The Promiscuity of Freedom:
Development and Governance in the Age of Neoliberal Networks

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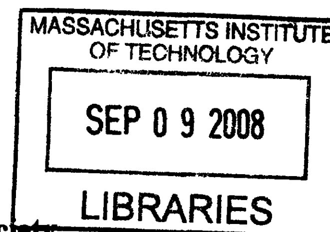
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Abstract

This study brings together science and technology studies, political anthropology, and Latin American studies, by studying the practices and political reasoning of neoliberal networks in Peru. It analyses the extension of such networks by studying the relationships and subjectivities cultivated under two contemporary state-led projects: an initiative promoting intellectual property rights among traditional artisans as tools for rural development, and a national effort to encourage the uptake of free/libre and open source software based resources. Promising to modernize government and prepare citizens for the global, information-based economy, these projects frame their reforms as new, contemporary models for economic development. This work demonstrate how key to the success of such projects is the remaking of rural and urban citizens into "free" and modern individuals who are able to independently self-realize using the tools and logics of information networks. It argues that such plans rely on the ability to bring diverse actors – including state planners, transnational corporations, traditional artisans, rural communities, urban technology experts, and transnational activists -- into strategic alliance, or what can become coded as relations of promiscuity. What brings these partnerships together and seduces such disparate actors into alliance isn't so much the promise of increased technology access. It is instead the promise of "freedom" and the opportunity for diversely situated subjects to realize themselves as "modern individuals."

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**To my grandmother, Rosario, and my mother, Catalina,
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*** Introduction / Neoliberal Networks**

The prominent Peruvian development economist and neoliberal policy advocate Hernando de Soto opens his best-selling masterpiece, The Mystery of Capital (2000), with a simple question: why do some countries succeed in capitalism while others fail?

The text, widely read and celebrated internationally as a "blueprint for the new industrial revolution" was indeed an outline of the founding principles behind de Soto's Lima-based think tank, the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD). Hailed for innovating an updated development model suited for the 21st Century's global economy, de Soto's Mystery of Capital promised to liberate the "hidden" value lying dormant in third world nations through a series of market-oriented reforms. Discreetly embedded within the question that de Soto modestly posed in the opening pages of his treatise, however, were a number of quiet assumptions: that the rules of contemporary capitalism can be universally applied and can be made to work for *all* populations (including the third world's poor); that "countries" assume a central responsibility in ensuring that the potential wealth generated through global markets get effectively captured; and that it is the nation-state that *can* fail in the project of capitalism, as much as it might succeed in it.

However simply posed, de Soto's question disguises the force of its associated assumptions. For it's what it leaves *unsaid* that in fact vitalizes neoliberalism and the policies of free market promotion, private property rights, and deregulation that are practiced in its name. It is these unspoken assumptions that indeed perform an all-important function of naturalizing neoliberalism, making what might otherwise be seen as a deeply flawed, and misguided theory of political and economic practice into a project of reform whose benefits, presumably, should *of course* be pursued.

Critical scholars of neoliberalism, however, caution that the triumph and conviction with which converts sermonize global capital's successes could only permitted given an emphatically selective focus. For while global capital's expansion has allowed new scales of prosperity, productivity and efficiency to be achieved, so too has it generated unprescedented scales of wealth concentration, unbounded social and territorial displacement, and the mass disenfranchisement of growing populations. Together, such inverted realities and polarized twin pairings have become defining, inseparable phenomena of the contemporary. (Chase, 2002; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001, 2005; Davis, 2007; Harvey, 2006, 2007; Klein, 2007; Ong, 2006; Sassen, 1991, 2002; Simmonds & Hack, 2000; Taylor, 2003; Tsing, 2004) And only by attending exclusively to the zones of privilege and security that are produced, and willfully discounting those zones of risk and neglect that have rampantly advanced in the wake of global capital's expansion, can the conviction free market converts be sustained.

But to suspend the self-evidence of neoliberalism's promise, and to turn our gaze away from the spectacular displays of prosperity and fortune that it has indeed assembled, would allow another question to emerge: what is it that has enabled neoliberalism's courtship to begin with? What is it that mobilizes its undeniably seductive power, such

that it can bring diverse parties into participation with its project, even when its prescribed reforms have not consistently aligned with those parties' discrete interests – and even when the spaces of market disfavor have spread with unbridled rapidity? And what has allowed it to expand with such an unrestrained capacity that the equation neoliberal converts (and converters, like de Soto) make between contemporary capitalism and contemporary success *can* appear self-evident? For if a "mystery" of capital exists which begs unpacking today, it seems not to be in how capitalism manages to generate new wealth – but in how it manages to do so while sustaining individuals' independent participation? How it manages to do so, that is, *despite* the social consequences of its productive force.

The chapters that follow in this study attempt to address this mystery to the market's seduction. They approach neoliberalism, not as a system of self-evident profit and gain, but as a mechanism and logic that has had to continually work to recruit actors into its reform project. These chapters suggest then, that we attend to the notion of a "neoliberal network" as an indispensable innovation of global capital that's played a vital role in its expansion. Studying neoliberal networks allows emphasis to be placed - not on those innovations of neoliberalism constructed to heighten the production of wealth - but on those innovations constructed to attract and sustain the participation of diverse bodies of actors. In Peru, such networks have recruited parties as varied as contemporary government planners, transnational corporations, rural community members, traditional artisans, and information technology experts and engineers. If neoliberalism's network has succeeded in advancing its reforms, then, it is precisely because it has been able build a strategic alliance between such diverse interests, encompassing both urban and rural subjects, the high-tech and the traditional, and the wealthy and the wealth-deprived. It has encompassed, that it, not only actors who have traditionally held power, but those actors too who have historically been denied it.

This study, then, builds upon work that has explored the architecture of networks as technical or social bodies that accommodate collaboration between varied actors (Benkler, 2006; Callon, 1986; Callon & Latour, 1981; Castells, 1996; Collier & Ong, 2004; Hayden, 2004; Latour, 1987, 1990, 2004; Mitchell, 2002, 2004; Riles, 2001; Weber, 2004), and shifts the focus onto the process by which those diverse interests are recruited. It attends to the conditions and logics that have enabled neoliberalism's seduction to take place to begin with, building alliances in a diversity of sites, and among even the most unlikely of partners. What brings these partnerships together, what seduces such disparate actors into alliance, isn't only the promise of increased access to capital, or what is generally assumed to be the essential objective of neoliberal reformation. It is *at once* the promise of "freedom" and the opportunity for diversely situated subjects to realize themselves as modern, globally networked individuals. They are inspired by, as political theorists Nikolas Rose, Andrew Barry, and Thomas Osborne write in Foucault and Political Reason (1996), the promise of a "'form of politics beyond the State', a politics of life, of ethics, which emphasizes the crucial political value of the mobilization and shaping of individual capacities."

Investigating modern development initiatives of the Peruvian state that promise to modernize communities through promoting global integration and the adoption of the tools of networked information technologies, the chapters that follow explore what it means to possess "freedom" and to be made into a "modern individual" with both the capacity to compete and *independently* manage personal risk as an aspect of everyday life. They investigate, then, new regimes of intellectual property that are pursued through neoliberal reform plans as strategies for local development, where the ability to successfully deploy the tools of information capital becomes a pre-condition of "freedom." And they study the pointed social conflicts that arise in the midst of the state's efforts to engineer new sites of economic productivity and draw diverse stakeholders together into the partnerships of neoliberal reformation. For while these initiatives encourage "modernized" actors to build multiple, flexible partnerships as a means of maximizing individual future profit, they at once undermine and place at risk pre-existing social relationships.

And it is this destructive capacity of neoliberal networks that reveals a crucial operation of its logic. For if there is a law that it abides by and honors with unfailing constancy, it is that of *selective inclusion.* Within the expanding literature on networks, much attention has been given to the notion of networks as productively enrolling formations that have acquired new contemporary relevance as networked information technologies increasingly become integrated features of modern life. (Benkler, 2006; Castells, 1996; Lessig, 2001; Mellucci, 1996; Ong & Collier, 2004; Sassen, 2002, 2006; Weber, 2004) Inspired in part by the work of sociologists of science Bruno Latour and Michel Callon (Callon, 1986; Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 1987, 1991), much of the research in this vein has attended to how network formations operate behind the advance of scientific knowledge, technological innovation, and modernization policies, structuring the collaboration of dispersed rational actors. Yet part of the curiosity behind networks as growing features of modern life is precisely that they carry persuasive power beyond their bounded limitations, allowing, as Latour himself notes, "a handful of well-positioned men [to] rout billions of others." (1987, 181) Networks, that is, are defined by their very *exceptionality*, that they are precisely uncommon, non-ordinary, and scare.

Applied to the world of scientific and technological production, they may signal heightened productivity or the advancement of knowledge, distinguishing particularly strong and convincing truth claims from weak and ordinary ones. Applied however to logics of modern governance, networks structure a startlingly rational exclusion, dividing civic populations once defined by a common status of "ordinary" citizenship, and allowing political recognition and resources to be channeled selectively. Under a logic of neoliberal networks, that is, state and market benefits acquire a new efficiency, allowing securities to settle upon those who not only actively participate, but who can *successfully* (and continually) demonstrate themselves as *exceptionally* productive, participative, or enterprising. (Ong, 1999, 2005, 2006)

In segmenting populations thusly, neoliberal networks put into efficient execution a contemporary biopolitical logic that Foucault described as the power to "make live" and "let die." It was a power in other words that explicitly operated to "optimize a state of

life" among a "population of living beings" (2003, 246), allowing state securities, markets privileges, and their dual constructions of "freedom" to be guaranteed not for *all* living persons, but into that life deemed more worthy. Such a logic enabled political resources to be economized, "subdiv[ing]" and "fragment[ing]" the species (2003, 255) and optimizing the operation of governance itself. Most stunning perhaps, still, would be how liberty and freedom themselves could be converted into rewards with bounded limitations. Newly framed as a scarcity, freedom emerges here, not as simple condition of life (if it indeed ever truly was), but as a stake that populations, now divided, would have to compete for in order to secure.

Chapter One thus introduces the concept of the Enterprise Village as an emergent geography of contemporary neoliberalism. While finance capitals like New York, Toyko, and London, or innovation capitals like Seattle, Bangalore, and Silicon Valley, have received pointed attention for their status as urban sites that international exchange depends upon (Massey, 2007; Sassen, 1991, 2002; Simmonds & Hack, 2000; Taylor, 2003), enterprise villages exist as parallel geographies where rural production, product assembly, and primary resource extraction can occur to accommodate global consumption. Just as the operation of global cities obligates new flows of human capital, the reorganization of existing industries, and the continual integration of new technologies in an effort to optimize "modern" conditions of living and production, so too do enterprise villages require the "modernization" of rural sites and communities, and the parallel integration of new technologies to accommodate new export-oriented production patterns. This chapter thus traces the Peruvian state's remaking of a northern rural town - known for its traditional artisanal ceramics production - into a global enterprise village. Key to its work in doing so is the work of transforming traditional rural artisans into market-savvy entrepreneurs who can navigate the global market and leverage the tools of the information economy to do so. These tools include not only new technologies that accelerate the pace and scale of production, but legal tools like intellectual property (IP) rights that can distinguish traditional goods for foreign consumers. Important too is how such tools foster a pointed awareness among rural producers of their remade status as modern authors and IP rights holders.

Such rural transformations are crucial precisely because the cultivation of subjects with the capacity to *self-save* and self-govern is central the project of neoliberal reform. Such a project, notably, seeks not "to govern through 'society' but through the regulated choices of individual citizens, now construed as subjects of choices and aspirations to self-acutalization and self-fulfilment. Individuals are to be governed through their freedom." (Barry, Osborne, & Rose, 1996, 40) Distributing responsibilities once assumed by modern states, neoliberal projects govern by "implant[ing] in citizens the aspirations to pursue their own civility, wellbeing and advancement." (Barry, Osborne, & Rose, 1996, 40) And they does so under the presumption that they address, not flawed and ignorant savages, but enterprising and proficient individuals with the capacity to achieve their own self-actualization and to even aspire to constant self-improvement. Enterprise villages, then accommodate a distribution of responsibilities, allowing "capacitated" artisans come to see themselves as directly responsible for the work of rural development -- so that when and if reform projects fail, it is those artisans (rather than the state or its network of

transnational partners) who are to be held accountable. Had they been more able and efficient, they'd have certainly succeeded, and that that they did not is only testimony to their failure to self-realize as "modern," optimized individuals.

Chapter Two continues an exploration of neoliberal innovations by studying "native stagings" as performative techniques by which reformers are able to assume the role as the unexpected champions of multiculturalism and cultural preservation. Highlighting the global market's ability to grant Peru's traditional arts forms a pointedly intensified international mobility, visibility, and vitality, neoliberal reform projects promise to retribute artisans for the historical deprivation they'd long suffered at the hands of the post-colonial nation-state. Infusing traditional goods with a new market desirability, and vowing to channel amplified rewards into poor and marginalized communities, reformers even pledge to secure the reproduction of native traditions for future generations to come. Such rescue acts, moreover, perform a parallel function for modern states as well, rewarding populations who had historically experienced government's neglect, and thereby granting states the opportunity to redeem themselves from a legacy of colonially-rooted prejudices.

Yet, by establishing "authenticity" as a (presumably) verifiable condition on which to base native populations' recognition, multiculturalism under a neoliberal logic still provides a means by which rights and benefits to native groups can be "rationally" withheld. Framing "authenticity" as a scare resource, and insisting that *a* proper native beneficiary does exist, reformers' fetishization of authenticity constructs an arena where native groups must compete for exclusive recognition as the "true" and rightful beneficiary, producing conditions where collective benefits and potential solidarity are undermined for exclusive gain. More cunning still is how neoliberal reformers promote ironic stagings of native "authenticity," and encourage serially produced, non-traditional products to masquerade as traditional crafts in the global market. While promising to save rural communities and prevent them from fading into historical irrelevance, the global market's formula for retribution channels its rewards to - not the culturally "authentic" native - but to the market "optimized" one.

Chapter Three attends to rural communities' critical reaction to the development of global export markets, exploring the circulation of gossip and talk of devolved relations among artisans. Such critical narrations mean to counter the official narratives of economic development, modernization, and the civilizing of rural communities that neoliberal reformers promote. Even as promoters of international export insist on the emancipating and "civilizing" power of global markets, local artisans' accounts of social disintegration stress its destructive, "de-civilizing" capacity instead. While pro-export actors appeal dually to the rational "evidence" of the modern market's civilizing promise, and a religious-like faith in global capital's salvational potential to recruit participants, artisans decry a betrayal of community ethics and condemn the rise of inter-communal abuses to prevent such partnerings. Against neoliberal salvation stories and development's master narrative of rural advancement, then, emerge another set of *hyper-moralizing* tales. These accounts renarrate neoliberal partners and export-based development's globally-

networked actors as participating in *relations of promiscuity* with diverse parties – including ones with oppositional interests to community development.

And in narrating promiscuity, local gossip critically highlight several things about the transformed conditions that define contemporary craftsmaking in their village. First, that export-oriented markets promote relations where obligation and fidelity are minimized. Loyalty is practiced to the extent that it is convenient to an individual and is an act expected to be fleeting when expressed. Partners – as they are for exporters -- can be multiple and flexible, depending on how well they meet the specific demands of a suitor. Secondly, these relations are seen as promiscuous for exceeding community ethics and notions of social health and security. Thirdly, such relations ultimately can be seen as fostering competition between actors seeking the limited attention and favor of a suitor. In Chulucanas, such competition has generated conditions of advantage for exporter companies, who may be promised reduced prices or accelerated production times by artisans as a means of securing contracts. And lastly, such relations ultimately operate to dissolve spaces of solidarity and public trust. Interests are re-centered around individual need, and become acutely self-serving. Like an illicit romance, too, they come packaged with a shroud of unconfirmed accusations against competing artisans that further erode bonds of trust.

Chapter Four explores community-innovated alternatives to neoliberal networks by investigating Peru's free and open source software (FLOSS) advocacy network. The activity of this distributed network of advocates allowed Peru to become one of the first nations around the world to propose legislation for the state-wide adoption of FLOSS-based technologies. To advocates in Latin America and in the broader developing world, such technologies offered a powerful means of arguing for broader civil participation in national policy design and political decision making. While neoliberal networks' goal of optimizing efficiency necessitates the selective inclusion of only those most productive participants, FLOSS poly-vocal advocacy network argued for the unraveling of such an exclusionary principle. Seeking to model a network based on broader civil participation, FLOSS advocates demonstrate that crucial to the operability of their networks is not merely ability to cohere as a unit for technological innovation, but their ability to perform too as a body of cultural innovation, whose narrative productions can destabilize established meanings and even generate new policy and political norms around technology.

Examining Peruvian FLOSS advocates' activities more intimately, Chapter Five studies the identity formation practices of these coders of "free" and open technologies. Their playful experimentations and engagements with networked information technologies turn out to provide a crucial means by which they can not only interrogate their own identities, but interrogate the relationship of the self to the outside world. Networked play, that is, provides a platform by which such digital technologists can critically reflect upon their own experiences as "free" and independent participants of networked communities, and explore the contradictions and aspirations simultaneously captured in the notion of networked "freedom". Play, considered here under psychoanalytic terms, then, reveals itself to be about far more than simply fun and games. It is, indeed, as psychoanalytic

theorists would remind us, a deeply serious engagement, which can have at its stake, relationships between the self to personal practice, the self to the social, and the individual to the political. That Peruvian free software programmers' initial engagements with free software as an object of playful exploration, individual experimentation, and self-exploration, could lead them to collective forms of political action, however, is perhaps one of the most natural byproducts of networked-based play. For embedded within such play practices is not merely the capacity to recognize the real as a space that the self should be reshaped for, but is the potential as well to recognize the real as a space that itself is in need of reshaping.

Together, these chapters mean to explore the deeply ambivalent promise of freedom in the age of neoliberalism. They mean to take seriously the difficulty of resisting neoliberalism's seductive promise of liberating individual potential and drive for continual self-improvement. For if the anticipated rewards of neoliberalism have never been certain (and have never been anything *but* a gamble), neither has its nightmare been entirely self-evident. Particularly in Peru, a nation of deep racial, regional, and economic divides, a nation still haunted by a recent history of peasant-based terrorism, such promises have turned out to be impossible to resist. And if neoliberal preachers have found converts with alarming scale and in the most unlikely of corners, it has been able to do so because of the flexibility inherent within its promise of reform. That it can provide a new means of redemption and progressive evolution – not just for market actors or even contemporary states – but for diversely situated individual subjects, including the rural and urban, indigenous and non-indigenous, and the digitally-enabled and digitally-deprived alike. Their message has addressed, in other words, not just subjects who traditionally had been rewarded by power, but those too who have long been conceived as marginal to existing centers of privilege. For these subjects, neoliberalism has not only held out the prospect of merely modest reform, but has promised the potential of entering a continual cycle of improvement, conducted with breathtakingly new scale, scope and speed.

Freedom, as it turns out, is an ambition in Peru still pursued by everyone from the modern independent state, to networked technologists, to rural artisans. And reimagined through the contemporary lens of neoliberalism, it has made potential partners of an expanding array of actors, and evacuated the spaces in which any decision can be made innocently.

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* Chapter One / Enterprise Village: Entrepreneural Artisans, Intellectual Property, & the Optimizing of Rural Zones

Settled in dry, dusty, coastal desert of northern Peru lies the remote, sun-washed town of Chulucanas. Throughout Peru, it is known principally for its arid climate, its green stretches of mango and lime cultivation, and for a sizeable and (now more than ever) growing community of traditional ceramics artisans. Adopting techniques thousands of years old derived from the pre-Columbian Vicus and Tallan cultures, Chulucanas' ceramists see themselves as the inheritors and guardians of indigenous traditions in hand-made ceramics -- traditions that include stone polishing, paddle-molding, and clay smoking with mango leaves. It is this rural province that has become the unlikely site of investment and experimental grounds of the Peruvian government's contemporary electronic governance (e-governance) initiatives, where the promotion of intellectual property rights -- and the cultivation of authors and inventors as intellectual property rights holders -- in the interest of economic development and regional modernization figure centrally.

Last year, Peru's government launched a project to promote the use of an intellectual property (IP) title -- known as a Denomination of Origin – in the more than 1200 ceramics workshops in Chulucanas. The geographic indicator would serve as a kind of location-specific brand that identified Chulucanas as the exclusive site of origin for the ceramics, and that attributed its particular characteristics to its geographic roots. Acquired in mid-2006, Chulucanas' intellectual property title was hailed by the government as a means of securing multiple economic and cultural benefits for Chulucanas. Firstly, it would serve a branding function for consumers internationally that would distinguish Chulucanas ceramics in the global market – much in the same way that Champagne's geographical indicator benefited Champagne producers from France. Secondly, that it would establish a set of "modern" market-oriented standards and regulations that ceramicists would have to adhere to in order to qualify their products. And lastly – and especially critically -- that it would recognize and protect the ancestral traditions of ceramics making inherited from the Vicus and Tallan peoples dating back to 500 B.C.

Over a course of a year and a half between 2006-08, I studied the work of Peru's Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MINCETUR) and the national office responsible for managing IP rights, the National Institution for the Defense of Competition and the Protection of Intellectual Property (INDECOPI). These two branches of government were responsible for promoting the denomination of origin as a strategy of regional development and modernization, and for working with Chulucanas artisans to ensure their participation. My work has involved interviewing the government representatives, artisans and exporters working with Chulucanas ceramics. It might seem that the state's interest in Chulucanas as a contemporary site of cultural expression and national productivity would generate a new collective consciousness and communal identification among Chulucanas' artisans – particularly given that building collaborative partnerships between the diverse actors invested in a region has been a defining strategy of e-governance projects. Surprisingly, however, it seems to have in fact produced precisely the opposite

effect -- disintegrating shared public interest and dissolving spaces of collective identification. What I heard when talking to artisans were not testimonies of shared interest and community collaboration, but were instead accusations of betrayal against other ceramicists, talk of design stealing, accounts of price warring and wage exploitation – and expressions of general distrust of the public institutions and civil associations who had failed to put an end to such practices. There seemed to be a notable lack and disintegration of shared public interest and collective identification. One could say that contemporary relations among artisans following the promotion of Chulucanas as a productive site of *culture as intellectual property*, are characterized for their pointed suspicion, competition, envy and even exploitation.

There is little sense of this conflict, however, in the flurried pace by which intellectual property is being newly – and by some registers, surprisingly -- incorporated into development policies by nations across the globe. In the contemporary market, IP has been predominantly the legal resource of Western actors interested in protecting their investments in science and technology innovation, or in the creative arts. But in the past decade, developing nations have begun investing in their IP systems with new intensity, reworking them to not only coordinate their regimes with those of Western nations, but to also pursue new titlings on an expansive range of living and cultural forms. Encouraged by international governing bodies like the UN, WIPO, and the World Bank – who advocate that developing nations exploit the IP potential of their national resources, countries have sought out titlings on artifacts that span everything from cultural and indigenous expression to biological diversity and local plantlife. (Berlin & Berlin, 2003; Brush, 1999, 1996; Castree, 2003; Coombe, 1998b; Correa, 2003; Dove, 1996; Dutfield, 2002a, 2002b; Faye, 2004; Gervais, 2003; Hayden, 2004; Isaac & Kerr, 2004; Merson, 2000; Nigh, 2002; Parry, 2000, 2002; Prakash, 1999; Shiva, 1996, 2004; Zerda-Sarmiento & Forero-Pineda, 2002) These pursuits allow the expanse of a nation's cultural and biological diversity to be re-visioned as not just protectable elements of national patrimony, but as exploitable national and economic resources. And they do so while at once offering the possibility of advancing culturally-sensitive development models that are at once tailored to the demands of the 21st Century's information-based economy. Curiously then, it is those nations with large rural populations, indigenous cultural traditions, and non-urban, biodiverse territories that have begun to aggressively pursue such IP-based development initiatives. And as the case of Peru demonstrates, IP emerges as especially useful for development not only because of the way in which it can be *uniquely* applied to the rural communities that are guardians of traditional culture, but also for the way in which it invites new productivities to be extracted from rural and indigenous subjects. It's these subjects who can now emerge as *exceptional* participants of the contemporary information economy, and as such, indeed even *model* neoliberal citizens.

It is precisely this notion of IP's productive capacity that's generated the almost tangible excitement coursing through the packed auditorium in Lima's National Musuem that I find myself in one afternoon in July 2007, where the collective mood is buoyant. The audience has come to participate in the government- and United Nations-sponsored conference on "Folkart, Innovation, and Sustainable Development," and we are now

listening to Peru's National Director of Folkart (artesania), Madeline Burns, speak on Chulucanas' new Denomination of Origin and the development of Peru's "national culture industry." Given the growing public appeal of such IP-based development strategies, it is not surprising that Burns' audience has flown in from around the world to participate in the conference, or to hear about developments in Chulucanas' dry, dusty village, hundreds of miles away. In the first few rows of the auditorium alone are suited delegates from the United Nations, representatives from the Chinese and Indian governments, European design consultants, as well as representatives from Peru's government offices. With their laptops perched neatly on their knees, they listen attentively as Burns speaks, conjuring the remote, dusty Peruvian town hundreds of miles outside of Lima for her global listeners.

One of the first steps, she indicates, for the success of these initiatives is the making of a "native product." She asks, "What are the requirements to make a native product? First, that artisans themselves are the ones that decide what is their 'native product.'" That product, Burns specifies, should use local, regional materials and integrate "ancestral" techniques in its elaboration. It should also already be associated with a group of artisans that are committed to promoting its entry into and circulation in local, national, and international markets. "Native products," once properly realized, should help to not only create "value in local regions," they should further help to "define the identities" of both their consumers and producers. The results of this kind of reform process, she emphasizes, are already noticeable with Chulucanas' IP title: "There hasn't only been an improvement of product quality because of the Denomination of Origin [in Chulucanas], it's also generated an interest among everyone [involved in ceramics production] to *improve themselves*... It's generated a synergy between the public and private sector and the many institutions that have been involved with this issue -- this development issue, that's ultimately about the generation of new capital."

Burns speaks passionately about the IP-focused work her office has undertaken in Chulucanas, shifting easily between the identity-oriented and the market-oriented elements of the government's policy. It's not hard to see how she has gained the wide confidence of the teams of workers she has directed in her four years at the state's Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MINCETUR). Her formulation of the phrase "the making of a native product" and what she stresses as its "identity defining" potential, however, are striking precisely in their apparent self contradiction. What, after all, did it mean to make a "native product"? Shouldn't native artifacts – by definition - already exist as present cultural expression, particularly if they were to become recognized as worthy of IP titles? Shouldn't the identities of native and indigenous producers likewise defy invention? Wouldn't the possibility of "authoring" native products -- or their inventors for that matter -- undercut the very claims to legal and cultural authenticity that IP titles were meant to signal? And even if such inventive acts were possible, what stake did the state have in such authoring functions? Or in projecting such commitments for international publics like the one seated before her?

Curious as the notion of "making native products" may sound, it's precisely this work that has been channeled through Chulucanas and the Peruvian state's IP promotion

initiative there. If Chulucanas' artisans and products are now newly distinguished and visible as productive sites of cultural expression, it is because they brought together a dispersed network of public and private forces all bent on re-making them as such. Their work, crucially, was not only geared towards engineering native products, but to do so with an explicit global orientation that would summon such artifacts -- and their associated producers – and mobilize them for an international public. Distinct from other traditional crafts or indigenous arts in Peru, Chulucanas' ceramics and native products like it were intended to be deanchored from their local sites of origin and endowed with a unparalleled form of circulatory license. Such capacities, however, were not simply naturally present or effortlessly extractable features of native artifacts, but turned out to have demanded new investments of work, energy and resources from various actors in order to produce. Whatever the implications of its name, then, Chulucanas' native products stand out emblematically as a unique invention, born out of the dynamic orchestrations of the Peruvian state and its network of transnational partners.

Enterprising Villages

Critical scholars of neoliberalism have argued that these intensified interweavings between local sites and global publics are in part what characterize contemporary conditions of globalization. (Appadurai, 1996, 2001; Castells, 1996; Canclini, 2001; Harvey, 2006; Ong, 1999; Ong & Collier, 2005; Sassen, 1991, 2002, 2006) It's the adoption of strategies that not only accommodate such inteconnectivities, but that simultaneously favor the attraction of global capital and foreign investment that scholars emphasize are central tenants of the contemporary neoliberal state. (Harvey, 2005, 2006; Ong, 1999, 2005, 2006; Ong & Collier, 2005; Sassen, 2006) In efforts to encourage national economic growth and the accumulation of capital, governments actively seek out means to liberalize regional markets, maximize international exchange, and reduce barriers to financial flows across national borders. (Harvey, 2005, 2005; Sassen, 2006) In the process, government interests turn outward, de-centering themselves from the realm of the national, and realigning themselves to privilege activity and concerns outside traditionally national domains. State matters, that is, are reconfigured to foster the conditions that facilitate the entry of transnational interests into national infrastructure and public institutions, and to render national economies permeable to new global investments. (Sassen, 2006)

Recent scholarship tracing out these trends have stressed how globalization hasn't lead to a disintegration of the state, so much as to its redefinition. (Appadurai, 2001; Castells, 1996; Harvey, 2006; Ong, 1999, 2006; Ong & Collier, 2005; Sassen, 2002, 2006) Such work has demonstrated how states' active participation in the processes of economic globalization manifest, in fact, in a wide range of newly generated domestic work. This includes re-alligning national laws, legal norms, and legislation with foreign standards promoted by supra-national organizations and leading industrialized ecnomies to internationalize domestic markets. (Peru's own recent record of drastic legal reformations – captured but not encapsulated by the Fujimori administration's "shock" treatments and privatization policies -- are not only reflective of these developments, but are illustrative

of some of *the* boldest regional models of economic liberalization undertaken in Latin America.) Such work often entails new creative work, designing and erecting new infrastructures and introducing new "legalities" to accommodate and invite financial commitments. (Sassen, 2006) These new productions are undertaken with the dual intention of both attracting transnational capital and formalizing the security of international corporate firms within national domains. (Ong, 2006)

But states do not only devote new energies toward the remaking of legal systems as an outgrowth of contemporary market-oriented strategies. They also dedicate efforts to accommodating the development of new urbanizations and hyper-modernized zones as exceptional sites of economic productivity and centers of coordination for global financial transactions. (Abrahamson, 2004; Brenner & Hall, 2006; Castells, 1996, 2006; Hackworth, 2006; Massey, 2007; Ong, 2006; Sassen, 1991, 2006a, 2006b; Scott, 2001; Simmonds & Hack, 2000; Taylor, 2003) These so-called global cities serve to both concentrate global capital and attract new international investments, channeling such resources toward the creation of spectacular, hyper-modernized spatial arrangements, architectures, and forms. Scholars of contemporary operations of globalization have attended to precisely the emergences of these new post-industrial urban geographies and sites that encompass enterprise zones and technology triangles. (Abrahamson, 2006; Ong, 1999, 2005, 2006; Ong & Collier, 2005; Taylor, 2003)

Indeed, part of the central functions of the neoliberal state is precisely the sustained production, attraction, and care of a diverse range of specialized knowledge classes and experts that are attractive to global capital. (Ong, 1999) It's these cosmopolitan subjects -- skilled in the techniques of finance, legal, and technological management and creative production – who are responsible for working with the economic exchanges that traverse the networks of global capital. (Sassen, 1991; Ong, 1999, 2005) Deploying new information and networked technologies to coordinate market-enabled transactions across space and time, these urban, knowledge professionals often become internationally mobile bodies themselves in the work of securing the constant, even flow of finance. (Ong, 1999, 2005, 2006) Valued precisely for their specialized forms of expertise and optimized productivity, they are afforded an emergent form of transnational entitlement that not only permits an ease of international mobility, but that amplifies their ability to seek legal rights and exercise flexible, "citizen-like" claims in a diversified range of the sites. Unanchored to any single locale, and traveling with passports and legal documents that authorize unhampered migration, these self-enterprising flexible citizens a shared cosmopolitan culture and economy of consumption across urban sites as disparate as London, Toyko, Santiago, and New York. (Abrahamson, 2006; Ong, 1999, 2006; Sassen, 1991) It's between such dispersed spaces, that the tastes, lifestyles, and imaginaries of high-modernity's knowledge classes are trafficked, and pool into one glossy, fluid blend.

The contemporary work of the Peruvian state in Chulucanas and its artisans, however, demonstrates how the unfolding of these trends do not necessarily entail a total divestment of rural spaces or disconnection from local, rural populations. In the market's quest to optimize production, and uncover new commodities, marginal spaces and traditional populations selectively acquire new relevance. Such relevance is based not

only upon the possibility of unique and potentially non-industrialized techniques of production, but the market distinctiveness acquired from a product's ties to the traditional communities and remote or rural localities outside the circuits of global cities and their professional classes. Parallel with emergent global cities, where the productive labor of urban knowledge workers and shared patterns of consumption can be concentrated, arise new rural satellites – or what can be called enterprise vilages. In these remote spaces, unique forms of production can be made hyper-efficient. Such productive efficiencies are extracted not merely along the criteria of time-scales and cost of manufacture, but also in the production of diverse commodities that range from indigenous ceramics to computer chips, and that capture the market potential in both traditional knowledge *and* high modernity.

If it is a new territorial alignments that neoliberal operations have created, however, they have done so by more than simply dividing space into uniform geographies of urban investment and rural divestment, or classifying populations into categories of urban economic privilege and rural, remote abjection. Global cities' knowledge workers emerge as active, model participants in the workings of global capital, but so too are rural subjects being called upon to participate in optimizing the productive spaces of the global market. If it is a lifestyle lived within a circuit of hyper-modernized sites that urban knowledge classes cultivate, rural subjects' participation allows such a network to extend into and occupy new marginal spaces. And through these resettlements, rural and indigenous subjects may now emerge as a unique breed of knowledge worker. Incorporated into global capital's network as guardians of traditional knowledge, rural artisans invest their own creative labor into global markets. And they can do so as a specialized class of workers whose productive energies are authorized and enabled -- not on the possession and accumulated use of passports and other resources of the modern state (Ong, 1999) -- but on the possession and use of artisanal tools as a simple as the wooden paddle.

Indeed, that rural and indigenous subjects may now become newly incorporated as not just potential contributors to the global economy, but as *model participants* of it, is a celebrated achievement of the Peruvian state. It's precisely this consciousness of artisans as potential creative laborers that can stretch the margins of who may be included in the knowledge economy that informs a concerted emphasis on artisans themselves in the state's development policy in Chulcucanas. There has been minimal labor devoted, then, to reforming conditions external to Chulucanas that effect the consumption and circulation of artisans' products. Little work has been done to attempt to diminish the incidents of either local or non-domestic "piracy" of Chulucanas Ceramics (and to reduce the number of copies sold in shops in Lima, Ecuador, or China) or to educate consumers and exporters alike on the historical and cultural roots that distinguish Chulucanas ceramics. Efforts have instead focused on "training" rural artisans themselves in the techniques of international marketing and entrepreneurship and re-engineering the workshops of artisans into efficient production zones. Since the work of developing a denomination of origin for Chulucanas began, MINCETUR and INDECOPI have organized routine classes and conferences for Chulucanas' artisans that feature international exporters, market consultants, and engineering and design professionals

from Lima. The idea has been to reskill ceramics makers so that they behave less like provincial artisans and more like sophisticated, market-savvy entrepreneurs and intellectual property rights holders who can respect and navigate the logics of the global market. Or as Burns herself later tells me, " I believe what we are all subscribing to is the issue of competitiveness. And the state's responsibility in this respect is what it has developed through workshops, legal marks, providing tools and infrastructure. This is a union of policies that are directed towards improving the competitiveness and utility of the producer, who is part of this area of [national] growth."

The newly shifting awareness of the productive potential in traditional populations and indigenous subjects has likewise been reflected in the institutional adjustments of INDECOPI itself. Established under the neoliberal reforms of Alberto Fujimori's government during the 1990s, INDECOPI's mission was to strengthen private property rights and coordinate Peru's intellectual property and patent system with those of leading industrialized economies. Considered inside Peruvian government today as among its most effective and efficient public offices, INDECOPI's IP-oriented reforms are seen as having effectively secured, protected, and increased foreign and domestic private investments over the past two decades. Until recently, however, INDECOPI saw itself as bearing little relevance for the majority of Peru's population living outside of its cities, or to its indigenous populations scattered throughout the country who historically had been disconnected from the state. The recent development of intellectual property titles for rural communities like Chulucanas marks a pointed policy shift for INDECOPI to innovate and offer up legal tools specifically for Peru's non-urban and indigenous populations. In the last several years, INDECOPI established two new offices – that are meant to address the rural and traditional communities who are now newly envisioned as relevant productive classes. Empowered with such tools, it's believed, the productive potential of such classes can be readily extracted. Among the newly instituted directives of the office, then, is a goal to establish two new IP titlings and Denominations of Origin for traditional artisanal and agricultural products every year. Officals from Lima also recently began traveling to remote rural zones to visit indigenous communities and organize workshops that encourage them to begin to create inventories and archives of traditional herbs, plants, and medicines from which patentable material may be extractable.

But if the Peruvian state has begun to expand its focus from urban zones and subjects to the very rural sites and traditional communities that had been historically neglected, it's crucial that it has begun to do so armed with what it sees as the transformative potential of IP. Such transformative capacities can be channeled through these information resources in several ways. Firstly, the state's use of IP inserts *culture* into a logic of information property that assigns it a dual valence. While IP here recognizes culture's inherent value, it also calls for it to be transformed in order for its market potential to be extracted. Secondly, IP inserts culture into a global web of relations and infrastructure that sustain these optimizations. These include not only Peruvian ministries, but supernational governing bodies, transnational corporations and international NGOs. And thirdly, IP allows a selective focus not on the *entire* body of citizens who share an interest in culture – but only on *those subjects* deemed *legitimate* "IP rights holders."

Investments then, go only into those enterprising individuals who are most able to network IP's productive relations.

It's precisely this capacity to optimize market potential that's underscored in Madeline Burns' emphasis on "improving" and creating "new capital" in Chulucanas. Significantly, if IP titles are being applied to Chulucanas' ceramics *now*, it's with a logic that the work of optimizing culture can *never* actually be done. By global capital's clock, new production efficiencies and profit margins must continually be extracted – and IP is a tool in this new work. What Burns doesn't say is that there doesn't exist an *absolutely "perfected"* good. Traditional goods can *only be* in the process of improvement, ever-relegated as imperfect, and subject to reform to meet shifting market demands.

What circulates as one of the primary justifications for the cultural application of IP titles – that is, that an unpolluted, indigenous culture or a virgin, natural territory can receive public protection and recognition for their "native" purity under such legal titles -- is undone here. Nothing, perhaps, evidences this more than the exclusionary function of Chulucanas' Denomination of Origin, and the fact that not all of Chulucanas' more than 1,200 artisans will be have the right to exercise the IP title or be a beneficiary of its rewards. Strange as this may seem, local developments in Chulucanas suggest that it is in fact an intended effect of the state's electronic government initiatives, where disparate actors – including rural artisans, Lima-based state representatives, and global exporters – invested in Chulucanas' ceramics market are brought into selective alliance. The state, that is, assumes the work of cultivating *flexible relations* (or what artisans narrate as *relations of promiscuity*, as we'll see in Chapter 3) between actors with diverse, and often oppositional, interests. It's the new linkages between these actors – rather than one's generational or familial ties to ceramics making, or ties to environment and resources that are part of that creation -- that now determine how benefits, rewards, and protections will be channeled.

It is not merely the opportunity to reap new economic benefits, however, that compels these networked couplings and that seduces disparate actors into alliance. It is as much the promise of "freedom" and the opportunity for diversely situated subjects to realize themselves as "modern individuals" that sustain such networks. They are inspired by what political theorists Nikolas Rose, Andrew Barry, and Thomas Osborne describe as the promise of a "form of politics beyond the State', ...[that] emphasizes the crucial political value of the mobilization and shaping of individual capacities and conduct." (1996) Embedding oneself into relations of promiscuity that pronounce an independence from government and the ability to operate as a "free" and modern individual ironically emerges as a pre-condition to achieving recognition of the state. But if the case of Chulucanas demonstrates anything, it is that there is no shortage of contradiction. Networks channel wealth, as much as they deny it. Relations of efficiency and productivity upon which new fortunes are based, at once undermine pre-existing relations of communal life and the productive relations within it. Tradition, ancestral knowledge, and culture emerge not as revered, sacred objects worthy of protection, but as objects that are instead supremely malleable, porous, flexible, and subject themselves to new permeations. In a world, it appears, where economic opportunity and security are

experienced as scarcities, new forms of individual "risk" are voluntarily becoming adopted as a means of attempting to minimize other social, economic risks. And however troubling these conditions, the final irony is that the success stories still abound.

Fortune's Network

Although the state's IP-based initiative in Chulucanas is only several years old, the work of turning Chulucanas' ceramics into an exportable "native" product in fact began more than a decade ago, as part of a large, $40 million dollar development project funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the branch of the US devoted to financing international development projects. The project sought to revitalize Peru's rural economies and re-establish foreign consumers' trust in local markets in the aftermath of Peru's more than two decade long civil war with the peasant-based Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) movement (and USAID's funding continues today to "advance U.S. national security, foreign policy and the War on Terrorism"). By cultivating a export markets for artisans, it hoped to rebuild communities that had experienced decades of unrest and economic disruption during the civil war, as well as undertake measures to prevent Sendero's resurgence.[1] To deploy the project locally, USAID partnered in Peru with the Peruvian Export Promotion Agency (PROMPEX), the Association of Exporters (ADEX), and the US-based non-profit, Aid to Artisans (ATA). Burns' emphasis, when speaking before her international audience, on IP's ability to generate "new capital" while synergistically "improving" artisans and products, is crucial precisely because such new IP investments in Chulucanas actually seek to *further* optimize the array of earlier international investments there. It's no stretch to say that the state's new IP-oriented investments in Chulucanas are awarded based on its proven record of economic and cultural production, and that its present granting comes not only with the recognition of past performance, but with the expectation of new heightened future productivity.

Indeed, for the institutions that were involved with cultivating Chulucanas' export market, the case serves as an emblematic example of the success of their efforts. And in project partners' retellings of the development of Chulucanas, there is no shortage of talk of the salvational – almost transcendental -- power of the global market there. Participants readily tell me that by the end of the project, thousands of new jobs were created, and craft exports more than doubled nationally to 23 million dollars, the largest portion of which came from sales of Chulucanas ceramics. Until the 1970s, Chulucanas' ceramics were relatively rare objects, to be found in a handful of boutiques in Lima, Europe and the US, where they fetched prices upwards of $150. Or for the determined

[1] Sendero's entry into the northern provinces of Peru, in the Piura and Cajamarca regions, was actually minimal, particularly compared to the violence communities in Peru's central and southern Andes and jungle experienced. Much of this was due to the work of peasant-organized "police" groups, ronderos campesinos, in Peru's northern provinces. So effective were they in deterring Sendero's entry that they eventually received sponsorship from the Peruvian government to continue this work. The work of the ronderos will be part of a later chapter. What's interesting, however, is that despite the minimal impact of terrorism in the northern provinces, it's nonetheless summoned to justify the intensive intervention of state and market forces there.

consumer, they could have also been found in a few workshops in Chulucanas, where pieces – whose traditional, belabored, handmade production allowed no more than a dozen to be produced in a week -- could be purchased for a third of what they sold for in urban and foreign boutiques. The USAID, ADEX and ATA collaboration transformed all that, "modernizing" traditional production techniques and spaces, "optimizing" workshops and their output, vastly increasing global distribution, and broadening the base for international consumption.

By the late 1990s, Ceramicas Chulucanas was no longer the same artifact. It could be found easily in both Lima's budget-friendly tourist markets and high-end souvenier shops. In the US, chains like Neiman Marcus, Pier One, Target, and Ten Thousand Villages sold Ceramicas Chulucanas. Increasingly visible as a good that attracted foreign capital, mimicked, "pirated" versions of Ceramicas Chulucanas began to circulate – first in markets in Piura, then in Lima and beyond. Such effects had its parallel in Chulucanas' work patterns too, where the number of ceramics workshops and skilled workers began to explode. In the beginning of the 1980s, no more than a dozen artisans were represented under Chulucanas' oldest artisan association, the Association of Vicus Ceramicists. Today, more than 400 artisans are members. More telling, perhaps, is that the Vicus Assocation now exists as just one among five other ceramicist associations, which all see themselves as competing for representative status of Chulucanas ceramicists. In just a few decades, Ceramicas Chulucanas had gone from relative public obscurity to becoming today one of Peru's most recognizable folkarts and rural exports. So much so that in 2005, the government honored it by naming it a "National Product" (Producto Bandera) the only folkart among Peru's hundreds of different craft traditions to be distinguished with such a title.

Sonia Cespedes was the sociologist and development consultant contracted by ADEX in the mid-1990s to complete a technical assessment of production conditions. She was among the first of the team of professionals working as part of the Chulucanas development project who arrived there in 1995 to work with the artisans. She spent the next several years of her life shuttling between Lima and Chulucanas, laying down the groundwork for what she calls Chulucanas' technological revolution, and working along side other economic and design consultants and the artisans from Chulucanas. I first speak to her in her home office in Lima's middle-class Surco district, where she has also built an extension for her own ceramics studio and workshop. The walls of her home are lined with examples of her own ceramics work, and one notes in several pieces the influence of the negative-positive design technique, one of the signature traits of Chulucanas pottery. She hasn't traveled to Chulucanas in several years, but she speaks fondly of the collaborations she helped to engineer there, the lifelong relationships that sprang from them, and a history that she tells me was personally life changing. She asks during our conversation about several artisans by name, just as she asks to hear about the news and changes in particular sites and locales there. And I learn later that she is the godmother of the children of one of Chulucanas' most prominent artisans.

She tells me, "This was one of the most important experiences of my professional life. This kind of fortune is something that one doesn't always find in their professional life,

this fortune of finding ourselves as the right people in each link in the chain." She lists for me more than a dozen names of USAID personnel, Lima-based exporters, US-based designers, and Chulucanas artisans who she worked with, who became part of a "chain that carried us to freedom". She specifies that in order for the network to have functioned as it did, each participant needed to understand what part, what circumscribed identity, they were scripted to play. She stresses this for me to make sure it's clear: "Each key person had their role, and each had their place. So it was this confluence between all these professions and professional roles, through which this fortune emerged."

A number of key objectives were identified by the project, including making the necessary "improvements" in the quality, design, and price of Chulucanas' ceramics for them to become exportable. She recalls, however, that it was no small task of first convincing the artisans of Chulucanas to participate at all in the export-oriented partnership, or to assume the roles such a collaborative model prescribed for them. "I tell you that really, it was tough work (trabajaba como una hormiga)[2]. A lot of effort was required. I had to go door to door, knocking on each, speaking to each workshop and each artisan about the benefits that this project could bring." The majority of the artisans she spoke to responded with either disinterest or with a pointed rejection of her invitation. A small group of artisans – no more than four she recalls -- did, despite the resistance from the majority of their fellow artisans, finally decide to cooperate with the project: "This small group had a lot of faith, and it was this small group that became the force behind Chulucanas… Of course there were many in the beginning who didn't agree, but now no. Now it's another Chulucanas… The exporters said to them, 'Chulucanas, improve your designs, your production, your quality, your price, and we'll commit too!' That's why I tell you that each link in the chain believed firmly. And we launched ourselves into this marvelous adventure! [An adventure] not because we didn't know where we were going, but because we did and we had the nerve to believe it was going to work!"

Spurned in Chulucanas for their reform initiatives, the export-oriented team could read themselves as "daring" and "rebellious" precisely because they challenged long-honored traditions in ceramics making and the social conditions that sought to conserve them. If the pro-export reformers provoked the scorn of the town, then, it was in large part because their project sought to introduce radical transformations that threatened to destabilize the social world of ceramics making around which community, customs, and a history of collective belief had been formed. But the language of rebellion that exporters adopt presumes a courageous "break" and "rebellion from" a shared space of conserved tradition. It is a language, in other words, that situates them alongside the artisans of Chulucanas *as if* they had been bound together by a shared\ past alliance. That such identifications never actually existed is overlooked by exporters –eclipsed instead by a vision of a boldly remade future that their reform proposals project. And if subscribing to

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[2] Literally translated, "I worked like a red ant." Its translation in English is clunky and awkward, but in Spanish it is lovely. It captures the sense not only of hard, physically-demanding labor, but also captures the sense of determination, commitment and duty on the part of the worker. Labor here is not mindless, not automatic, but is an expression instead of the worker's commitment to a larger community whose purpose is served by these individual acts of labor.

the pro-export reform agenda demanded a kind of "faith" from coupling artisans that even exporters could acknowledge, it is telling. For it would be these artisans whose rebellion from established community norms would be required before they could partner with the band of unknown strangers whose calls for change had upset the town.

One of the most controversial changes the partnership demanded was that the artisans radically lower their prices by a factor of four, drastically reducing the cost of a ceramics piece that Cespedes tells me would originally be priced at an "unthinkable" $30. Prices were adjusted to $7 for the same ceramic piece, a calculation derived after an analysis of the cost and abundance or scarcity of the raw materials required for production. The clay, whose source was the earth around them, sold cheaply and was in plentiful supply. And it was the sheer evidence of this that could be used to persuade artisans that previously paid labor was in fact over-valued, enabling the generation of a new supply of unpaid labor. Cespedes recalls, "I never imposed anything on the artisans. I said to them, 'look, at this [economic] study that I'm doing with you. We've gone to the clay pits and bought clay together, and we've seen that the prices [you're asking for] are too high. You are tripling prices of a product that's not of quality. Why don't we reverse this model and first lower the cost of ceramics by a third... You have to be conscious of how much the exporter is going to gain... You have to know how much the percentage of profit is so that you can learn to negotiate and know until how much you can raise and lower your prices... Because this isn't about if I like something or not. Everything has a technical explanation, a mathematical explanation. These things aren't done with the heart but with reason."

If Cespedes had to devote significant energy to translating exporters' pricing matrix, it was because it indeed sought to challenge the common sense of artisans that was rooted in local life and traditional production. Pricing, by the exporters' logic, was not to be determined with a "heart-based" attachment to artisanal tradition or sentimental over-valuing of local culture among them, but with a "reason-based", technical assessment on the external, extra-local dispersion of profit. According to such an analysis, the market potential of Chulucanas' ceramics had been "irrationally" inhibited by the local traditions of production. To ensure the efficient distribution of local products and the dispersion of profit beyond the artisans of Chuculcanas to an array of actors spanning across the globe, new assessments and considerations of expanded forms of non-local work were required. Such analyses effectively re-valued artisans' local labor by determining what previous forms of regional craft and artisanal production were being erroneously over-paid, and newly recognizing distributed forms of non-local work as necessarily under-paid. It would be in these new extensions of non-local labor that profit around Chulucanas' ceramics could be captured and on which the realization of its "market potential" was to be based.

Cespedes devoted much of her work to running workshops that sensitized artisans to precisely these logics of the global market, and the means by which commodity prices and distributed profit margins were to be deduced. "They had to learn how to think in this way... [So I said to them], let me impart this to you so that you can use it, rather than protest it, because it's going to help you." She also organized the artisans into specific teams that would work under each of the three primary companies – ALLPA, American

Trading, and Berrocal, Ltd. – that were exporting Chulucanas' ceramics. She remembers vividly that her recommendations initially made her the object of revile among many Chulucanas artisans. She insists that in order to progress, however, one has to have an "open mind, professionalism, conviction in your product," and above all, the "nerve" to adopt radical change, even against the will of the majority.

But if it's a narrative of courageous change that pro-export actors like Cespedes adopt, it's crucial that by the register of Chulucanas' artisans, their reform work could have been described as not brave, but brutal. Brutal not only because their export-oriented reforms insisted on the revaluing of traditional production techniques as error in order to cultivate new market extensions, but because such reforms entailed diminishing the actual value of local labor. And if export-oriented reformers encountered an initial resistance from Chulucanas' community members, who were almost uniformly opposed to their entry, it was because their work implicated local culture, craft making, and the modest forms of rural living in Chulucanas as instead "over-valued." By reformers' accounts, these were market inefficiencies that they intended to correct. Such work could only be sustained, however, with local collaboration and participation. And Cespedes, who continues to consult on rural development projects, and travels across Central and South America to do so, attests that her work secured these local commitments. "In the end, my trainings became so important that firstly, everyone [working in ceramics] wanted to get trained! Exporters only wanted to work with artisans that we had trained, and even asked for their certifications that we had trained them."

But the popularity Cespedes' workshops and their pro-market preachings eventually gained underscores a curiosity of neoliberal logics and the mechanisms by which it recruits new participants. For if reformers faced an almost uniform resistance of community members upon their initial arrival, the events that unfolded in Chulucanas illustrate that diffusing such opposition – and converting opposing members into allies – and thereby securing the local diffusion of export logics was achievable. If there was an audacity to the development of Chulucanas' export market, then, it is perhaps that it became possible *at all* to undermine the staunch resistance and scorn that reform makers initially faced. In the process, reformers themselves could be discursively transformed. Reformers who had insisted upon the "over-valuation" of local culture as a market error, could later posit themselves as defenders of Chulucanas' future whose work created the possibility of new wealth there. And even when such new wealth was being largely accumulated by parties outside of Chulucanas (or was only directed to the discrete group of artisans who first "risked" coupling with exporters to begin with), reformers could still speak in populist tongues, insisting that the possibility of acquiring wealth was within reach of any local resident – given, that is, the capacity to grasp market logics and a willingness to think outside of "one's heart."

If neoliberal preachers could insist on their rebellious nature, then, it rested in part on their ability to have bridged the tensions in their gospel, and on their capacity to convert their strongest critics into willful partners. In the process, export oriented reformers can be reborn too as some of the most effusive defenders of and spokespeople for village life and local culture. Cespedes, notably, spares no emotion when she stresses that

Chulucanas' culture is more alive today than ever. In protective tones, she tells me, "Today, Chulucanas looks as if it were a city of all artisans… The culture Vicus isn't going to die. It's something transcendental." And I can't help but want to believe her.

A Neworked Conscience

On a sunny, summer afternoon in November 2006, Javier Escandon is speaking to a roomful of artisans in the offices of the MINCETUR-managed Center for Technological Innovation (CITE) in Chulucanas. His tall frame casts a long shadow against the blue glow of the power point projection behind him. His presentation is intended to prepare the artisans he's speaking to for the upcoming international craft expo in Lima, The Peruvian Gift Show. The expo, organized jointly by MINCETUR and PROMPEX is *the* national event of the year for folkart sales. It attracts thousands of foreign buyers who come in search of local Peruvian crafts and their suppliers. These buyers come with the mission to choose who among the hundreds of artisans and suppliers available to them -- each with their display stands positioned alongside each other -- they will ultimately select to contract with. These couplings for the buyer mean stocked shelves and sales rooms for consumers back in Europe and the U.S. For the artisan, it means months of steady labor for himself and the team of workers employed. Access to these fairs as one of the primary spaces that artisans can use to secure contracts and build new relationships with international buyers, is highly coveted. Because vendors can only set up their stands by invitation only, however, only two of the artisans in the room will actually travel to Lima for it. The two that will travel, among the handful of artisans in all of Chulucanas that have an established track record for contracting and completing large export orders, have in fact traveled to the fair before. Still, the two dozen or so other artisans in the room who have turned up for Escandon's presentation know that his advice will be of value to them nonetheless. Escandon's own work history in Chulucanas, after all, began more than a decade ago when he was the director of the ADEX and Aid to Artisans project there, and like Cespedes, he maintains his links to many artisans working there. As importantly, his ties to exporters in Lima, and in particular, the three largest exporters of Chulucanas ceramics, still run deep.

The slide that Escandon projects behind him displays the image of a modern living room of a non-specific end consumer's middle-class home. With the text "life, peace, tranquility, security, and naturalness" typed beneath it, the home displayed could be any in Lima, or in New York or London. For Escandon, and the artisans his workshop is tailored for, the geographic specificity matters very little. His purpose is rather to project an image of the global consumer, to convey the contemporary consumer's values and identity captured in the very domestic interior projected on the slide, and to orient the market consciousness of local, rural artisans accordingly. He tells them: "What one seeks is a sensation of peace, of tranquility, especially because its such a violent world that we live in now… And when you look at the product, it shouldn't be mistaken for something that came from the U.S. or Europe. This is what I mean, that it captures *our* identity. And that it can still be recognized even on the other side of the world, that it starts a global dialogue."

One way of reading what he means is that artisans should see *themselves* as responsible for engineering "global dialogues" with consumers who are both culturally diverse *and* globally dispersed. And he means to stress that if artisans intend to court the global market, their "globally dialogic" products have to be *both* traditional and modern at once. They must be able to deliver a traditional, cultural good, while being ever-conscious of the "global dialogue" that product is now meant to operate within. And they must do this while still meeting the scaled-up production demands and "high" quality expectations of the international market. They must in other words, be able to split their consciousness between the mixed anxieties and desires that flow through the local world of Chulucanas, those of the foreign importer navigating the Lima market in search of exportable goods, and those of the anonymous end consumer half way around the world.

He leaves them with one final piece of crucial advice: "When you go to an international fair, the last thing you want to do is mistake it for a tourist market… We've seen that these fairs require export vision and capacity, knowledge of each of the products to be shipped, product prices that are already fixed according to the market analysis… Because when these buyers come, they aren't here to tour. And this is very important to keep in mind because it's what will transform you into someone who can relate to an importer, what will classify you as a 'person of potential' with whom it'd be possible to build a sustainable relationship over time."

Listening to Escandon's presentation, and his appeals to artisans to consider the "global dialogue" their artifacts should spur and the 'persons of potential' they are meant to become by participating in the international market, it's easy to imagine the address as part of a university lecture on global consumption. If this is the work of modernization and development that's being undertaken in these skills-building workshops, it is certainly not with the same patronizing, Enlightenment mission that characterized 19th Century schools as extensions of the modern, liberal state. (Alonso, 2005; Barry, Osborne, Rose, 1996; Joseph & Nugent, 1994; Mallon, 1994; Rockwell, 1994; Rose, 1999; Wilson, 2001) Under the worldview of the liberal elites of the young Peruvian state, the country's remotely situated, rural and indigenous populations were read as "ignorant, defective, and uncivilized." (Wilson, 2001, 326) Such populations could be incorporated into the nation as modern citizens, but only after being transformed under Peru's first national education project. Escandon's speech, however, unlike the civilizing discourse 19th Century urban elites adopted, doesn't condescend, or pretend to uplift, enlighten, or save its rural listeners through reason. His language is riddled instead with a firm "you can do it!" ethic, with a steady faith that the modern individuals and "persons of potential" before him – however remotely located from the centers of financial transaction and its urban knowledge classes -- can be responsible for improving their own conditions, and that they only need to be given the opportunity to freely compete in the market to demonstrate their ability to do so.

True to his faith, Escandon infuses markets here with the potential to deliver rural subjects and zones from an eternal condemnation to poverty, presenting global capitalism as an option "that if rightly harnessed, is invested with the capacity to wholly transform

the universe of the marginalized and disempowered." (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001, 3). Critical scholars of neoliberalism have thickly described this before -- how it is that free market advocates appeal to a salvational potential of Millenial Capitalism in preaching their gospel. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999, 2001, 2005) But there is a crucial difference here. Where Millenial Capitalism billed itself as saving subjects, here redemption now depends on the cultivation of subjects with the capacity to *self-save*. They are addressed, that is, by a neoliberal logic that notably "doesn't seek to govern through 'society' but through the regulated choices of individual citizens, now construed as subjects of choices and aspirations to self-acutalization and self-fulfilment. Individuals are to be governed through their freedom." (Barry, Osborne, & Rose, 1996, 40) "Construed as subjects of choices," such a logic seeks to govern by "implant[ing] in citizens the aspirations to pursue their own civility, wellbeing and advancement." (Barry, Osborne, & Rose, 1996, 40) But crucially, it does so under the presumption that it addresses not flawed and ignorant savages, but enterprising and proficient individuals with the capacity to achieve their own self-acutalization and self-fulfilment. This is, in other words, a messianic capitalism tailored for the 21st Century that doesn't need to *come to the rescue* –but that offers up to subjects the tools for *auto-rescue*. And that manages to seduce precisely in its promise to allow subjects to self-realize as free, modern, and optimized individuals.

Indeed, speaking to Escandon later in his home in Lima, he embeds Chulucanas' history of development in a narrative of successful geographic competition: "Now you've proven that Chulucanas can do it. In no other part of Peru can you generate the [quantity] of export product that you see there. Just in Chulucanas… The important thing is that with Chulucanas' productive organization, it proves that it has the capacity for production. It works *like a business card* that shows you can work in large volumes in short amounts of time. It's something that hasn't been done in any other part of Peru." His description of Chulucanas as having achieved a productivity still unmatched by any other remote region in Peru is a characterization I hear echoed repeatedly about the town and its unparalleled, optimized production power. I am meeting with Escandon in his home shortly after the Peruvian Gift Fair, which succeeded in generating various new sales contracts for the Chulucanas artisans who attended. Still, for Escandon, it was crucially flawed in at least one way: "The state was subsidizing the artisan so that he could come to the show. This to me doesn't seem right and I wrote this in my report [to ADEX]… You are going against the law of market!… We're talking about what I would call unfair competition. And I don't agree with this kind of work. I don't think it helps the artisan."

We are speaking in Escandon's living room, an ample space with high ceilings and even lighting, where a number of artisanal pieces, collected over decades of work with artisans and exporters across the country, are tastefully displayed. Escandon is seated across from me, his long legs crossed leisurely so that one loafer-ed foot is balanced inches from the ground. He never fails to impress me with the ease by which his body language conveys a natural, unshakeable elegance, even when something has upset him. Indeed, weeks after the Peruvian Gift Show's end, Escandon is still visibly bothered by the thought of the state subsidies to artisans' travel expenses. It's as if it offended a deep moral ethic in him: "The artisan should be accustomed to paying for his own things, just like any one of us."

Authored Selves

Gaining entry into international crafts fairs, however, was just one key indicator that a rural artisan had successfully cultivated their own competitiveness. Another indicator of successful competitiveness that was the ability to acquire one of the much coveted contracts with the handful of companies that export in large quantities to international retail chains. Vying for these contracts and coupling with exporters has obligated workshops to undertake major transformations in order to meet production demands. And it has meant leaving behind traditional production techniques for modernized, large-scale production models where newly incorporated technologies replace much of the work originally done by hand. Rather than shaping ceramics by paddle or by hand, modernized workshops now use electric potter's wheels and ceramics molds. And where ceramics making had once involved a single artisan completing all the production steps alone or with a few family members, modernized workshops now employ teams of workers who are each assigned a single, dedicated task.

Such transformations have amplified production potentials from the several dozen pieces traditional workshops produced to some 3000 ceramics monthly. But for artisans who are willing to commit to such self-modernization efforts, vast amounts of new work is generated. Labor must now be expended not only to ensure that the required changes be deployed properly, but also to ensure that the established production models and the relations that sustained them (now to be displaced in the wake of new transformation efforts) are also properly handled. New export contracts come with new obligations to ensure that workshops are properly modernized, and that new business relations are successfully negotiated. Managing this added labor *at all*, however, is more than a means to remaking space, but evidences an artisan's capacity to perform as a self-realized, modern entrepreneur. As much as remade workshops bespeak of the investments expended to transform production spaces, they demonstrate an artisan's own investment in individualized self-transformation.

Among the artisans who are recognized in Chulucanas for having managed to successfully negotiate these new dual responsibilities is Santodio Paz. Born into a family of traditional potters, the 40-year-old Paz was one of the first in Chulucanas to integrate modern production technologies into his workshop, enabling him to produce some of Chulucanas' first large international export shipments. And while most of Chulucanas' artisans have yet to attend a single fair in Lima, Paz has already cultivated an extensive history of fair expositions, having attended several in Lima, and having traveled to others in Brazil, Mexico, Finland, Columbia, Holland, Germany, and Chile. He remembers having been mentored by Gerasimo Sosa, one of Chulucanas' most distinguished ceramicists, and one of the few who still makes his pieces only by hand. During the 70s, when Chulucanas' ceramics were still only made by hand, and only beginning to find a distribution market in a few select boutiques nationally and internationally, Sosa invited the younger Paz to travel with him to various fairs he had been asked to attend: "He asked me to come, and I came with my own products, which sold more or less well, and that's how I began… But Gerasimo wasn't my teacher. I learned alone, I was *self-taught*,

because I created my own line of ceramics, with a design that was totally different – with plates and vases – which took on."

Paz repeats such assertions of self-made success built on personal achievements and hard-earned recognition throughout my conversation with him in his workshop, a large space where the flattened earth still serves as the floor. Like most of Chulucanas' ceramics workshops, Paz's extends from his home. And often, it's a doorless threshold or hanging sheet that marks the end of an artisan's workshop space and the beginning of domestic kitchens and bedrooms. His workshop is one of the few in all of Chulucanas, however, that has a separate office space (complete with a coveted cement floor) built into it. As he speaks to me, he molds a ceramics piece using one of the electric potters wheel that's now become customary in the production of exportable ceramics. His quick, fluid strokes flow like second nature from his arms over the wet clay, forming a base and neck of the vase in a matter of seconds. I notice that all the while, he manages to keep the pale, collared short-sleeve shirt he's wearing unmarked. When he speaks again, it's to acknowledge the generosity that Sosa extended toward him during his early career. He recognizes how it played a crucial part in the course his life would later take, but he doesn't dwell on this: "Gerasimo wasn't selfish, and that's why he invited me."

But such expressions of generosity, care, and support among artisans in Chulucanas have become a rarity today. Paz's explicit recognition of Sosa as "not selfish" is the one of the only instance I witness when such kind words are expressed towards another artisan by an artisan. And it's one of the few instances where I've heard an artisan acknowledge having been the recipient of a kind act by a fellow artisan. More commonly, what I hear when speaking to artisans are expressions of explicit distrust and heightened competition. Even after the state's work of promoting Chulucanas as the distinguished site of cultural expression – work that one might have assumed would foster a sense of collective pride and community - accusations of betrayal against other ceramicists, reports of design stealing, accounts of price warring and rumors of wage exploitation abound in the town.

Josefa Nolte is an anthropolgist who first began to work with the artisans of Chulucanas as the director of the crafts-oriented non-profit organization Antisuyo. Nolte and Antisuyo were present in Chulucanas when the USAID-ADEX project was undertaking its reforms there. Antisuyo's office and showroom in Lima were known for selling Chulucanas' handmade ceramics with some of the highest prices, and Nolte defended the pricing scheme after the USAID-ADEX collaboration began to advocate its price adjustments. Artisans I spoke to recalled with sadness the year in the late 1990s that Antisuyo had to close its doors and stopped showcasing Chulucanas ceramics. ("I guess it just wasn't sustainable," Paz told me.) Nolte's own sadness when explaining the developments in Chulucanas, and the heightened competition that is now part of the landscape there, is audible: "[Ceramics are] an economic resource in a place where there aren't many resources."

She is accusatory when she speaks about the companies who developed Chulucanas' export market, describing their relationship to Chulucanas in almost predatory terms. "The exporters all made their fortune in this period… they got strong and large in this

period, through their export sales." What offends her most, however, is the lack of commitment the exporters demonstrate for the artisans whose labor their business depends on. "The largest exporters now aren't interested in working with small artisans. They're only interested in whoever can offer them the largest volume, the best investment, those who have already grown. And this bothers me, it angers me… Maybe tomorrow I'll decide that I don't like selling crafts anymore, even though I built my fortune on this. Tomorrow I'll leave and I'll build a hotel. Or I'll sell something else, it doesn't matter. I've made my fortune, I've grown, and now I don't need you. Ciao." The hyper-individualism however, and lack of commitment to community, however, is something she laments is now notable among artisans as well: "We have to work hard with the population in Chulucanas, because if the *population doesn't have any conscience*, if they are not united, they are never going to achieve anything. Because if you tell me you will sell [a piece] to me for four [dollars], I will go to the guy next door and he'll tell me he'll sell it to me for three. Who benefits? The dealer in the long and in the short run."

Nolte's critique of Chulucanas' export model – and her concern for how it's fragmented the population of Chulucanas into those with and those lacking fortune, echoes an observation critics of neoliberalism have made before. Alongside the rapid assembling in global cities of hyper-productive zones that concentrate and accommodate wealth and comfort among "the fortunate", have arisen new – often neighboring -- sectors of economic need, disregard, and abandonment where those categorized as un- or under-productive are concentrated. (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Biehl, 2005; Klein, 2007; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2007; Sassen, 1991) Populations, that is, have been divided between "individuals who possess human capital… [and those] who are judged not to have such tradable competence or potential." (Ong, 2006, 7) Applying a "logic of exception" (Ong, 2006), states stratify populations along the criteria of competitivity and marketability, marking out which subjects are worthy of exclusion, and which are to be selected as deserving targets of official investment, care, and protection. Esteemed as value-creating individuals, self-enterprising subjects are permitted expanded social entitlements that allow them to make not only "citizenlike benefits" in new non-local contexts, but that also afford them a kind of spatial mobility as de-localized "flexible citizens". (Ong, 1999) In contrast to these hyper-intensified modalities of living, however, arise zones of abandonment where the "social death" of the biologically living-but-unproductive finds a dedicated site. In such zones, "one is faced with a human condition in which voice can no longer become action... [where] the human being is left all by herself, knowing that no one will respond, that nothing will open the future… [and where] absence is the most pressing and concrete thing." (Biehl, 2005, 11) Much as the logic of flexible citizenship presumes that their intensified entitlements are earned privileges built on a record of achievement and competitive individualism, so too do logics of abandonment presume that the abandoned are responsible for their own ruin - their conditions of desertion having been self-generated from their own inability or unwillingness to make opportunities others could. (Biehl, 2005) Rather than treating citizens as a single, unified and collective body of subjects deserving collective security, governments calculate citizenship entitlements under a logic of "variegated citizenship" (Ong, 1999), where divided populations can be subjected to "different technologies of disciplining,

regulation, and pastoral care, and in the process [are each assigned] different social fates." (Ong, 2006, 7)

It is the emergence of these parallel architectures of care and abandonment that scholars note is among neoliberalism's greatest spectacles. (Harvey, 2006; Klein, 2007) That it can maintain a *sustained* cultivation of zones of hyper-investment parallel with, and even at times adjacent to, zones of hyper-neglect is indeed a peculiar feat. For it begs the question of how it is that such stark landscapes of divided living – of hyper-vitalization and ghettoization -- evade collective alarm and indignation, and instead come to be integrated as normalized, common sense geographies of the everyday. The logics of flexible citizenship suggest that it is the seductions of being able to opt for accelerated and intensified living – with its concomitant privileges of market investiture and flexible, spatial mobility – that sustain individuals' participation. The assumption is that neoliberal spaces are maintained because those that are enabled with choice, choose to live life as such.

But enacting options and the decision for such modalities of life aren't simply independent choices made by freely-willed individuals, but turn out to be intimately connected to a space where choice is no longer present. (Foucault, 2007) For, if in their extreme, zones of abandonment serve as repositories of wasted lives and living waste, and of lives that could otherwise be forgotten, they can be animated by governing powers for one crucial purpose. For those who still possess a life worth spending, they resurrect a "pedagogical vision" (Biehl, 2005) to spend it well. If the spent bodies of zones of abandonment are treated as dying refuse in every other way, in their death, they provide one final lesson: that the fact of their wasted life is evidenced in the damage inscribed on their bodies, and their inability to produce "anything more than infection… and silent suffering. Here, in these spaces of accelerated but common place death, in other words, "the Other's dying makes it possible for one to belong …to a new population and subjective economy." (Biehl, 2005, 65) It is, in other words, the vital lesson of the dyings' fate on which the explicit choice "for life" is compelled. Only through the sheer, public evidence of this logic may life, however selectively and narrowly construed, "be achieved through death." (Biehl, 2005, 66)

Josefa Nolte's lament that "[Ceramics are] an economic resource in a place where there aren't many resources" bespeaks precisely this. For it acknowledges that however imperfect the conditions of its operation, and however much it places at risk forms of collective life in Chulucanas, opting to join the export market at least staves off for participants the fate of the un-resourced and the unresourceful -- that is, a future of not just uncertainty, but of irrelevance, a future of no future. And it does so by not only promising to prevent one from being designated as irrelevant and forgettable, but in offering one the opportunity to achieve, to compete for distinction among fellow competitors, and to even perhaps become recognized as among their most successful, resourceful, and relevant members. Research has attended more carefully to the emergence and effects of these new dynamics of productivity and abandonment in settings where urban settings and zones of hyper-modernity concentrate privilege, value, and worth. But this case should demonstrate how rural zones and spaces of

modernization-in-progress are increasingly the settings of such investments, as well. And while the cosmopolitan, urban settings of global cities that concentrate worth and value transactions make evident what is at stake in successfully earning a place among the most globally productive, it is rural settings that arguably makes more starkly evident what is at stake in earning a place among the unworthy -- or worse, in choosing never to have competed at all.

Back in Lima, MINCETUR's Luis Calderon is describing for me how changes in techniques of production were part of the objective of the state's interventions in Chulucanas. We are sitting together in his 16th floor office in San Isidro, Lima's financial district, looking over the knotted matrix of highways, traffic and towers that spans before us. From the windows of Calderon's 16th floor office, it all weaves together like a luminous web. Calderon, who directs the government's project in Chulucanas, recalls how directors at INDECOPI began planning a strategy for ceramics exports years ago, where it was decided that "what they had to establish were rules [that outlined] technical issues, [specifying] definitions and prohibitions, so that the product that they would develop would meet the demands of the market -- not only in representing a recovery of techniques, but that would also innovate, that could earn them a place in the market, that would be sellable… There are markets that are very demanding. One can use all the ancestral techniques, the materials, but still the market will see it as something crude, or rustic… So it's necessary to look for an answer to this… to optimize plants … [and] to improve collections with technical assistance."

But in fact, there is little way to separate the rural artisan from the crafts of production. And if the government's reform efforts hoped to modernize rural production, it would have to do so by modernizing artisans and cultivating enterprising "individuals". The operative phrases being deployed through initiatives such as these being the "capacitation" (or "re-programming" and "optimization") of individuals so that they are prepared to take responsibility for themselves and their newfound economic freedom. The key work of government here as in other contemporary electronic governance plans becomes not service to populations in general, but service to a select group of individuals who will be retrained precisely so *they* can become newly responsible for what had been the responsibilities of government. That is, government's job becomes that of displacing and distributing responsibilities, and seeing to it that "capacitated" individuals come to see themselves as responsible for the operability of governing. So that when and if e-governance projects fail, the logic of this chain of relations dictates that blame be placed not on the state or its network of transnational partners, but on the individuals who had accepted responsibility for the operability of these projects. Had they been more able, efficient, effective, trained better, or more knowledgeable, they'd have succeeded. That they did not is testimony to their failure as "modern" individuals, that they failed to realize their optimal potential.

And faith in the Messianic global market in Peru today has indeed proven hard to shake, precisely because it *does* generate new forms of productivity and productive subjects.

Indeed, it has a new urgency beyond just Chulucanas today. Besides requiring two new IP titles for exportable crafts per year, Peru is also consulting with the Bolivian government to optimize its handicraft production. The promotion of Peru's national Plan Exportadora for agricultural exports and the recent passage of a free trade agreement with the United States are celebrated triumphs of President Alan Garcia's new administration. The Garcia government even contracted Peru's most prominent neoliberal philosopher, Henando de Soto, to see to it that its US Free Trade Agreement was passed.

If neoliberal logics have managed to engineer new geographies of wealth and productivity, it has not been without a cost, even for its most productive and active participants. The unsettlement expressed by actors like Nolte over the lack of "social conscience" that's notable among the rural artisans who do secure export contracts today, bespeaks precisely this. It likewise echoes a concern other critical scholars of neoliberalism have expressed before: namely, in the midst of these dynamic and massive transformations in "evaluating" and "valuing" populations, in precisely what exists community? Or as Jean and John Comaroff pose: if among the "animating forces" of neoliberal capital are the impulses to "equate freedom with choice, especially to consume, to fashion the self, to conjure with identities; to give free reign to the 'forces' of hyperrationalization; to *parse* human beings into free floating labor units, commodities, clients, stakeholders, strangers, their subjectivity distilled into ever more objectified ensembles of interests, appetites, desires, purchasing power… [in] what consists the social? Society? Moral community?" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001, 44) In the race to capture worth, recognition, and contemporary relevance, and to secure a future of individual possibility, relevance, and consequence in what does a future of "common relevance" and "shared consequence" get accommodated?

The state's acquisition of the Denomination of Origin demonstrates its recognition of Chulucanas as an exceptional site of cultural productivity, worthy of new and accelerated investments, and distinguishable among other rural zones that fall within national borders. But it also demonstrates the desire to re-engineer Chulucanas into something more. Not just as site of cultural productivity, where cultural knowledge is widely shared among artisans – but into a site of cultural innovation and authorship where design and techniques are instead carefully guarded. And a key part of ensuring the operability of Chulucanas' new intellectual property title is the work of fostering new relations (or what we shall see become narrated as relations of promiscuity) that maximize individual potential and enterprise. These new forms of associativity however, are coming into pointed conflict with those that pre-existed it and were maintained by communities. And so if the case of Chulucanas demonstrates anything, it is that communities may have to be as concerned with successes of e-government initiatives as they are with its failures.

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* Chapter Two / Native Stagings: Cultural Adulteration & the Complex of Authenticity

It is not even noontime yet, and the television camera crews and photographers have already mounted their set ups and stations in Chulucanas' crowded town plaza. They've arrived from the provincial capital city, Piura, and the even-more distant national capital, Lima, to document the state-sponsored festival celebrating Chulucanas' new Denomination of Origin. The celebrations are more specifically timed around the recent establishment of the Advisory Board for the Denomination of Origin, called the Consejo Regulador, that will locally administer the right to use the intellectual property title. It's this administrative body that will protect the exclusivity of the IP title, determining which local artisans meet the technical requirements necessary to adopt its use for their ceramics, and which do not. And although much of the work of the Consejo Regulador is bureaucratic, the four-day long festival in its honor provides an exhilarating visual banquet of regional cultural expression for the camera crews that have traveled the distance to capture it.

At the head of the plaza, a large stage has been erected to showcase performances of dances and music originating from Peru's northern coasts. Barefoot couples spin a jubilant tondero dance, whipping their ankles around in snake-like formations before a punctuated stomp drops to the ground. To one side of the plaza, diners sample the Piuran version of ceviche – featuring large chunks of the regional fish, caballo, bathed in the juice of locally harvested limes. And organizers weave between the crowds, handing out chilled samples of clarito, a sweet, northern costal beverage drawn from fermented corn and traditionally served in a hollow, hardened gourd cask.

It is of course the ceramicists of Chulucanas themselves who are most prominently featured in the festival's events. MINCETUR officials and government representatives eagerly shuttle between the stands of local artisans that frame the plaza. They stop to study the pieces displayed at each and greet their makers, flashing wide grins and extending ready handshakes to the craftsmen as a trail of photographers and onlookers follows behind them. In the center of the plaza, a television crew from Lima leans their camera lenses downward to tape several artisans as they provide demonstrations of the hand-molding and paddling techniques that are defining features of Chulucanas' ceramics. Seated on the ground, one artisan carefully presses a mound of clay against the base of his bare foot, securing the damp material with his foot while patiently paddling and turning it, a smooth stone cupped in one hand, until an evenly rounded bowl takes form. To another side of the plaza, a dozen or so artisans are bent over a table, each working furiously to hand sculpt blocks of clay into an original design during one of several live competitions in ceramics sculpting that are held throughout the festival. As the town residents peer over each other's shoulders to catch a glimpse of the artists at work, a MINCETUR official stands to the side, waiting to triumphantly pronounce a victor.

Generating national visibility and public enthusiasm around the state's rural IP project and the native traditions that it will be applied to, the event is by almost all measures a resounding show of success for INDECOPI and MINCETUR, the two government agencies responsible for developing Chulucanas' Denomination of Origin. And these various stagings of indigeneity, and resurrections of native traditions, in all their extravagant display, are precisely part of the reason why. More than just a side show, the various live demonstrations of Ceramicas Chulucanas' traditional production techniques– including paddle and hand molding -- draw attention to the important cultural preservation work that the government ministries and that the Consejo Regulador pledge to locally undertake around Chulucanas' indigenous traditions. Incorporated as central features of Chulucanas' new IP title, these production practices are part of the historical thread that links Ceramicas Chulucanas in their modern form to the ceramics-making practices of the pre-Columbian indigenous civilizations from which they originated thousands of years ago. By making such techniques an essential part of what should be considered in deciding which artisans will be granted the rights to adopt the Denomination of Origin in their products, and which will not, the Consejo Regulador aims to work in the interest of preserving Chulucanas' honored ancestral, indigenous traditions. And by staging indigenous traditions, prominently, the state can pronounce and reaffirm its newly intensifed dedication to cultural diversity, pluralism, and Peru's under-recognized native traditions.

This, at least, is how Peru's government agencies intend the public to understand their work and the work of the Consejo in the events organized to celebrate the IP-based initiative. Having spent the past several months interviewing and even traveling with the officials from MINCETUR and INDECOPI who were responsible for developing Chulucanas' Denomination of Origin, it's an explanatory discourse and rationale that I've become accustomed to hearing. Which is what makes the news I learn of from local artisans shortly after the festival seem all the more incredible.

In January, just a few months before the festival itself was scheduled to begin, an international scandal involving the U.S. home décor chain Pier One and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of export goods was traced back to Chulucanas. It was then that the U.S. company discovered that a shipment of traditional pottery received from Chulucanas had been completely faked. Thousands of traditional ceramics pieces that were supposed to have been kiln smoked to acquire their darkened color had instead been painted black. The tags that would have been attached to the ceramics vouched for their native authenticity and included printed descriptions of the traditional techniques that were meant to be applied for their production, including smoking with mango leaves and hand- and paddle-shaping. Black paint, however, was visibly peeling off the surfaces of the ceramics and sticking to the palms of handlers, and none of the pieces were in any condition to be sold. At the height of the U.S. holiday shopping season, while shop floors were frantically stocking their shelves with merchandise for eager consumers, the retail chain realized it would have to discard the entire shipment, and began to seek answers from the Lima-based exporter from whom they had contracted the order.

None of this, however, is publicly mentioned during the festivities that unfold in Chulucanas just a few months later. It is not mentioned to me by any of the government stewards who I had begun to interview months ago on the work of developing the town's Denomination of Origin, even in the course of traveling together between Lima and the small town in the country's far north. Neither is it an issue raised to me by any of the artisans who had been working most closely with the state in the IP-based initiative and with whom I had had routine contact with. It's not until well after the festival, in fact, that I first hear of the hoax itself and learn of the enormity of the stakes involved – not just for the actors directly implicated, but for the collective population of artisans in Chulucanas as a whole. A scandal of this unparalleled size placed in question the town's reputation as a reliable producer of global exports and threatened the region's international branding. It put in risk, in other words, not just the Pier One contract, but other future export contracts for the town as a whole. And fewer contracts meant in the end, fewer jobs for residents. In the midst of the state-directed celebrations around Chulucanas' ancestral traditions in ceramics making, the village's (and likely, the country's) largest sales hoax in traditional exports had somehow been committed. And even as the details surrounding the magnitude of the scandal and its responsible parties were still unfolding, state workers were channeling their efforts not into answering the confounding question of how it could have happened to begin with and how to prevent its repetition, but into the organizing the festivities celebrating the town and its own history of honoring traditional production techniques.

And as puzzling as this might sound, more confounding still is that the notion that the very government stewards who claimed to work for preserving Chulucanas' indigenous arts would at once explicitly refrain from issuing a condemnation or even public recognition of the Pier One incident. Such a public condemnation or even simple recognition – whether of violating cultural tradition, transgressing community norms, or breaching business contracts -- in fact, would never come. It was as if the incident of global cultural fraud had appalled everyone except those public officials most actively involved in the contemporary promotion and protection of Chulucanas' ceramics traditions. It was as if such an incident had not been seen as worthy of condemnation, recognition or mention at all, or had been seen on some not-so-distant register as normal. Or perhaps, it had simply been anticipated all along.

Staging the Native

A month later, in Lima, Chulucanas' ceramics tradition is again being prominently staged. Just a few weeks after hosting the local festival in Chulucanas, MINCETUR opens a special exhibition in The Joaquin Lopez Antay gallery of Traditional Peruvian Art in Lima's downtown historic center celebrating Chulucanas' ceramics artisans. The exhibit draws together a selection of early and contemporary pieces from some of the most reknown workshops and artisan families in Chulcuanas. There is a hand-molded crucifix from the workshop of Max Inga, one of the first ceramicists of Chulucanas to be recognized for his craft, who passed away just before Chulucanas' large export orders began production. There is a large example of a "chicera" sculpture, representing a local female chicha brewer surrounded by a ring of ceramic urns used to store the traditional

beverage, that Gerasimo Sosa's workshop became famous for decades ago. And representing the more contemporary versions of Chulucanas' ceramics are pieces from the workshops of Jose Sosa and Santodio Paz, including vases produced and shipped for some of the most recent export orders.

At the opening reception for the exhibit, I find myself inside the crowded gallery, peering over the shoulders of a fleet of news camera crews and photographers, trying to find a clear view of the directors of several government Ministries who are at the center of the media-documented commotion. The exhibit is one of the main highlights for MINCETUR's Craft Week, and the government officials – including the very photogenic Mercedes Araoz Fernandez, the Minister of Trade and Tourism – kick off the event by praising Chulucanas' ceramics as uniquely representative of Peru's treasury of indigenous crafts. Indeed, as the first traditional craft to have acquired a Denomination of Origin and the first in the country to have been honored as a National Product, Ceramicas Chulucanas had managed to uniquely distinguish itself in a nation whose traditional arts made it, as one exhibit plaque proudly declares, one of the "richest on the planet." Another gallery plaque elaborates upon the production techniques that date back to 500 B.C. that the artisans of Chulucanas still maintain. Techniques of paddle molding, clay smoking, and "positive and negative" coloration that have been practiced since the era of the Pre-Columbian Vicus and Tallan peoples – it explains, endow Chulucanas' ceramics with "a singular beauty" that has made it a "trademark of our country in the world."

It is a fitting description. Chulucanas ceramics' popularity among international consumers makes it one of the largest contributors to the $40 million USD in artesanal exports that Peru ships abroad per year. That the small, dusty town in the rural northern stretches of the country could be responsible for millions of dollars of international exports, and win the hearts – and investments – of countless consumers around the globe, is indeed an achievement that the Lima-based attendees of the event would consider worthy of exhibition. That humble, traditional artisans from one of the country's innumerable rural villages could compete with the likes of other newly industrializing export giants like India and China, and generate growing international demand for an artifact that, furthermore, was inextricably bound to the primordial, indigenous origins of the nation, would have aptly stirred the pride of any countryman -- even if they had never personally visited Chulucanas before, as was the case with most of those in the event's audience. It's in large part this consciousness of the nation's history of indigenous civilizations, and a general awareness that Chulucanas' artisanal population represents only one small portion of the countless other traditional artisan populations around the country's predominantly rurally-based territories, that fuels a palpable hope around Chulucanas' ceramicists and the new developments around the town's Denomination of Origin. The idea being precisely that if Chulucanas' artisan population can succeed in having their native arts and indigenous "native resources" valued by global consumers, so too could countless other poor rural populations scattered throughout the country. To the urban, capital city residents attending the exhibit, national economic development could seem as close as simply making such diverse regional resources of indigenous culture globally visible and accessible.

As much as the MINCETUR exhibit, then, was a celebration of Chulucanas' artisans, it was also a celebration of the international market channeling these new valuations – not only for Chulucanas' local products, or for that matter, for the various other cultural traditions still actively practiced in Peru, but for the modern, multicultural Peruvian nation as a whole. It's this that is particularly highlit in the exhibit's commemorating inscriptions of Chulucanas' traditional ceramics as a newly market-recognized and contemporarily valued "trademark of *our country* in the world." Captured in such inscriptions is an image of today's global market as having afforded Peru's regional arts a new kind of global mobility, circulation, and visibility, and as having recovered the nation's native crafts and allowing them to acquire a new and present desireability. It is, after all, this market that's esteemed Peru's native arts, enabling them to accumulate new scales of financial investment that thousands of years of anchored, domestic existence (and largely marginalized at that) had never afforded it. And it was this international market that -- presumably – had at long last recognized the intrinsic value of Peru's native arts, lifting them from public obscurity and granting them new scales of vibrant, international visibility.

The contemporary market, through such state framings, is certainly endowed with a salvational potential that scholarly critics of neoliberalism have noted before. Promising to provide traditional artisans with the financial rewards that they had unfairly been denied before, it is this market that not only promises to retribute artisans against past historical deprivations, but that pledges to secure the reproduction of their traditions for future generations to come. In so doing, global markets demonstrate a stunning capacity to both lift rural villages from an eternal condemnation to poverty, and to miraculously recover them from fading, immemorably, into historical irrelevance. But while contemporary neoliberal states have been enthusiastic promoters of the global market as the salvation route for the rural poor, they've been less eager to acknowledge how they too – and their troubled history of governance in the post-colonial, pluri-cultural, modern era -- can benefit from such rescue acts. Able, supposedly, to newly recognize and reward value in the cultural expressions of the very traditional and native populations who had historically experienced government's neglect, global markets grant states the chance to unshackle themselves *as well* from a legacy of colonially-rooted prejudices. If it was an antiquated mode of racist, Euro-centric thinking that haunted newly independent, post-colonial states --- particularly in Latin America -- and that produced devalued indigeneous cultures, marginalized rural populations, and ultimately, an incomplete and uneven form of nation-building, then coupling with the value-granting, diversity-incorporating global market provided states a shot at redemption from that haunted, delegitimizing past.

A market-oriented pairing, moreover, could provide the chance to be resurrected as a modern, liberal state that now acknowledged its error in having under-valued its traditional populations, and could now embrace the values of democratic citizenship, multiculturalism, and pluralism. It's signficant however, that if such post-enlightenment resurrections allowed for state power to be redeemed with a new-found sense of justice and fairness, they would do so while at once incorporating a market-based calculus of rationality efficiency. Reborn as its improved, market-oriented twin, the neoliberal state

may now bestow its national freedoms and benefits selectively, properly appreciating cultural diversity and rewarding value where it could now be duly acknowledged -- and supposedly, then too, withholding compensation from the aptly undeserving.

But in all the celebratory euphoria of the museum event in Lima, and its recognition of the cultural recovery and redemption work performed under the market's new meritocratic valuations, there are a few curious absences. The striking changes in ceramics production that unfolded with the town's explosion of export orders, and that have been part of the modern history of ceramics in Chulucanas, have been omitted from reference. There's no mention of the new technologies and production techniques that global exporters introduced into Chulucanas in just the last decade to massify and serialize production for large export contracts. And there's no distinction made for audiences between the works exhibited by Chulucanas' earliest reknown ceramicists, and those representing the Chulucanas' contemporary productions for the mass market. While the oldest ceramics displayed represented work by artisans whose reputations had been built through their individually-crafted pieces that had been made using traditional techniques, the contemporary selections included were made by artisans who no longer applied traditional production methods, and whose reputations were founded on the large-scale export of serially-produced, non-unique pieces.

The omissions are all the more curious given how the transformations in Chulucanas' ceramics production are arguably what lead to its being awarded an IP title with the Denomination of Origin. It's these transformations in production that, according to many actors who had witnessed the changes in Chulucanas unfold in the past decades, gave the once localized ceramics a new global life, making it internationally visible and recognizable, and converting it from a product sold in local markets and with limited urban distribution into an exportable good whose global distribution had increased exponentially. If until the 1970s, Chulucanas' ceramics were relatively rare objects, existing only as unique, hand-made pieces that sold for around $150 in a few boutiques in Lima, Europe and the US, by the late 1990s, it was no longer the same artifact. Readily available in both Lima's budget-friendly *and* high-end markets, and in US chains as distinct as Neiman Marcus and Ten Thousand Villages, Ceramicas Chulucanas in just a few decades had gone from public obscurity to becoming one of Peru's most recognizable folkarts.

Among those who share an intimate awareness of how deeply these transformations in ceramics production have impacted local life in Chulucanas is Luiggi Castillo. As the director of the Center for Technological Innovation in Ceramics (CITE Ceramicas), a MINCETUR managed agency based in Chulucanas, he's dedicated his work to operating an institution with a more than 30 year long history working with local ceramicists. In recent years, CITE's primary activity has consisted of encouraging artisans' incorporation of new technologies into their workshops as a means of improving product "quality" and enhancing Chulucanas ceramics' competitivity in the global market. He makes a distinction between the "improved" quality of exportable ceramics, for instance, and those that are sold in local markets, crediting the success of Chulucanas' global sales to improvements in product quality that CITE's worked to promote: "Year after year, the

demand for ceramics from Chulucanas is greater, so more people have gotten involved in ceramics production. And what we're seeing is that this Chulucanas ceramics can achieve the requisite quality standards so that the product doesn't weaken in the market... There are different qualities [between ceramics from workshops]. There are those who work very well and those that just work for a small market [mercado bajo]... where the quality is very low... [and] they don't reach good quality standards – optimal standards. Whereas it's the export ceramics that demands the highest quality."

Appointed to serve as the head of the Consejo Regulador for Chulucanas' Denomination of Origin, Castillo explains that it's the promotion of these technical standards that will bridge the reform work of CITE Ceramicas with that of the Consejo: "This is why we've proposed the Denomination of Origin, why it's important that it's applied -- to establish what the technical norms for Chulucanas' ceramics should be and establish a manual for best practices... The Consejo Regulador will allow us to administer the brand and authority of the denomination of origin to soliciting workshops." He stresses for me that it's this "quality control" work of the Consejo that endows Chulucanas' new IP title its true power, encouraging local artisans to adopt technical reforms as a requisite to being able to use it. He tells me, "To be able to claim the Denomination of Origin, these workshops should be able to work under the technical norms that the Consejo Regulador demands, under the authorized conditions that will produce Chulucanas Ceramics."

Castillo's explanations, like the State's cultural stagings, are meant to publicly testify to work of preservation that Chulucanas' IP-based project will allegedly undertake. Crucially as well, they are intended to testify to the salvational power of contemporary global markets, that, now enlightened, can reward the value of native indigenous traditions that had been previously unappreciated. But Castillo's narrations of the transformations traditional workshops are encouraged to adopt underscores a key tension in advocacy around the Denomination of Origin and its claims to native cultural preservation. While the state's IP for development project, and the promise of national and regional economic development that are advanced with it, have been publicly celebrated for the capacity to protect and promote native cultural traditions, its accommodation of large scale, non-traditional production methods enables it to at once perform other work. And in its local implementation, it has indeed at once called for necessary transformations and evidence of "quality" craft making before workshops can be entitled to use and benefit from the IP title's mark of distinction. Local artisans, that is, aren't granted the right to use the IP based on a proven history of local production, or the sheer maintenance of traditional techniques, but on the earned ability to demonstrate the "technical norms" required by the Consejo. In the name of optimizing Chulucanas' ceramics' suitability for large-scale production and global circulability, that is, Chulcuanas' IP title legally authorizes (and arguably obligates) the radical remaking of native crafts themselves. And although it is the protective work undertaken around native tradition that is most prominently publicized and even performed in advocacy for the Denomination of Origin and the new distributed markets that extend with it, it is the unspoken work of undoing and displacing native tradition that has left its local mark in Chulucanas.

But if the public narrative of the salvational global market masks a local reality, it does so only partially. Against the explicitly public narratives and stagings that celebrate a new kind of modern, salvational market and redemptive, multicultural state that can now together reward traditional culture are the quiet, but critical counter narratives of local artisans. Such narrations challenge the claims to cultural preservation made under the IP-for-development project by critiquing the contemporary state of ceramics production in Chulucanas, and stressing the degradation of actual conditions supporting traditional cultural expression and reproduction there. Importantly, these counter narratives demonstrate how the social ties that had helped to reproduce and sustain local, indigenous tradition have been compromised in the midst of promoting export networks.

Such narrations give voice to the incompleteness of the global market's persuasive power, as well as that of the neoliberal policies advancing it. Even as neoliberal promoters insist on the liberating power of global markets, and their ability to re-value and reward local culture, artisans' accounts of social disintegration stress its destructive capacity instead. While pro-export actors appeal to a religious-like faith in global capital's redemptive power and its capacity to right past wrongs to recruit participants, artisans decry a betrayal of community ethics and custom, and the traditions surrounding native cultural production and expression to prevent such partnerings. Through the critical accounts circulated by artisans, the state's stagings of indigeneity, appear not as authentic expressions of the will to preserve tradition, but are exposed as the state's own strategically engineered essentializations of native culture.

Against the salvation stories surrounding the neoliberal market then emerge another set of *hyper-moralizing* tales. These accounts renarrate the global economy as cultivating not merely relations of networked culture, but relations of promiscuity where diverse parties – including ones with oppositional interests – are brought into strategic allegiance. It's this web of relations that invites culture and tradition themselves to be re-rendered into its globally optimized, networked twin -- as version of themselves that can be produced, distributed, circulated with new frictionless efficiency.

But even for the willing partners of the global market, who readily provide indigenous goods that attest to tradition's ability to be authentically captured and valued through global export, such frictionless efficiency, like the salvational tales of global capital, prove impossible to consistently provide testimony for. By the individual accounts that artisans locally circulate, offenses like that of the Pier One case, have not only amplified the possible scale of cultural fraud, but increasingly have come to find a place in Chulucanas' production landscape as elements of the commonplace. What might have once occurred as rare, isolated incidents of production error whose distribution was limited to a local sale, are narrated as now assuming global proportions of massified error circulated internationally. Such incidents of internationalized transgression, like the circulation of accounts that continually report of their passage, evidence the unfulfilled promise of salvational capital. As significantly, they highlight local producers' sustained will to give voice to the unspoken local impact of export-oriented developments. The persistence of such disclosures further demonstrate artisans' condemnation of practices of cultural fraud whose stunning expansion and incorporation into the ordinary, has quietly,

almost incredibly, escaped public detection. And they remind us, too, that not so far beneath the smooth, public surface of global capital's and the multicultural state's promises of redemption and salvation lie deep fissures where the narratives of the unrecognized and unvalued pocket, discreetly accruing until the ruptures can no longer be contained.

Exclusive Indigeneity

In many ways, the origins of indigeneity's strategic performance lie in the modern era, and in the increasing approach to "culture as an expedient" in solving problems of social conflict and economic development that had once been the province of government economic and social policy. (Yudice, 2003) Where the question of culture, and problems of social integration and economic development, had once been the responsibility of government that demanded the expenditure of state resources in order to manage, the shifting valuations around diversity - and around indigeneity, in particular - have reframed culture into a contemporary resource that itself can be deployed to capture new market value. Scholars have noted how the United Nations and its issuing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) centrally contributed to the positioning of diversity and pluralism as key internationally-shared interests. (Goodale & Merry, 2007; Keck & Sikkink, 1998) Such values, as well as an international imperative to promote the world's cultural diversity and protect endangered traditional populations, were concretely issued through a variety of conventions in the post-World War II era, including the UN's International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and the International Labor Organization's Convention 169 (1989). The international interest in diversity's conservation expanded even further to include not merely human diversity, but all forms of biological and genetic diversity when the Convention on Biological Diversity was issued in 1992. Such political documents crucially provided powerful discursive tools for shaming governments who had subjected indigenous populations to centuries of political discrimination and marginalization. (Jackson, 2007; Niezen, 2003; Speed, 2007)

Scholars of contemporary social movements have noted how indigenous-based movements have leveraged such discursive tools in a range of political struggles in the latter half of the 20th Century. Fighting to address various problems that have persisted since the colonial era, including the loss of native lands and territories, the breaching of legal treaties, and the imposition of socially and culturally destructive assimilation policies (Niezen, 2003), collective actors have been able to strategically leverage the universally-embraced values of cultural difference and diversity. Yet by circumscribing states' special obligation to protect traditional peoples in the survival of their "distinct ways of life" that distinguished them "from other sections of the national community" (ILO, 1989), these international declarations allowed for a burden to be placed on populations themselves – allowing groups to be obligated to prove their authentic "distinction" in order to make claims to their right to political entitlement. (Graham, 2002; Montejo, 2002; Jackson, 2007; Povinelli, 2002; Turner, 2002; Warren, 1998; Warren & Jackson, 2002) Despite intending to empower traditional peoples, that is, such doctrines have instead cultivated conditions where the performance and assertion of

cultural difference – however self-essentializing and self-romanticizating – is demanded as a requisite to *even begin* to address states. And it is then the successful resurrections and enactments of an indigeneous self as a *surviving* form of ancient, primordial identity (even when not recognizable to community members) that emerges as a condition for receiving institutional recognition and benefits. Elizabeth Povinelli writes compellingly of the impossible demand made of such performances: "In these uneven cultural fields, how do jurists and other nonindigneous citizens discern a real indigenous subject from a 'more or less' diluted subject? Is it sufficient for indigenous persons to assert that they know customary beliefs or must they demonstrate some internal dispositional allegiance to that belief? How does one calibrate an internal disposition?" (2002, 4)

More recently, scholars have pointed to the new valuations that indigenous resources and traditional cultures have been granted through contemporary market forces. (Bellman, Dutfield, & Melendez-Ortiz, 2004; Ricardo Brown, 2003; Coombe, 1998; Dutfield, 2000; Hayden, 2003; Posey & Dutfield, 1996; Riley, 2004; Shiva; 1997; Suthersanen, Dutfield, & Chow, 2007; Yudice, 2003) As guardians of knowledge and cultural forms that could feed a growing global consumer demand for traditional products, native populations have been urged by a range of private actors – including pharmaceutical companies seeking to derive new drug treatments from traditional medicines (Hayden, 2003), and marketing companies seeking to use native symbols for product advertising (Coombe, 1998) – to partner with commercial actors for the commodification of their traditions. Such cooperative relations promise untold financial rewards from the global market to an isolated native group who can be identified as the "proper" author or owner of tradition. These market-based compensations, that is, obligate native groups to acquiesce to the authority of modern state's property law and the establishment of exclusive rights to authentic owners and authors, even when the traditional form in question had been collectively held or widely adopted among many native peoples. (Shiva, 1997)

While asserting themselves as working in the political and economic interest of indigenous peoples, then, the new valuations of indigeneity have operated with a fetishization of "authenticity" that can serve to disenfranchise of native peoples. By establishing "authenticity" as an objective, verifiable litmus test on which to base political recognition, the withholding of rights and benefits to native populations can assume a coolly rational veneer. Framed as a scare resource, authenticity constructs its observation as respecting its natural limits and excluding those parties who would fraudulently claim its political rights and economic benefits. Reifying antiquated notions of native identity and culture, as well, authenticity's complex has encouraged the adoption of what social movement scholars have called practices of strategic essentialization, where ironic and self-conscious performances of "traditional" identities are deployed in order to both make rights claims to states. But the same logic has placed native peoples' claims to indigeneity subject to intensified scrutiny, producing a rationale through which rights, which often had been historically withheld from native peoples, may now find a mode of becoming legitimately denied. Still, it is not native peoples alone who find themselves confronted with the dilemma of performing authenticity. Faced with the possibility of having the long-marginalized native peoples they've worked with as colleagues and partners disenfranchised *yet again*, academic and activist

spokespeople for native groups have been forced to fraudulently represent themselves, too, maneuvering around a language of "authentic" indigeneity and culture they may not believe, in their own practice of strategic essentialization. (Povinelli, 2002) But most troubling, perhaps, is how authenticity's calculus for rights granting actually *can* manage to portion out benefits. Adhering to a logic that *a* proper native beneficiary does indeed exist, authenticity's fetish constructs an arena where native groups must compete for exclusive recognition as the "true" and rightful beneficiary, producing conditions where collective benefits and potential solidarity can be undermined for exclusive gain.

The state's own interest in producing native stagings, and indeed, in benefiting from its own practice of strategic essentializations of indigeneity, then, warrants further critical attention. For in justifying a logic of conditionality for the provision of political rights, states convert rights themselves into contingent and exclusive provisions. Relieved of the obligation to generalize resources, states can instead conserve benefits for *only* those deemed deserving, or those identified as proper, worthy recipients. Such a logic further shifts obligations from the state to benefit-seeking groups, who must now prove why investments should be rightfully channeled into them, to the exclusion of other parties. But it is more than a question of the efficient conservation and distribution of resources in the kinds of native stagings states engineer. The Peruvian government's own stagings -- integrated into UN-sponsored international conferences and televised art exhibitions, as they are -- demonstrate how they are produced in the interest of maximizing public exposure and international visibility.

And little wonder why. For at stake, too, is the performance of states as modern nations that can effectively defend internationally-embraced values of pluralism, multiculturalism, and diversity. For Peru, as for many post-colonial states in the Americas, the demonstration of a commitment to realizing such liberal values of social inclusion – particularly of formerly excluded rural and indigenous populations -was central to the new project of nation building in the 19th Century. (Joseph & Nugent, 1994; Nugent, 1997) Contrasting the liberal, egalitarian values of the newly independent states against the oppressive rule of former colonial powers was a means for new governments to distinguish themselves from colonial rulers, gain legitimacy as a ruling body among a fragmented populace, request public recognition, and ultimately to claim official statehood.

Yet in the contemporary age, the mounting incidences and intensifying expression of traditional populations' grievances across the globe demonstrate that pluralism's practice has never been more problematic for nation states. In the face of such conflicts, the ability to provide public evidence of the embrace of multiculturalism as an official value of government – however partial and contingent such an "embrace" may be – becomes all the more imperative in performing modern statehood. Harnessing the emotive power embedded in selectively engineered acts of pluralism, then, is an essential element to such stagings. For through such work, states may – cunningly – provide national publics with both objective proof and experiential evidence of their actualized good will towards diverse actors (even the most troubling ones). In so doing, they at once reestablish their ability to act in the name of the "authentically" modern, multicultural nation, as much as

they resecure the public authorization to act on its behalf. Or as Elizabeth Povinelli writes of the Australian state's own multiculturalist performances: "As the nation stretches out its hand to ancient Aboriginal law, indigenous subjects are called upon to perform an indigenous difference in exchange for the good feelings of the nation and the reparative legislation of the state. But this call does not simply produce good theater, rather, it inspires impossible desires *to be* this impossible object and transport its ancient, prenational meanings and practices to the present in whatever language and moral framework prevails at the time of enunciation." (2002, 6)

While scrutinizing the authenticity of native groups' performances of indigeneity as a means of justly portioning benefits continues unabated, subjecting the authenticity of states' performances of multiculturalism and pluralism to an equivalent scrutiny has yet to begin. Such an uneven attentiveness to the authenticity of performance, and how the contemporary multiculturalist acts of modern governance has managed to escape the same kind of public scrutiny indigenous performances have received, warrants its own analysis (into perhaps, the very limits of "the other's" appeal to a national body of citizens). For the "real" question persists: in a truly pluralistic state, why would such performances by native groups as a means of gaining economic or political security be resorted to? Why, unless the actual survival of such groups were at stake, would the strategic uses of an essentialized culture have even become necessary at all? And why, in the strangest twist of all, would traditional groups have to compete amongst themselves for authentic entitlement, as if authenticity itself were "truly" a scare resource?

Capital Redemption

In the photo that appears of Maria Carmen de la Fuente on the front page of El Comercio's business section, she's seated nobly, her hands folded in her lap, in a room whose walls are lined with several dozens of pieces of Ceramics Chulucanas. It is a fitting image. For over twenty years, the 59-year-old founder of the export company ALLPA has directed an enterprise whose own history is inextricable with that of Chulucanas' ceramics market. It was ALLPA that was the first export company to recognize the global market potential in Chulucanas' locally-crafted artisanal ceramics, dedicating itself to promoting the local production transformations that were necessary before the traditional good could be turned into a globally exportable product. And it was ALLPA that first proved in the mid-1990s that Chulucanas indeed could realize such projected production potentials after successfully contracting the town's first large order of 12,000 ceramics for the U.S. company Pier One.

It's this heroic thread in ALLPA's history with Chulucanas that's emphasized in the headline for the interview with the exporter published in El Comercio's business section. In bold print, just to the side of de la Fuente's winning smile, it pronounces: "She's about large-scale production, and she has alliances with thousands of artisans. At first, her project was criticized. Now she and her artisans are giving Chinese [producers] a run for their money." It sets an appropriate tone to an article that means to narrate the triumph of the free market to bring progress to Chulucanas' poor artisans, who, despite some initial

resistance, were successfully transformed into productive subjects, now able to compete in the global market against even the formidably competitive Chinese.

Since ALLPA's success with Chulucanas' artisanal exports, ALLPA has branched out into several other rural zones known for their traditional and artisanal crafts. But De la Fuente cites Chulucanas as the company's original – and largest – success story, the one on which their initial fortunes and growth were founded, and the one which would provide the model for reproducing similar market successes in the multiple communities where their work now extends. She doesn't mask her pride when she speaks of Chulucanas, of ALLPA's labor there to develop an export market, and in particular, of the "*the miracle*" that she says unfolded there following the company's investments. Highlighting the salvational power of global markets, as not just able to redeem Chulucanas' impoverished artisans and markets, but able to do so with a magical, *unimaginable* power, she tells me, "The miracle came about almost in the first or second year– this miracle that brought *monstruous* export orders that the artisans had never before in their lives dreamed of." Embedded in de la Fuente's framing of Chulucanas' export "miracle" importantly, is a significant evolutionary narrative. If global capital's salvational potential could "redeem" Chulucanas' producers, it was implicitly because of their own sustained failures and underperformance – offenses evidenced in their inability to have made good on the market potential that they had seemingly always possessed, but that had remain unrealized until the redemptive interventions of export companies like ALLPA.

De la Puente emphasizes the range of these investments in her interview with El Comercio, speaking of the product designers and engineering consultants who ALLPA helped bring to Chulucanas over the years in order to identify existing production inefficiencies and introduce reforms needed to amplify production for the export market. One of the earliest, and most significant production inefficiencies identified was artisans' use of the paddle and stone to give form to the raw clay. Such a technique rendered individually unique pieces that, while acceptable for individual sales, were considered product errors in a mass market that demanded numerous goods identical in size and shape. More significant was that traditional production techniques required that an artisan spend nearly an hour worth of graduated, careful paddling before a piece was given its finished form – a process which limited artisans' production potentials to no more than several dozen pieces a week.

To correct such inefficiencies, or what de la Fuente refers to as Chulucanas' "primitive" technological state, ALLPA proposed replacing traditional paddle and stone shaping with the electric potter's wheel. Such a change would assure not only more consistency in ceramics' form, but would also vastly accelerate production potentials, allowing a single workshop to increase production from several dozen to several hundred pieces a week. It was a radical proposal, not only because no ceramicist in Chulucanas had ever seen, let alone used a potter's wheel before, but because it would also mean disregarding a tradition shared between all of the area's living artisans, and that bound them to past generations of native potters who had passed on their tradition for thousands of years. ALLPA would be unable to begin putting their reform plans into action, in fact, before

first importing workers into Chulucanas who were already skilled in using the electric potter's wheel for serialized production. Drawn in from cities all across Peru – from Lima's coastal capital to the central Andean mountain cities of Cuzco and Arequipa – this new group of knowledge workers were transplanted into the town for the precise purpose of teaching their skill to local producers in Chulucanas, and enabling the creation of a new local class of laborers proficient in the techniques of massified production.

For all of de la Fuente's public assurances of the export market's possibilities, she recalls that artisans still reacted with pointed indignation, attacking ALLPA's export-oriented reforms as a "sin" against local tradition. She remembers that she had to cite the Old Testament to prove that the potter's wheel had been in use since "biblical times" in attempts to convert artisans into reform believers. She recalls: "When we first arrived with the potter's wheel, they looked at it and thought it was a strange machine because it revolved. We had a lot of problems with the most traditional artisans because they thought it was a sin, a tool that was going to replace the paddle that had been used since pre-Incan times, for the potter's wheel. We told them that the wheel was a tool that was used since Biblical times. Because in the Bible it's cited that the wheel was use by potters."

De la Puente remembers that artisans' resistance only grew more pitched after production for the first large export orders ceramics began in Chulcuanas' first modernized workshop. The situation would become so tense, in fact, that the town would divide along pro-export and anti-export lines. She recalls: "At first there was a reaction that was a little ugly from *the town*. From *the competitors that weren't involved* in the 'miracle' because they saw that the orders were very large, that buyers were coming, that companies were coming but that it wasn't possible to work with everyone. So those that weren't benefited with orders developed a kind of *war against exporters*." But de la Fuente's seemingly contradictory account of anti-export warriors as representing both "the town" in its entirety, and as being composed of *only* those artisans "who didn't benefit" from export orders is interesting precisely for its counter-intuitive accuracy. ALLPA's critics could at once encompass nearly *all* of Chulucanas, and be isolated to *only those* who didn't benefit from the town's first export order, only because of the limited size of those who *did* benefit. And de la Fuente's slippage in describing her opposition as both the entire town and only a select group of non-benefitting artisans demonstrates her awareness that profits themselves were to be limited to workers of the single workshop the company had worked to modernize.

De la Fuente recalls that these artisans would persist in their condemnations of the ALLPA project, circulating a moralizing discourse that positioned the production reforms as an assault on collective life in Chulucanas – both in its past and present form: "For awhile, they maintained their attack… attacking us because we had brought the potters' wheel, because they said that with this damned machine – and they said just that, a 'damned machine.' That it's a robot that's going to automate production, and that it would generate unemployment in Chulucanas. That thanks to the presence of that machine, there was going to be unemployment and that they had to maintain the traditional technique of the paddle because that's what all our ancestors did."

Despite such pronounced resistances from local producers, de la Fuente maintained her faith that they might still be converted. Explaining how a firm belief in the untapped, neglected export potential in the town resiliently anchored her commitment to her work there, she tells me: "The thing is, Chulucanas is very backwards, but we saw that Chulucanas' ceramics had an immense potential, and that it was necessary to modernize it, modernize it in the technical part, and modernize it in design, in the order of production, and this was that we did in those first years, and it's what we still do." Indeed, the work that ALLPA initiated in Chulucanas when it first began to develop the town's export market years ago continues today in a significantly expanded version. The company continues to invest in the modernization of artisans' production spaces, and organizes training workshops, run by design and engineering consultants from Lima, the U.S., and Europe in the town to introduce artisans to new technologies and techniques to boost production potential. But where the company had partnered with just one artisan workshop back then, today, it partners today with seven or eight workshops. And where its first major export order was of some 12,000 pieces, today its orders are five times as large. But it's the export company's local reception that most tellingly bespeaks the scale of transformations in Chulucanas, and the successful conversion of artisans, for de la Fuente. Once the object of community revile and condemnation, the company today receives countless inquiries from local artisans seeking to partner with them. She reports, proudly: "When we started, there was a division between the purists, those that spoke of not transforming the craft, and maintaining traditional techniques, and us, who proposed serial production, mass production. Many people criticized us. Now no."

Despite its years of profit-generating investments in Chulucanas, however, and the successful recruitment of multiple new artisans as project partners, de la Fuente stresses that its reform work around optimizing the town's traditional production methods is far from over. Several weeks after celebrating the recent contracting of an order of 70,000 ceramics for Pier One, she has already turned her focus onto how to fix the imperfections and production inefficiencies she sees as still practiced today's workshops. She tells me: "There are always inefficiencies. There doesn't exist an artisan workshop that functions optimally because there are always inefficiencies... especially when you work with large volumes, because when you work with small volumes, there aren't big problems... [But Chulucanas' artisans] have been left in a technological level that's very backwards, so.... they aren't prepared for large orders where standards are more and more challenging. Now it's not like it was ten years ago. Now, for example, in this order from Pier One, they ask for a whole lot of requirements that they didn't ask for five years ago. The market is more demanding. So the artisans keep being people with a low level of instruction."

De la Puente emphasizes the range of these investments in her interview with El Comercio. "What there is here is a lot of effort, and the dedication of a team of workers. We are 26 people that work 11 or 12 hours daily, because we invest a lot in fair participation, in designers, in consultants. Because it's not just that we have to improve the product, we have to also see how to attain a competitive price." But oddly, it's

precisely all this labor to optimize and transform ceramics production and pricing that become invisible on the showroom sales floor. There, exporters' investments are meant to be channeled into the showcased product for one final and all important staging. Framed for clients as a native good that resurrects the indigenous traditions of Peru, it must be able to mask the displacement of traditional production techniques that indeed, exporters have labored so hard for. And it must be able to perform its natural authenticity with the validation of export specialists who have dedicated themselves to the search for and market delivery of such native goods. Under such sales-oriented native stagings, native products are scripted as naturally-occurring artifacts, as having been found rather than transformed, and as objects that were "discovered" rather than "remade" by exporters. Or as De la Fuente describes it: "On the showroom floor, our product almost sells itself... We've put a tremendous effort into offering a product that's beautiful and well-priced, a product that's backed by a serious company. That's why I say that our product sells itself. In a fair, I describe to the client how it's made, and that we have 20 years in this business... What you've got to do is transmit authenticity."

Authenticity's Complex

The first time I meet Luis Salas, it is in his home in Chulucanas at an hour in the late afternoon. It is the end of the workday when I arrive, and I see the last few of 25 or so employees he currently employs leaving the workshop that operates in a space just to the side of the Salas family's house. The workshop is in the middle of production for a large order for ALLPA, which ceramicists tell me the export company was contracted for after news of the faked pottery scandal with the competing company, Berrocal, Ltd., broke. The interior of the entry area of Salas' home is filled with hundreds of identical ceramics pieces that are being prepared for shipment, their curved forms stacked carefully over each other, and covered with large, protective canvas tarps. Salas apologizes for the state of the domestic space, and the overflow of workshop products that now pack the foyer, and then invites me, graciously, to take a seat in the adjacent living room. As I weave my way through the maze of splayed and draped canvas tarps, I can't help but recall de la Fuente's unchecked, glowing descriptions of Salas as one of the artisans she and her associates most enjoy working with, a true "gentleman" whose reserve and tact are notable among the town's other producers.

The 44-year-old ceramicist is by many measures among the most successful working in Chulucanas. His workshop, considered to be one of the town's most productive, is distinguished as one of only a dozen or so that's been able to achieve the ceramics output levels the largest export orders now arriving in the town demand. Along with the other workshops that are prepared to produce in large, serialized quantities, Salas' workshops helps to complete production for orders that –reaching sizes today of 75,000 ceramics -- are without question the largest the town has ever seen. As importantly, Salas has been able to maintain relationships with both of the international export companies that contract production for Chulucanas' largest shipments to U.S. retail chains like Target and Pier One. It's this that has allowed his workshop to be one of the few in Chulucanas that can maintain year-round production cycles, giving it one of the most consistent records of guaranteeing workers steady employment.

Salas' success is all the more unique – and perhaps startling – because neither he, nor any member of his family, hail originally from Chulucanas. He was one of the several skilled laborers, who had mastered the technique of throwing clay using an electric potter's wheel, and who the export company ALLPA transplanted from remote Peruvian provinces to introduce the technique to Chulucanas' own artisans. Salas himself was born and raised near the city of Cuzco, in an area of Peru's south central mountain region best known for the Andean elevations where the Incan sanctuary, Machu Pichu, found its base. Although his family had also produced ceramics that sold in Cuzco's local tourist markets, he only became a student of Chulucanas' particular artisanal techniques when he relocated from the mountains and arrived in the dry, coastal town over more than a decade ago. He still speaks fondly of his hometown, reminiscing about the local climate and customs of the sierra that make it regionally distinct from life in Chulucanas' low, coastal desserts. Remembering the traditions of the mountains, he tells me, speaking in soft tones, "In Cuzco, we don't celebrate Christmas in the streets, but rather with the family. But here [in Chulucanas], no. Here, they go out to dance... There are differences. But man is able to change in whatever moment."

When he initially resettled in Chulucanas, he moved by himself, leaving his wife and two infant children behind in the mountains that were more than a day's long journey by ground away. Contracted to work as part of the production team for ALLPA's first large export order to the U.S., he was uncertain how long he would stay, if his "services" would be needed beyond the initial order, or if the move would be worth the risk of relocating. He quickly discovered, as well, that he was at the center of local artisans' struggle to maintain traditional paddling techniques and their collective opposition to the modernization reforms that had brought serialized production to Peru's northern coasts for the first time. Remembering the local divisions that began with his arrival, he tells me that it was the initial period in Chulucanas that were the most difficult for him: "There was a certain resistance [to me], there wasn't amicability, friendship.... In the street, I wasn't well-seen. The other artisans didn't look upon me well. I didn't go out a lot... But with time, things would change."

Despite his central role in initiating the radical transformations in ceramics production in Chulucanas, Salas speaks earnestly about his deep respect for the traditional production techniques that defined Chulucanas' ceramics. Although he insists that the transplanting of the electric potter's wheel was a change that brought "progress" to Chulucanas, and that helped it to eventually "evolve", he speaks with an unrestrained reverence of the traditional techniques that local artisans had fought to preserve. He still remembers the first time he watched local artisans at work paddle molding, recalling the feeling of awe it unexpectedly compelled in him. Years later, he is still convinced that it is part of what connects an artisan intimately to their craft as a form of creative, personal expression: "There *is* something more magical about it... When I arrived in Chulucanas, and saw the paddle, and saw the finish of the ceramics, that's when I gave it value as an art. And that [was when] art was born in me too. In Cuzco, it was something more commercial, for money, more economic than an art... It's in Chulucanas' ceramics [that] I've achieved emotionally a feeling of completeness... How can I explain it? Like a realized person."

Salas' reverent description of Chulucanas' traditional techniques and his feelings of personal indebtedness to the craft, are one of the rare instances that I hear the owner of a large workshop express such genuine, unrestrained devotion for the town's artisanal traditions. His descriptions are all the more striking to me -- not only because he was in fact part of the force that brought about the displacement of Chulucanas' traditional techniques, or because he was an outsider reviled for advancing such a displacement -- but because of a rumor circulating between local producers, and that I hear while visiting several workshops in the course of attending the weeklong MINCETUR-sponsored celebrations in Chulucanas.

The gossip circulating around town had it that the recent ceramic counterfeit scandal involved only the handful of modernized workshops that were able to produce the large quantities export orders required. And word was that Salas' workshop had been among them. He makes no explicit denial or confirmation of the allegations around his workshop's involvement in the fraudulent shipment and the faking of black tint on the pottery pieces, and instead explains to me how contemporary production conditions could allow something like it to happen. He describes the measured, time-intensive process of traditionally darkening Chulucanas ceramics through repeatedly smokings in clay ovens, typically heated by burning locally gathered mango leaves. With each smoking, resin from burnt leaves steadily settles onto the ceramic's exterior, allowing a pale surface to gradually darken from yellow and amber shades, to tones of brown and black. Often requiring up to eight separate smokings and coolings before a black tone is acquired, the process is slow, and moreover typically yields slight variations in coloration depending on where resin falls and sticks. Neither the labor required to traditionally darken ceramics or the unique pieces that are produced through the process, however, are given much value in the international export market. He tells me: "This [black color] comes from a process of natural smoking. It's not always a thing that comes out perfectly. But the [export] business demands that it's perfect... And when we are fabricating 1000 pieces, all alike with the same tone, there are going to be differences. Just as in that [misproduced] order, there were. But [the exporter] didn't accept these differences. He wanted them all the same. But this is naturally produced, where the smoke has an effect that's created inside the oven and that one can't control. And this he didn't understand."

Salas says he's been encouraged by export companies' personnel before to "throw on a little more black paint" to quickly produce a consistent, uniform black surface between individual ceramic pieces. When he explained the ceramics' pieces black surfaces were acquired through a gradual process of smoking and not through an instant application of paint, he was nonetheless told that "something would have to be faked" or the shipment would risk getting rejected by the U.S. retail chain it had initially been contracted by. It's clear from artisans' accounts, however, that while such disregard for traditional techniques isn't necessarily always so as brazen and cavalier, traditional production has nonetheless been incrementally displaced as Chulucanas' export markets expanded. Salas himself tells me that he laments seeing the quality of ceramics deteriorate over time, as achieving "price" reductions and maximized output has come to be valued as new measures of competitivity for workshops. He explains how product quality has

necessarily become compromised with the arrival of the accelerated production times of the global market. While export orders have gotten exponentially larger, workshops are given the same amount of time to fulfill shipments for products that are expected to nonetheless *remain unchanged*: "It's a question of [market] prices and demand, which each time give us less and less time [for production]. This ceramic one can't do in a little time, because it all requires a process." He continues, suddenly raising his voice: "It's like when a person who doesn't know says that this color comes from yellow paint, when it's not that! It's smoke! They go on thinking that this black is paint that has to be painted on, and it's not that, it's smoke!"

It's precisely this lack of appreciation for the labor and technique invested in traditional production for ceramics, rather than the actual suggestion that such techniques be "faked" that seems to offend Salas most. While for the better part of our conversation, his voice maintains a certain unforced, quiet reserve, it becomes uncharacteristically pitched and fervent when he speaks about what he sees as the export market's devaluation of artisans' traditional techniques and how it's impacted - almost contagiously – artisans' self-perception and relation to their craft. He returns several times to descriptions of the native traditions that he encountered when he first arrived in the town, and becomes visibly troubled when he describes a loss of pride among producers who once "challenged themselves" through their craftmaking. Such a depreciation among artisans of once valued practices, and the erosion of their emotional investment and personal connection to craftmaking, is in part something he sees as being cultivated through an actual compensatory devaluation of labor: "If in my time I threw 100 pieces daily [using the potter's wheel], now the throwers do 200 pieces daily… If we paid three soles for this piece to be [burnished by hand], then now we pay one sol. So the quality isn't maintained… [But] the export companies see that they can produce 200 pieces in a single workshop and then the prices [received for a single piece] go down. It's a lot, and it shouldn't be this way. They should keep production at 100 pieces, maintain prices, and maintain quality… [Otherwise] we end up *working against ourselves*. In the future, we won't arrive at a good ending."

He speaks as well of the growing "unfulfilled obligations" of workshop owners like himself who have accommodated these changes as laborers work under intensified production times, but with lower wages earned per piece and with fewer securities. Talk of underpaid labor, accelerated production times, and even sweatshop conditions, indeed circulate widely in Chulucanas as conditions endured for all large export orders. Of all the large workshop owners who I speak to who contract teams of local producers, however, Salas is one of the few who acknowledges any responsibility for allowing such conditions to become normalized features of ceramics production in the town. And he is perhaps the only one who speaks directly of his "obligations" to his workers, and who appears to genuinely empathize with the compounding difficulties they face in labor: "The people who work with me now feel dissatisfied and they don't work with the same drive or interest as before… They don't have vacations, insurance, and what happens if there aren't any orders? There's no benefit. We feel bad. Me especially, I feel bad because I can't fulfill my obligations to them."

It's not until nearly the end of our conversation that Salas tells me he is considering closing down his workshop, permanently. It strikes me that Salas' consideration comes for the first time in over a decade of production in the town, and after not only having persevered local scorn and exclusion for importing the potter's wheel, but having built a record as one of its most successful workshop owners. Rumors of his workshop's involvement with the recent faked shipment scandal didn't compromise his recontracting with other export companies for their orders. And his children, who will be the first in his family to earn a college degree, will represent a unique population from the town educated through the fortunes of the ceramic industry. If Salas enjoys any of this, or can indulge in the spoils of his successes and his modernizing "contributions" to the Chulucanas, however, it is only privately that he does so. Such pleasure, or even the slightest hint of self-satisfaction, at least, remains masked to me. When he last speaks, it is with the same quiet resignation that he maintained for most of our conversation, with the voice of a man defeated -- or perhaps, better said, of a man wracked with unconscionable guilt: "One can't continue like this. It's not just one [exporter], it's all the exporters. They should see that instead of selling big volumes... they should maintain quality and try also to maintain the prices. So that we small businessmen can fulfill our obligations to our workers. Lamentably, one can't. It's just not possible."

Cultural Adulterations

33-year-old Cesar Juarez was just a young boy when Chulucanas' ceramics began developing a stable, international market. Sold then only as unique, handmade pieces, they began to find their way onto the shelves of a select number of art boutiques in Europe and the U.S., selling in small but sustained numbers. His uncle, Polo Ramirez, was among the group of artisans who had learned how to gradually give form to a piece of a clay, molding the earth in slow, progressive steps using a paddle and stone, when he too was just a boy. He had picked up his craft in the workshops of local potters, who used their techniques to fashion clay vessels used for cooking or brewing the fermented, cornmeal-based traditional beverage chicha. It was these utility vessels, used for preparing and storing food and drink in customs that originated with the pre-Colombian civilizations who settled in the region thousands of years ago, whose exchange had maintained local ceramics markets for generations. It wasn't until a nun from the U.S., Gloria Joyce, who was working in Chulucanas' diocese in the 1950s encouraged potters to attend to the clay sculptures and decorative pieces they fashioned but had never attempted to sell, that a larger market for their creative pieces was realized too.

By the time Juarez was in school, artisans from the community had begun to discover a limited, but nonetheless steady, international demand for their pieces. Some of these artisans, including Juarez' uncle Polo, would receive individual requests to supply pieces for foreign shops selling ceramics or would occasionally be asked to travel abroad to attend art fairs and expositions. Juarez remembers spending his afternoons after school in his uncle's workshop, watching him prepare his pieces, and helping him pack them carefully before a trip abroad. Often, his siblings, cousins, or classmates would gather there too, experimenting with stray pieces of clay under the guidance and instruction of

the older artisan, and gradually picking up the techniques of the craft themselves: "As kids we would go over to see him, just to see what he was doing, and [to feel] as if we were sort of ceramicists ourselves. We felt proud… because we really saw how the artisans of that time traveled outside of the country, how they were like ambassadors of our town to the foreign world. Being a ceramicist was an honor because it meant being a representative of your town."

On the afternoon that we speak together, we are seated on two benches under the shaded portion of his workshop, a sunwashed, open area that extends from the rear of the family's home. As we speak, Chulucanas' thick late day sun rises above us, heating the air and sending bright, flashing sheets of light across the ground. A collection of recently-shaped potteries dry close by under one patch of white light. Just in front of them, Juarez's own young son plays sitting barefoot on the ground, his toddler's gaze turned downward, and his small hands rolling pieces of clay between them. Though barely five-years old, he fingers already recognize the right consistency of malleable clay, and ably fashion his medium into the form of a farmer seated atop a donkey. The older Juarez grins down at his son, visibly pleased by the boy's idle display of dexterity, and how nimbly his imagination captures the detailed likeness of characters from Chulucanas' daily world – in all its small minutiae -- into the damp earthy pieces. He asks me later to take several photos of his son posing with his creation, and I notice then how the boy had even completed his farmer figurine with a clay version of the wide-brimmed straw hat that local men wear into Chulucanas' sun-drenched fields.

Juarez too holds one of his own unfinished clay sculptures between his hands during our conversation. He handled the ceramic body carefully as he began to speak to me, shifting the weight of curved figure between his palms for several minutes before setting it down. The sculpture, an abstract rendering of a horse, is one of the unique, hand-paddled pieces his workshop is known for producing. Although he occasionally works with an electric potter's wheel, helping to complete orders for larger workshops when his own orders are low, he is undoubtably one of Chulucanas' few artisans who has been able to maintain an international client base for his hand-paddled pieces. Well-aware of the increasing rarity of artisans of his kind, he laments the privileging of serially-produced ceramics that the export market created in Chulucanas, and what he calls the "tremendous decline" of local ceramics that began with the arrival of the electric potter's wheel. He tells me: "Really many people no longer maintain their techniques because more emphasis has been given to the industrialized [model], to mass production, which really has taken away the value of Chulucanas' ceramics. Because now the seller no longer sees it as something that has to do with traditional culture. Rather, he sees it as something having to do with utility or decorativeness, like just any other craft, and it's just not like that. Chulucanas' ceramics has an entire context, right?" But over the several hours in which we speak, he makes no particular defense of the traditional techniques that Salas had grieved when speaking with me. Juarez instead emphasizes what he sees as a shift in how the population of the town in general, and how its youth especially, read and relate to the long-observed customs surrounding ceramics production. He keeps one palm over the curved, rounded form of his clay sculpture for much of time he talks, as if were channeling his words through the piece, asking it to assess his testimony, or perhaps play witness to him. He tells me:

"Before, these same kids, the youth of that time, really admired what it meant to be an artisan. What's different now is just that the children of artisans don't want to be artisans now. Because they see what really is the suffering of artisans. They see how their parents break their backs working... It's a sacrifice because the only thing they manage to do is earn just enough to give their kids a little more than they had, but more than that, no."

He marveled too at the open door policy his uncle and other artisans of the town practiced that allowed anyone with interest to learn the craft to enter their workshop floors. And he recalls the comraderie that artisans maintained between themselves: "Back then, when [Chulucanas didn't have] this species of businessman artisan, they would all get together to have a chicha, most were all compadres. But it all began to, I don't know, they began to have rivalties between themselves. Jealousies. And I think it was a consequence of all this competition that there was between artisans." Juarez credits this rivalry for the suspicion bred between town artisans and the declining openness among them. "I get along with everyone... but there are times when I encounter a rejection, someone who says, 'I don't want you to enter my workshop because you are going to copy my designs'.... And it wasn't this way before."

But Juarez's narration suddenly turns direct and pointedly matter-of-fact when he begins to speak of the scandal in fraudulently-produced ceramics that had shipped abroad from the town just a few months earlier. He describes the discovery as a shame-ridden event that could threaten the image of all production generated from the town. But even when explaining what lead Chulucanas' largest producers to participate in the hoax, and to not only break with traditional modes of production, but to attempt to pass the faked ceramics as "traditionally" made, he defers from making any romanticizing references to native or ancestral tradition. He dryly describes how export contracts have steadily paid workshops less and less for supplying product orders, and then says: "Look, this thing is the result of something [exporters produced]. They said they want it cheap! So they can't complain much because really they wanted the product to be so cheap that really [production] wasn't possible."

He tells me in fact that accelerated production times and reduced payment rates for international orders no longer allow workshops to preserve either the technical or quality standards that had been customary practice previously. He speaks of how poor production techniques, ranging from the sloppy to the explicitly fraudulent, have now become integrated as normal part of the local production landscape. And he insists that almost all the ceramics pieces that now ship for sale abroad as part of large export orders would previously have been discarded as flawed by artisans' previous standards. Dismissing international buyers' expectation that the demands for "optimized" production would allow a product to remain unchanged as impossibly naïve, he tells me: "You don't realize it, but you're buying a damaged product... Everyone exports this same kind of [damaged] product. Look, it happened to me. The last time when I went to a [trade] fair, I tell you that for me, no piece sufficed. But because the fair wanted the pieces, no matter what, they took them all. And all the pieces were damaged!"

If he speaks cynically of buyers' insistence on receiving "quality" products despite the increased pressures of production, however, a surprising idealism returns to his voice again when he describes artisans' relationship to their craft. And indeed, if there is something that he seems to be unsettled by, it seems to be precisely the notion that artisans would *themselves* begin to internalize *exporters'* conditions for production as normal. He recalls how artisans, disturbed by exporters' insistence that flawed ceramics ship from their workshop, would nonetheless maintain their own quality standards and would independently invest the time needed to correct errors. He worries, however, that both these independent practices of artisans, and the affront exporters' standards once represented to their sensibilities, are gradually disappearing. And he fears that artisans themselves may increasingly see degraded production techniques as a "legitimate" or at least "acceptable" form of craftmaking. He tells me: "Before it wasn't this way. Before, we would return pieces to the oven for re-smoking [if needed]. But now no, now you can't waste time, they say. We notice the difference, but the client doesn't. They don't even realize that it's damaged. And this shouldn't be… [Because] you're getting the artisan used to selling you a damaged product, a product of poor quality. And you're getting the artisan used to the notion that this damaged piece is part of *his* culture."

Juarez admits his own perception of exporters' product standards, geared as they were for the global market and international consumers' urban tastes, was once considerably more favorable. He still recalls exporters' repeated insistence that local artisans be more mindful and vigilant of the state of their products, and how convincing such calls were in persuading him that exporters' standards were more discriminating than those rural artisans held themselves to. Echoed consistently not only by international exporters' workshop reform projects, but by the calls for technological modernization advanced by state officials working in CITE, Juarez readily accepted that if there were any deficiencies to be found in product quality, that artisans' workshops and the modest, simple tools they applied would surely be their source. He remembers too when his own idealizing faith in the international export market's heightened standards was broken: "I thought that since they exported so much, and they spoke so much about quality control, that to export you needed a top-notch quality control. I thought that to be able to export, I would have to make a product and then verify it to the max, but it turns out that between the artisans and the exporters, it was us artisans that respected [quality] most."

He sounds almost surprised that he could have once believed exporters' messages about the global market's exacting standards, and the associated demands for rural improvement. He says that in private, exporters have admitted that the discrimination of export standards are surpassed by those traditionally applied. And while such traditional standards must be explicitly displaced in the process of accommodating global markets, exporters nonetheless continue to market a public image of incorporating traditional techniques into their products. "It was [artisans' traditional] work that they respected for its quality. But we thought it was the other way around. We thought that their export product was so much better than ours [because] the businessmen always told us that we should check our techniques.... [But] they have always sold the image of the paddle to export."

However much Juarez has come to cynically expect an incommeasurability between the public image of cultural revitalization surrounding export markets, and the unseen cultural adulteration that is locally produced in accommodating them, he still becomes unsettled when he speaks of increasing local acceptance – and arguably, even normalization -- of such incommeasurability. I wonder, though, how much easier it would be for him if he simply allowed himself to internalize the new logics and values of the global market, to allow himself to be remade to its liking, without any regret for the cost of such remakings or for what was lost, and to allow himself to revel instead in what gets spectacularly produced in its place.

Authenticity Undone

On the other end of town, 33-year-old Segundo Carmen has been working around the new pressures of export production, as one of the youngest owners of Chulucanas' large production workshops. Like other mass output workshops, his own was implicated in the recent faked pottery scandal. And like many workshops that have achieved that degree of production capacity, his own has become the object of rumors that circulate in the town of sweatshop conditions. Unlike other workshop owners I spoke to, however, he betrays no sense of having been affected by the news of the recent scandal or the accusations levied against him, and is pointedly upbeat when I visit his home.

And there's little wonder why. Despite the damage to his professional reputation that the scandal produced, his workshop continues to receive orders for large shipments. And despite the dishonor that such a scandal threatened to bring to an artisan, and the risk of ruin it could bring to a career, Carmen nonetheless maintains active partnerships with both of the international export companies who supply the biggest shipments to foreign retail chains. Far from suffering any dishonor from the various accusations, moreover, Carmen's workshop was recently distinguished as one of only six qualified and advanced by the state to be granted the rights to use the Denomination of Origin. Once granted approval, he will be among the *first* local artisans to have his workshop's products authorized by the IP title's mark, and esteemed with the global visibility its distinction offers. He's aware of the talk that circulates around the town about him and other large producers, but he's casually dismissive of the accusations levied against them. He explains to me that artisans have complained about the export-oriented reforms' impact on local customs since exports began. But he says that the increased visibility of the town, the growing numbers of residents who are now involved in ceramics, and the new scales of craft production that were never before possible are uncontestable. He tells me: "I see it this way: Chulucanas has evolved a lot economically because of crafts and if there hadn't been orders of that magnitude, there wouldn't have been work for so many people. From all these orders the majority of people of Chulucanas have benefited." He mentions his early willingness to work with the electric potter's wheel, and the criticism he received from neighbors and other local artisans, describing it as a dynamic that could have unfolded in "any other place": When [the potter's wheel] arrived, it seemed like it would leave you without work, [that it'd be] better with the paddle. Because that's more ancestral, more technical. But look at where we are now!" He acknowledges that artisans

had "earned well" when they practiced traditional production techniques, but that their sales were limited to "small quantities." And he says that the new production conditions and the expanded body of people who are included in it challenge producers, particularly traditional artisans, to continue to improve their techniques. He tells me: "I think there is a very good relation between [traditional] and modern artisans [who are the ones] that want to grow each time more, to pass up the masters, the initiators. This keeps the competition growing, and each time there are more people to compete."

It's these conditions that Carmen credits for pushing him to develop himself as a modern artisan and workshop owner, and that he credits for still urging him to continually challenge his own limits of productivity. Unlike Chulucanas' older generation of artisans, Carmen picked up his craft not through family relations or through domestic production in the home, but from helping to produce export orders in Chulucanas' first modernized workshop over a decade ago. He confesses that he had never imagined that he would become invested in ceramics production, but tells me he was unemployed at the time. The recent passing of his father, and his new responsibility as the primary breadwinner for his family, however, made him expand his consideration for employment options. Through this casualty of events, he quickly become part of Chulucanas' first generation of producers who learned their craft in workshops engineered for serialized production.

After leveraging the export business contacts introduced to him through that workshop, he would independently open his own several years later, making him into a competitor of the older artisan who had first employed him. He remembers the first time his own workshop, then employing 25 people, was contracted for a large order of 6000 ceramics that they needed to supply in five months: "As they say, I worked like crazy [me puse las pilas], and I was able to complete all the orders." He tells me proudly that he now works with a team that's double that size for orders that are nearly three times larger. Continuing, eagerly, he says: "I'll tell about an experience. Last year we had an order for 16,000 pieces that we had to complete in four months. 55 of us had to work, working day and night. And it was a goal we were able to complete. Sometimes, at night, I would oversee the entire team – there was always someone watching." While he says that the breakneck production speed cost him sleep and may have compromised his physical health, he recounts the experience in exhilarating terms, sounding as if he never felt more alive, and certain it had been personally transformative for him: "It was an accomplishment that *augmented experience*. Because of this, I know I can satisfy orders of that magnitude... I learned a lot from the experience.... We challenged ourselves working day and night – and, yes, it's possible! I even arrived at a goal of working day and night, three nights in a row without sleep... Of course, I looked like a stick afterwards. [But] it was an accomplishment, [and] a really wonderful experience."

The conviction of Carmen's narration is striking, as much for his specification that producing that initial export order had provided him with an "augmented experience," as for his certainty that doing so had allowed him to as importantly discover that he was a the kind of man capable of enhanced life, and living the "augmented experience." It is precisely this kind of accelerated living that Carmen is convinced traditional production, with its mired customs and patiently-timed techniques, would never afford him.

Significant as well, in Carmen's account is his explicit self-crediting for having managed to meet produce a experience of augmented life. If it was the global export market which granted the opportunity to compete for an enhanced life, its realization was only contingent on the successful delivery of goods to that market. And if the sacrifices were great – and surely growing – along the way, it was only because the reward itself, however uncertain in its realization, *could* be too. That, at least, is what Carmen tells me he came to discover after he began to produce for exporters. Indeed, convinced that traditional production could never sustain his interest, he tells me that he had never held any particular esteem for ceramics during his entire youth in Chulucanas. That it would now supply him with such heightened sensations of personal empowerment is something he still marvels at, "I never thought I would be part of [ceramics]… It's because of [my achievements] that I feel able to accept any order, regardless of size.... It was a rhythm of life that was implanted, right? That's implanted and that one adjusts to."

Carmen's success, however, and the recognition that he received not only from exporters but from the state itself, is notable precisely for its casual indifference to cultural authenticity. He makes no claims to practicing or even feeling an affinity for traditional production. And indeed, it appears he feels no need to. If Carmen's workshop has been distinguished by the state as among the first considered for entitlement to use Chulucanas' Denomination of Origin, and have its products profit from its mark, then it is not from his claims to native selfhood. Carmen's exhilarated accounts of the "augmented experience" the pace of accelerated production allowed him, and his ready, craving anticipation for the next one, betray little sense of romance around indigenous artisanal production.

If it is the contemporary state and market, that is, that seek to authorize "indigenous" production, it is no longer with any demand that the integrity of traditional production practices be maintained. In the logic of today's global market, difference itself, even when disingenuously or fraudulently performed, is a thing perfectly acceptable – even perhaps, desireable. In the decentralized, hyper- dispersing global market, what matters in a traditional product is that it can maintain the appearance of authenticity to international consumers. That under the white lights of a retail store's floor, it can still signal a connection to a primordial, ancient tradition practiced thousands of miles away and that to foreign eyes, it could pass as native, however deceptive such passings might be. The Denomination of Origin's legal capacity to authorize such performances lends itself perfectly to such ironic stagings of native "authenticity," allowing serially produced, non-traditional products to masquerade as traditional for remote, urban, and internationalized publics. In the process, the neoliberal state emerges as the ultimate postmodern, multicultural hero. Newly evolved, it no longer clings to an antiquated notion of indigeneity as born of the impossibly primodial self, and authorizes strategic, native stagings only for the purpose of capturing global consumer investment. Allowing the market's financial rewards to be channeled into participating "native" actors, it operates with a logic of enhancing recognition not for the "authentic" native, but the "optimized" one. Embracing a market logic for self-legitimation, that is, the neoliberal state is rescued from the multiculturalism's impossible objective, and discards the demand for indigenous

group's self-essentializing performances – undoing once and for all authenticity's romance.

Back in Lima's middle class Surco neighborhood, Sonia Cespedes, a sociologist and development consultant who had worked with Chulucanas' artisans to help implement the workshop modernization project for the town's first large export order, is speaking to me about the successes of the export-oriented transformations. She spent several years shuttling between her home in Lima and the town, a day's journey by road away in the northern coast of the country, to work with the artisans. A ceramicist herself, she worked intimately with artisans to identify production "inefficiencies" in their workshops, learning and adopting many of the artisans' own design techniques in her own craft. She speaks to me at length about the stunning vibrancy of Chulucanas' artisanal life today, and how the town now appears to have transformed itself into a "city of artisans." Indeed, it is the same kind of narration of the democrating market that ALLPA's Maria Carmen de la Puente speaks of in the interview published in El Comercio. It's precisely the export market's exponential increasing of production that has obligated the expansion of the town productive population, and that has allowed for new actors -- including ones who had never been personally invested in artisanal traditions or made claim to a personal history of ceramics production – to become new beneficiaries of ceramics' newly globalized market.

In the course of our conversation, I tell the normally effusive Cespedes of the news of the scandal in faked ceramics that had erupted in the town during the holiday season. Her jaw goes slack and she is for several moments, completely speechless. When she speaks again she repeats her complete surprise and then disbelief, proclaiming to me that such disgraceful acts could never happen in the Chulucanas she knew, that the artisans she remembers would never have conceded to such a shameful disregard of their own traditions and adulteration of craft. When she learns that it's the largest workshops producing in the town today, owned by many of the artisans that she had worked closely with for the first export-oriented reforms, she becomes almost defensive in her disbelief, and tells me that I must certainly be mistaken.

She is well aware, however, that it's the large production, export-enabled workshops that today speak for and represent Chulucanas' official success story. And the sort of authentic regard for tradition that Cespedes nostalgically recalls has, by artisans' own accounts, long been a disappearing feature for these workshops. Indeed, it is this success story that multiple institutional actors – from MINCETUR to INDEOPI, and from Lima-based export businesses to the retail transnationals who they ship local products to, retell as testimony of their own well-placed past reform efforts, and the certainty of their future successes. When MINCETUR announces the short list of workshops that they have authorized to begin the process of adopting the use the town's new Denomination of Origin several months after the town's scandal, it is celebrated with another state-sponsored conference and ceremony. Despite the emphasis made in such events of the IP title's protective work around Chulucanas' traditional techniques, *none* of the artisans

named practice traditional methods principally today, and two thirds of the six workshops named produce almost entirely for serialized, large-scale orders. Half of the six named, in fact, were among those who were alleged to have participated in the faked ceramics order that scandalized the town.

Artisans like Cesear Juarez knows that although the scandal may have marred the larger reputation of the local producers to outsiders like Cespedes who manage to learn of it, there has been little immediate consequence for the large producers who were said to have been involved. Even though town lore now has it that the exporter who contracted the faked shipment of ceramics traveled to the town from Lima, and arrived there to confront the artisans he had contracted the order to, asking tearfully how they could have betrayed his confidence, the large workshops not only continue to produce, but are reportedly more productive than ever. Local artisans tell me that the same large workshops who were reportedly involved with the faked order were not only saved from public shaming, but were almost instantly contracted for the most recent export order than Maria Carmen de la Puente and ALLPA were asked to deliver. Even the exporter who had been directly implicated in the scandalized order is continuing with his operations, if not with a business as usual flair, with the will certainly to recapture one. Juarez tells me that he was recently approached by that disgraced exporter who, apparently impressed by his designs, asked if he would consider producing exports for him. He tells me that he couldn't help being tempted by the offer, but ultimately decided against it.

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* Chapter Three / Neoliberal Narratives: Civil Perversions and the Tale of Promiscuity's Assemblage

It's not until an afternoon in late April that I finally get to speak with Flavio Sosa. I had seen Sosa multiple times in Chulucanas, where he's lived and worked as an artisan since his youth, during my recurring visits to the town over the past half year. But it's not until April, several months after I first asked to speak to him about his work, and just a short time after I had left Chulucanas and returned to Lima after attending the government-sponsored festival celebrating the town's new intellectual property title, that I unexpectedly receive a phone call from him. He tells me, to my surprise, that he is in Lima and is calling from a pay phone, standing on a street corner near Kennedy Park in the Miraflores district. Before Sosa finishes telling me that he has less than an hour's free time to meet, I've already begun to quickly gather my things, and I tell him to stay where he is.

Sosa had been part of the first group of artisans in Chulucanas who had begun to actively develop an international market for the town's traditional ceramics, at a time when all molding was still done exclusively by hand. He and his contemporaries were among the last of a generation of artisans that together, had worked solely through the traditional, time-intensive techniques that rendered individually unique ceramics, slowly, piece by piece. In the most active days of his career, he had been one of Chulucanas' most prominently recognized artisans. Today, however, he'd gained more repute among local residents as one of the most visible and persistent (some would say stubborn) critics of contemporary ceramics production in the town. Until global exporters arrived there from Lima in the mid-1990s, bringing with them the new technologies that re-engineered workshops for large-scale, serialized production, he was among the few artisans whose traditionally-made pieces circulated and sold beyond Chulcuanas' local markets. Such success, visibility, and relative renown outside Chulucanas earned an artisan deep respect within town borders, distinguishing such craftsmen from other traditional potters whose product sales rarely traveled beyond local markets.

Recognized by his peers as such a master of his trade, Sosa had dutifully served to represent the interests of local ceramicists during the most dynamic stage of his career. For over a decade, he remained one of the leading participants in the town's first artisan collective, the Vicus Association, named for the pre-Columbian Vicus peoples that first brought ceramics making to Peru's northern desserts thousands of years ago. And when a cross-regional network of artisans, RENAPLA, was formed in the early 1990s to promote policy supporting artisans' interests across the country, he was among the three ceramicists from Chulucanas who were chosen to represent local producers. He would maintain his connection to the association even after his ceramics-making career began to wane as large-scale, modernized production increasingly displaced traditional, handmade techniques in Chulucanas' ceramics market. His role as a delegate in RENAPLA's cross-regional network was, in fact, the reason he had come to Lima now. Over the next few days, the organization had drawn its members together from across the country's rural and urban zones to consider new legislative proposals for development policy targeting

the more than two million artisans involved in craft production across the nation. Sosa would stay in the capital city only until the meetings ended, and then make the day-long journey back to Chulucanas by bus along the country's coastal roads.

When I meet him a half hour after we speak, he is standing beside the same phone from which he had just called, exactly as he said he was -- just a stone's throw from Kennedy Park. Founded in the decades immediately following Peru's independence from colonial Spain, the park serves today as the centerpiece to the capital city's cultural and commercial shopping district. A paved stretch of space that knits together a splay of 19th Century public fixtures, including a cathedral, a fountain, and a patchwork of manicured garden plots, Kennedy Park effects a striking haphazardness likely unintended by the urban, elite modernists who designed it. Ringed today by rows upon rows of upscale contemporary shops and restaurants, it's this surrounding mesh of department stores, chic galleries, tourist-friendly cafes, and traffic of passenger-seeking taxis that oddly give the park its main structural coherence. Between the mix of foreign and nationally-based retail chains, and their sea of Spanish- and English-language signs, a non-stop flow of international tourists and Lima's middle-class consumers mingle frenetically. As a group of chattering shoppers passes by, I spot Sosa's still frame waiting, alone, his shoulders slightly tensed and his hands wrapped securely around the handle of the bag carrying all the items he's brought for his travels from Chulucanas.

We take a table at the closest café, an establishment (like many others in Kennedy Park) awkwardly named in English as the Swiss Café. I have been waiting for months to speak to Sosa about his work and career, and about the turn of events that would convert him from being one of the most representative participants in Chulcuanas' crafts market, to becoming one of its most dogged critics. I invite Sosa to order something from the menu, assuring him that it is the least that I can offer him for his time. He hesitates at the invitation, however, and orders nothing more than an orange juice. His unease doesn't lift even after his order arrives, and his eyes dart to the surrounding tables of diners leisurely polishing off Club Sandwiches and Chocolate Mousses in between curls of polite laughter, as if checking to see if he might recognize someone.

He keeps his hands tautly folded in his lap as he begins to speak, explaining why he decided to abandon the craft to which he had for years dedicated his work: "It's just that now you don't have the will to create a piece, when someone else would [copy it and] sell it for [a fifth or a third of the price]. There came a time when one was even afraid to show someone else their pieces because they might immediately be copied... Now there's no respect for the *author*. Now anyone can make this." He continues, contrasting the "authorial respect" he says was once fostered between traditional artisans with the creative denigration and pollution that modern, serialized production would bring. He tells me: "It definitely wasn't this way before. Each artisan had their [design] models, their clients, and they sold. But then some bad clients arrived that began to *prostitute* ceramics, and there came a moment so *dishonorable* (descaballada, literally translated, "disheveled", ungroomed, as if just getting out of bed) of selling a ceramic at a much lower price. And this well, brought about that now ceramics aren't valued. Values no longer exist. Only money."

Sosa's tendency to not mince words, and the moral intensity of those he speak, are part of the reason he's gained such notoriety as an uncompromising critic of export-oriented production in Chulucanas. This was, in fact, a characteristic aspect that various pro-export actors had mentioned to me about him before, warning me to be wary of his assessments, and cautioning me of an embittered disposition that left him eager for vicious rumor-mongering. It's hard to reconcile this image of Sosa with that of the stately, elder craftsman who helped to pioneer the international circulation of Chulucanas' ceramics decades ago. And it's of no small consequence that he once held such collective esteem, or that he now remains one of the only traditional craftsmen of his era who's maintains a moralizing fervor against modernized, serial ceramics production.

If Sosa's detractors mean to undermine his credibility, however, they've managed to embed a certain self-consciousness in him when he speaks of his relationship to specific actors. He repeats -- several times -- during our conversation that he's "not against" any of the varied parties that helped to develop Chulucanas' export crafts market – not the exporters, not the National Institute for the Defense of Competition and the Protection of Intellectual Property (INDECOPI), not the Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MINCETUR) or its locally-based administrative center, CITE, and not his fellow artisans who now collaborate for export. The explicit accusation in his tone, though muted, is still hard to completely mask. And he tells me, tempering an almost sermon-like indignation with occasional qualifications: "*We're* not against other artisans... Every town has the right to develop, but within certain parameters. *We* aren't opposed to this, but there were businesses that began to export enormous quantities which made [producers] lower their prices and devalue the worth of our work in ceramics." And he leans in slightly when he begins to describe the betrayals that are alleged to have been committed between artisans, and the reported – though unconfirmed -- spread of price warring within their own. In a hushed voice, he tells me: "As I've been told, sometimes an [export] model is received, and it's taken to various workshops. I haven't proven this, but this is what various members have told me."

Even with his qualifications, however, it's still only gestures toward civil diplomacy that Sosa gives his account, and there's no apology made for the disgrace it does unveil or the shame it portions out. It's this unflinchingly critical portrait of Chulucanas' export market – one that's now courted by other local artisans -- that's made Sosa a controversial figure among his peers in recent years, as well. And if it's a clear conviction that lends itself to his condemnation of export-oriented production, it's with an audibly contrasting uncertainty that he speaks for fellow artisans' interests and his now compromised alliances among them. He turns pointedly reticent when he begins to speak of relations between Chulucanas' producers, and his declared commitment to preserving their social cohesion: "I like to make constructive criticisms, not destructive ones... I believe that things only get fixed by talking about them... [But] now it's not exactly one person that's the villain of the film, there is a whole environment... The idea used to be that we [artisans] would work together and united, but this doesn't matter now." He says this to me as the boldness and indignation recede from his voice. Listening to him, I can't help but think that it may be his own conflicted status among artisans he once considered his

peers, and to whom he had once devoted much of his work, that partly accounts for his general public discomfort and self-consciousness – traits I notice even when I see him in Chulucanas.

It's this uneven relationship to Chulucanas' expanding and newly diversifying body of producers that he takes care to clarify before we part. Adding that he's made his peace with the new developments in his hometown, and the tensions that now mark his relations with other artisans, he tells me: "These are things that happen. And I don't have any bitterness toward anyone." His eyes turn downward for a moment with a quiet grief I thought I had only seen in those of a long devoted lover, rejected. When he speaks again, his gaze remains downcast and introverted, as if it no longer mattered that he were speaking to someone, or as if he were sitting alone. "I know my people of Chulucanas, and I understand that you aren't always going to get along with everyone."

However much of an impression Sosa leaves me with, there is little in his account that surprises me. Having spent the past several months speaking with the various actors involved in developing Chulucanas' Denomination of Origin, including of course, the artisans operating the largest exporting workshops who will be the first to be authorized to use the intellectual property title, Sosa's descriptions of compromised community ties are ones that I've heard before. Such tales of modern uncivil actions and social disgraces between artisans, of broken loyalties and confidences, and a degradation of authorial respect, in fact, had been repeated frequently to me - So frequently, and in such various forms that they had become oddly familiar. When I first arrived in Chulucanas, I had taken such signs of fractured communal relations to be a confounding curiosity. Given the town's distinction for having newly been rewarded an IP title for its traditional craft production, and its selection for new state and private investments, I had expected to find there a community in celebration, or to find some form of public expression of a revived collective consciousnesses among artisans. From the MINCETUR and INDECOPI government officials and the international exporters I had spoken to in Lima, it had been resounding praise for the various public and private efforts that had collaborated to ensure Chulucanas' incorporation into a contemporary market economy, that I heard. Almost uniformly, and with a nearly unhalting testimony on the modernizing, salvational power of global markets for traditional producers, I had been assured of Chulucanas as an exemplar of rural development.

That I would arrive in the town to discover a radically distinct set of narrations was an unexpected puzzle for me. Despite the enthused reportings of the modernization that circulated so avidly in Lima, Chulucanas' own producers evinced little collective excitement or celebratory zeal over the transformations that had locally unraveled. And for all the assurances I received of the civilizing successes of international export, there were very few signs of local artisans actually coming together there to recognize, celebrate, or enjoy a simple, unhurried moment of pleasure in the results of the professed developments. Citing deadline pressures and the necessity of keeping production uninterrupted, some artisans (particularly those operating the town's largest workshops)

initially refused to speak to me at length or in shared public spaces, keeping the doors of their workshops closed to town outsiders and non-workers. When producers there did begin to speak to me, they did so privately, individually relating stories of cultural betrayal, design stealing, price warring, wage exploitation, and sweatshop production as practices that had pointedly grown among artisans in recent years.

Typically, artisans relayed these accounts to me in private: on isolated roadsides, in one-on-one conversations, or in their homes. Often waiting until we were a safe distance from the town's public spaces, they expressed general distrust in the state institutions and civil associations who failed to end to such abuses. And they related these stories to me secretively, in hushed and whispered tones, in confined spaces and private conversations, as if speaking of the taboo. There was a notable lack of shared public trust, security, and collectivity. One could say that contemporary relations among artisans following the promotion of Chulucanas as a productive site of culture as intellectual property are characterized for their very pointed *un*civility, and for their explicit suspicion, competition, and exploitation.

Conveyed in the form of private talk, such narrations of devolved relations are frequently dismissed by export-oriented promoters, and even by some local residents, as nothing more than *mere* "gossip." Warning that such idle chatter amounts to simply rumor, or the irrational rantings of unsuccessful producers who were unable to advance beyond their primitive market, rumor naysayers stress the need to be wary of what attempts to be passed as objective "reporting," credible evaluation, and authoritative knowledge on local developments. Even other artisans themselves, especially those responsible for large export orders, decry the increasing incidence of suspect accounting among their fellow producers. Often apologizing for the disordering effects the local "custom" for gossip may have, well-speaking artisans explain such rumor-mongering as an unfortunate reaction to the professional success that gossips themselves were unable to achieve. Such malicious speech, it's quickly reasoned, is really about no more than petty, inter-artisan jealousy, greed, and spite.

But to focus only on the content of what's expressed through gossip, and to assess it on the ability to accurately depict truth and objectivity, misses an essential point about gossip's function. For despite the attempts to highlight the deauthorized illegitimacy and incredibility of the content and matter of rumor, that it must be reckoned with at all seems to reveal that there is in fact nothing "mere" about it, or its social force. (That scholars studying diverse historical and cultural contexts, and working from multiple academic disciplines, have encountered and grappled with rumor and tales of the incredible seems to evidence how persistent and resilient they have been as features of society.) Indeed, anthropologists, historians and communication scholars have elaborated how rumor and gossip are instead deeply social activities that seek to perform social ties, and assert collective values by condemning behavior departing from community norms. (Darnton, 1999; Gluckman, 1963; Taussig, 1991; White, 2000) By delimiting the boundaries of potential individual action, that is, such talk operated to shape and construct socially shared space. Or as Luise White writes: "Gossip and scandal served to discipline people, both those who gossiped and those who were gossiped about: both asserted values and

defined community standards." (White, 2000, 58) Researchers have stressed too how articulating gossip could evidence one's history of living and learning within a community, creating bonds and boundaries around those to whom it was both spoken of and spoken to. If an "important part of gaining membership in [a] group is to learn of its scandals," (Gluckman, 1963) being able to recognize, publicize, concur in, and voice shared condemnation of such scandal allowed individuals to perform their inclusion as community members.

Sosa's repeated references to a collectively-shared condemnation of new export practices, and his use of "we" when speaking to me is crucial, then, precisely for the way in which it imagines itself as speaking on behalf of and representing the voice of other members. Summoning and imagining the force of an existing (even if invisible) community, and drawing attention to the ravaged trust, worker exploitation, and hyper-competitivity that now define contemporary relations around ceramics, such narrations mean to conserve and defend the social ties that new export-oriented transformations in the town are seen to have undermined. But crucial too is the function of gossip to convey not simply ordinary transgressions of community norms, but *extra*ordinary ones. Its emergence and circulation as a form of speech, and the particular tenor of its language, can be especially linked to pitched moments of crisis, radical change, and transformation in communities – to moments, that is, when social invasion, insecurity, and threat were not simply imminent, but *already* powerfully underway. Anthropologists have noted, then, how the passing of rumor, gossip and tales of the incredible was especially prolific among enslaved populations during the colonial era, when the constant and unpredictable threat of violence produced vampire stories, devil sightings, and innumerable tales of terror. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005; Taussig, 1991; White, 2000) Attempting to convey and produce psychological shock and condemnation under conditions of upheaval, such moral tales, then, "provided a powerful way to talk about ideas and relationships that begged description… [and that] were so important that they were talked about with a new language." (White, 1999, 30)

That Peruvian rural artisans, like Sosa, would speak through an explicitly pitched and moralizing language of promiscuity – narrating the "prostitution of ceramics," of the "disrespect" for traditional "authors" that's emerged, and the "dishonorable" moment that fell upon Chulucanas artisans when serialized production expanded in the town -- is no small matter. For by narrating promiscuity, local "gossips" mean to critically highlight several things about the transformed conditions that now define craftmaking in their town. First, that export-oriented markets promote relations where obligation and fidelity are minimized. Loyalty is practiced to the extent that it is convenient and benefiting to an individual actor, and is an act expected to be fleeting and highly contingent when expressed. And partners – as they are for export companies for instance, can be multiple and flexible, depending on how well they meet the specific demands of a suitor. Secondly, such relations can be seen as promiscuous to the extent that they can be read as exceeding or in violation of community ethics, and threaten notions of social trust, health, and security. Thirdly, such relations ultimately can be seen as fostering competition between actors seeking the limited affection, attention, and favor of a suitor. In this case, competition between artisans generates conditions of (at least temporary) advantage for

exporters, who may be promised reduced prices or accelerated production times as a means of securing export contracts. And lastly, such relations ultimately operate to dissolve spaces of solidarity, collective confidence, and public trust. Interests are re-centered around individual need, and become acutely self-defined and self-serving. And like an illicit romance, these relations come packaged with a shroud of unconfirmed accusations against competing artisans that only serve to further erode social bonds.

And if there's a force and drama behind such accounts of promiscuity, and the vivid or embellished language lent to it, it's because such powerful conveyance is perceived as entirely warranted. Such forceful descriptions, that is, see themselves as having to defend against and counteract the strength of its external opposition and the master narrative it puts forth. If the dominant accounts about Chulucations that emerge from Lima's capital city and that nationally circulate celebrate export-oriented development in rural towns, and preach of the cultivation of civilized, modern relations through global markets, rural gossips' counter accounts speak of local relations as instead morally compromised, radically individuated, and increasingly promiscuous. Insisting that the disordering capacities of the free market, and not just its alleged "civilizing" potential, be recognized, such narrations highlight the radical *absence* of shared public spaces and devolution of collectivity in Chulucanas. They assert, in other words, a deeply moral and dramatically moralizing set of accounts in an effort to preserve communal life and expose how troubled public space and civil relations have become.

Even as the neoliberal promoters of international export insist on the emancipating and "civilizing" power of global markets, local artisans' accounts of social disintegration stress its destructive, "de-civilizing" capacity instead. While pro-export actors appeal dually to the rational "evidence" of the modern market's civilizing promise, and a religious-like faith in global capital's salvational potential to recruit participants, artisans decry a betrayal of community ethics and condemn the rise of inter-communal abuses to prevent such partnerings. Against neoliberal salvation stories and development's master narrative of rural advancement, then, emerge another set of *hyper-moralizing* tales. These accounts renarrate neoliberal partners and export-based development's globally-networked actors as participating in *relations of promiscuity* with diverse parties – including ones with oppositional interests to community development. And if they fail in undoing a master narrative entirely, they nonetheless serve to destabilize its legitimacy and unsettle its authority, providing a constant and inconvenient reminder of what is sacrificed in the wake of neoliberal progress and its re-assemblage of a contemporary, free-market-based "civilization."

Such tales of promiscuity, though, cannot be read as entirely heroic. For however much they claim to represent the interests and stability of the "original" community, the telling of such tales still emerge as explicit responses to the changes brought on through global integration. And even while such local transformations originate externally, it is still upon others grounded *within* the community that promiscuity's narratives seek to act on (and punish), above anyone else. In their assertion, then, they effect their own set of changes to inter-communal relations, pronouncing and polarizing already compromised local social divides, and producing new moral narratives of insiders and aliens, natives and

foreigners, and purity and promiscuity. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005; Nugent, 1997, 2001)

Still, before those "origin" stories, a first set was told that begs retelling.

Civilization and The Official Story

In the Lima-based business office of ALLPA, Nelly Canepa and Maria Carmen de la Fuente are attempting to explain to me their use of the word "creole." The two female executives behind ALLPA have used the term to describe some of the artisans of Chulucanas who they've come to know over the years through their work there, and they evidently mean it to capture something more specific than the word's common, contemporary application in Peru. Used in everyday terminology like "musica criolla" or "comida criolla", the word is most frequently applied by Peruvians today to refer to a range of nationally-identified cultural forms – encompassing dances, musical traditions, and culinary arts -- that had been in practice when independence was won from Spain. Emphasizing the cultural innovation (rather than oppression) that the colonial-era's intermixing of Europeans, African slaves, and native populations had allowed, the term today typically attempts to capture and celebrate Peruvians own post-colonial national identity as a people of diverse races and bloods, whose shared heritage was drawn from a storied many. Still, it is Peru's national liberators' unfulfilled promise of national unification and creation of a single body of citizens with common equal rights, that continues to haunt it, like many other American nations, in the post-independence era. And such broken promise is captured in the ambivalence, confusion, and even controversy that can simultaneously be provoked in the utterance of the word "creole" today. It is a term, in other words, whose meaning remains far from settled, and that almost always invites explanation.

"Criollito means being… well, that he wants to take advantage of the situation," Canepa explains, searching for the exact meaning. "Crafty. He wants to play like he's the 'poor guy,' the victim, the guy who's defenseless," de la Puente assists. "Right! Pretending like he's someone from the provinces who doesn't know, but the truth is that he knows quite abit! That's what creole means. The word is like 'el mestizo' (the man of mixed-blood) who learned from both cultures, and used the combination to take the most advantage of both," Canepa chimes in again. "A 'creole' *isn't a gentleman,* it's a person that's just trying to play with you… Like a game… [Like when] artisans tell us, 'I don't have enough money to return your loan to you.' [It indicates] you're not a serious person, not someone who *keeps their word...* Not all [the artisans] are gentlemen. Some are pretty crafty," de la Puente says, sounding more resolute this time. There's a brief pause of silence, and I almost think the pair have completed their explanation, before Canepa finally adds: "And it's a form of defense, too, a response to the kind of domination they experienced before."

The two ALLPA partners have, in a sense, earned the conviction with which they speak. Operating the leading export company that today ships Chulucanas' largest ceramic orders to foreign retails chains like Target and Pier One, the two women are responsible

for a large part of the global presence and circulation of Chulucanas' artisanal goods. Although local artisans had already been distributing their traditionally-made ceramics to a handful of foreign sellers in the U.S. and Europe when the two businesswomen first arrived in the town over two decades ago, they sold their products only in small, limited quantities for boutique and gallery sales. Immediately recognizing what they saw as the town's untapped potential for large-scale, international market production, De la Fuente and Canepa's ALLPA was the first export-oriented team to begin to organize artisans for global production. Engineering a range of transformations and investing in various new technologies to accelerate and amplify artisans' production, they enabled local workshops to convert from exclusively small-scale, hand-made production, to serialized, massified fabrication. And although dozens of other businessmen have followed their path, and established a new base of exporting competitors in Chulucanas' artisanal market, it's significant that ALLPA has maintained its status as a leader in the field.

To the ALLPA partners, it's important too that it was a women-lead company that forged the export market -- particularly since they read so much of what was crucial in their work in modernizing Chulucanas as centered on having to convert its artisans from their "creole" traditions of exchange to cultivating new "gentlemanly" forms of business relating. Seated behind a desk, with short stacks of paper neatly arranged across its surface, Canepa explains: "It's a whole world unto itself, the small artisanal producer in Peru is entirely it's own thing – and converting the artisan to a businessman is a complicated goal."

De la Fuente elaborates further: "What we look for with the artisans is a leader that can be this *exception*, someone with the right *mentality*. When we find this leader, well, then we push him, train him, invest in him." She stresses that what differentiates an investment-worthy artisan from the others generally encountered in Chulucanas is not artisanal skill or craftsmanship, but rather an appropriate entrepreneural mindset. Such an orientation means being men of serious business, who are able to honor their word, and commit to a project. She emphasizes that such dispositions are rare encounters among rural artisans, however skilled they may be: "He's not easy to find, it's very difficult. They may be very able with their hands, but mentally, they're all very similar, [they're] very limited… In the same conditions not all react in the same way. Some know how to take better advantage of opportunities and have a more entrepreneurial mentality, a more serious mentality. Which means they make more of an effort. Because being a man of your word, someone serious, is difficult. It's much easier to say something but not do it." She adds that working with the artisans of Peru's northern coasts, where local customs – including afternoon siestas, and chicha (a beerlike beverage made from fermented corn) drinking -- developed around a year-round dessert climate, offered a particular challenge: "[Chulucanas] is a village that has the customs of the coast. And it was a lot of work to struggle against these customs, that of drinking, of meeting work deadline… Because it's another culture, But when you start a business that has to attend to the international export market, cleanliness, order, efficiency are all important values."

The women are speaking to me inside the top floor office of the building from which ALLPA runs its operations in Lima. It's an inviting, sun-drenched space that sits above

the company's main showroom, where various samples of their current exportable collections are elegantly displayed, gallery-like, across dimly-lit shelves and tables. When the pair first began working with artisans in Chulucanas, they spent much of their year in the town, overseeing the deployment of new production technologies and running training sessions directly themselves with local craftsmen in their workshops. Today, the women still make occasional visits to the dry, rural town from which the company initially built its business. The luxury of success however now allows them to employ an administration team to coordinate most local operations with the eight workshops with which they partner today in Chulucanas. And it's in the comfortable environs of the company's Lima-based headquarters that de la Fuente and Canepa conduct their business most of the year, and where they typically meet Chulucanas' artisans who travel to Lima to discuss contract details. I note a distinct perfumed sweetness in the air of the office space as I imagine one of Chulucanas' artisans seated in the armchair I am now in.

De la Fuente stresses to me that capturing the rules of contemporary business negotiations, and being able to respectfully maintain them is a rare trait among artisans, even those of the newest generation who came of age during the export boom. She tells me: "It's not just being of the younger generation [that matters], it's also mentality, attitude." She specifies that the artisan who successfully partners with their company embodies particular "modern", "honest," and "honorable" traits: "[He's] looking to self-modernize, he's open, he knows how to communicate... He's someone we would call a '*gentleman.*' He's a person who's very formal – he'll promise you something and he *keeps his word.* And this isn't something you'll always find. Sometime they'll tell you something and then there are ABC reasons why they don't do it."

De la Fuente insists indeed that their work depends upon encouraging a totalized transformation of rural producers, and promoting their conversion into men of business who can honor and respect the norms of the contemporary economy. Such change, she stresses is all the more radical given it entails fundamentally redefining the very terms under which rural producers understand themselves. Speaking of such an evolution of modern selfhood as a civilizing process, she explains that it involves not only embracing the identity of an entrepreneur, but entirely eliminating and undoing their identification as artisans and men of craft. As de la Fuente puts it: "It's important for us that an artisan, that *he no longer be a an 'artisan'* but be a businessman." She adds that one crucial way an artisan can evidence his successful transformation into a modern entrepreneur is precisely though "honoring" ALLPA's financial loans. She specifies that such modern traits and values of civil exchange, while not naturally present among rural artisans, can nonetheless be fostered within them through participation in the contemporary market economy. She tells me: "We don't believe that it's good that they receive everything as if it were a *donation*, because then the *investments* end up being money that doesn't cost them anything, that they don't value. So we believe that the businessman should have the custom of using external capital and returning it... It's a way of educating them within their process of entrepreneurial growth. They should respect returning loans, paying interests. It's all a part of their development."

Stressing again how few men of "honor" and "integrity' were to be found in Chulucanas before companies like ALLPA arrived and began to foster a new kind of global export ethics there, de la Fuente details the uncivil manner with which artisans customarily manage their workshops. She bemoans what she insists is the persistence of unethical, crude, and even brutish behavior among Chulucanas' workshop owners, telling me: "They don't value the work of their people, they don't pay them well, and their workers leave. They don't develop loyalty." She adds how an under-appreciation for "loyalty" among local artisans is notable too in the general absence of collective forms of expression that would mean to convey collegiality and alliance: "In Chulucanas, like in many other places, there was a lot of distrust. If one artisan advances, the others would look at him with jealousy. And if one artisan learned something, he wouldn't want to share it with a colleague or neighbor. We've always felt that there wasn't enough interest among artisans in helping their village. We feel like they're a little selfish." Explicitly rooting selfishness as native to rural artisans, and suggesting how deeply local custom, habit, and nature run in them, de la Fuente insists that such self-interest has persisted despite exporters' prescriptions for more *civil* and *civic* relations: "We've always believed that they should involve themselves more in the life of their community, participate more in activities that will take Chulucanas ahead, to see in what way they can collaborate for the best benefit.... But there's not much of this."

She shakes her head, then, as if to emphasize how much she laments rural artisans' persistent self-interest, and natural disposition *against* modern, civic relations – even despite exporters' alleged attempts to foster more modern mindsets and collaboration: "They should involve themselves more in the community... They're not interested in cooperation. They're stuck in their workshops, accumulating money and not thinking about how they should share more with their community."

Market Manners

The ALLPA business women's emphasis on crude, unruly behavior as persistent problems in villages like Chulucanas, and in the ability of the global market to correct such uncivil relations by cultivating more ethical, trustworthy, and gentlemanly modes of relating, is central to the dominant narrative that circulates about rural development. And although it is only one account of recent developments in Chulucanas, the persuasive power of its narrative, particularly outside of Chulucanas' town borders, shouldn't be under-estimated. For if it has been able to convince, part of its ability to do so can be explained by the very non-novelty of its narrative. Modern nation-states had cultivated the varied forms of participation from diverse peoples through the promise (or "myth", according to Hansen & Stepputat, 2001) of building a shared "civil" society. (Hansen & Stepputat, 2005; Nugent, 1997, 2001; Rama, 1996) Even prior to state-building projects of the 18th century, the notion of patron relations as promoting more "civilized" social relations has been dated to as far back as the fourteenth century and the age of Baroque courts.

Historian of science Mario Biagioli described how the re-fashioning of self, and the adoption of appropriate forms of mannered behavior and "polite discourse" was central to

the professional success of Galileo as a courtier and as a natural scientist. Precisely because "nobility and credibility were perceived as related" (Biagioli, 14, 1983), natural scientists had to be concerned with "fitting into the culture of princes, patrons, and courtiers" as a central part of their work and self-legitimation as men concerned with the pursuit of unbiased, objective truth. Historians Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer have written too of how cultivating a "modest," measured, and gentlemanly demeanor was central to proving oneself a trustworthy member of seventeenth-century, Europe's society of natural philosophers. Emphasizing how the performance and "display of a certain sort of morality was a technique in the making of matters of fact" (Shapin & Schaffer, 1985, 65), they describe how natural philosophers of that era worked to adopt particular "moral postures and appropriate modes of speech" (1985, 66) as a means of developing civil, courtly audiences for their work and establishing their own professional credibility. Specific to such trust-making tactics was demonstrating one's self as a man of "noble" character" who cared more for the "advancement of true natural philosophy" than personal reputation or "individual celebrity [which could] cloud judgment." (1985, 66) Such a breed of "sober and modest" men distinguished themselves from other natural philosophers, and could be relied upon as more credible, precisely because their internal balance, civility, and judiciousness would presumably keep them from "assert[ing] more than they could prove." (1985, 65)

And yet, however familiar, there is something distinct to the exporters' narrative. If it was a civilizing force that could be bestowed upon privileged men generally (and men of science, especially) it was still a power that could be exercised by a sovereign political body alone. It was the sovereign power, that is, that was guardian of civil relations, and in whose hands alone the rise of civilization, with its promise of order, peace and stability, rested. Prior to the growth of modern, legally-regulated and regulate-able economies, the market was perceived as counter to the civilizing forces of sovereign power and government. "Ruled" by pirates and the unruly masses, markets were spaces where deauthorized, non-credible knowledge flowed freely, that left unmannered conduct unchecked, and that fed the excessive, extra-legal indulgences of the non-virtuous. (Philip, 2005) The advent of modern nation-states would allow civilization's promise to extend beyond the exclusive circles of noblemen and aristocrats alone, to a broadly conceived, common population of citizens. (Anderson, 1991; Mallon, 1994, 1995; Nugent, 1997, 2001; Rama, 1996) Modern liberal states would in fact seek to *generalize* civil behavior by enlightening and uplifting the formerly darkened masses, and extending ordered, lawful relations through the building of schools, courts, and hospitals. (Mallon, 1995; Nugent, 1997, 2001; Wilson, 2005) Through the administration of such centers, new modern states could see to the creation of a new body of citizens, incorporate such new political subjects, and cultivate a common civic literacy throughout such populations. If the market had long existed as the foil to the civilizing work of the royal sovereign and the modern nation-state, here it would not only be recovered, but would become cast as *the* central force in the remaking of untrained, rural artisans into virtuous, credible, and modern men of honor.

It's this that explains the ALLPA exporters' description of untrustworthy, dishonorable artisans as "creoles", and that accounts for their strikingly departure from the term's

contemporary association with national independence in Peru. In the interest of displacing the modern government as the central source of civil relations, and asserting the (global) market in its place, the exporters return to a moment when creole "civility" was in pointed transition. During colonial rule, "creoles" had referred to those men born in the American colonies as children of European-blooded land owners. Biologically linked to the Spanish metropole, but physically and culturally removed from it, this elite population of creoles posed a constant challenge for colonial rule, being at once "crucial to the sovereign's power, and a menace to it." (Anderson, 1983, 59) They were in other words, a population whose loyalty to the Spanish crown was ever-necessary for colonial administration, but whose physical and cultural distance put such loyalty into permanent question. As founders of 19th Century emancipation movements, creole elites would in fact later rise up against the Spanish crown, and realize the metropole's greatest fears of disloyal rebellion before inheriting Latin America's independent nations as a liberal, governing class. Promising to bring forth a new national community by ruling with liberalism's all-inclusive hand, they promoted a universal, post-independence "mestizo" identity to unify heterogenous populations fragmented between aristocratic and slave classes, rural and urban divides, and diverse racial lineages. (Alonso, 2005; de la Cadena, 2000; Mallon, 1994, 1995; Poole, 1997; Stepputat, 2005) The liberal origins of the term "mestizo" with its assertion of civic commonality, then, meant to break from the biologically-determined hierarchies and social divides Spanish colonial rule depended on.

That the ALLPA partners draw such pointed emphasis to the pre-independence origins of "creole" populations as marked by ambiguous identification, uncertain loyalty, and potential for betrayal, is significant. For it recalls the colonial era vantage of the Spanish crown, and its reading of creole hybrid identities as threatening and effectively disrupting the particular vision of "civilization" it sought to order. Theirs was a shift which sought to emphasize the *disruption* to civilization's realization in Peru, and that would credit such a disruption to creole rebellion leaders themselves. Their narration, that is, delinks "creole" from its association with Latin America's 19th Century liberators and their claims to cultivating post-colonial "civilizations" through establishing modern liberal nation-states. Highlighting creoles' status as disloyal, and double-faced members of the Spanish colony, the exporters' narration could insist that "creole" and "mestizo" practices of dishonor and dishonesty were in fact persistent, contemporary problems. From their account, "creole" rebellion had not only failed to realize Peruvian "civilization" in the immediate period following Spanish colonial rule, but continued to present the main obstacle to a generalized, contemporary emergence of civilization in the 21st Century.

Indeed, that promoters of global export can present the contemporary market as capable of assuming the role of "civilization's" keeper, owes something to the incompleteness of such a project – and promise -- in the hands of modern nation states. If the building of modern liberal states, and the creation of a national body of citizens who were unified in their shared equal rights and access to government, had depended upon the ideal of universal, democratic inclusion, such a promise would remain painfully unrealized even centuries later. (Mallon, 1995; Nugent, 1997, 2001; Steputtat, 2005) It had been an expressed pledge to secure the ideals of emerging liberal democracies – of individual liberties, citizens rights, and freedom from the unchecked power of government – that

allowed the newly independent Peruvian state to contrast its government against that of the Spanish crown, and had enable it to extend its rule, incorporate new territories, and unify distributed and dispersed populations – including numerous rural and indigenous peoples -- that had formerly never imagined themselves as part of a shared community of "nation." (Anderson, 1983) It remains, however, the contingency of the modern liberal nation-state, the unevenness by which its securities, provisions and protections, were portioned out, and the very scarcity -- rather than inclusiveness -- of civilization's embrace that haunts the post-independent state's legacy in Peru.

Such a scarcity, and the starkness of the unfinished project of nation-building, is experienced all the more acutely in rural communities like Chulucanas. And while the global export market can now assume credit for the work of rural development and modernization, it's significant that it does so with a radically different logic and vision of "civilization" than that the modern liberal state applied. Global markets in Chulucanas, however accelerated their speed or far-reaching their distributive capacity, make no effort for general inclusion of all citizens and make no pretense of aiming to civilize *all* local producers. Artisans may compete for the contemporary market's favor and court exporters' patronage, but the market's civilizing embrace, when and if it comes, is conditional, partial, and always easily undone. Civilization's scarcity and the negation of civic resources and securities, that is, need no longer evidence the denial of rights or the marginalization of populations, but can come to be seen instead as completely natural. If women, the brown masses, and men of unruly constitution were universally denied the privileges, graces, and protections afforded by the Baroque court's royal, civil society, that is, it had been an exclusion based on the inadequacies of their own inevitably hopeless, fixed (rather than failed) biologically-determined natures and internal dispositions, not on the limitations of "civilized" space – however bounded and contained it may have been. (Haraway, 1997)

The rationalization of the *inevitability* of civilization's scarcity is a crucial discursive development to modernization under contemporary neoliberal conditions. For it's precisely such a logic that enables de la Fuente and fellow exporters to continue to operate as they do, without apology. Her flat exclusion of artisans who do not have the "right mentality" and her professed investment in only those "exceptional" artisans who effectively demonstrate their entrepreneurial (rather than artisanal) abilities can be spoken of as not merely justified, but indeed, entirely necessary. Under a contemporary narrative of neoliberalism's civilizing capacity, however, there is no room for mourning those denied its -- now admittedly -- limited provisions. For more than being simply naturalized, such a scarcity can be turned into its own *ideal*. Renarrated now as an efficiency-producing force that ensures the "just" distribution of provisions to the rightly deserving, and the denial of such provisions to the aptly undeserving, non-credible, or ungentlemanly, civilization's rational scarcity in the contemporary neoliberal theater figures in as a right-making feature to which human evolution can now be credited. Recovered as precisely the motivating (or obligatory) force behind individual improvement and advancement, it holds the tragedy of civilization's scarcity at bay, inverting it, and turning what may have been cause for grief or indignation into romantic potential instead.

That not all actors would be convinced by the romantic claims written into a neoliberal narrative of civilization, however empowered its authors or stunning its performance, should be no surprise. Such a narrow calculus for distributing care -- as the striking permanence and visibility of contemporary zones of abandonment (Biehl, 2005) in Peru demonstrate -- grow harder and harder to mask, particularly for those, like many of the nation's rural poor, already intimately familiar with life at its fringes. Historians of science readily remind us, too, how even the voluntary participation of Europe's most self-professedly learned natural philosophers could be secured by the patronage system of Baroque period royal courts, however severe its conditions or ruthless its terms of inclusion. For as Mario Biagioli writes of the royal patronage that Galileo and his philosophical contemporaries sought, to *not* participate in the system, "to not engag[e] in it, one would commit social suicide." (Biagioli, 1983, 15) It would be to reject the favor and goodwill that inclusion in society's shared spaces of civil interaction could provide - and to exercise such a refusal so absolutely that social invisibility and irrelevance would become certain.

Inside Chulucanas, however, it's a cautionary tale of a different sort that's woven. From the vantage of the town's rural workshops, an alternative narrative to that spun by neoliberal promoters takes form. And in between the furtive glances and low whispers of artisans, another set of accounts from that of contemporary civilization and its alleged indebtedness to the global market, circulates. Such accounts heed against a devastating promiscuity promoted through global export, and warn of a new condition where social suicide may be guaranteed, rather than deferred, through market participation.

Gossiping Civil Perversion

There is construction underway when I arrive at the workshop of Jose Sosa to speak with him. An expansive, outdoor space that encompasses more than half a dozen ceramic ovens, and includes several separated production areas for the teams of workers he employs, Sosa's workshop had already been known as Chulucanas' largest and most productive workshop before the additional construction project began. During times of high production, Sosa tells me that the workshop space – which he tells me measures at more than 1200 square meters -- can produce upwards of 5000 ceramic pieces monthly, and can accommodate teams of more than 50 workers who keep production operating round the clock.

His workshop's contemporary distinction among other production spaces in the town makes sense. Sosa was the third-generation ceramicist who ALLPA chose to first couple with for its first large U.S. export -- an order of some 20,000 ceramic pieces that would require daily workshop production be accelerated and amplified ten-fold. Sosa's parents and grandparents, he tells me, had worked in traditional ceramics, producing pottery pieces in their home, and supporting their family in part through their local sales. He had been the first in the family to begin to produce pieces for international sale after he began to learn new design techniques from other artisans -- including his cousins, Flavio Sosa and Gerasimo Sosa -- who were, at the time, just beginning to cultivate renown as local

masters of their trade. Still, ceramics production for all local craftsmen, himself included, had been exclusively small-scale and based on traditional hand-made techniques until then. Production occurred from inside the home, would only occasionally required the assistance of additional family members to complete, and never surpassed volumes of more than a dozen pieces per day. Completing the ALLPA contract of 20,000 pieces – an order that needed to be produced and shipped in under six months -- would require drastic physical modifications to production conditions.

"My home was very small for an order of that size, which was why we had to rent out a [larger] space," Sosa remembers, speaking to me from a far corner of his workshop from which we can observe the new expansion project underway. As we watch several large bags of concrete roll past, he tells me that the initial workshop transformations, like the current one, had required substantial financing from the export company. "We realized that the locale where I worked was very small, so we rented another one where we could tailor all the areas for the entire process, which is where ALLPA was most needed since they could teach us how to order and distribute space well." The export company would also suggest, of course, that modern production technologies, including the electric potter's wheel, replace traditional, hand-based techniques to accommodate high-volume, serialized production. As Sosa explains the required changes: "The paddle and stone [clay molding technique] was going to take too much time… With a potter's wheel, someone can make between 100 to 150 pieces per day, while a master paddler could only make ten a day. That was the huge change that occurred for the artisans of Chulucanas."

He recalls that the changes the export company required initially seemed so dramatic to local artisans that few could believe ceramics production could even be sustained through them. "It was such a novelty that no one could sleep, not even the company [ALLPA], and it was a topic of discussion *if* the order was going to be completed or not, because it was such an immense order. And also, in Chulucanas, they weren't prepared for such an immense order." Sosa describes how his workshop was required to produce twenty times more volume than it had before, and how laborers -- which for the first time were divided into production teams and assigned a single, repetitive task -- remained working in his workshop until midnight.

Sosa, to my surprise, makes no mention of any fatigue that he experienced in his own introduction to export-oriented production, however. And despite the dramatic new pace and scale that production for the global market undoubtably imposed on Sosa's own experience of what was ceramics making, it is the collective hostility he received from other artisans for agreeing to complete the town's first large export order at all that he speaks of most distinctly. He tells me that when production for the export order began: "The community of Chulucanas thought it was going to break the tradition that making ceramics… For us, it was a worry, but we realized that it was our only salvation. But all the artisans were against the potter's wheel… they were used to working by paddle. I was the only one who allowed the potters wheel to enter Chulucanas, and as a consequence, I earned the enmity of all the other artisans. But with time, artisans would get used to [industrialized techniques]." And he adds, after some thought, "And there's still a lot of respect for ceramics."

Today, Sosa's workshop remains one of the mere two dozen or so in Chulucanas that is able to produce the large ceramics quantities international retail chains demand. And if his account echoes much of what exporters conveyed in narrating the civilizing, salvational power of global markets and of the modernization that participation in it offers rural producers, it still differs by one crucial measure. His explicit mention of how there were social *"consequences"* to choosing export-granted "salvation" is important – precisely because it simultaneously entailed his alienation from the larger community of artisans. Opting for salvation and inclusion in the global market, that is, at once obligated his isolation from men he had once considered his peers and who now publicly voiced their collective opposition to him and the export-oriented production model he had welcomed into the town. If it was the "salvation" of a civilizing modern export markets that Sosa sought to be bestowed upon him, in other words, it would be he alone that it would save, and he alone who would be welcomed into its "civilization" of the few.

Despite his distinguished role in the development of global markets for Chulucanas, and the celebratory enthusiasm that such a fact commands outside of the town's borders, it's perhaps not entirely surprising that Sosa remains a deeply ambivalent, contested figure inside Chulucanas. His history, like those of other large workshop owners, would continue to arouse local controversy long after the initial decision to self-exclude from a society of fellow artisans had been made. And as they do for most large-volume producers in the town, rumors and talk of sweatshop conditions in his workshop circulate widely among residents. Telling as well is that Sosa's relations with many fellow artisans, family members, and local residents that had been strained when he first agreed to partner with global exporters, remain compromised even today.

Sosa admits that the rumor isn't entirely unfounded. He tells me wages of his employees haven't increased since large-scale, serialized productions began in the town, even though export orders have continually increased in size. While current export orders are now more than three times the size of the original orders international retail chains made when export began in Chulucanas, workshop laborers still receive the same amount of pay per day – about five to seven dollars -- but are expected to produce faster, more, and more intensively. Sosa says that he is beholden to the market since prices for a single ceramic have exponentially decreased with the entry of large orders. Leveraging his own accusations of promiscuity against other artisans, as well, he tells me that other workshops are less scrupulous than he is with wages. And he tells me that new, unprincipled competitors who have recently begun to produce for export markets and offer to complete orders for cheaper prices have driven down what he can demand as compensation for an order.

However palatable the story of the civilizing, modernizing power of global markets, and however celebrated it may be outside of Chulucanas' rural zone, it's a story that has yet to fully convince rural artisans themselves. The critical narrations of promiscuity that persist in circulating in the town highlight precisely this, calling attention to the very ravaged social ties and compromised civil relations that have proliferated locally in the wake of neoliberalism's new rural investments. Against the officially-sponsored narrative

of the global market as a modernizing force for rural development, then, emerge local tales of the perversion of collective space and civil relations. And although such accounts are usually voiced privately today and assume an aspect of gossip, rumor, and tall tale telling, the degree of social censure and isolation export-partnering artisans like Sosa *still recall* enduring demonstrates the how very public and shared such critical expressions once were.

However much they oppose neoliberal salvation stories and tales of modernization, then, promiscuity narratives should not be read as heroic champions of community unification, stability, or "civil" local relations. They are instead, more symptoms of, rather than antidotes to, the social unheavals that neoliberal development models are seen to impose upon rural communities. Where export-development narratives prescribe and insist upon the need for constant change to optimize products and producers for global markets, its counter-narrative defensively asserts a conservative politic to resist the market's evolutionary drive for change. To preserve culture and insist upon its authority, that is, promiscuity narratives assert a rigid binary logic that categories actors as either with or against "community." Propelled by a *pronounced* suspicion around forces newly typed as external, foreign, or new (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005; Nugent, 1997, 2001), promiscuity's narrators sustain a climate of distrust through their practices. Placing a new premium on that typed traditional or internal to the community, it may even require that one *continually* offer proof of renewed personal allegiance to the community as a condition for acceptance into its "civil" relations. While claiming to act in defense of communal bonds of trust, promiscuity talk contradictorily produces and amplifies market-produced suspicions between community members, and further compromises already strained relations. In the moral assertion of promiscuity, and in the drive for social conservation, then, "community" itself is transformed. Its accusation, that is, is by no means one that performs innocently or benignly, but is one that actively seeks out a living sacrifice as a visible example. In the name of social preservation, it turns on one of its own and looks to enact punishment on he who betrayed community norms, on he who can now be labeled a traitor, and on he who was willing to sacrifice his own neighbors, brothers, and colleagues in the pursuit of explicitly non-civil interests.

However self-romanticized and self-idealized, it is still a version of the "community" that gossip's speakers imagine they represent and return to when they speak their tales. That the passing of such accounts would itself be driven underground, or would recede to private corners and non-public spaces, and reduced to whispers, is a consequence that promiscuity's narrators could never have predicted themselves. Even when it is only outside of shared, public spaces that it can be expressed, such narrators still claim to speak on behalf of shared, collective interests of the community. Rather than being read as a defensive reaction for civil life (or what's become of it) today, promiscuity's narration instead invites contemporary accusations of being talk of the unruly and ungentlemanly, the jealous and deceitful, or the malicious and self-interested. Such inversions of civil life and meaning, however, are among the ironic symptoms of "civilization" and its reassemblage in neoliberal times.

Back in ALLPA's main office in Lima, Maria Carmen de la Fuente and Nelly Canepa are discussing two competing workshops – separately owned by an uncle and his nephew – who they independently partner with. The younger artisan learned his craft while working in his uncle's workshop as a youth, and eventually came to successfully manage production there. Although he's indebted to his uncle for having granted him his initial lessons in ceramics and business-making, the younger artisan earns his living today as a primary competitor to his uncle's workshop. And the two women lavish praise on the younger artisan. They tell me that few producers have so rapidly developed their entrepreneurial potential as he, and that his talents have only grown since his decision to open his own workshop, even surpassing that of his former mentor's. Canepa explains: "[He's], let's say, more consistent [with his products]. [His uncle] knows more about ceramics, ...but [he] has a more modern mindset in the management of his company... And there are personality issues. Not everyone takes advantage of the same opportunities."

De la Fuente adds, speaking too of the younger artisan: "[He] has a more *entrepreneurial* mentality. And it's very curious because *he's* the nephew, and he worked [under his uncle] before. But [his uncle] lost him. They had a personal conflict because [his uncle] didn't know how to manage the problem, which was really about communication. He just doesn't know how to communicate, and this is, in the end, a personal issue and an issue of personality." She doesn't dwell on or sentimentalize the strained ties between family relations, or the personal compromises that successfully developing an "entrepreneurial" capacity would mean for the younger artisan. And then echoing her business partner, she adds: "Some can just take better advantage of *opportunities* than others."

The distinction the two women make is a crucial one. For it's this emphasis on opportunity, personal advancement, and individual achievement that contemporary narratives of neoliberal development – and the newly fantasized assemblages of civilization -- rest upon. It's such a narrative, with its idealized world of flexible, mutable relations, and ever-present opportunities for self-advancement, that contrasts with the accusations of promiscuity rural artisans circulate. Against the realm of freely enterprising, hyper-productive individuals conjured by a neoliberal "civilization" narrative, appear the censure-ladden gossip and "unruly" village talk of rural artisans. Seeking to expose the relations newly threatened by such transformative efforts, promiscuity's narrators produce new counter-accounts that rebuke neoliberal apparitions as themselves "uncivil" and "de-civilizing." And in an effort to preserve cultural authority, they may even rigidify and polarize notions of "tradition", asserting hardened concepts of cultural origins or boundaries as a defense against social dilution. It's precisely such rigidity, however, that feels not just conservative and prohibitive, but unreasonable and even compassionateless to many artisans who feel they *must* continually compete to earn a living. And who feel that it would be impossible to consistently deny market-granted opportunities to self-improve.

But in neoliberalism's contemporary reassemblage of "civilization", there is hardly any excess of compassion, and the zones of genuine, dependable care have arguably become

fewer and fewer. Or perhaps otherwise said, the conditions of genuine compassion and dependable care have become transformed themselves. Civil inclusion may have guaranteed a degree of public, socially-secured care (however limited and conditional) under the governance of modern states, but under a neoliberal calculus, the simple mattering of life itself has been put in question. Anything but social givens (between neighbors, or partners, or colleagues, or even family members), care and compassion become instead rewards to be competed for. Existing against a backdrop of generalized indifference, they become prizes doled out piecemeal to those who succeed in performing optimally productive living. This, at least, is the caution artisans' tales of inter-community exploitation, betrayal, and abuse would seek to issue. It is something, likely, that even the ALLPA partners and other promoters of export-based development would confess. De la Fuente's and Canepa's narration of the older artisan's lagging competitivity, and what they explicitly refer to as his inability to develop proper "communication skills," posits a reminder of the calculus applied in competing for the export market's favor, after all. Such favor, they'd prompt, is far from a thing to be taken for granted. And if successfully earning it is a credit to one's "personality," enterprise, and the proper exercise of individual "abilities," so too does a *failure* to gain such favor become an indicator or personal inadequacy. Indifference from both the global market and the contemporary version of 'civilization' that it now assembles, become markers of a failed internal disposition, an inability to have self-developed, and the incapacity to cultivate an appropriately "civil" self, fitting for the needs of neoliberalism's contemporary.

Neoliberal narrators and promoters of export-oriented development, then, might leave us with a valuable lesson on civilization and the contemporary nature of "care." Having undergone its own transformations, they'd remind us, care today becomes a function that operates – necessarily -- as a rational scarcity. But through such scarcity, they'd reason, does it not become newly empowered and invigorated as a motivating force? Does it not become a condition whose very insufficiency serves as a global guarantor for heightened productivity and efficiency? A force with the capacity for re-ordering relations that insures the continual evolution of contemporary "civilization"?

And in these narrators' instructive detailing, they would likely pose one final set of questions to us as an open, pending body of queries: in obligating social fidelities and an individual's continual devotion in order to secure it, hasn't care in its past conventional conception functioned as a liability to individual liberty? As an object that traditionally required strict adherence to social norms in order to gain, hasn't care operated as an inhibition to personal freedom, self-development and improvement, anyway? Can it not ultimately become *the* deciding constraint on individual advancement if overly sought after, abided by, or adhered to? And wouldn't the independent progress of man be sacrificed were conventional notions of care and our sentimentalized attachments to it *not undone*?

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* Chapter Four / Retiring the Network Spokesman: The Poly-Vocality of Free Software Networks in Peru

In October 2005, the South American nation of Peru made international headlines when it passed an usual law that challenged the adoption of closed, proprietary software in government. The bill, one of the first of its kind, obligated "technological neutrality" in public institutions' selection of software and required free and open source software (FLOSS) to be considered as an alternative to proprietary software when contracting software vendors. Its passage was celebrated by the Andean nation's free software community, who had long been advocating for state adoption of FLOSS. Four years earlier, a legislative proposal – dubbed Proposition 1609 -- was introduced in Peru's Congress to mandate FLOSS in state computers. Similar legal measures had begun elsewhere around the world, all seeking to establish alternatives to governments' use of closed, proprietary software. But it was Peru's legislative efforts that unlike any nation before it, managed to capture international attention.

Much of the publicity was spurred after Microsoft's General Manager in Peru attacked the bill as a "danger" to the nation's security and to corporate intellectual property rights in 2002. Not long after, the US Ambassador to Peru issued a threatening letter that reiterated Microsoft's disapproval of the bill's consideration, and warned its passage would harm U.S.-Peru relations. The congressional sponsor of the bill, Congressman Edgar Villanueva, nonetheless staunchly defended Proposition 1609 in a lengthy 12-page response. As Microsoft's interventions and Villanueva's response were circulated online, Peru and the Congressional sponsor of its FLOSS bill were suddenly transformed into prominently visible players in the global FLOSS movement. Or as one reporter from the online news publication Linux Today prophetically narrated:

> "In the course of everyday business and politics, once in a while something truly significant happens. At such a time, letters become road maps for change and a politician from a small mountain town in Peru can become a hero to those who believe in a cause: both amongst his countrymen, and around the rest of the world... Congressman Villanueva's reply [to Microsoft]... raised him practically to folk hero status over night" (LeBlanc, 2002).

Network Spokesmen, Network Narrators

For many who witnessed FLOSS advance from its origins as an isolated practice of Western hackers to a globally-dynamic phenomenon that today is even endorsed by transnational technology corporations, the emergence of FLOSS legislation seemed unnecessary (Bessen, 2002; Evans, 2002; Hahn, 2002; Stanco, 2003). Western FLOSS advocates and policy makers urged governments to maintain a stance of political neutrality in software acquisition (Chan, 2004). FLOSS' rapid transition from the margins to the mainstream of society, after all, seemed to occur without the aid of governments. Some FLOSS advocates and practitioners began to purport FLOSS as a species of "disruptive technology" (Christensen, 2000) that would inevitably displace

outdated technology (Bessen, 2002). To the commercial software industry, such readings signal the need for dramatic self-transformation to new technological environments. For FLOSS participants, it serves instead as reassurance that their current practices can proceed without change. Both framings, however, operate on a degree of technological inevitability, presuming that it will only be a matter of time before everyone came to see the objective, technical merit for FLOSS' use. Media coverage on FLOSS legislation similarly emphasized economic rationales for governments' FLOSS use, presenting it as a drastically cheaper alternative to closed, proprietary software and stressing that national poverty coupled with the potential for financial savings inevitably drove government interest in FLOSS (Dorn, 2003; Festa, 2001; Stocking, 2003; Wired.com 2003).

A closer examination of the practices that surrounded the emergence of Peru's FLOSS legislation reveals that far from presuming FLOSS' steady advancement, the proponents of Peru's FLOSS bill had to undertake various forms of local and non-local work to advance their interests. Their practices departed from the language of technical and economic rationality that is repeatedly invoked to explain FLOSS' adoption. They insisted instead on a new framing of FLOSS as necessarily engaged with governance and political reform. And while many FLOSS advocates would adopt a stance of "political agnosticism" (Coleman, 2003, 2004) that read ties to formal politics as counterproductive, Peru's FLOSS advocates actively sought to build relations with established political channels. If many FLOSS supporters had asserted that FLOSS technologies would best spread without government intervention, Peru's legislative developments signaled a departure from such logics and suggested that something other than FLOSS' technological spread was of foremost concern.

This inquiry begins then with the intention of moving beyond a narrative of technological inevitability. I ask instead what made the proposal of Peru's FLOSS legislation and its emergence as a prominent site of FLOSS advocacy, even possible? What social and technological practices, work and relations were necessary for such events to be produced? What were the bodies of actors who operated to generate and distribute meaning around such events? What were the diverse constellations of meaning that were constructed through participant actions? And what, indeed, are we to make of the very multiplicity and cacophony of these accounting acts that all simultaneously "speak for" the network?

For to peer beneath the surface of Peru's FLOSS movement is to reveal a network of actors, distributed through multiple national contexts, invested in and inventing a diversity of technical and discursive practices that advocate for political reform. Encompassing Latin American politicians, independent citizens and entrepreneurs working with FLOSS applications, local Linux and FLOSS user groups, Argentinean programmers, and Peruvian student activists, such a network functions as a poly-vocal system that fosters the emergence of new forms of civic expression and that argues for expanded spaces of political participation. This study will demonstrate how the force of Peru's FLOSS advocacy network relies fundamentally on its poly-vocality. I will show how despite its un-coordinated nature, the network's discursive generativity nonetheless manages to challenge dominant assumptions on technological use and development.

Early formulations of networks in STS stressed how network successes depended on recruiting the consent of diverse human and non-human actors, whose productive activity would be coordinated through networks (Callon, 1986; Latour, 1987). These theorizations illuminated the ways that networks not only efficiently manage the labor of diverse actors, but also channel and represent actors' multiple interests. Central to this enrolment process is the work of effective translation such that a single party unifies interests, harmonizes voices, and becomes authorized to speak on behalf of the collective as a spokesman (Callon & Latour, 1981; Callon, 1986; Latour, 2004). Through these coordinations, the scientific facts and technological innovations associated with that party eventually achieve adoption and stabilization. Here, the strength of networks, measureable in its generation and dissemination of technological innovations, depends on the capacity to function coherently and employ spokesmen in the work of translation.

Research on the new economic productivity of networked activity has likewise emphasized networks as systems of technological innovation (Benkler, 2006; Castells, 1996; Lessig, 2001). Characterizing networks as loosely organized bodies that leverage new information technologies to organize the labor (rather than interests) of diverse parties, these approaches stress networks' surprising successes in channeling technological evolution. Such research has been especially important in challenging established assumptions on technological innovation as dependent on tightly-coordinated, closely-managed, and hierarchically-organized production units. But here too, it is the network's capacity for coordinating innovation that primarily determines how its strength and durability are assessed.

My analysis into networks as poly-vocal bodies builds on the new research on FLOSS communities that attend to how the mutual accommodation and *production* of plurality serves as valuable testimony to the strength of networks (Benkler, 2006; Coleman & Hill, 2004; Kelty, 2005; Lin, 2007; Weber, 2004). This research involved 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork in the U.S., Peru, and Argentina, with half of that time spent based in Peru as I followed actors across their various sites of advocacy. I focused on actors who identified themselves as involved in advocating for the Peruvian FLOSS legislation. My preliminary research began in the U.S.A., where I began examining the activities of key actors, including the Peruvian Linux Users Group, the largest FLOSS-focused user group in Peru with over 1,500 subscribed members today, and the digital rights non-profit Via Libre (Free Path) Foundation in Cordoba, Argentina. This preliminary stage of research involved studying nearly 3,000 messages in archived contents and real time exchanges of both the PLUG and Via Libre listservs, interviews with organizers of those listservs, and participation in IRC channels with PLUG members. During the summer of 2003 and spring and summer of 2006, I relocated to Lima, Peru. During those months, I visited and interviewed government officials, NGO representatives, and programmers in both Lima and Cordoba. I also participated in more than a dozen FLOSS-focused conferences, in Lima and five other provincial towns and cities across the country, that were co-organized by or targeted government officials. These included not only large, international- conferences, such as the first UNESCO-funded conference for the use of FLOSS in Latin American and Caribbean governments

held in Cuzco in August 2003, but also small, community-focused, rural conferences promoting FLOSS in regional public offices, such as that held in the mountain town of Andahuaylas.

A consideration of the diverse spaces that FLOSS advocacy speaks to and with is especially critical when approaching its networks as a research object. Indeed, what an inquiry into Peru's FLOSS network reveals is that central to the network's performance is not merely the extension of FLOSS' technological artifacts, but the production of new discursive spaces, cultural meanings, and narratives that testify to the technical and political value of FLOSS. It reveals, in other words, how networks may function powerfully not just through their technological innovativeness or ability to unify multiple interests through a single, representative spokesman, but through their cultural innovativeness, discursive productivity and ability to multiply vocal sites and accounting acts.

Important too is how in interviews with Peru's FLOSS advocates , no single, coherent logic or explanatory account extended through all groups. Network actors' voices that is, insist on their own independent recognition and individualized integrity, and in doing so, refuse the election of a single representative that would collapse their multiple interests under a unified, harmonizing, representative voice. One hears instead a poly-vocal assemblage of stories that – in their simultaneous dynamicism and dissonance – reveals Peru's FLOSS movement as built on a diversity of practices which at times intersect, but which never operate in complete conformity. Multiply positioned and independently speaking, network actors generate dynamic bodies of meanings about what FLOSS is, why it should be promoted, and what is ultimately at stake in its promotion. That such non-coordinated discursive practices would succeed in generating attention to Peru's FLOSS movement, is an outcome that network actors significantly profess to have no single explanation for. Indeed, no one actor's contributions is privileged in accounts offered by Peru's FLOSS advocates. And significantly, no single actor attempted to assume total credit for the network's impact. Politicians, NGO workers, and individual coders who participated in the movement instead continuously reference the work of others, distributing credit for the network's effect..To study a poly-vocal network calls attention to a multiplicity of contributions that extend lines of explanation. One has to be prepared, then, to find that the productivity of the network does not rest on the presence of centralizing spokespersons alone. It may even rest on expanding multiplicity and the absence of these central spokespersons.

Letters, Legislation, and a Disruption to the Technological Progress Account

Superficially, Congressman Edgar Villanueva appears to be an unlikely proponent of FLOSS. He began his career in state politics as the mayor of Andahuaylas, a small, agriculturally-based town in the Andes Mountains. He was elected to Congress in 2001 and in his first year and a half in Congress, his legislative sponsorship focused on regional and educational bills. Proposition 1609 stands out in Congressman Villanueva's record as the lone legislative action specifically addressing the use of software.

Presented before the Peruvian Congress in December 2001, Proposition 1609 proposed the mandatory adoption of FLOSS in Peru's government, making exceptions only where a developed enough FLOSS application was unavailable. Emphasizing the contemporary legal contradictions experienced by governments in software use, it stressed that states' reliance on computational processing in nearly all administrative activities forced governments into "a situation of dependency... [on] technology created in other countries." The bill further cited the rapidity of software updates, stressing that the frequency of new releases forced governments to choose between continually purchasing new licenses, operating with out-dated software, or piracy. It also referenced a government study that estimated Peruvian government's own use of pirated programs at 90% (INEI, 1999), and concluded that government must find alternatives to "[break]the vicious circle of dependency."

Proposition 1609 thus asserted legal and economic imperatives for the state to cease using closed, proprietary software. Moving beyond arguments for FLOSS' adoption on states' technological needs, Proposition 1609 asserted a political narrative that critically implicated external, global relations of dominance. Through the bill's account, global dynamics of power that privileged developed nation's interests were exposed as piercing the inner workings of Peruvian government. If adopting and even the cost-free pirating of closed, proprietary applications were previously perceived as government decisions that were of relatively little consequence to citizens, Proposition 1609 pronounced them instead as deeply politicized, socially expensive choices that would re-inscribe the nation and polity into new cycles of dependence.

Within months of Proposition 1609's presentation to Congress, Microsoft, the primary software vendor for Peru, intervened. In a March 2002 letter addressed to Congressman Villanueva, Juan Alberto Gonzales, the General Manager of Microsoft Peru, issued his own projection of how FLOSS would fundamentally compromise the state. Positioning FLOSS as a technology of risk, Gonzales foretold a swarm of devastations that could be unleashed under Proposition 1609. He warned FLOSS would inflict immeasurable expenditures for technological migration, risk non-compatibility between Peru's public and private sectors, devastate corporate productivity, and hamper "the creativity of the entire Peruvian software industry" whose intellectual property rights would be compromised. Arguing, too, that state decisions over technology should remain politically neutral choices based on technical merit, Gonzales challenged, "If Open Source software satisfies all the requirements of State bodies, why do you need a law to adopt it? Shouldn't it be the market which decides freely which products give most value?" Crucially, the account he delivered of a future with FLOSS predicted conditions of economic and technical instabilities, and the devastation of what were presumed to be otherwise healthy political processes. Where Proposition 1609's account of an "illegally" operating government stressed the forced piracy of software, Gonzales' evocation of governments' legal breaches instead emphasized the violation of laws to protect free enterprise.

Introducing the possibility of FLOSS' use in Peru's government produced a new narrative around processes of technology procurement. Such accounting practices not

only insisted upon the politicized nature of state use of closed, proprietary software, pronouncing how such usages perpetuate relations of dependence. They also rendered FLOSS visible as an alternative that would disrupt such relations of inequality. Critically, the initial generation of a new interpretive account of technological possibility through FLOSS' introduction forced Microsoft to acknowledge the challenge to the established system of software procurement and to generate its own counter-narrative that defined FLOSS as a technology of risk. Whereas prior to the audibility of a FLOSS proposal, proprietary closed software appeared as the natural option, following FLOSS' proposition Microsoftit had to resituate itself within the language of security and rational choice.

The emergence of FLOSS legislation operates as a generative force, multiplying the narratives around code and the interpretations of what it would mean for Peru's public and private sectors. But indeed, the emergence of such accounts doesn't occur spontaneously, but is bound to other narrative bodies that flow through FLOSS' advocacy network. We may attempt to trace these narratives back, without ever discovering an explanatory thread that runs through them all, tying them together edge-to-edge, neatly. Some, in fact, were according to their tellers, brought into existence by complete accident.

Accounting for Local Government

It was an independent technological consultant for Peru's government, Jesus Marquina Ulloa, who first brought the notion of FLOSS to the attention of Congressman Villanueva in 1996., Marquina, now 40, recalls that his work at the time involved routine visits to municipalities that hired him to implement tax administration software. Although he had originally developed the application using proprietary development tools, he had been begun coding an equivalent FLOSS application that he hoped would replace the proprietary version. Villanueva, then Andahuaylas' mayor, expressed interest in learning more about Marquina's proposals. They discussed first creating FLOSS applications for municipalities or organizing an association to offer basic services to local governments, and began to consider proposing legislation on a national scale when Villanueva was elected to Congress in 2000.

Still, it's Marquina's ties to local government that anchor his investment in FLOSS. He recalls that in his first years programming for regional governments, he used pirated copies of Microsoft's Visual FoxPro development tools and the data base development language Clipper to develop his applications. He remembers that the primary challenges he encountered were not technical, programming problems, but involved governments' general treatment of information: "There is a complete lack of standards in municipalities' tax procedures... Even though laws exist around taxing, they're truly very ambiguous ... only a few officials seem to understand it – so that many municipalities have their own interpretations."

Coding technological systems for government made Marquina increasingly aware of the broader social conditions technologies were imbedded in. He also describes initially having to develop separate versions of his application for the five municipalities that

contracted him: "[Each system] would have to be personalized since each municipalities' procedures are so distinct … And I had to administer 100% of the source code by myself … In the long term, the maintenance of the system becomes unsustainable." He cites his own discovery of FLOSS and its principles of open code as a solution to local governments' technological dependence.. He describes that providing municipalities access to programs' source code allowed them to innovate their own solutions: "[By] openly distributing code, instead of haring myself …I actually started to enjoy benefits… In some municipalities, the responsible team would administer solutions to [technical] problems that would never have occurred to me, and with a rapidity that… was optimal."

Explicitly highlighting his experience of confronting internal disorganization and non-standardization within multiple municipal administrations, Marquina argues for FLOSS' use by governments as a technical solution to a problem he sees as socially generated. To Marquina, FLOSS' accessible source code empowers software developers and the local governments they work for by allowing them to customize code for diverse needs and evolving uses – many of which may not have been anticipated when technological systems were initially established.

But Marquina realized he was not alone in his frustrations with the limitations of proprietary, closed software. He had joined an Argentina-based mailing list to discuss issues of FLOSS in government shortly after his own discussions with Congressman Villanueva had helped to yield Proposition 1609 in the final months of 2001. The critical relations he cultivated from what could have otherwise been described as casual activity on the mailing list would extend Peru's FLOSS advocacy network.

Summoning Citizens, Democracy, and Code

Several hundred miles outside of Lima, the Cordoba-based Via Libre Foundation, a NGO addressing concerns around technology and civil society, was already deeply involved in promoting FLOSS legislation in Argentina. The director of Via Libre, Federico Heinz, was instrumental in building relations with Argentinean Congressmen to sponsor the legislation. As critically, he had played a central role in building discussions around FLOSS in governments through a mailing list he helped to found in 2000 called Proposición. The list would in turn provide a critical mass of participants whose debates contributed to the evolution of the Argentinean bill. Recalling the processes around the bill's construction, Heinz references the processes of FLOSS construction, where online communities of programmers openly critique and exchange pieces of code to collectively build and refine, a working application. Heinz describes the lengthy, ten-month-long process of collective authorship: "We [at Via Libre] had hacked up some text and we brought it back to the list for it to be criticized until we reached something that was acceptable … It was an amazing process really, like a participative method of creating the law – with people stating how they would like to be ruled… this construction model of creating legislation as if it were software."

Although originally begun with the intention of promoting FLOSS in Argentina, the list and its participants – many of whom resided outside South America -- grew to address

the growing phenomena of FLOSS legislation by governments worldwide. Among the participants of Proposición who had approached Heinz about a local bill that he had helped to initiate in Peru was Jesus Marquina. Heinz, another Argentinian participant on Proposición, Enrique Chaparro, and FLOSS advocates in Argentina were recruited again in Peru's efforts a few months later to respond to the Microsoft indictment of Proposition 1609. Heinz recalls that the primary challenge was managing the flood of feedback received from participants who all attempted to deliver their independent contributions simultaneously: "This kind of thing is a lengthy process… Everybody was contributing ideas and we had to continually write them down and make changes. And [then] when we posted the letter draft to Proposición, the people from the list thad something to say about it [again]!."

Nearly six-thousand words long and filling twelve, single-spaced pages, the response to the Microsoft letter produced from the collective efforts of the Argentinean advocates, Proposición's international participants, the Peruvian Congressman and Marquina, expanded upon the arguments asserted in the Peruvian bill. It meticulously enumerated and refuted each of Gonzales' assertions. It reasserted the justification for Proposition 1609, specifying that the bill was not motivated by economic rationales but by the state's "fundamental" political obligation to citizens. These included ensuring citizens' free access to public information and ensuring the permanence of public data, under the rationale that if governments were dependent on closed, proprietary software and afford proprietary software updates, public data would be compromised: "The state archives, handles, and transmits information which does not belong to it, but which is entrusted to it by citizens... The State must take extreme measures to safeguard the integrity, confidentiality, and accessibility of this information."

Heinz emphasizes the unexpectedness of the letter's final form, and the evolution of ideas generated through Proposition's dynamic debates: "What happened in the letter was an incremental process. In the start of the discussions, we looked at free software as a way to help government use software for less money… But gradually…we discovered that free software, even if it were more expensive [to maintain and implement] than proprietary software, public administrations *must* use it – that it is the only way it can achieve its goals." Heinz explains that a consideration of the State's obligation to citizens was the crucial factor in transforming the authors' approach to FLOSS: "Better software and lower cost may be necessary for a corporation, but… corporations just have to be accountable to shareholders. [Citizens] are all share holders, though, in the state and it's not like a corporation where we can choose not to be. Cost is important but it is only secondary. When we began to think about the possible insecurities in government systems that store [citizens'] personal data, and the way this data is handled, I as a citizen have an interest in how this is guarded."

As crucial for Heinz was revealing the relationship between technology, governance and politics. Stressing the centrality of technological processes in shaping politics, he argues that limitations in technological and government transparency are directly related: "We are already waist deep in the information society– but … most people say all this free software stuff is just relevant to a bunch of geeks … [But] software is a very important

part of democracy. There are whole arenas, that no matter what the law says, if the software is implementing the law, software that has the upper hand." And significantly, he stresses his own differences with what he sees as a dominant position within the larger FLOSS movement, which he characterizes as focused on legal reforms to benefit technological evolution. He reports that he has had trouble explaining the legislative strategy to a wider FLOSS community. He attributes such difficulties to the movement's focus on reforms in Western software patent and copyright law. And while he supports those strategies, he emphasizes that he sees other crucial objectives in FLOSS: "[T]his has to do with *citizenship* and free software... What we are trying to achieve is not just [better] software, but a more sustainable society… And using free software is a tool in building that."

Heinz's accounting of the emergence of FLOSS legislation is not propelled by the same ideals of technological evolution that are evoked in the larger FLOSS movement, or by the users' technological freedoms that Marquina evoked. Rather, his narrative of FLOSS' imperative is anchored in notions of citizens' democratic rights in the emergent information society. Notably, Heinz draws from FLOSS principles that promote individual consumer freedoms and user rights, and re-situates these in the realm of collective political rights. To explain FLOSS, for Heinz, becomes a way of critiquing contemporary political structures and imagining a more democratic, participatory public sphere. The narrative he constructs is one built around the emergence of an information-based society where new sites of politics and governance express themselves, and where one such crucial site will exist as technology and code.

Articulating Identities of Possibility

While the exchanges between Congressman Villanueva, Marquina, and Via Libre were unfolding, another body of local FLOSS advocates, the Peru Linux Users Group (PLUG) in Lima, began to dedicate resources towards the bill's promotion. Founded as an online mailing list in late 1997, PLUG serves today as a virtual community of 1500 members that exchange technical information related to FLOSS use. Cesar Cruz, a coordinator for PLUG's listserv and a 30-year-old Linux instructor, explains that he met Marquina at a Linux conference several years earlier. He recalls casually hearing of the bill's proposal from Marquina by phone. After that conversation, Cruz decided to leverage PLUG's user base to launch their own independent campaign to promote Proposition 1609.

After debating online how PLUG would support Proposition 1609, members independently began the work of outreach, emailing contacts and news outlets inside and outside Peru. These publicity efforts brought news of the Peruvian bill to a broader international audience after copies of Proposition 1609's text, the Microsoft letter against it, and Villanueva's response were posted to the PLUG website in English and Spanish in April 2002. Wired Magazine published their account of the Peru movement shortly after in late April 2002 (Scheeres, 2002). This was followed by stories in UK-based tech news publications, The Register (Greene, 2002) and vnunet.com (Williams, 2002), and in the FLOSS news sites, Linux Journal (LeBlanc, 2002) and Slashdot (2002a, 2002b).

While international media coverage of Proposition 1609 spread, within Peru, little if any news appeared. Hoping to correct this, PLUG undertook various nationally-targeted activities, including distributing fliers on the street corners in Lima, hanging posters on public walls and buildings, and posting to Spanish-language FLOSS news sites about Peru's legislative developments. PLUG members also organized a conference on "Linux and Free Software in the State" that featured Villanueva, Chaparro, Heinz, and the Mexican FLOSS advocate Miguel de Icaza. Crucially, all of PLUG's activities were planned independently, without any direct communication with either Congressman Villanueva, Marquina, or Via Libre. And PLUG members invested their own personal savings to fund activities. As Cruz explained, "I don't know how much money I spent [to promote Proposition 1609] – but neither do I care if it was a lot… Thanks to learning Linux, I've never been out of a job... In my country, it's difficult to find work, and if you do, it's often with a low wage. Thanks to Linux, I've done better than the majority of young Peruvians that are dedicated to computer [work]."

Narrating his experience with FLOSS as allowing him to escape the professional difficulties other young technicians are plagued by, Cruz minimizes the personal expenditures he made. For him, financing PLUG's events allows him to support what he credits for his professional security. More than merely providing the material resources to further FLOSS' general growth, Cruz sees his support as directed towards FLOSS development Peru. Projecting a future of greater national and economic sovereignty built on the talents of Peruvian technicians, Cruz explains: "The most important thing to me is that we can develop our own technology. Before, we didn't have any possibility of this with proprietary software. Now with free software, yes, we do... In my country, there are few [software] developers [because] one always buys programs from abroad. There's a very large dependency on Microsoft, and we have to break this. Because we have the capacity to construct our own software… more than being about nationalism, I would say that this is about being able to get out of [a situation of] under-development."

Antonio Ognio, another PLUG list coordinator and the 28-year-old founder of a Linux server company , similarly narrates his experience with FLOSS as one that expanded his professional opportunities. Recalling the last few years of his undergraduate education in systems engineering, he remembers feeling, "extremely bored" and having an "urgent need to re-invent" himself. Ognio says discovering FLOSS allowed him to transform himself and "materialize my goals and dreams": "I was told at university that [operating system] level programming was not for us. We should instead … learn business administration [skills] and transition to a less technical job… I clearly remember my dean telling us not to dream of working with Bill [Gates] but to focus on solving enterprise problems. [But] of course I dreamed of being a great programmer... Why not think you can learn… the kind of "secrets" hackers would? Linux put me quickly in contact with all of that; programming, networking, security."

Pointing to the limitations they see as institutionally imposed on Peruvian technicians, both Cruz and Ognio build narratives around FLOSS that stress overcoming professional limitations and imagining new possibilities for growth. Discovering FLOSS for them permitted self-transformation and empowerment that are too many of their peers in Peru

are denied. When imagined on the level of national use, FLOSS is read as offering potentials for economic sovereignty and political independence. FLOSS developer David Sugar echoes such hopes: "In providing opportunities for Latin American citizens to directly participate in the worldwide commercial software market locally, free software offers incentives for forming a local software industry that can then compete on an equal basis with that of any other advanced country in the world." (2005)

Such interpretations of FLOSS are indeed distinct from those that Marquina stressed in his account of local government experiences, or Heinz's account of citizen rights. While the diverse accounting practices among network participants, however, emerge independently of one another, their differences don't contradict each another so much as invite their mutual co-extensions. Diversity in the FLOSS' poly-vocal network here appears as a generative and productive force, rather than a disruptive one.

Repercussions: A Microsoft and Other Interventions

By early summer 2002, following the wave of media coverage around the Villanueva-Microsoft exchange, several new developments in the Peruvian legislative efforts would unfold. Two new versions of Proposition 1609 would be introduced to the Peruvian Congress. And two new FLOSS bills would also be proposed. One would establish a Consulting Commission to study and authorize FLOSS' government use. The second would mandate FLOSS use by businesses whose primary client was government.

The proliferation of official FLOSS support would prompt Aldo Defilippi, the director of the American Chamber of Commerce of Peru, to write a letter to the President of the Peruvian Congress, decrying the bills for "discriminating against" proprietary software companies. Defilippi's letter to the president of the Peruvian Congress was followed by the U.S. Ambassador to Peru, John Hilton's letter, that warned that economically excluding companies like Microsoft would hurt an industry that created thousands of local jobs. An in-person meeting between Peruvian President Alejandro Toldeo with Microsoft head Bill Gates in mid-July 2002, which ostensibly had nothing to do with Peru's FLOSS bills, effectively delivered on what Defilippi's and Hilton's letters had hoped to achieve. In mid-July, Peru's President met the Microsoft chairman in the company's corporate headquarters, where the leaders signed an agreement for Microsoft support of Peru's Project Huascaran, an initiative providing Internet access in Peru's rural schools. It also gave Gates the opportunity to present Toldeo with a donation of $550,000 in money, software and consulting services. As the Microsoft press release for the event explained, "Microsoft will not be supporting Peru in its Huascaran Project alone, but in other important modernization projects of the public sector and nation… In addition to the support that Peru will receive for the Huascaran Project… Microsoft will also design and execute an Electronic Information System with the public sector, for better internal communication and more transparency in the services offered to Peruvian citizens, and will put into motion a practical tendency for the most modern countries of the world: e-Government. " (2002)

Without a trace of the defensiveness and alarm that characterized his first letter to Villanueva, Juan Alberto Gonzales added his endorsement of the agreement in the press release, characterizing Microsoft as a responsible, corporate "civic actor" in the process: "Microsoft Peru knows its role in society, and we know that only an informed society will achieve development; and we feel that our function is to provide society with the technological resources that will permit the spreading of access to information to allow the creation of professional personnel and the development of its businesses."

Notably absent from either Microsoft or the Peruvian government's explanation of accord and the donation, however, was any mention of FLOSS or the various bills supporting it in Peru's Congress. Speculation began to emerge, however, that despite all official pretenses, the Toledo and Gates meeting and the Microsoft donation had secured a fate of rejection for the pending FLOSS proposals. Or as The Register's John Lettice would muse: "Where President Toledo's education and e-government deal [with Microsoft] leaves the Free Software initiative[s] is not clear. But as he must surely have a contract with Microsoft, it likely complicates [them]... When major Microsoft contracts or customers are in peril, Bill [Gates] is frequently deployed as the last weapon." (Lettice, 2002)

But the visibility of Peru's FLOSS efforts would invite other independent contributions with more welcome effects for its supporters as well. A recent study completed by the University of Maastricht's International Institute of Infonomics and funded by the European Commission on FLOSS development and use in the public and private sectors drew its policy recommendations from the text of Proposition 1609 (Ghosh, et al. 2002). Such borrowings occurred, of course, without coordinating with the original authors of the text. Reflecting back with surprise on the unexpected mobility Proposition 1609 saw, Federico Heinz muses, "It is very hard to do anything in free software that actually has any respect for national borders. Because you start doing something and other countries and places start picking it up and it becomes international in and of itself." Heinz adds that as news of the legislative efforts in Peru spread globally, government officials from across Europe and Latin America began to approach the parties involved to begin similar initiatives.

Shortly after the Microsoft donation was presented, as well, officials from UNESCO approached Congressman Villanueva with plans to organize an international conference on FLOSS and Latin American governments. Held in Cusco, Peru in 2003, the conference featured tracks on international politics and the governing of FLOSS, FLOSS' economy, and FLOSS in education, science and culture. And through less official channels, as well, the Peruvian legislative efforts would bear new impact. Following the media coverage of Villanueva's response to Gonzales' letter, FLOSS supporters from across the globe began to contact PLUG and Pimiento, a student-based FLOSS group in Lima that donated computer servers to support the heightened online demand for the documents related to the Peruvian efforts. Supporters volunteered their skills to translate Villanueva's letter into over a dozen languages, including Chinese, Turkish, Greek, Hungarian and Portuguese, allowing the Peruvian case to acquire new mobility and audiences in each reproduction.

Perhaps not surprisingly, recognition as a network participant invites a heterogeneous array of new interventions that react to the network's varied discursive productions . Donations of money, time, institutional resources, and personal skills collide with other streams of activity, hoping to impact the network. For some givings, as with Microsoft's, it is the intention of eliminating or containing network activities that drive them. For others, it is amplifying the audibility and content of the network that propels them. And for others still, it is re-conducting the network and its dissonant chorus of voices that motivates them. Yet that such attempts to diminish, amplify or redirect the network see themselves as necessary bespeaks the collective force of the discrete voices flowing through the network. However internally disorganized, disunified and cacophonous Peru's poly-vocal FLOSS network may be, it is stilla thing that actors find they cannot afford *not* to react to.

Speaking for/through the Network

Science studies brought early attention to the notion of networks as not mere formations of social association, but bodies of political representation. Bruno Latour and Michel Callon stressed how networks emerge from the work of successfully representing, or "translating" the interests of diverse actors into a unified position, such that a particular actor can serve as the spokesperson for the whole (Callon & Latour, 1981; Callon, 1986; Latour, 1987, 2004). They specify that the work of translation encompasses all the negotiations and acts of "persuasion and violence" that allow a single actor to emerge with the authority to speak or act on behalf of other actors: "Whenever an actor speaks of 'us', s/he is translating other actors into a single will, of which s/he becomes spirit and the relationship between spokesman. S/he begins to act for several, no lonqer for one alone. She becomes stronger. She grows" (1981: 297). Networks here demonstrate and manifest authority. They stabilize reality for the elements that are interconnected and associated through them, allowing a single actor to speak and act for the multitude, to "lay down a temporality and a space that is imposed on others." (1981: 287). So that if "before, the elements dominated by the actor could escape in any direction... now this is no longer possible. *Instead of swarms of possibilities*, we find lines of force, obligatory passing points, directions and deductions." [italics added] (1981: 287).

These authors also point to the ability of scientists to "speak for" and politically represent the diverse human and non-human actors that they link together through translation (Callon & Latour, 1981; Callon, 1986; Latour, 2004). Their role as spokespeople for the natural world grants them a unique authority, "endow[ing them] with the most fabulous political capacity ever invented: They can make the mute world speak, tell the truth without being challenged, put an end to the interminable arguments through an incontestable form of authority that would stem from things themselves." (Latour, 2004: 14). In their unique role as spokesmen for the mute, natural world, scientific experts, however limited their numbers, are able to persuade wider circles of external actors and recruit new allies and resources. The greater the number of allies recruited, the further the network extends, and the greater the strength and stability it accumulates. Through such strategies of recruitment, Latour specifies, "a handful of well-positioned men of science

may rout billions of others." (1991: 181).

This crucial work of translation, however, is notably absent in the Peru's poly-vocal FLOSS network. While the labor of network spokesmen should operate to stabilize particular perceptions of truth and fact, the discursive practices of Peru's FLOSS advocates functioned to instead challenge what was considered established truths and multiply explanatory accounts. Likewise, if network spokesmen were to be employed to minimize "swarms of possibility" in favor of constructing "obligatory passage points," it was precisely those new possibilities that Peru's FLOSS advocates gave voice to. And while network spokesmen, as actors authorized to represent a multitude, should allow a few centrally positioned actors "to dominate from a distance" (1987: 243), Peru's network actors disclaim any authority to speak on behalf of the whole, and instead continually reference the contributions of one another in acts that distribute credit.

Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer (1999) likewise characterize scientific networks as constituted by a heterogeneous ecology of institutions. They stress however, how much of the key work of scientific networks is performed by actors other than the scientists at the center of the network. Emphasizing the contributions of participants situated outside the realm of professional science, the ecological approach they argue for, "does not presuppose an epistemological primacy for any one viewpoint… The important questions concern the flow of objects and concepts through the network of participating allies and social worlds." (1999: 507). Such an approach, the authors assert, makes visible a "many-to-many mapping, where several obligatory points of passage are negotiated by several kinds of allies," (1999: 507) who are tied together not by consensus-seeking immutable mobiles, but by flexibly interpreted boundary objects.

Highlighting the capacity of boundary objects to coordinate the activity of actors across distinct sites, the authors explain them as scientific objects shared across several intersecting worlds, "satisfying the informational requirements of each. Boundary objects are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties deploying them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites… They have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable means of translation." (1999: 509). There is no need for a spokesperson to represent the united voices of the parties who are organized through boundary objects. Actors instead maintain the integrity of their own interests, and networks accommodate the diverse interests of those actors linked through them. More than representing the consent of the diverse parties interlinked together as a unified and ordered whole, networks here express the pragmatic will of such parties to coordinate their activities in the interest of advancing a particular, shared goal. Diverse social worlds may organize themselves around boundary objects, but their coherence is not one that necessarily predicts long-term stabilization or the durability of a particular vision of reality. The network's coherence here rather represents the intersection of social worlds and expresses the will to maintain social unity for sustained or short periods of time according to the needs of particular actors. And while relations here are not dependent on a spokesman, it is the capacity to unite the interests of its diverse actors and generate coherence between actors at all, even if briefly, that explains the network's

productivity. Such an account of network dynamics provide valuable insight into the dynamics of networks like that of Peru's FLOSS advocates for highlighting how technological innovation emerges not as the result of individual genius – of a lone Congressman, for instance -- but through the participation of multiple interlinked parties. These parties in the case of Peru's FLOSS advocacy network included not only Peruvian Congressmen, but civil society-based NGOs, independent coders and programmers, and government-employed technicians. Assuring that such groups continue to perform simultaneously as a network is key to the sustained advancement and audibility of FLOSS advocacy. Still, it is the value of constructing a common shared position between multiple actors that is stressed through boundary object accounts. The dynamicism and value captured in the range of *differences* expressed by network actors, like those participating in Peru's poly-vocal FLOSS network, however, is here crucially absent.

More recent research on networked organizations build on these theoretical foundations of networks as representative bodies, stressing how the spread of new information technologies allows diversely situated, geographically dispersed actors to act collectively in networked social formations. Research on the proliferation of FLOSS communities has in particular been influenced by the notion of networks as collective bodies that emerge from the diverse, individual interests of its participants. (e.g., Benkler, 2006; Coleman & Hill, 2004; Kelty, 2005; Lin, 2007; Weber, 2004)

Chris Kelty (2005) describes networks of geek socialities as both forms of representation that produce a language, folklore and technical code. Describing geeks as constituting a "recursive public", he writes that the diverse actors associated with geek communities -- including hackers, lawyers, activists, and IT entrepreneurs -- are networked together based on their shared concern for the legal and technical possibilities for their own association. Yuwei Lin (2007) similarly points to the productivity of diversity in FLOSS communities, writing that heterogeneity serves as "the resource that helps mobilise the FLOSS innovation [and that] drives diverse actors to re/define and practice the hacker culture they perceive differently." Coleman and Hill (2004) likewise point to the multiple social groups and interests that organize themselves around FLOSS technologies. That such diverse parties as large, transnational technology corporations, anti-corporate political activists, and technology hackers share a common interest in FLOSS demonstrates its ability to perform as an "iconic tactic," a strategic practice that is productive of other social and political practices. For Yochai Benkler, such diverse tactical uses of FLOSS are to be expected given that the networked information economy is built on the enhanced automony of individuals who are now given a "significantly greater role in authoring their own lives." (2006: 9). He, like Steven Weber, point to the surprising economic and technological productivity that results from the aggregate of independent, voluntary acts of dispersed individuals (Benkler, 2006; Weber, 2004).

These more recent framings of network dynamics frame networks as social formations that accommodate and even foster political diversity and cultivate new means of political expression. Rather than stabilizing reality these networks, much like Peru's poly-vocal FLOSS network, generate a plurality of discursive spaces and practices that call attention to new, still unrealized possibilities in law, economics, or culture. Networks here are not

only bodies that represent and "speak for" the collective of social and technical actors intertwined within them, but are bodies that also seek to express a collective will to challenge the conditions that structure contemporary life and to effect social and political change.

Such an attention to the productivity of networks in generating new cultural codes and discursive practices is echoed in the work of social movement theorist Alberto Melucci, who emphasizes the difficulty in identifying a single operational logic to networks. Using the diffuse, fragmented structure of contemporary forms of collective action as his network model, Melucci writes: "One notes the segmented, reticular, and multi-faceted structure of movements. This is a hidden, or more correctly, latent structure; individual cells operate on their own entirely independently of the rest of the movement, although they maintain links to it through the circulation of information... Solidarity is cultural in character and is located in the terrain of *symbolic production* of everyday life." (1996: 115) Constituted by a composite of diverse and potentially contradictory elements, networks here resist collapsing the plurality of their actors under a uniform body. Absent is a center of control or single explanatory axis. It is instead diverse, individually constituted goals that integrate themselves into and reinforce the network.

Networks here don't explain so much how social coordination or technological standardization are achieved, as how meaning can be extracted from the noise and cacophony of an ambiguous "symbolic field." Networks of collective actors operate not so much to distill or filter social ambiguity and complexity as to make such elements evident, and to unveil the taken-for-grantedness of naturalized categories. That social processes appear as standard and ordinary at all is an effect of political work that actors seek to reveal. "Bearing the banner on spontaneity, purity and immediacy of natural needs," Melucci asserts, "contemporary movements move to challenge the social and its reduction of differences to systemic normality." (1996: 96). Through their discursive generativity, network actors pronounce the artificiality of the natural, and make possible the recognition of the "abnormal" as potentially a normal production.

Such an attentiveness to networks as discursively productive -- and marked by their ability to create new cultural meanings as a means of contesting power and producing alternatives to dominant cultural meanings -- has similarly been expressed by Latin American cultural studies scholars. They stress that by advancing alternative concepts of civic identity, citizenship and democracy, social movements succeed in unsettling dominant cultural meanings and political narratives and ultimately create new public spaces for collective protest. (Alvarez, Dagnino, & Escobar, 1998; Canclini, 2001; Eckstein & Merino, 1998; Fox & Starn, 1997; Yudice, 1998) What these authors highlight are how network practices may operate to disrupt the dominant consensus, and destabilize what was established as "common sense" through their discursive productions.

Network formulations that is, have shifted away an approach to networks as bodies of political representation that express the unification of diverse actors' voices, and instead draw attention to the plurality of voices that emerge from and are fostered by networks.

Networks continue to serve as bodies that unite the social interests of diverse groups, but dependency on spokesmen is contingent rather than a given. In part, this can be explained by the fact that it is cultural change, and not primarily technological stabilization, that serve as organizing motivations of the poly-vocal network. Likewise, it is not the generation of a dominant, universalizable notion of truth and knowledge that network activities are channeled toward. Rather, participants' activity highlight what feminist science studies scholar Donna Haraway (1991) would call "situated knowledges." Such multiple, micro-knowledges, which frequently belong to those who have been denied political representation and privilege, insist on a form of "seeing from below" (1991: 192) that draw attention to the partiality of universalized notions of truth and in doing so, destabilize dominant conceptions of knowledge.

Indeed my analysis of Peru's poly-vocal network underscores that central to network performance is not merely the production and extension of the technological artifacts of FLOSS, but the production of new cultural meanings, discourses, and narratives that account for the technical and political value of FLOSS. Among the varied practices that Peru's advocates construct around FLOSS, it is the absence of a desire for a uniformed standardization, or a purposefully managed coherence that one notes. Their voices render visible the limitations of established social and technical practice, and highlight the potential to pursue new and distinct possibilities. Not surprisingly, the visibility of new alternatives likewise retains the potential to effect new, frequently unanticipated, repercussions. Perhaps what the unpredictability of these network effects make clear, then, is the utility of attending closely to the individual voices interlinked by networks, and of recognizing how network strength may be measured not merely in the degree to which uniform expression is achieved. Rather, its strength might be assessed instead in the degree to which such uniformity is undone and independence from the network spokesmen can be proclaimed.

There is little about the events that surrounded Proposition 1609 and its eventual passage as a technological neutrality law that incorporated elements from the array of FLOSS proposals that its Peruvian advocates consider inevitable. In asking Peru's advocates to reflect upon the outcomes of their efforts, it is a distinct lack of consensus that one hears about the degrees of success they achieved. Some, considering the long wait for the law's passage, the rejection of the other bills, and the altered language of the bill from obligating FLOSS' government use to obligating a stance of neutrality, lament that efforts among distinct parties could have been better coordinated. Antonio Ognio, for instance, tells me that, "We showed a great commitment and always supported with very specific goals… but we're lacking the time and conviction to sit down and talk about strategies and mid-term plans… We got the 'geek' community involved in politics… but we've failed to have it organized and go."

For others, however, it is the ability to have built and generated international publicity around the Peruvian efforts at all, that counts. Emphasizing the contribution made in simply having revealed new possibilities in social and technological conditions, Cesar

Cruz tells me, "Each effort we made… was important. [B]ecause even if the bill hadn't passed, we've managed to make people pay attention to us and Linux… The principal thing in this moment is that each time more people know that there exist options, because before, everyone believed that Microsoft is the only technology, which just isn't true."

Filtering distinct events, effects and intentions, the incongruencies between network actors' modes of reassessment demonstrate the resistance to, or perhaps impossibility of, having any single explanatory account imposed upon the network. For in the case of Peru's FLOSS legislation, the network operates not so much in the interest of standardizing expression, meaning and practice, but functions to generate a multiplicity of stories around FLOSS that are themselves expressed in a heterogeneity of forms. Some such stories, as Villanueva's letter, travel widely and freely beyond the scope of their producers, adopted by other audiences, and serving as a catalyst for new modes of practice and analysis. Crucially, as well, the production and dissemination of such narratives becomes revealed as collective, distributed act, in which multiple parties independently participate and contribute to effects that they are only partly to credit for, and that they only partially control.

That these isolated explanations of activity on the network appear incomplete and unfinished, necessarily referencing other autonomous streams of activity in the network to explain themselves, however, is a sign that we may need to diversify our own theoretical accounts of network productivities. For Peru's poly-vocal FLOSS network urges us to consider the disparate meanings and discursive practices that flow around FLOSS as central to a network's performance. It prompts us to consider how it is not merely the production and extension of new technological artifacts like FLOSS that the strength of a network depends on, but also the production of new cultural meanings and narratives on which such durability depend. It reveals, in other words, how networks may function powerfully not just through their technological innovativeness and scientific productivity, but through a cultural and discursive productivity that, however, disordered, non-coordinated, and cacophonous, may nonetheless produce wider political effects. And it demonstrates how such productivity may be generated, even after having retired the network's spokesman.

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* Chapter Five / Re-Coding Identity: Free Software, Free Selves, and the Politics of Play in Peru

Antonio Ognio, a 27-year-old Peruvian programmer living in his country's capital city Lima, recalls his early days as a free software novice in the late 1990s. He had been vaguely aware of a growing alternative to Microsoft's Windows operating system, called Linux, from taking software engineering classes at a local university. But, as he puts it, at that point, "All I got about Linux [from my university classes] was me and my friends crashing a small PC by coding very bad C programs while learning about the fork command." His curiosity about the then-relatively obscure free software phenomena wasn't really piqued until he opened a copy of Wired magazine and saw some screen shots, published within the glossy pages, of one of the popular desktop environments available as free software, Gnome. "I was amazed. I knew nothing about free software then. I guess I was aware of the existence of Linux but had no clue it was free, especially [free] as in [freedom of] speech. I just started feeling I *had* to have that cute desktop running in my home computer ASAP. I guess the art was cool but I'd say the challenge of going into this whole new hacker-ish world was so exciting." He remembers immediately boarding a bus headed for downtown Lima where he purchased a disk of free software for three dollars that he installed on a home computer. "You had me that day's night and the next day and the next day learning about partitions, boot managers, devices, packages, shells, tarballs, sources and stuff."

By the time I met him a few years later in December 2002, Antonio was already well into having become an avid free software user and programmer. He had not only switched his own computer's software from Microsoft's Windows to free software applications, but he was contributing code to a number of free software coding projects, including Apache, the popular free software server application, and Gnome. By then, he was also a part of a group of Lima-based free software users who had begun to collaborate with government officials to sponsor free software legislation, and who had come to press for the state's mandatory adoption of free software in public offices. Working with organizations such as the Peruvian Linux Users Group[3] (PLUG) and the Peruvian Association of Free Software[4] (APESOL), such free software activists played crucial roles in realizing the introduction of one of the first pieces of national legislation for free software's use in government. Similar legislative movements had begun in a handful of other Latin American nations at the time, including Brazil and Argentina. But it was the efforts in Peru that uniquely garnered the most intense degree of international publicity and scrutiny. And it was Peru's government alone among all the other Latin American nations that had began to push for legislation, that later received a well-timed donation from the Microsoft corporation in the summer of 2002, a few months after the Peruvian Congress had begun to consider the bill.

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[3] The PLUG's website: http://www.linux.org.pe/.
[4] APESOL's website: http://www.apesol.org/.

The transition from being an enthusiastic user and coder of free software to becoming an equally enthusiastic political activist for the government's mandatory adoption of it, was not a transformation that many of the Peruvian free software users I spoke to would have predicted they would have undergone. As students and professionals working with software and computers, their initial introduction to and interaction with free software had been as an exciting and even irresistible personal challenge, as an opportunity to tinker and experiment, and as new project to explore and play with. Working with free software opened up new bodies of code that would have previously been unavailable to users with closed, proprietary applications' code. Such new, unrestricted accessibilities made possible a seemingly endless range of coding play that had been simply impossible before. That individual engagements with free software would lead users, however, beyond the realm of the supposedly innocent, self-contained and technologically-oriented play to an explicitly social, politicized mode of action was something that by users' own accounts, defied their expectations. Further, such a turn to building political alliances was a development that seemed for free software proponents in the U.S. and West – who had seen their user base expand without aid from government -- to be the most non-sensical activity that free software could pursue. (Chan, 2004; Coleman, 2004)

And yet theorists of play practices have long suggested the latent power behind periods of play. Defining "play spaces" as a separate realm between those of the individual's internal psychic experience and the external social world, psychoanalyst David Winnicott conceived of play spaces as a transitional ground between an individual's subjective reality and the external, objective world. Within such a space, the individual would be have the freedom to engage in a kind of creative "reality testing" whose result could be to enhance his/her ability to "recognize and accept reality." (Winnicott, 1971, 3) More than merely existing as a space that allowed an individual to come to terms with, and adjust the self to a "real" social world, however, Winnicott suggests that play itself was intermeshed within circuits of potentiality and creativity that could serve more purposes than simply aiding the uncoached psyche how to cope with a distinct reality. Kindling such unrestrained energy, play functions as a practice that only barely manages to contain and direct itself towards a synchronization between and assimilation of the subjective and external worlds. Or as he writes, "Play is immensely exciting. It is exciting not primarily because the instincts are involved, be it understood! The thing about playing is always the precariousness about the interplay of personal psychic reality and experience of control of actual objects. This is the precariousness of magic itself, magic that arises in intimacy, in a relationship that is found to be reliable." (p. 47) Play, by his formulation, operates through the unleashing of an indeterminate, dynamic body of forces that may be channeled for purposes of individual, self-adaptation, but only with a considerable degree of uncertainty.

Such an attention to the contingencies of play's transformative potential informs Sherry Turkle's analysis of play in digital spaces. Her exploration of individual self-constructions and self-extensions into cyberspace emphasizes the very power of play to compel and inspire change in the offline world. (1995, 2004) Within the practices of building and playing virtual personae, interacting in online communities, and engaging in online multi-player games, lies the possibility of using the virtual to reflect critically upon

both the self and the real. As she writes, "Cyberspace opens up the possibility for identity play, but it is very serious play. People who cultivate an awareness of what stands behind their screen personae are the ones most likely to succeed in suing virtual experience for personal and social transformation." (2004, 22). Cyberplay, then, may make possible the emergence of a crucial body of questions for the individual to pose to him/herself about the very nature of existence, including, "What does my behavior in cyberspace tell me about what I want, who I am, what I may not be getting in the rest of my life?" Yet if play's potentiality lays in its ability to make such questions evident and present for the individual, is a highly contingent one by Turkle's account. For there is no external force that guarantees either that such questions will become evident, or that they will be answered in a way that will bring the self into a stable, secure alliance with the real.

It is precisely the unpredictability of play and the volatility of its potential that drives its capacity to transform what would otherwise be an individual's self-contained experience of exploration and tinkering, into a collective experience of resistance and political opposition. Within play's space of transition – and space of liminality in Victor Turner's formulation of the term (1967) – large amounts of invisible transformative work are being done. The individual self must come to recognize the external world as that which is distinct from his or her own individual reality, he or she must come to accept such differences, the self must come to identify what transformations must take place in order to reconcile such differences between the internal and external experiences, and must ultimately undertake the project of adjustment in order to reconcile such incommeasurate spaces. Play, reconsidered under psychoanalytic terms, is revealed to be about far more than simply fun and games. It is, indeed, as Turkle reminds us, a deeply serious engagement, which can have at its stake, relationships between the self to personal practice, the self to the social, and the individual to the political.

That Peruvian free software programmers' initial engagements with free software as an object of playful exploration, individual experimentation, and self-exploration, could lead them to collective forms of political action, then, is perhaps one of the most natural byproducts of play. For embedded within play practices is not merely the capacity to recognize the real as a space that the self should justifiably be reshaped for, but is the potential as well to recognize the real as a space that itself is in need of reshaping. The transformative potential of play may be experienced by the self, then, but may not bear its only -- or even most powerful impact – there, as the personal narratives of Peruvian free software users-turned-activists attest to.

Beyond Boredom: Play, Personal Potential, and Discovering Choice

Antonio Ognio now owns his own Lima-based business operating and offering services with Linux servers. It is a business he spends many daily hours, and nearly everyday of his week attending in one aspect or another to. For the last two years, however, much of his free time has been spent helping to generate publicity, on both a regional and international scale, around Peru's free software bill. Serving as one of the central coordinators for the PLUG, he's been interviewed on domestic news radio shows and by

multiple technology-centered news outfits in the U.S. about the Peruvian bill, he's helped organize and spoken at several international conferences dedicated to free software and Latin American governments (one of which was funded primarily by UNESCO), and has spent several afternoons passing out pro-free software fliers and posters on the streets of Lima. Despite the long – and undeniably unpredictable hours of work demanded by the publicity efforts for the free software bill – it is work that he volunteers his labor, freely and without pay, for.

When I first speak to him, it is in reference to his various activities that have effectively generated international visibility for the legislation in Peru, and to probe the question of what it is that drives him to dedicate so much of his energy, time, and on occasion even personal savings, toward free software. We are not more than 15 minutes into our first conversation together when he describes what he reads as free software's dramatic impact upon his life, and his own image of himself. He tells me, "[When] I was facing an urgent need to reinvent myself, [free software] helped me do it… [Free software] was absolutely key to re-inventing myself into some sort of free software/Linux-aware network entrepreneur." When I ask him to elaborate on how he saw free software are helping him to "reinvent" himself, he responds by saying, "By letting me materialize my goals and dreams. That simply."

To explain further, he draws me back into his past only a few years, when he was a 22-year-old university student in software engineering who was finding himself barely able to sustain an interest in his classes. Feeling under-challenged and uninspired by his university experience, the prospect of realizing a successful future career in computers was something that then seemed a near impossibility to him. As he put it, "I was getting extremely bored with university. I had excelled in a C programming [language] course, had also wonderful grades in a SQL[5] course, and was considered a good programmer among my friends. But I was very aware that I knew too little about computers then. The [university] credentials were useless to me. I started to realize there was so much to learn about computers -- networking, real-world programming, and not just RAD[6] toying. I tried to get interested… but was fed up with theoretical IT (information technology) courses like software engineering and object-oriented-analysis and design. It was a very strange feeling. On one hand I was amazed with the kind of perception you could get if you were reading [information-technology publications like] Object Magazine by 1998 and on the other hand I was sick with the courses. They were so boring… and made me want to quit."

Part of his frustration with his university classes was his sense of being strictly prohibited from undertaking certain projects and achieving particular goals through them. He recalls being explicitly discouraged from pursuing more advanced level programming skills by authorities within the school: "I was told at university that operating-system-level

5 SQL stands for "Structured Query Language," a popular programming language used to build databases.

6 RAD stands for "Rapid Application Development," which refers to a set of software applications and development methods typically used build software prototypes, and to deliver those prototypes under fast deadlines. The use of RAD tools is typically thought of as a practice oriented to generating corporate solutions.

programming was not for us. We [were told we] should better excel a RAD tool and get to know enough business administration to make a transition to a less technical job after a short career as a technician. I clearly remember my dean telling us 'not to dream' to be working with Bill [Gates] in Redmond but to focus on solving enterprise problems. [But] *of course* I dreamed to be great programmer, and learn a lot about software... If you think you're smart, why not think you can learn enough about networking as to know the kind of 'secrets' hackers know."

Feeling restricted, confined and disappointed within the university system, Antonio remembers making the decision to leave his university program in Lima and move back home with his family in the coastal city of Ica, some 300 kilometers outside of the capital city. Jobless, out of school, and feeling undirected, he describes that he still nonetheless nursed a vague plan of eventually being able to found his own technology-centered business. Such hopes, however, were much to the chagrin of his father, a doctor, and his mother, a bank clerk, both of whom worked full-time positions: "To make it pretty clear, they were *really* disappointed when I left the engineering school. I took me about a year to get a job. And about two more years to make a living out of Linux and free software. One fight I had to fight with them [was because] they believed that starting a business here in Peru was a bit crazy, because of the country's [economic] instabilities and stuff like that."

He stressed that part of his family's disappointment also laid in their hope that he would carry on a family -- and regionally supported – tradition of a career in medicine. In a nation struggling with pronounced economic instabilities, both his father and cousin had managed to build successful and relatively stable livings as a doctor and surgeon respectively. And with neither a job nor future plan for employment when he returned home, such a future of stable and secure employment appeared as a dim prospect in the technology industry for Antonio. As he confessed to me, "Of course my dad and my cousin were a bit disappointed when I picked computers instead of medicine… It is [also] believed that the university in my hometown has a good faculty of medicine. So if I had studied medicine there I would have been a big financial relief for my parents." Despite the expectations and pressures from his family, however, Antonio described a pointed awareness of his own drive and passion for working with technological, rather than human bodies: "I just didn't take up medicine because the business and computer side was too appealing…And also because I'm just *terrible* with my hands other than typing -- so it would have been a bit criminal from my part to go for a medicine career perfectly being aware I'd had to try my hand as a surgeon more often than I had wanted." He explicitly mentioned however, that within months of his returning home, that his father too – for the first time in his medical career- lost his job. By Antonio's account, even the most stable-seeming of professions in Peru could no longer be taken for granted as such: "My parents' wanted me to have some time to 'think things over well [rather than pursue computers]. But suddenly my dad lost his job and now he couldn't even afford to pay the university bills. So [unemployment] wasn't just a matter of indecision. It became a financial problem too."

He recalls spending his next year and a half in Ica unemployed and isolated from any technologically-oriented community that he had had in university. But it was during that time that his tinkering and experimentation with free software systems and code began to become a routine and increasingly frequent part of his day: "That was basically the time I used to teach myself Linux and especially PHP[7] [language] programming, [which is a free software web-page programming language]... I got amazed by a language that would let me code ASP[8] pages but with a C-like language, so I wanted to pick up PHP and Linux immediately and focused on building database-driven dynamic websites with FOSS (Free and Open Source Software) technology." He explained that he would spend much of his day in local Internet cafés, called Cabina Internets in Peru. With spare, utilitarian-oriented interiors that pack the maximum number of desktop units as the space will permit, and that resemble make-shift computer rooms more than a warmly-lit Starbuck's lounge, it's there that online access can be purchased for less than $1 US per hour. By Antonio's account, they're not spaces that are necessarily "comfortable... But for very little money for the hour you can get online... [and] here in Peru, it's how the Internet is getting to the masses."

He recalls as well that he would carry a pack of 40 floppy disks him "just about everywhere" that he would use to store programs and projects he was working on. Stored on a few of them was code that he could use to boot up a Linux partition on cabina computers. Spending his days using the equipment of the local cabina, he would experiment with and learn about Linux-based programming. While picking up more Linux coding skills, he also would contract his skills to do various small coding jobs, as he explained, "so I would have money to pay for my Internet time."

It was during that period, as well, that he first began to volunteer his programming skills towards a free software-based project, and started to contribute code to a windows manager application known as Enlightenment. As he explains, "I had more free time in those days and I wanted to learn the mechanics of being a free software developer, so I dedicated myself to helping to develop the Enlightenment window manager. I was a big Enlightenment fan at the time and The Rasterman and Geoff 'Mandrake' Harrison (two leading free software programmers) were my idols then... [So] in the floppies I carried source tarballs, RPMs[9], and lots of Linux [code] for [Enlightenment desktop] 'themes'. ... [I spent my days], you know, learning about how the mailing lists works, what are the 'patches,' about code versioning and CVS[10] repositories, about feature request, bug splashing, API (Application Program Interface) design, and very nice stuff like that."

A number of his contributions can still be accessed from the online archives of freshmeat.com, a repository of code and projects for a range of free software applications. One early design for an Enlightenment theme that he had "hacked from scratch" that

[7] PHP originally stood for "Personal Home Page," and is a general-purpose, free software scripting language widely used for Web development. It is the free software alternative to Microsoft's ASP language.

[8] ASP stands for "Active Server Pages." It is a Microsoft technology for displaying dynamic web pages.

[9] RPM stands for "RedHat Package Manager," and is a storage file for Linux programs.

[10] CVS stands for "Concurrent Versions System," a system that allows you to archive old source code and log changes.

featured opaque windows and blocked icons, was developed to mimic the desktop environment of NextStep, a Unix-based operating system founded by Apple Computer's Steve Jobs.[i] A more conventional desktop design of his cleanly displayed various desktop windows against a grey background.[ii] Recalling his early days when he first began learning about, exploring, and coding for free software projects, his descriptions begin to sound nostalgic: "[Enlightenment] was a very famous free software project those days. Now it's almost gone. It was all about making Linux and X-Windows look damn cool. I loved using all that spare time I had then mastering the art of programming [for it]. And part of it too, of course, was that I wanted to 'give back' [to the project by contributing code to it.]"

Despite experiencing his early experimentations with free software and Linux as a time of personal growth, freedom and creativity, Antonio recalls that his parents nonetheless continued encouraging him to fine "real" work." They explicitly discouraged him from pursuing what appeared to them to be idle tinkering with code, that he worse yet, wasn't even being paid for: "My parents wanted to make me do something more 'productive'... They thought then I had wasted their money and they weren't encouraging me in my Linux studies... They just weren't going to believe the tales I started to tell about coming back to Lima and selling Linux services to the enterprises and building dynamic websites for big media customers like the major newspapers and TV channels... I had a wonderful chance to learn about free software and was learning a lot that year... but my parents weren't going to pay for the Internet and let me spent hours and hours doing something they couldn't understand." He remembers one particular incident when he was admonished by his parents who had mistakenly thought he had broken their home computer when it began outputting pages of compiling code on the screen: "I guess I shouldn't have left the computer compiling the latest sources of Enlightenment from CVS. Since GNU (source code) compiler's[11] output is pretty ugly, a screen full of hieroglyphics got my dad very worried."

Despite his parents' admonishment, he describes his own growing conviction that his free software experiments would benefit him in more concrete ways. As crucial was his firm belief that it would allow him to realize possibilities that had seemed, and that others had insisted to him were, simply impossible: "It, [finding free software], was like finding the hidden treasure. I had spent months wondering where to find the source code to compression algorithms, network protocols and stuff like that. I was so blind that I thought that they only existed as intellectual property of software corporations. Having the source code in my hands and reading the General Public License, [one of the most popular licenses for free software applications], was like a crystal ball to me. I knew it was a matter of time before I'd make something of it."

Discovering free software further seemed to abolish the artificial restrictions and limitations that his university education had erected for programmers in Peru. He adds, "Linux was *exactly* the opposite of what my dean said was impossible: having the core of

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[11] A compiler is a software program that converts a coder's source code into digital binary language that a computer can read. Once compiled, code is less easily "readable" by its coder, and appears even less intelligible, as Ognio mentions, to non-coders like his parents.

the operating system, helping build the platform that millions of people will be using... Linux put me quickly in contact with all of that stuff; programming, networking, security. I switched my role model from [Microsoft's] Billborg to [Enlightenment's] The Rasterman in weeks."

Interpreting free software as a foundation on which he could envision and imagine building his future in a way that he had not been able to do before, Antonio asserted, "In the exact days I was picking Linux I was also picking all the 'parts' for my business." Having decided that his future business would be centered on offering services in free software -- including building servers, web pages, networks, and data base systems for Linux -- he dedicated his earnings from his contract work toward establishing a foundation for it. As he recounts, "The confidence of my parents started very slowly to come back when they started seeing me take a bus back to Lima several times doing short IT services. That's how I got the money to found my company, and to finance all the legal paperwork and that kind of stuff for it.

Some four years later, Antonio's company, Peruserver, has grown to a modest but dedicated staff of a half dozen coders, who share an office in the elite Miraflores section of Lima. Proudly, Antonio asserts that, "Now I've totally regained [my parents'] confidence in me... And that's something I personally owe in part to free software...Being able to invent my own business, have some employees, get a bit recognition among my colleagues and stuff like that has been an important goal achieved."

For Antonio, playing with free software became a way of interrogating himself, of reflecting upon his goals, his values, and his present mode of being and learning. But it also became a means for him to interrogate his future and his future potential as entities that were being projected for him by the external world. His frustration and lack of inspiration from a university environment, and his dean's warning, then, that he not "dream" of becoming an advanced level programmer – one who might even join the development team of a large IT corporations like Microsoft – were not experienced as entities to merely accept and assent to. They become for him, rather, moments of apprehending a future that was projected for him but that he felt fundamentally and passionately was not really his own. They were moments, in other words, when he was able to recognize his own misrecognition in the Lacanian formulation of the term (Lacan, 2002; Weber, 1991). And they were instances as well when he could, much like Lacan's pre-subjugated child, interrogate what he was being told he should be, and could critically ask instead, "You are telling me this, but why?" (1998) The school's, dean's, and even his family's prescriptions thus came to be experienced by Antonio as prohibitionary directives that not only would keep him from pursuing alternative possibilities, but would keep him too from realizing what he sensed was his own true potential.

By his contemporary account, free software gave him what he called a "crystal ball" through which his future suddenly became visible for him. Narrating his past prior to his discovery and experimentation with free software was for him, then, to describe a time

when he saw himself as being "blind." His particular invocation of a notion of future vision and visibility that could be achieved, and of past blindness as experienced, assume particularly loaded valances in his self-narration. It is as if it was only through his encounter with free software that he was able to recognize, and possess, a future, and as if before such a time, he had been too blind to even see the possible futures that he could have been his.

Experimenting with free software thus became for him a mode of both recognizing, rejecting and freeing himself from the limitations he read as being externally imposed on him. And it became a way for him too, to realize possibilities that had previously been typed as impossible for him. It was not, in other words, only the work of self-diagnosis that was assumed by Antonio within the space of play. For undertaken as well, was an exercise of institutional and social diagnosis and critique. Apprehending the incommeasurability between his own internal projections of self and the external prescriptions he was given, Antonio experiences the realm of play with free software as a dramatically and necessarily transformative space. It is one that afforded him a space to re-"invent himself" into the kind of individual he had imagined himself as and "dreamed" of becoming, but that he had been warned against pursuing. And it was a space, crucially as well, that he came to see as enabling him to achieve a kind of redemption for the parents whose respect and trust he had never wanted to lose.

As much as such a realm of play yields an opportunity for a reshaping of the self, however, it renders too an opportunity (and perhaps even more, a demand) for a reshaping of the external, social world. Indeed, confining the dynamics of transformation that are generated through play to the self alone would seem to be anything but a natural process by Peruvian free software coders' accounts. Such acts of confinement indeed, reveal themselves to be an altogether constructed and controlled process that would require intense degrees of labor to secure.

Software Choice and the Practice of Self

Fernando Gutierrez, a 21-year-old student in Systems Engineering, played an indispensable role in the publicity efforts surrounding the Peruvian free software legislation. He and several friends, all members of mostly-student-based Linux users' organization, Pimiento, had built and maintained the web servers that distributed news and documentation around the Peruvian bill. They also volunteered their efforts to respond to the hundreds of free software supporters who contacted the group in regards to the bill. And they later worked to coordinate the waves of supporters who in turn volunteered to translate the Spanish-language documentation for the Peruvian free software bill into over two dozen different languages.

Two years before these efforts began however, Fernando was a second-year student in systems engineering, who had only just started experimenting with free software applications. He recalls in fact, that it was another friend of his, Breno Colom, who eventually would help to found the Pimiento organization, that had first began toying

with the Debian distribution of Linux, and who had then passed it on to his friends: "We became my friend playing Dungeons and Dragons… His dad had an office near my house, we went there almost always to talk, to play with the computers, stuff like that. One day he told us that he had installed Linux on his computer, we tried it and he gave us the copies. We had always been interested in computers of course, so it was like a challenge to us, to start with a new operating system. At first it was sort of a challenge to see who did this first, or who could make MPlayer[12] work, or who configured this or that correctly. Little things, really more for fun."

Fernando recalls experimenting with several different versions of Linux in the next couple of months, trying Red Hat after Debian, then switching over to Slackware and finally settling on the Gentoo Linux distribution. His afternoons would often be spent with his university friends tinkering and exploring the various features of each distinct distribution. Increasingly, however, his after-school experimentations with Linux and free software began feeding back onto his reflections on the university's own technological capacities and allowances.

As Fernando recalls, "We began to see that at the university, we don't have much space for Linux, and they are all stuck with Microsoft, so that using Linux for some things becomes difficult... We saw Linux in only two or three courses… Generally in the OS (operating systems) course, then around database server aspects, and web server ones. [But] we are very limited. Because out of the 30 or so computer labs we have, we are restricted to only two rooms with Linux or another [non-Windows] operating system installed. The only active stuff the University offers around Linux is a bad mailing list."

Elaborating, Fernando describes his experience of discrimination and prohibition in technological choice through the university's administration and design of a virtual classroom website. Such a site was intended to be a space for use by students and teachers, where assignments, materials and discussions for various classes could be digitally conducted and archived. As he explains, "We have to send home work assignments and that sort of thing through it, but it can only be accessed with [Microsoft's] Internet Explorer browser. We have been insisting to the one in charge of the project to modify it so we can access it from Linux, or even from [Linux's] Opera browser for Windows, but they always tell us to use IE. They didn't give us the option to choose from!"

He recalls being one of five students who helped prepare a letter asking for the virtual class system to be redesigned to allow students who were using non-Windows operating systems and software to be able to have equal access and ease-of-use of it. They presented their letter and their case to the head of online services at the university, but without convincing him to add alterations to the site. Reflecting on their inability to affect a change in the university's policy, Fernando emphasizes the need for a larger internal, student-based mobilization to demand reform: "We would like to change things, but we

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[12] Mplayer is a movie and animation player originally designed for Linux and Unix operating systems.

don't have much support. We have to get more people to use Linux… We definitively need more people in this movement in order to be taken seriously."

He laments that in his university's student body, too few students have tried Linux, and an even fewer number use it on any regular basis. He confesses, "Mainly we were a group of five friends who were trying to spread Linux inside the student body." It was precisely such a realization that inspired Fernando and his group of Linux-using friends to begin more explicitly public attempts at educating and organizing students as advocacy for free software. The group began speaking to students in the university halls and contributed articles to the university paper that argued for free software support within the university. They also began considering organizing a larger conference around free software that would be targeted for university students. As Fernando recalls his impulse for the idea, "In that time, I had a friend who was the student representative for the faculty, so I asked her to talk with the dean about our project. I gave her all the documentation and asked her to discuss the use of the auditorium of the faculty to give an informative conference. The permission was denied, on account of the auditorium already being in use by other faculty for a conference."

Undiscouraged by the administration's unresponsiveness, the group started distributing copies of Linux CD's inside the university in the free-software tradition of a "2x1" exchange. Under the model, a copy of a Linux CD could be exchanged without charge to a user for two blank CD's that could then be used to make new copies of Linux CD's, and that would be redistributed to new students. Describing the effect the group has had on student awareness of free software, Fernando tells me, "It's a bit difficult but we have made progress. Maybe a year ago, we were the only five [who cared about free software], now we've gotten it so that there are more than 40 students that have at least tried Linux. And they started a pyramid in the way of distribution since they each had to teach two other students how to use Linux."

When asked why he dedicates so much of his work and time to his university-based advocacy for free software, Fernando emphasizes both a practical and political necessity to making technological choices visible to students. He insists, "We learn more with Linux, but we also have the *right* to use it… It's firstly a matter of knowing the option of Free Software… They are already using it in the companies where we are going to work in the future, so it's a thing we *must* learn. And we are in the University for that, to learn about the best options in the market! We can't go out there and when our bosses tell us to maintain a Linux server tell them that the University didn't teach us how to do that."

When I ask him to elaborate on what he experienced as the difference between "learning" on free software and closed, proprietary software systems like Microsoft's Windows, he stresses again the centrality of a student's technological choice and control over such choices. Even when the availability of such choices when coding with free software has complicated his own projects, Fernando insists that encountering such challenges only enhanced his ability to learn. He tells me, "The advantage of [free software] is learning more than one way to do things… Like in a theory of languages and compilers assignment I had, I decided to develop it in Linux. It was ten times more difficult than

just using [Microsoft's] Visual Studio, but in the process I learned ten times more things than the other students. My teacher didn't see the effort, he just gave me a [standard grade] for my work, just like a lot of other students. I spent much more time in it, but that didn't matter for him. It seemed unfair but, well, I got a personal reward from it."

The experience of his university's lack of receptivity to an alternative technology that Fernando insists is a necessity for students' education and professional progress, however, has cultivated and intensified a questioning of the administration's authority over student education. He expresses such doubt, for instance, when he tells me that "Generally, the majority of [the administration] doesn't know a thing about Linux or free software, and they say that they encourage the students to do research but the truth is that they don't... There are some teachers who congratulate their students for researching free software on their own of course. [But] I think that some teachers are afraid of the Free Software, just as old men are afraid of new technologies or new ways of doing things that are used to do only in one way."

His faith in the authority and leadership of the university administration was only corroded when, shortly after the introduction of the free software bill to the Peruvian Congress, the university signed a service contact with Microsoft. By the terms of the agreement, the university would integrate courses on programming for Microsoft's Office suite in exchange for discounted license fees. By Fernando's account, the contact was intended to curtail the progress of free software education within university classes: "The contract was not free to look for everyone to look at, but... We think that they tried to stop the free software movement... It was like a cold shower for us. We were very happy about the coverage [the free software bill was receiving], and really thought that we could win this one, then came the contract of the university with Microsoft."

The actions of the university, however, only intensified Fernando's conviction that the free-software-education efforts of student activists like himself were necessary. Following the introduction of the free software bill to the Peruvian congress, Fernando began postering campus walls with flyers designed by several of the Lima-based free software organizations, including the PLUG, that voiced support of the bill. Other students, he recalled, volunteered to assist with the postering efforts after learning about the bill: "It was in the middle of the news climax when we realized that the people inside the university was talking about it, the poster thing got their attention, it was the perfect time to begin with some more active work... I do not agree with the politics of the university, signing exclusive contracts with Microsoft and closing the doors to Linux and free software in general. I think that the Free Software option is part of the future of computers, and if we are going to work with computers all our lives we need to know about it. For me it's just incredible that a student of system engineering of the fourth year wouldn't know a thing about Linux."

I ask him if that's why he began such intense efforts to promote the free software legislation within the university's campus so ardently, to which he replied, "The problem is that we wouldn't need a law if the people were conscious that they don't have to use proprietary software, that there is an option to that, but since they don't know about it

they have to find solutions to their problems. So, in order to start using free software in the government, and in the private companies we need professionals that can handle it. I regret to say that there is not one University in Peru that prepares their students to use free software. So if the teachers don't teach their students in that way, maybe a student himself can start changing things. That was what made us decide to start the activism movement in favor of Linux inside the student body."

For Fernando, playing with free software began as an exciting new social activity shared with several friends, and as a personal challenge to master a new technical system. Crucially, such experiments with free software were experienced as activities that dramatically enhanced his capacity to question and learn. Central to such an experience, he repeatedly insisted, was the capacity to suddenly realize new technical choices, options and possibilities where none had seemed present (or at least evident) before.

Experiencing such a lack of restriction in his playful engagements with free software, however, revealed a very explicit presence of limitations around him in the real world. If it was an unrestrained freedom and creativity that he was able to experience through his tinkering with free software, within the programming classes of his university, it was instead a highly controlled and constrained approach to coding that he suddenly felt was imposed upon him. Such an approach, by his account, served to prohibit and extinguish choice and the new possibilities that could be achieved via new alternatives. Worse yet, for him, was that they extinguished not merely the practical ability to make such choices, but that they extinguished possibilities for knowing that distinctly new alternatives existed altogether.

Indeed, for Fernando, experimenting with free software became an experience that centered on recognizing and exercising individual choice. And it was an experience that, once having opened an opportunity for choice to be made, brought him to a conviction that it was precisely a choice that he and students like him could not afford *not* to make.[13] Convinced that one learned best when allowed the capacity to consider new alternatives and enact decisions around such alternatives, his university's lack of accommodation of technological options appeared to him to counteract the very mission and obligation to education. If prior to his experimentations with free software, then, the university's exclusive support of Windows and proprietary software systems could have been taken for granted as a decision intended to facilitate students' education, following his experience of tinkering with free software, such administrative policies became visible instead as ones that would inhibit the intellectual and profession development of students, and prohibit precisely the possibility of their realizing their personal potentials.

To engage with free software play, then, allowed Fernando to explicitly encounter the decision-making authority of the university administration, and allowed him - within such

[13] In the fall of 2004, Fernando and other students who had advocated free software use inside the Universidad de Lima founded the Study Circle ULIX (Grupo de Usarios de Linux/BSD/UNIX de la Universidad de Lima, http://aurealsys.com/~ulix/). The group's recent activities include building a network, or cluster, of Linux computers for university use, meetings with the university's computer science and engineering professors on supporting and incorporating Linux use, and planning a university-centered conference on free software with members of local Linux user groups, including the PLUG.

an encounter - to interrogate the basis of educational authority. Narrating his experience with free software was not merely a means for him to recount an experience of personal progress and intellectual development, but became for him a way of narrating a realization of individual rights and the obligations of social institutions to accommodate such rights. It was an experience, in other words, that would allow him to produce, with unwavering conviction and insistence that students both "learn more with Linux, [and]... also have the *right* to use it." Personal transformation – in his own imagination, from an individual lacking technological and educational choice to one with unrestricted choice, and from a person with limited capacity to learn to one with enhanced abilities – certainly figured into Fernando's experience of play with free software. But the residues of play do not end there. For as much as his free software play compelled a process of identity transformation, so too did it produce and compel something more. Exceeding the boundaries of the self, the forces of play revealed too a need to reshape a prohibitive and inhibiting social world into a realm where new potentials and alternative modes of being could be imagined as possible.

The Danger of Play

Victor Turner's exposition on states and liminality gives us one model for thinking through precisely the power of play as a liminal and transitional space. Examining rites of passage among the Ndembu tribe, Turner emphasized an intensity of energies that were enmeshed within the liminal space between the state of childhood and adulthood, telling us: "Liminality may perhaps be regarded as the Nay to all positive structural assertions, but in some sense the source of them all, and, more than that, as a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise." (Turner, 1969, 97) Saturated with an excess of meaning and potential that's impossible be contained within either the identity that was once had, or the identity that is to be had, the liminal personae comes to be regarded as a polluting entity. (Douglas, 1966) By Turner's formulation, then, liminality is a state that allows for a dis-ordering and denaturalization of things that -- outside of the liminal state -- could typically be safely taken for granted. Unless carefully controlled, vigilantly governed, the liminal being as a concentration of such disordering energy, threatens to destabilize the realities that surround him.

Indeed, Turner makes explicit the profound disciplinary work that is required of the tribe in order to manage the experience of liminality. As he describes, likenesses of monsters in masks are summoned to provoke the liminal being into thinking and reflecting about objects, persons, relationships, and features of their environment that they might otherwise have taken for granted, and to explicitly compel their recognition as powers that generate and sustain subjects. The transformative potential of the liminal stage is thus a deeply ambivalent entity. Closely controlled, it may be harnessed to affirm and strengthen an individual's prescribed identity in society. And yet, unleashing a dynamic array of forces, it also reveals the possibility of multiple alternative modes of existing. As Turner describes it: "Liminality is the realm of primitive hypothesis, where there is a certain freedom to juggle with the factors of existence... There is a promiscuous intermingling and juxtaposing of the categories of event, experience and knowledge, with a pedagogic intention. But this liberty has narrow limits. The neophytes return to a

secular society with more alert faculties perhaps and enhanced knowledge of how things work, but they have to become once more subject to custom and law… They are shown that ways of acting and thinking alternative to those laid down by the deities or ancestors are ultimately unworkable and may have disastrous consequences." (106)

Turner draws our attention then to the simultaneous productivity and danger of play. Through it, an individual may emerge prepared to embrace the role pre-assigned for her/him in the immediate social world. Just as likely, however, is the potential that the unmanaged liminal space would produce an individual who, having suddenly encountered a full spectrum of alternative modes of being that indeed are possible, would reject the single future pre-chosen for her/him.

It is indeed precisely the unpredictable and volatile nature of play that Turner so intricately describes that propels its ability destabilize what would otherwise be an individual's self-contained experience of exploration and social integration. For latent within the practice of play is a capacity to produce an encounter with alternative possible futures than that intended, and a resistance and opposition to that privileged as the single proper mode of being. Aware through their play practices that such alternative modes of existence may be possible, the Peruvian free software programmers begin to experience the projection of their intended futures by authorities in their lives as both prohibitive and self-inhibiting. Further, the personal and professional futures that they were told should have legitimately been their own begin to appear to them, instead, as themselves threatening, self-destructive, and even socially dangerous. To explicitly begin to adopt practices, beyond the space of play, that have as their intended goal the destabilization and re-shaping of a self-annihilating social world, then, becomes for them a choice they feel convinced they cannot afford not to choose.

Play theorists have emphasized the profound productivity and generativity of the practice of play. For within play's space of transition, the self must come to recognize the external world as that which is distinct from his or her own individual reality. He or she must come to accept such differences between the internal and external worlds that are encountered, and must come to identify what transformations are necessary in order to reconcile such differences between the internal and external experiences. And ultimately, it is within the realm of play that the individual may undertake the project of adjustment in order to reconcile such incommensurate experiences between the psychic and social worlds. With relationships between the self to personal practice, the self to the social, and the individual to the political at stake, play must indeed be understood to be an intensely fraught space. Its energies may be channeled for purposes of individual adaptation, and to reinforce an existing social world, but only with a considerable degree of uncertainty.

That Peruvian free software programmers' initial engagements with free software as an object of playful, individual experimentation, and self-exploration, could lead them to collective forms of political action, then, reveals itself from their accounts to be one of the most likely byproducts of play. For embedded within their play practices was not

merely the capacity to recognize the real as a space that they should legitimately have reshaped their identities for, but was the potential as well to recognize the real as a space that was itself in need of profound reshaping. The transformative potential of play may have been internally experienced by programmers – who insisted that they were enhanced students and learners, coders, adults, and even sons because of free software – but its impact was not (or perhaps could have been not) exclusively contained to the self. For as powerful was its ability to propel new, externally-directly work, which would have as its explicit goal the transformation of the social world.

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[1] Can be seen from: http://themes.freshmeat.net/projects/wmbrushedturquoise/
[1] Can be seen from: http://themes.freshmeat.net/projects/xenoadeptace/

*** Conclusion / re: Digital Author Function**

There are few signs that what allowed for neoliberalism's rapid rise in contemporary Peru will be waning anytime soon.

This, at least, is the thought that crosses my mind as I read the recent headline blinking across the top of my computer screen from the online edition of the MIT-based publication Technology Review: "OLPC's [One Laptop Per Child's] Peruvian Honeymoon." (Talbot, 2008a) The online entry came packaged with an in-print article in the magazine's May edition that featured several pages full of photos of smiling rural school children with new laptops, and that narrated the collaboration between the high profile non-profit, OLPC, and the Peruvian Ministry of Education that was responsible for delivering the machines to their tiny hands. (Talbot, 2008b) By all initial accounts, apparently, the romance was off to a promising start.

The governments of multiple developing countries -- including India, Brazil, Uraguay, and Nigeria – expressed early interest in becoming the first to partner with OLPC. Though only a few years old, the startup had been launched under high public scrutiny as the newest project of the MIT Media Lab's founder, Nicolas Negroponte. Beginning its operations in the technology corridor of Cambridge, MA, just a stone's throw from MIT's campus, it promised to revolutionize education and to democratize the digital age by distributing low-cost laptops to poor children across the globe. The initiative raised Negroponte's already prominent geek celebrity when it pledged to produce the world's first "$100 Laptop." And Peru surprised many when it became the first – and to date, still most heavily invested – nation to formalize a partnership with the technology startup, ordering nearly 300,000 laptops for rural schools in the last few months of 2007. Since then, several dozen laptops have been given to school children under a pilot launch of the program in Arahuay, a provincial town tucked in the low slopes of the Andes, between dirt roads and a number of surviving Incan ruins. Most of the families in the town earn their living as they had for generations now, by farming rotating crops of avocado, corn, alfalfa, potato, and chirimoya fruit throughout the year.

Still, you'd be hard-pressed to find any representations of this if you were researching Arahuay today. An online search of the town floods the screen almost exclusively with articles and images similar to that published in Technology Review's glossy pages, testifying to the success of OLPC's Peruvian launch, and featuring shots of smiling children seated before their new laptops, of students grinning wide while clutching their green and white cases, or typing with an attentive gaze turned to its keyboard and screen. (Bajak, 2007; Bakk-Hansen, 2008; Bray, 2007; Gomez-Monroy, 2008; Hamm & Smith, 2008; Krstic, 2008; Lujan, 2007; Vota, 2008) It requires several pages of scrolling before any image of Arahuay *prior* to the laptops' entry there could be found. It was as if the town hadn't existed (in digital or otherwise) until its partnership with OLPC had began, or as if it had been forgotten by and disconnected from the world until OLPC's laptops had arrived. And now that they had, audiences – networked and gazing into glowing screens across the globe -- couldn't get enough of it.

And little wonder why. For the story of digital authorship as a practice that would liberate and unleash the creative potential of individuals, and allow for the unrestrained development of the self, is a hard one to resist. To audiences connected online around the world, swapping screens and shifting artfully between acts of digital work and play, this was as much their story as it was that of Arahuay's rural school children. And it was a story that was hard to turn away from.

Particularly for officials from Peru's Ministry of Education who were based in Lima, OLPC's offer must certainly have been a seductive one. The past year, after all, had been one plagued by some of the largest and longest teachers' strikes Peru's public schools had seen in decades. (Associated Press, 2007; Collyns, 2007) Public schools across the country closed as teachers went on strike for nearly three months in the middle of the school year. The strike was organized formally in protest of a new policy proposal that would adjust teachers' salaries according to their scores on a national exam that would be implemented if passed. Disdain for the proposal was particularly high in the rural provinces, where schools had long been under-resourced, and where teachers had long complained of the deficiency of support from the Ministry's capital-centered offices. The teachers' strike, in fact, only manifested the mutual distrust that government officials and rural teachers had held for each other for decades, and that had been quietly been simmering since the country's civil war with the Shining Path's rurally-organized Communist rebellion had officially ended in the 1990s. Now that public school closings were spreading countrywide, tensions had come to the surface again, aggressively, and without any sign of abatement.

Accusations of terrorist support and Communist sympathizing were lobbied by government officials against the rural strikers, who objected that such public attacks from the state were only the latest offense against rural teachers, who it had symptomatically kept provision-deprived. Roads into and out of a number of towns were blocked, and protests in some areas turned violent as the entry of security forces and flow of commercial goods and medical supplies stopped outside of town borders. Hundreds were arrested, stones flew, tires burned, and protests sparked new protests.

Against a backdrop of flaring tempers and pitched suspicions, digital authorship seemed to emerge as one safe territory where all interests could miraculously converge.

Still, it's important to remember that what's brought to mind in the notion of authorship – as a state of dedicated production of creative, original content – did not always occur in its modern form. What readers will recognize today in authorship as the labor of individual genius, or the expression and invention of what hadn't existed before, is itself a product of modern conditions. Michel Foucault reminds us of this historical contingency in positing the centrality of the "author function," (1977) writing that while what may be admitted under the classifications of "author" has changed throughout time, the function of authors to "characterize the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses in society" remains consistent. (1977, p. 124) What is natural and inalienable

to authorship, Foucault insists then, is only its existence in proximity and in relation to centers of power. As such, it is a function that will always reveal more about who or what has the power to "authorize" content, than who the author actually "is" him or herself. Rather than attempt to settle questions of "who is the real author" or is there "proof of his authenticity?" Foucault ends the essay by leaving us with a simple but unsettling prospect: "What matter who's speaking?"

Or said otherwise, we might ask: what matter *to us* that the author speak? Why, that is, do we persist "in granting a primordial status to writing..., to reinscribe in transcendental terms the theological affirmation of its sacred origin or a critical belief in its creative nature?" (1977, 120) For if there is a diagnosis Foucault appears to issue in the query, it is not on authors themselves, but upon the public's *own* relation to authors – and our curious, ever-ready participation in permitting an author function to persist at all. Just as the author function may reveal more about who or what holds the power to author-ize content than about who it is that supporedly created it, then, so too might it oddly reveal more about ourselves as an author-acknowledging public that about authors themselves.

And it's today, perhaps more than ever, that the persistence of the public's fetish for an author function begs explanation. It is the contemporary moment, after all, that has allegedly brought authorship into a new age of pointed crisis, where new modes of digital expression and networked exchange threaten the former national, legal, and moral conventions that had previously stabilized authorship. In a network-ready world, where unlicensed duplications, pirate acts, and the modifications of "authentic" forms were as simple as the pressing of a key, the privilege and protection previously promised authors, as actors endowed with the "origin" of creative acts, appeared to have come undone. And it is curiously at a moment when traditional authorship appears more threatened than ever, that a fetish for digital authorship seems to have at once become all too pervasive.

What appears at first, however, as a contradiction, shouldn't alarm us. For the author function seems to have always rested on an odd contradiction: being as much about the dream of coming into power's graces, as it has been about being able to create exceptional members of society are able to make statements in its name. It has been, that is, as much about the hope of becoming privileged by the mark of worth, as about exercizing the power to declare such worth. And just as not all articulate-able statements are worthy of having authors, neither are all civic beings worthy of becoming articulators of "author-izable" content.

In modern times, the author function's ability to assign to living beings the privileged status of author must certainly have been invested with a new import, modeling not only that enlightened, rational, and civil discourse were plausible and desireable for citizens, but that it was possible to assess, classify, and compare discursive acts, and objectively distinguish the "right" forms from "poorer" ones, or indeed, "wrong" ones. It still remained, however, a sovereign power that remained the primary custodian of authorship and that was still endowed with the responsibility of assigning final author-ial status. And it remained still too only men of relative privilege who were given the opportunity to *even be afforded a possibility* of becoming authors.

The new global economy and the growing diffusion of networked technologies and facilitations would turn such hallowed traditions on their heads. And if digital authorship could declare itself the new radicalized incarnation of modern authorship, it was precisely because it no longer relied upon conventional gatekeepers or sovereign powers to authorize, stabilize or protect authorial status. Promising to dispense of authorships' aging gatekeepers and to unravel the traditional means by which it had been determined, the networked age proclaimed the liberation of unbounded individual, creative opportunity. Declaring that the possibility of author-ial conversion lay now in the hands of each individual, it proclaimed itself the spokesperson for a new class of commonly potential-ized authors – one that now placed the urban rich alongside the rural poor, and that placed the formerly marginalized alongside the formerly privileged.

And there was one further liberation act enabled by networked authorship. That all subjects -- rural and urban, brown and white, poor and privileged -- could now be recognized for their creative capacities, and could become newly recognized as agents responsible for their own uplift would crucially relieve states of such responsibilities. Human capacity, once placed on a democratically equalized playing field, would economize the resources of the state. Rather than being responsible for creating common architectures of civic entry and articulation, or channeling provisions toward the mission of enlightening civil subjects (poorly and problematically executed as it had been anyhow), or for the mundane act of preparing citizen for a commonly-shared civilization, government could now spare its resources. In the name of maintaining the incentives for improved authorial expression and invention, in fact, it would be *obligated* to reserve investments for those particular subjects who could distinguish themselves from the common pool as *exceptionally* enabled authors, inventors, and competitive beings.

If digital authorship holds out the miraculous prospect of convergent interests and eternal progress and romance, however, it is not through obliterating the conditions of war. Civil war finds fresh ground and stakes, waged now between classes of actors who can newly be scripted as a new breed of competition to one another, or as inhibitors to each other's individual progress and advancement. What emerges as the defining symptom of the times is a new species of struggle – held now between actors who might once have cohered under the tired categories of community, neighborhood, family (or even the self itself). And such internal battles of brother against brother have never appeared so productive, so pervasively shared, or so intensively spectacular.

Whatever dream OLPC was selling, whatever it was packaged in those glossy green and white plastic cases that had captured not just the Peruvian state's attention, but that of networked audiences around the world, it would surely not be the last little machine to do so. Just like the deployment of intellectual property titles in Chulucanas, or the deployment of other information-based technologies and networked resources for development before it, what remains certain is that there will be another technology of reform to follow. Another technology of reform and liberation machine that we shall will to captivate our imaginations, and hold us in the promise of its reflective thrall.

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