzales Salazar, "Tejiendo el turismo: análisis del mercado textil para el turismo en el centro poblado de Chinchero" (Master Dissertation, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017).

⁵⁶ Terry, "Tourisme et réduction de la pauvreté," 96–98, 103.

⁵⁷ Beatriz Pérez Galán, "Retóricas de turismo y desarrollo en los Andes. La red de Turismo Rural Comunitario Pacha Paqareq, Perú," in *¿El turismo es cosa de pobres? Patrimonio cultural, pueblos indígenas y nuevas formas de turismo en América Latina*, ed. Raúl H. Asensio and Beatriz Pérez Galán (Lima: Instituto de Estudio Peruanos, 2012), 171–200, <http://www.pasosonline.org/Publicados/pasosocedita/PSEdita8.pdf>.

⁵⁸ See Jordi Gascón, "The Limitations of Community-Based Tourism as an Instrument of Development Cooperation: The Value of the Social Vocation of the Territory Concept," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21, no. 5 (2013): 716–31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2012.721786>; Pérez Galán and Fuller, "Turismo rural comunitario, género y desarrollo"; Terry, "Turismo Rural Comunitario: ¿una alternativa para las comunidades andinas?"

⁵⁹ Gérard Leclud, "La tradition n'est plus ce qu'elle était...," *Terrain. Revue d'ethnologie de l'Europe*, no. 9 (1987): 110–23, <https://doi.org/10.4000/terrain.3195>.

⁶⁰ Jean Davallon, "Le patrimoine: 'une filiation inversée'?", *Espaces Temps* 74, no. 1 (2000): 6–16, <https://doi.org/10.3406/espap.2000.4083>. See also Jean Pouillon, "The Ambiguity of Traditions: Begetting the Father," in *Present Is Past: Some Uses of Tradition in Native Societies*, ed. Marie Mauzé (Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1997), 17–21.

part of the cultural identity and patrimony. In Cusco, this aspect becomes rapidly explicated when one talks about Andean textiles. During my interviews, people travelled back to pre-Hispanic times by looking at or talking about textiles, even when the objects were contemporary (e.g. artwork tapestry, sub-category 4). This “travel” was most of the time back to the Inca period, people proudly highlighting the majesty and greatness of “our” ancestors (*nuestros ancestros, nuestros antepasados*). This “reversed filiation”⁶¹ underscores Molinié’s “neo-inca” concept in her study of Cusco.⁶² This discourse is also mobilized by *comuneros* referring to some patterns as *Inca pally* or *Ñawpa pally* that bring back people to that time. For instance, according to some Q’eros, *Ñawpa ch’uncho* patterns represent the Inca.⁶³ Andean textiles become thus a material support to weave this “reversed filiation” in the present and feel that “we” are heritors of a particular past or “culture” or “our” patrimony (*nuestro patrimonio*) to which “we” belong (*nuestra cultura*).

Beyond this “reversed filiation,” if we stick to pre-Hispanic technics and tools, there are elements that are similar.⁶⁴ The back-strap looms depicted by chroniclers such as Guaman Poma de Ayala show us a certain continuity of weaving practices, although it would be false to consider them exactly the same. Different things after the Hispanic colonization and the beginning of the Republican era have changed in textile activity and production: in terms of fibers (sheep in colonial time and synthetic fibers later on), patterns, and technics (e.g. colonial introduction of the pedal loom).⁶⁵ With the development of the tourism market, other things are now changing and commercial strategies are implemented to adapt and diversify the production in rural communities, such as the introduction of industrial spun fibers.⁶⁶ On the other hand, other elements were reintroduced like the use of natural-

dye, particularly promoted by tourism market and the idea of “traditional” production and ecological sensibility.⁶⁷ The Andean textile activity is therefore always in this reconfiguration, articulating old and new together not only in the tourist production but also in the local one. For instance, I have astonishingly observed in an art exposition in the *Museo Amano* (Lima) a handmade *awayo* from Taquile Island (Puno, Peru) that has a “North Face” pattern. This pattern seems brand new and I have never seen something like that elsewhere. Nonetheless, this is not new: Teresa Gisbert & al.’s work have shown how, historically, textiles were introducing new patterns such as helicopters.⁶⁸

My ethnographic research in Cusco brings me back to that in Bolivia. In this country, I have also found the (socio)economic/cultural articulation in the peoples’ discourses and brochures as well as TV programs and the press. I provide below some Bolivian examples.

The ASUR & Inca Pally in Sucre

In terms of economy, textile activity plays an important role providing an associative or family income. It was particularly the case of weavers in the ASUR and *Inca Pally* associations, without mentioning other actors such as vendors or artists who worked with Andean textile materials to produce, for instance, “hybrid” items like snickers or bags. In all these cases, the income source is closely linked with the tourism market.

As explained previously, tourists shop while traveling, and Andean textiles are an important target as souvenirs both in Bolivia and Peru. Similarly, during our fieldwork in Bolivia, my PhD fellows and I, we bought different souvenirs, including lots of Andean textiles. For some particular objects, it seems that the target-market

⁶¹ Pouillon, “The Ambiguity of Traditions: Begetting the Father,” 17.

⁶² Antoinette Molinié, “Le retour des vaincus : la ville impériale des néo-incas,” in *Au miroir de l’anthropologie historique. Mélanges offerts à nathan watchel* (Rennes-Cedex: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013), 347–65, <http://books.openedition.org/pur/43835>.

⁶³ See also Silverman, *El tejido andino*.

⁶⁴ See Desrosiers, “Lógicas textiles y lógicas culturales en los Andes.”

⁶⁵ See Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*.

⁶⁶ Lynn A Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in the Global Arena* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 53-54; Zorn, *Weaving a future*, 154-155; Femenías, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress in Contemporary Peru*, 281-291; Terry, “Por una antropología del turismo en el Cusco,” 279-280.

⁶⁷ Terry, “Le textile andin à l’heure du tourisme,” 61; Cristian Terry, “Tisser la valeur au quotidien,” 365-366.

⁶⁸ Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*.

are (only) tourists. A French woman traveler I talked to in the airplane from Uyuni to La Paz told me that the sweaters (that my PhD colleagues and I bought) were only for tourists: later she asked a vendor what was “the most local sweater,” the woman vendor told her “none.” What is important of this story is that tourists are a key source of local income. Nonetheless, we cannot undermine the local market linked with Andean textiles production as I have emphasized talking about utilitarian role in Bolivia. The couple I met in El Alto produced industrial *awayos* to supply local demand (following local aesthetic preferences like the “Copacabana de Merino” style), even though this kind of production can be associated with the tourist market (see “textile circulation” above).

As I said previously, this economic dimension is often intertwined with cultural patrimony aspects associated to Andean textile activity. A good illustration is that of the association *Inca Pally*. In terms of organization, it is an interesting example since it reassembles different weavers and other artists not only from Sucre, but also from other Bolivian regions. As argued by the Tarabuco woman charged of selling, this is a strategy to diversify the offer and ensure at least the shop’s rent payment each month. The brochure states that “by commercializing products, *Inca Pally* [is] preserving the cultural identity Jalq’a and Tarabuco and working to improve living conditions of more than a 400 artisans, members of the association” (personal translation). It highlights the “respect of creativity,” “handmade production,” and “fair-trade ideology” (60% of the price goes directly to the producer). The brochure provides information about the local uses of Andean textiles, the iconography and the weaving process. For ethnographic and decoration purposes, I bought a Jalq’a handmade *awayo* for slightly more than USD 100 (809 bolivianos). Other pieces are even more expensive. Generally speaking, the *Inca Pally*’s merchandise was more expensive than the textiles

that street vendors (some from Tarabuco) were selling in Sucre or La Paz. By the way, the association’s name shows the “reversed filiation” with the pre-Hispanic heritage. The Tarabuco woman I talked to have affirmed that “*Inca Pally*” (“Inca patterns”) refers to their “traditional” production that they have been promoting.

Another example is that of ASUR’s *Museo de Arte Indígena* and souvenir shop. The museum focuses rather on cultural aspects, even though ASUR gives information about “Ethno-development” at the very beginning of the visit. This concept brings together socio-economic improvement and cultural revalorization as the museum highlighted about the ASUR’s “Indigenous Art Renaissance Program.” As it is stated in the promotional brochure “sales directly benefit weavers and artisans that live in high-risk and impoverished agricultural areas with low production. Chuquisaca and Potosí are considered Bolivia’s poorest departments, but also where the culture is best conserved and recreated.” The cultural aspects were very well documented by the museum, for instance in terms of rituals (see above Andean textiles’ rituals roles).

Besides the museum, close to the entrance, there was a souvenir shop selling different handmade *awayo* and other items like mugs with jalq’a iconography. This shop is a way of generating income for weavers working with ASUR (Fig. 8).

Interestingly, some *Inca Pally* weavers were ASUR’s members at the beginning, but afterward, they became independent and started to run *Inca Pally* with other weavers. This emphasizes ASUR’s work in terms of the Andean textile activity’s promotion in the region, targeting economic purposes but bringing also cultural patrimony elements. The latter are actually an important argument to the tourist market⁶⁹ where visitors appreciate this kind of “material culture” associated with a “tradition” or “authentic” discourse.⁷⁰ Even though there is still work to do in terms of local self-

⁶⁹ Not only for the tourist market, see Raúl H. Asensio and Carolina Trivelli, “Puesta en valor de activos culturales y dinámicas territoriales en el sur de Cuzco” (Santiago de Chile: Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural, 2011), http://repositorio.iep.org.pe/bitstream/IEP/706/2/hernandez_puestaenvalor.pdf.

⁷⁰ See Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 1999).

management,⁷¹ the economic benefits and the cultural revalorization of indigenous societies are undeniable.



Figure 8. ASUR Weaver from Tarabuco region (Sucre, Bolivia). Cristian Terry, July 23rd 2016 in the museum shop.

The MUSEF in La Paz

The MUSEF focuses particularly on cultural elements, even though it has also a souvenir shop that contributes to the weavers' income. Inside, the museum has an Andean textile collection organized following the "chain of production" framework.⁷² This collection shows the textile production step by step, from the obtaining of raw materials' (i.e. fibers and natural dyes) to the weaving elaboration. A room is completely dedicated to hats (*chullo* or *lluch'u*⁷³) through which one observe the changes from colonial times to more contemporary pieces of

the 20th century. This hat exhibition emphasizes the textile diversity mentioned above. Nonetheless, despite the changes, as stated in the exhibition, "the identity is preserved as well as the essence of the hats" (personal translation). In different sections the museum exhibits pre-Hispanic pieces, mostly from the Inca and Tiwanacu periods. The museum's information emphasized more on the Tiwanacu textiles as an important Bolivian legacy and stressed that the Incas were strongly influenced by Tiwanacu society. Exhibiting pre-Hispanic textiles in an ethnographic museum does not necessarily seem innocent. I argue in this regard that this kind of display contributes to reinforce the Bolivian "reversed filiation", in this case, particularly with the Tiwanacu heritage. This filiation has been promoted by Bolivian president Evo Morales (e.g. Presidential ceremony in Tiwanacu archeological site⁷⁴).

The museum has a souvenir shop where people can buy Andean textiles collected from different weavers' or artists' associations such as ASUR, *UniArte* or *Asociaciones de Artesanos Andinos* (approximately 380 artists, mostly women according to the woman seller). The MUSEF's objective is clearly explicated: encourage weavers' work, "rescue their textile traditions" while respecting the "ecology of the region in a sustainable manner" when collecting and using raw materials (e.g. fibers, natural dyes, etc.). This shop becomes therefore another Andean textiles' source of income and promotion.

In an interview with the MUSEF's director, she was more critic vis-à-vis the museum's work and acknowledged future challenges. The director agreed that the shop generated income but the amount was shared between the associations. Moreover, she complained that Bolivian people did not appreciate indigenous handmade *awayos* and preferred buying "awayos made in China." Tourists were those who really appreciated handmade production. The director's discourse focused on the

⁷¹ See José Ernesto Fernández, "Comunidades indígenas, textiles y turismo: un estudio de caso del programa textil de ASUR y las comunidades Tarabuco," in *La ruta andina: turismo y desarrollo sostenible en Perú y Bolivia*, ed. Johanna Louisa Ypeij, Elisabeth B. Zoomers, and Jorge Gómez Rendón (Quito: Abya-Yala, 2006), 147–167.

⁷² MUSEF, ed., *La rebelión de los objetos. Enfoque textil* (La Paz: Museo Nacional de Etnología y Folklore (MUSEF), 2014).

⁷³ In Bolivia, *Lluch'u* is the name given to the *chullo*.

⁷⁴ See Galinier and Molinié, *Les néo-Indiens*.

cultural elements in terms of symbolism and structure; elements that were worthy to “rescue” before the “loss of techniques, structures ... above all in Bolivia.” Her discourse tended to situate “culture” in the past, since when I asked about contemporary things she responded by arguing that they did not matter because they were still existing. Even if I do not share this “nostalgic” posture vis-à-vis Andean textiles since I am also interested in contemporary production, the director’s discourse emphasized the promotion of “culture” through Andean textiles; where “culture” is defined within a “losing tradition” perspective rather than an on-going dynamic perspective.⁷⁵

Fashion Designer: Young Bolivian Production

My meeting with Mariana Valdivia – a young fashion designer from La Paz – made me realize that Andean textiles are taking new forms in the contemporary world and are influenced by it. In my fieldwork in Peru, I have attended two fashion events in Lima and Arequipa where Peruvian designers like Meche Correa exhibited their new creations. In the fashion shows, models were wearing clothes made from Alpaca and/or native Peruvian *Pima* cotton. In addition, clothing shops like *Kuna* or *Sol Alpaca* propose new products similar to those that one can find in Europe. Their particularity remains often in the fibers (Alpaca or more exclusively vicuña) or sometimes in the patterns as in the example of *Millenium* (*Kuna*’s collection mentioned above) inspired by pre-Hispanic iconography. In other cases, the inspiration comes from *comuneros*’ work where the outcome is a revisited or fashionable piece of work. Olga Zaferson Aranzaens documents this new trend mixing Andean textiles and fashion in Peru.⁷⁶

During our interview, Valdivia highlighted the emergence of a Bolivian designers’ new generation (e.g. Beatriz Caredo Patiña, Mariana Carranza or

John Pacheco). Mariana complained that there was some “cultural loss” because Bolivian people do not appreciate *awayo*: “It is bad for the culture [...] in Bolivia we do not appreciate what is our own (*lo nuestro*).” Moreover, according to her, because of new education possibilities and migration in rural Bolivia, “*awayo* will disappear.” In this respect, she also talked about *cholitas* who “have lost their identity” since they do not use any longer their *polleras* (“typical” skirts). For her, *cholitas* are important characters in Bolivia because “all of us we had had a *cholita* in our family” (*cholita* understood here as “maid” rather than a relative).

However, thanks to these new designers and tourists, “*awayo* has been coming again alive.” She mentioned, for instance, the fact that tourists loved the colors of *awayos*. Concerning designers - most of whom are young -, they are trying to promote the use of *awayo* but in a more contemporary way. “Something that you can use everyday” and “what captures other people’s attention.” She showed me different pieces she created, e.g. a jean or a jacket with “*awayo*-application” or “appliqué” for using her terminology. Mariana considered her work not only as a creation, but as a creation related to something that belongs to her. In respect of using *awayos* in their creations, she stated: “I am proud of where we come from, of our roots.”

What is interesting here is the cultural identity discourse she had and the relationship with clothing, particularly with *awayos*, no matter if they were industrial-made.⁷⁷ Her discourse emphasized rather the Andean textiles’ cultural dimension, even though she briefly mentioned the economic importance of her work to get more independent and spend more time at home with her daughter.⁷⁸

These fashion designers are adapting Andean textiles to urban contemporary clothing, taking more “hybrid” forms and contributing to enlarge the Andean textile diversity (see Fig. 2).

⁷⁵ See Sandra Niessen, “Threads of Tradition, Threads of Invention. Unraveling Toba Batak Women’s Expressions of Social Change,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 1999), 162–77.

⁷⁶ Olga Zaferson Aranzaens, *El hilo conductor: tradición y moda en el Perú* (Lima: Ediciones del Hipocampo, 2013).

⁷⁷ For commercial reasons (price), she uses industrial *awayos*. Curiously, she showed me an *awayo* that she told me was handmade (i.e. *Copacabana de Merino*). It was the “same” industrial *awayo* produced by the factory in El Alto. I do not know whether it is a confusion of her part or if it is the handmade version. Whatever, this example shows the difficulty to distinguish between industrial and handmade *awayos*.

⁷⁸ She had another job in advertising, trying meanwhile to be successful as a designer and concentrate entirely on it.

These different examples offer an idea on how economic and cultural patrimony aspects are mixed up in practice and discourse. Andean textile activity generates income for weavers, fashion designers or other artists along with vendors, including street vendors.⁷⁹ It is also perceived as a poverty reduction strategy in some cases. Corollary to this, Andean textile activity and objects are often considered as being part of Bolivian “roots” or “traditions” that are worthy to preserve or “save,” some people claiming a risk of “tradition loss” and a “loss of identity.” Cultural patrimony promotion seems then to go hand-in-hand with economic needs.⁸⁰

Conclusion

In this article, my aim was to compare Peru and Bolivia as two ethnographic cases to study the production and commercialization of Andean textiles. By using a multi-sited approach, I broadened the reflection around Andean textiles, and provided new insights on contemporary economic and cultural dynamics in local communities. Although Peru and Bolivia differ in several aspects, they clearly share common features, which make multi-sited ethnography particularly meaningful. Indeed, Peru and Bolivia share the same geographical context (i.e. the Andes), and commercial exchanges contribute to textile circulation and diversification.

Peru and Bolivia differ substantially in terms of aesthetics or styles. Tarabuco or Jalq’a textiles are completely different compared to Chawaytire, Chinchero or Q’eros textiles in Cusco. However, the wallet using “the typical” Chinchero’s pattern, *Loraypo*, is a remarkable example. The presence of this object in Bolivia raises the question whether the *Loraypo* wallet was a copy made in Bolivia or was rather imported from Peru. The widespread use of this pattern, both in Cusco and Bolivia, underlines the “reciprocal appropriations”

phenomenon as described by Janet Catherine Berlo.⁸¹

Beyond similarities and particularities, which are somewhat linked to circulation and diversification dynamics, I have demonstrated that Andean textiles in Peru and Bolivia are playing multiple roles in both local and tourist scenes (e.g. utilitarian, decorative, ritualistic, sentimental, identity-related, economic, etc.). Adopting an ANT-perspective, I have considered Andean textiles as important actors enacting roles that are constantly negotiated with human actors. This was the case for three examples reported above, namely the shamanic rituals, the use of ponchos as a local identity performance, and the purchase of material souvenirs as a reminder of the traveling experience.

Last but not least, by bringing new or alternative economic opportunities, Andean textiles weave social change(s) among rural and urban populations, whether weavers, artists, designers or retailers. However, it is not only about *weaving social change(s)* but also about *changes in weaving practices*. In other words, new fashionable, industrial and “hybrid” production has been created and adapted to a more urban and/or tourist oriented market, which in turn provides money to make the social change(s) possible. These two ideas seem therefore interwoven and highly market-related: *weaving social change(s) while changing the way of weaving* in the contemporary Andean world.

This article contributes to the existing literature by proposing this hypothesis through an empirical comparative analysis and a multi-sited ethnography. By doing so, it also invites to conduct other ethnographic studies to better understand these two interrelated ideas, along with the commercial trends about industrial *awayo* (including the Chinese *awayo* version) competing with handmade production on the market.

⁷⁹ Linda J. Seligmann, *Peruvian Street Lives: Culture, Power, and Economy among Market Women of Cuzco* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁸⁰ See Raúl H. Asensio and Beatriz Pérez Galán, eds., *¿El turismo es cosa de pobres? Patrimonio cultural, pueblos indígenas y nuevas formas de turismo en América Latina*

(Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012).

<http://www.pasosonline.org/Publicados/pasosoeedita/PSEedita8.pdf>.

⁸¹ Janet Catherine Berlo, “Beyond Bricolage: Women and Aesthetic Strategies in Latin American Textiles,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 22 (1992): 115–34.

I argue that industrialization is related to this commercial trend that promotes Andean textiles in different forms which tend to include cultural-identity-heritage dimensions. I believe that the interwoven economic-patrimony aspects of Andean textiles are a materialization of an “Other-modernity”, whereby global trends and local particularities are merged together. Andean textiles contribute therefore to the “Other-Andean-modernity,” which differs radically from western forms of “modernity,” as already argued by Nestor García Canclini.⁸²

⁸² García Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas*.