R E – I M A G I N E D E L E P H A N T S:

Authenticity, Authority, and Culture in Indian and South African Souvenirs

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On my honor, I have neither given nor received any unacknowledged aid on this project.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Sitting on their lofty perches above my sticky Varanasi café table, an army of elephants peered stiffly down their trunks at me (Fig. 1). Their gaze was inescapable: no matter where I travelled in North India, elephants cropped up on menus, harem pants, tapestries, scarves, T-shirts, paintings, keychains, and other knick-knacks. For anyone who has spent time either studying or visiting India, the elephant seems both figuratively and literally woven into the very fabric of the place. Despite their local ubiquity, however, it was easy to disregard these objects as blatant, inauthentic constructions, as an impulse to convert culture into convenient, sanitized, and marketable bits. These elephants, it seemed, presented the same sort of 'Indian-ness' as a college dorm tapestry from Anthropologie, 'bohemian' décor from T.J. Maxx, or Brand Aid ventures like The Elephant Pants.

As such, I originally responded to these Indian objects with biting criticism and denounced them as pseudo-Indian, as Western constructions of a 'properly' exotic India. I appealed to the fact that in Kashi and Delhi, I never saw a live elephant and neither had my little host-sister Puki. Furthermore, although she loved these little elephants I brought home, she had certainly never played with one before and knew none of her friends at school had either. My host-sister Namrata choked at the elephants' exorbitant 600 rupee (approximately $8.70) price tag. If these elephants do not directly reflect live elephants, mimic stuffed ones owned by locals, nor evoke an experience in the city and only weakly connect with existing elephant iconography, I thought, how could these little elephants ever be 'truly' Indian?

Nevertheless, the elephants marched on. After months of living in India, I found that these elephants not only *existed* throughout north India, but they *flourished*: at the City Palace in Jaipur, at the Tibetan Market in Delhi, in a Nagwa Road café, in the back-alley nooks of Paharganj. My ability to couch these textile elephants as Western constructions–the work of some unknown profiteering white capitalist–grew increasingly implausible. Why are these objects so pervasive? Who is the intended buyer, and what is the intended message?

With these questions in mind, I investigated textile elephant souvenirs in Varanasi as an independent field-study project entitled *Imagined Elephants* in Fall 2017. In the course of this work, I discovered the complicated nature of these little objects: they are crafted by Indians, designed by Indians or Europeans and marketed differently based on that designer, intended for an international tourist audience, and sold for profit.

While presenting these findings to the University of Wisconsin-Madison's UW in India program, I learned that these elephants do not solely exist in northern India. One participant remarked seeing similar elephants and marketing tactics in tourist cities throughout South Africa and recalled that South African salespeople likewise offered their products as 'true' representations of African culture. Although *Imagined Elephants* explored the curation and merchandising of cultural authenticity strictly within the Indo-Gangetic Plain, this potentially *universal* nature of stuffed elephant souvenirs forced me to consider the possibility of a broader process at play.

To test this hypothesis, I decided to re-investigate tourist craft with a wider, international lens. Specifically, I returned to India–expanding my field-sites to Varanasi, Delhi, and Jaipur–, and I also travelled to Cape Town, South Africa on the lead provided at my *Imagined Elephants* lecture. In these places, I visited major tourist districts, witnessing these elephants crop up again and again in hostels, craft markets, and roadside souvenir shops. I photographed elephant displays, purchased samples, and conducted interviews with shopkeepers and makers.

While I understand that I do not have the same depth of background in South African art as in that of north India, I was nevertheless able to observe unmistakable parallels unfolding in both the creation and marketing of these elephants in these two nations, and it was these parallels upon which I based my new understanding of these objects. Most importantly, the souvenirs from both countries carried mixed backgrounds of tradition and innovation; of artistic agency and oppression; and of realism and fantasy.

Of course, I do not argue that the process of commodifying Other culture in European colonies like India and South Africa is a new or unknown phenomenon. What struck me in the existing literature, however, was the consistently Western locus of agency. From looted 'curiosities' to the coerced movement of Indian craftsmen to World Fairs to modern businesses that use poor Other women as workforce and marketing material, both historic accounts and modern analyses focused on the West as the proximate cause of craft production. The examination of the products coming out of these ventures often aligned 'traditional' with 'culture' and 'new' with 'commodity.'

But this literature does not sufficiently grapple with objects like the elephants coming out of my fieldwork. Unlike curiosities mercilessly shipped to England during the colonial period, these elephants reside in India and South Africa, forcing Westerners to both travel away from their homes to purchase such objects and witness their local context. Furthermore, no foreign state currently controls India nor South Africa, so no modern tourist can approach either nation as her country's rightful colony. Most importantly, many of these monetized constructions of India and South Africa come not just voluntarily but *deliberately* from Indian or South African makers. These elephants require the holding of modernity in the same hand as authenticity, the layering of agency and exploitation, and the acknowledging of both colonial influence and cultural independence in India and South Africa.

These elephant objects push against classic notions of authenticity, considering *when, where,* and *to whom* a cultural expression is authentic rather than *which* expressions are authentic. As such, an appropriate analytical framework for these objects must describe a process of cultural construction and reception, not some black-or-white designation of so-called 'authenticity.'

In brief, then, to properly understand these elephants and other cultural constructions, I posit that these souvenirs present 'imagined representations'–deliberate, economically beneficial, and performative identities maintained by cultural brokers–of their culture, which

collectively yield a ‘perceived authentic’ Tourist World space simultaneously endogenous to yet separate from the rest of the culture. This thesis seeks to employ this framework to investigate how perceived cultural authenticity is constructed, who holds the authority to do this construction, and why these constructions consolidate new expressions into Western-only subspaces of India and South Africa.

In the subsequent chapters of this thesis, I will build, support, and demonstrate this framework in action in order to respect the complicated nature of these elephant souvenirs and offer a method to approach other objects with multiple, audience-dependent identities. In my first chapter “Consuming, Curating, and Commodifying the Colonies,” I will introduce the important historical arc of souvenir craft in India and South Africa to provide essential background for my project and orient the reader in the current state of the literature. Then, I will pick up in present-day India and South Africa in the “Fieldwork Methods” section by summarizing my past work in Varanasi, my India/South Africa research protocol, and the selections I made during my fieldwork. Using these findings, I will explain the inadequacy of the current literature addressing the shifting authenticities of objects like elephant souvenirs and offer new ‘imagined representation’ and ‘Tourist World’ analysis tools in “Curation through Imagination.” In the subsequent chapters, I will apply these frameworks to my objects. In “Imagination as Authenticity,” I will explore the variety of cultural authenticities constructed and how this construction occurs. Then, in “Imagination as Authority,” I will identify the people performing this construction and explain how they themselves become indicators of legitimacy in cultural exchange. Lastly, I will outline how these new cultural expressions gain critical mass to overcome the ‘commodity’ designation and instead become, as the chapter titled suggests, “Imaginations of Culture,” consolidated into the legitimate sphere of ‘Indian-ness’ or ‘African-ness.’

So let the hunt for these elephants–and their stories–begin.

II. CONSUMING, CURATING, AND COMMODIFYING THE COLONIES

Modern stuffed elephant souvenirs come from an ancient and complicated legacy of elephant imagery as well as culture making and selling. Throughout regions of South Asia and Africa, the elephant has historically lived as a very real and visible neighbor to humans. In some regions, elephants and human populations have coexisted for millions of years; in these places, people know elephants “in fuller dimensions” such that the creatures simultaneously serve as a provider of and rival for resources; subservient work-animal and destroyer; and source of riches and woes.[1] This complicated and impactful relationship provides context to the highly pervasive elephant imagery of northern India and South Africa and also explains why, for sub-regions lacking their own indigenous elephant populations, these creatures have historically persisted as symbols in artistic culture.[2]

As is often the case for other types of ubiquitous imagery, while elephants in African and Indian art “may have [their] origins in actual observation,” they also are “just as often the product of imagination.”[3] Ancient and modern elephant images range in character, yielding “spiritual, secular, serious, and playful” portraits of these animals.[4] These works emphasize a duality of human-qualities like nobility, intelligence, and steadfastness in elephants and elephant-qualities like strength, peace, and elegance in humans, communicating as much about human nature and society as the animal to which they are compared.[5] Other elephant forms do not carry profound meaning and instead simply serve as beautiful, aphoristic decorations.[6]

Saharan Africa boasts the earliest identifiable elephant imagery in the world with low-relief rock-cuts dating back to the Neolithic Era (Fig. 2).[7] In India, artistic depictions of elephants

[1] Doran H. Ross, "Elephant the Animal and Its ivory in African Culture," *African Arts* 25, no. 4 (1992): 65.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid, 66.
[4] Ibid, 74.
[5] Ibid, 66.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Fabrizio Mori, "The Earliest Saharan Rock-Engravings," *Antiquity* 48, no. 190 (1974): 87–88.

first appear on seals at Mohenjo-daro.[8] In both places, these images often carry connotations of authority. At times, this authority was divine: for instance, numerous African tribes depicted their regional demi-gods as images of “elephant men” that brought the rains to the plains; Ganesh, a popular Hindu god, is popularly pictured as an elephant-headed man; and 1st to 3rd century Indian Buddhist material commonly refers to the Buddha himself as an elephant.[9] More specifically, the elephant head itself sometimes mediates a physical transformation from human-wearer into a god, as in the case of iconic masking traditions of the Dogon peoples throughout Western Africa.[10]

Beyond ritual use, mortal humans have historically employed elephant symbolism to advance their own royal authority. Around 225 BCE, Hannibal Barca brought renown to the ancient city of Carthage through the domesticated, fighting elephants he used to crush his enemies’ foot-armies.[11] In India, Emperor Akbar’s obsession with these animals led him to personally train them for private entertainment use and combat (Fig. 3).[12] The East India Company appropriated these ancient war practices and the Mughals’ empathetic conceptions of these powerful creatures, leading British authorities to give elephants “human character in the Company’s army” and government logos, wherein all elephants were “named, talked to, and treated as people.”[13]

Elephants’ Indian and African landscapes captured the imaginations of East India Company painters. While stationed in Bengal, Cape Colony, and other encampments, Company artists catalogued and constructed pastoral scenes of animals, historical architecture, and local

[8] Preeti Sharma, "Elephant Imagery in Mahabalipuram Relief: Deification of Royal Authority,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75 (2014): 1102.
[9] Ross, “Elephant the Animal,” 66; Sharma, “Elephant Imagery,” 1102.
[10] Ross, “Elephant the Animal,” 74.
[11] Ibid, 66.
[12] Sujit Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge: The East India Company's Elephants in India and Britain," *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 32.
[13] Ibid, 30.

people (Fig. 4).[14] These images simultaneously emphasized India and South Africa as an uncharted new territory and ancient civilization untouched by time. Exported back to the homeland, these representations became wildly popular, their success "unmistakably linked to the crises related to industrialization in the colony and modernizing processes of the period in general."[15] As such, Europeans froze the colonies in an idyllic antiquity, glorifying them as cultural playgrounds removed from the plights of modern Europe while simultaneously dragging these places into those very plights via colonization.

For the financially-able and adventurous, vacationing to the colonies or owning objects from them became ultimate symbols of wealth and class.[16] This trend "yielded a network of agents, correspondents, and dealers," middlemen who "catered to the imagination of their clients" by providing silk textiles, ivory elephants, fine jewelry, and exotic arts.[17] Private European collectors, Company employees, and other associates of the Crown accumulated collections of cultural 'curiosities' and then shifted their collections to Western displays like world fairs, museums, books, catalogs, and private 'cabinets of Oriental treasures' (Fig. 5).[18] For a fee, a metropolitan consumer could visit these displays and immerse herself in what MIT Professor of History Rosalind Williams calls an Oriental fantasy "dream world," allowing her to "explore" the colony without ever leaving the country.[19]

These and other kinds of cultural display separated these exotic colonial subjects from a 'modern' European timeline and encouraged the misguided interpretation of localized art-objects and patterns of living as broad, cultural phenomenon. Popular displays showcased art, human

[14] Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2007),12–13.
[15] Mathur, *India by Design,* 21.
[16] Ibid, 200–201.
[17] Ibid, 200.
[18] Carol A. Breckenridge, "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989): 196, 197.
[19] Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century France* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), 140–141.

remains, organic objects, and other cultural “artifacts” alongside “scientific” knowledge about the culture from which they originated and the history of the natives living in that culture.[20] European councils constructed “models of subservience” for Africans and encouraged or invented “traditions” that legitimated or justified colonial intrusion.[21] In “inventing African traditions for Africans,” these administrators hijacked existing, flexible customs and codified and promulgated mutated versions of these “traditions” into hard prescription.[22] Similar processes quickly reduced India from an economic superpower to a production colony, exporting cash crops like sugarcane, tea, coffee, spices, and cotton back to Europe. Colonial governments presented their artificial categorizations–like static, bounded “tribe” designations–as scientific fact rather than political construction.[23] The propagation of so-called ‘objective knowledge’ of these regions crystallized the European image of India and Africa as antiquated, unchanging, uncivilized, and distinctively ‘Other.’

With these generalizations, craft objects ceased to be signs of individual artists and instead became an emblem of a “collective identity.”[24] African or Indian craftsmen–the people who created these so-called ‘artifacts’–subsequently transformed into metonyms of entire social systems and indexes of race.[25] This notion was particularly salient in European ‘World’ exhibition displays like the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. There, the British represented India “through her things” including sumptuous carpets, carved thrones, precious stones, exotic animals, and native artisans shipped back to London by the British East India Company (Fig. 6).[26] They made these craftsmen wear absurd regalia and re-enact their everyday craft for

[20] Mathur, *India by Design,* 15.
[21] Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation,* ed. Roy Richard Grinker, Stephen C. Lubkemann, and Christopher B. Steiner (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 1997), 451.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Katherine F. Hacker, "Displaying a Tribal Imaginary: Known and Unknown India." *Museum Anthropology* 23, no. 3 (2000), 6; Ranger “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,” 456.
[24] Mathur, *India by Design,* 5.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Breckenridge, “India at World Fairs,” 202.

British onlookers like “quasi-commodities.”[27] In response, the British public “gaped at [the Crystal Palace’s] displays, romped through its amusements, and marveled over its objects.”[28]

As the demand for cultural displays and their exotic objects grew among commoners, private enterprise sought to meet this demand. English department stores like Liberty & Co. “gained a reputation as an oriental warehouse during the 1870s” by offering large range of imported products (Fig. 7).[29] Inside, Liberty’s packed its rooms with “Indian furniture, coffee tables from Damascus, antique carpets and rugs, incense burners, imported silks, Kashmiri shawls, Persian dishes, Benares brass work, Chinese lanterns, and exotic peacock feathers.”[30] These cultural department stores “specialized in the fashioning of ‘otherness,’” using “seductive displays” like those in local cabinets of curiosities or world exhibitions in order to ‘transport’ customers to far-away places.[31] These stores allure did not come solely from their merchandise; instead, as Williams suggests, they sold an enchanting “dream world,” an imaginary cultural experience.[32] So “even if the consumer was free to not buy at that time, techniques of merchandising pushed him to want to buy sometime.”[33] And what would they be buying?

Alongside imports, Liberty’s sold its invented ‘Oriental-ish’ objects, affordable, industrial reproductions of handmade goods crafted specifically for “European tastes.”[34] Placing these new, constructed objects on the same shelves as ‘authentic’ products helped convincingly pull these constructions into Liberty’s colonial fantasy world and strengthen that fantasy. As other department stores created their own ‘store-brand cultural objects,’ commodification revealed its own internal contradiction. The original fantasy of Indian objects was in their escape from

[27] Breckenridge, “India at World Fairs,” 211–212.
[28] Ibid, 202.
[29] Mathur, *India by Design,* 29.
[30] Ibid, 34.
[31] Ibid, 4, 33–34; Williams, “Dream Worlds,” 140–141.
[32] Mathur, *India by Design,* 34.
[33] Williams, “Dream Worlds,” 140-141.
[34] Mathur, *India by Design,* 40.

Western-ness; yet, those same objects were now under the eminent threat of becoming 'Westernized.'

Employing this Western anxiety, the colonies themselves co-opted the image of the 'native craftsman' to both represent and propel various independence movements. Most notable of these movements, the *swadeshi* or 'homemade' movement in India, reflected a "defensive position… that Indian crafts were under threat by increasing Westernization and industrialization."[35] From approximately 1918 to 1947, Gandhi-ji spurred the movement by interweaving *swadeshi* with *swaraj* or 'self-rule,' arguing that in order to return to the "glorious past" of "mythic India," everyday Indians needed to reject consumerism and the colonialized cityscape and return to the "limited consumption of village India."[36] He reimaged craft tools like the spinning wheel and handloom as symbols that fell outside "the boundaries of the modern colonial era" and thus offered 'true Indian-ness' (Fig. 8).[37] In doing so, Gandhi-ji aligned India's new, 'pure,' and nationalized space with the 'cult of the craftsman.'[38] Even though Gandhi-ji often just public positioned himself near these craft symbols rather than engaging with them or their associated craftspeople, he nevertheless pushed the concept of the craftsman back onto a public, performative stage.[39] Unlike the artisans performing at World exhibitions or Liberty's store displays, however, this 'modern' craftsman claimed new prestige for himself and other indigenous symbols through the independence movement.[40] As such, the craftsman reclaimed the 'otherness' which originally established his allure, reflecting and amplifying Europe's own fears of the destruction that Westernization supposedly posed on the colony's 'idyllic' way of life.

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[35] Hacker, "Displaying a Tribal Imaginary," 10.
[36] Russell W. Belk and Rohit Varman, "Nationalism and Ideology in an Anti-Consumption Movement," *Journal of Consumer Research* 36, no. 4 (2009), 697.
[37] Ibid, 688.
[38] Mathur, *India by Design,* 43.
[39] Rebecca M. Brown, "Spinning without touching the wheel: Anticolonialism, Indian nationalism, and the deployment of symbol," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29, no. 2 (2009), 231.
[40] Mathur, *India by Design,* 43.

On the inside, the *swadeshi* movement reaffirmed pride in traditional, artisan craft culture; on the outside, it played into the original European stereotype of properly exotic India–a profitable process of self-branding that continues in Indian-made products (like stuffed elephants) today.

The conflation of craft and 'self-rule' took on new dimensions in the 1980s when governmental initiatives sought to present India to the West through craft. The Festival of India, proposed by Indira Gandhi and Ronald Reagan in 1982, celebrated Indian culture and art–more specifically, craft culture and art–as a way to "encourage trade… and thereby redirect the world's largest democracy [India] away from its Soviet leanings."[41] Both American and Indian organizers "felt pressured to portray India as traditional: a living example of a craft-centered, simple culture, distanced in both time and space from the modern world."[42] The Like the Crystal Palace Exhibition, they placed actual native craftspeople on display to perform their art and give the visitors walking through the display a 'quintessentially Indian' experience.[43]

Beyond the official programming of this decade, major Western NGOs and humanitarian agencies began to promote craft production in the Global South as a source of income and employment, especially for vulnerable populations such as rural women and AIDS victims.[44] This strategy seemingly provided struggling individuals with transferrable skills that could be easily taught and acquired; purportedly built on "traditional skills" of these populations; and was widely regarded as a route to keep 'culture' alive.[45] The craft sector, however, segmented "markedly" along racial lines: in South Africa, for instance, "black crafters [were] producers" whereas their white counterparts played more prestigious roles as product wholesalers,

[41] Rebecca M. Brown, "A Distant Contemporary: Indian Twentieth-Century Art in the Festival of India," *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 3 (2014), 338.
[42] Brown, "A Distant Contemporary," 338.
[43] Rebecca M. Brown, *Displaying Time: The Many Temporalities of the Festival of India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 51.
[44] Christian Rogerson, "The Enterprise of Craft: Constraints and Policy Challenges in South Africa," *Acta Academica* 42, no. 3 (2010), 119.
[45] Ibid, 121.

retailers, and designers.[46] Brand Aid' initiatives–for-profit companies that use celebrity endorsement and so-called 'international development' causes to market and sell their products–reflected this notion and grew into prominence during this time as well.[47] These brands "incorporated material value and fantasy," offering developmental outcomes like child education, immunizations, and clean water for symbolic purchase alongside their goods (Fig. 9).[48] International economists even suggested that "strengthening the linkages between craft producers and tourism" could offer promising policy intervention to global poverty.[49]

This very economic notion carries on in the Indian government's current tourism initiatives. Recently, India has prioritized both "liberaliz[ing] the economy and integrat[ing] it into the global market" by, in part, promoting 'experience' tourism.[50] Specifically, the New Economic Policy of 1992 and the National Tourism Action Plan falls within this "modern development ideology."[51] This plan, in contrast to years past, specifically emphasizes international and luxury tourism in lieu of popular backpacking and health tourism.[52] The Board ceases to marketed India as a "tourist destination," instead choosing to highlight specific, officially-sanctioned travel "circuits" and sites of "intensive tourist development."[53] Furthermore, the Board defines the current Indian tourist industry as a service industry which sells 'Indian experiences,' making a "product of mass consumption out of the experience of different patterns of nature and living, and offers this product for sale in attractive packages."[54]

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[46] Rogerson, "The Enterprise of Craft," 122.
[47] Stefano Ponte and Lisa Ann Richey, "Buying into Development? Brand Aid Forms of Cause-Related Marketing," *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (2014), 2.
[48] Ibid, 3.
[49] Rogerson, "Enterprise of Craft," 126.
[50] Paul Routledge, "Consuming Goa: Tourist site as Dispensable Space," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2000), 2647.
[51] Ibid, 2648.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid, 2650.

In South Africa, both the government and residents increasingly recognize that "African culture and political history are valid and sought-after components of South African tourism."[55] Some new modes of tourism–like township-homestays wherein visitors experience "'real' people and the 'real' South Africa" by staying in a tribal home–offer an "interactive context" for tourists to step into a new, unusual, and 'authentic' lifestyle for a price.[56] While many South Africans laud tourism for providing new streams of revenue to small localities, older citizens "voice concern that traditional African culture [is] being commercialized" for profit.[57] Frequently, guides create a "voyeuristic theme park out of poverty" by hosting "'safari-style' drive-through tours, where tourists snap photographs" without locals' permission and "peer at the surrounding poverty from air-conditioned buses."[58] Most tourists limit their contacts with locals to the transaction of buying "their postcards and African masks" before leaving the country.[59]

From this, we subsequently find that India and Africa have developed tourist zones that physically sit within their borders but function separately from the rest of these countries. Furthermore, these contemporary displays of culture seem unable to escape their fraught past, which "more often that not appear in the form of enduring clichés about the timelessness… and unchanging nature of its traditional art forms."[60] And so it goes that craft elephant traditions flourish in these spaces within both Africa's and India's major tourist cities, where "elephants… populate the souvenir stands" and curio shops for Western tourists and local "middle-class" patrons to purchase (Fig. 10).[61] Available as stand-alone stuffed animals or plastered on

[55] Mike Robinson and Melanie K. Smith, eds. *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (Re)presentation*. Vol. 7 (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2006), 128.
[56] Robinson and Smith, *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World,* 127.
[57] Ibid, 135.
[58] Ibid, 136.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Mathur, *India by Design,* 6.
[61] Ross, "Elephant the Animal," 74.

cigarette boxes, tapestries, and 'ethnic' clothing, these elephant tokens offer a personal interaction between an exotic animal only known from "books, movies, circuses, and zoos."[62]

It is these very same kinds of tourist areas, smiling elephants, and cliched backstories which confronted me in north India and Cape Town, compelling me to further investigate them within this historical arc of selling culture to the West.

[62] Ross, "Elephant the Animal," 65.

III. FIELDWORK METHODS

I first discovered these little stuffed elephants in Varanasi, India with University of Wisconsin-Madison's UW in India program. I had originally arrived to look into the tourist industry surrounding the Hindu gods and goddesses posters/calendars like those described in Kajri Jain's *Gods in the Bazaar: The Economies of Calendar Art*; however, early in the process I came across several displays of stuffed elephants in cafes and tourist shops (Fig. 1). [63] Besides their delightful appearances, these objects' suspiciously storybook lives piqued my interest: time and time again, I would sit in Varanasi's cafes and hear elephant salesmen luring in white Western customers with tales of poor Indian artists.

To investigate these Varanasi elephants and the imagination of their stories, I focused my attention on two e-cafes along Nagwa Road: OpenHand Café and The Mark Café. I made this original selection for practicality and convenience. Although I had seen and acquired other stuffed elephants throughout northern India during my travels, only OpenHand and The Mark were within walking distance of my homestay and thus were the only organizations with whom I could reasonably conduct interviews. I purchased elephants from OpenHand and from The Mark, as well as an additional specimen from the City Palace at Jaipur, between September 2017–December 2017.

At these cafes, I interviewed the wait staff, management, and CEO. While I conducted my interviews with management and the CEO in English, the 'interviews' with wait-staff relied on a questionnaire that I wrote in English and Michigan State University linguist Rajiv Ranjan translated into Hindi. The informants wrote their responses in Hindi, and Dr. Ranjan translated those responses back to English for my analysis. I produced this questionnaire to meet the

[63] Kajri Jain, *Gods in the Bazaar: The Economies of Indian Calendar Art* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

language needs of the wait-staff, who expressed interest in my project but inability to communicate about its ideas.

I compiled my findings into a Fall 2017 field-study called *Imagined Elephants*–the full copy of which can be obtained through the University of Wisconsin-Madison–and presented it to the students and scholars working with UW-Madison in Varanasi. During this talk, a participant indicated that in her extensive exploration of Cape Town, South Africa, she had seen similar elephants with similar backstories sold in the surrounding tourist districts. She suggested that the 'imagined representation' framework I created for *Imagined Elephants*–the concept that these elephants do not represent actual elephants or remind the buyer of an elephant-oriented experience but rather offer a performative, marketable version of 'Indian-ness' for tourists–could extend beyond Varanasi, especially into other post-colonial nations with indigenous elephant populations like South Africa.

This suggestion informed my original honors thesis proposal, which endeavored to test and further develop an internationally-rigorous object framework. To pursue this project, I cleared my schedule for Summer 2018 and made the serious decision to revisit India and, additionally, explore Cape Town, South Africa to extend the scope of my data. My work involved three parts: 1) locating tourist centers/shops with stuffed elephants, 2) purchasing those elephants, and 3) interviewing people along the production chain, from the elephant's maker to its store's manager to its non-profit organization's CEOs.

First, I located and explored major tourist districts. I attempted to defining my field-sites as an actual traveler would– internet-searching "tourist shopping Varanasi," "best markets Delhi," "best places to stay tourists Cape Town," and other comparable phrases–in order to locate commonly visited, representative tourist sites. Once I actually travelled abroad, I worked my way around these areas by foot or *tuk-tuk* taxi and following additional recommendations of individuals working in the tourist industry like hotel managers, Uber drivers, other salespeople, and tourist bureaus. Typically, I found that these tourist regions maintain close, opportunistic

relationships with one another, aggregating together into massive, tourist-friendly complexes. These conglomerates, often entirely disjoint from the quotidian on-goings of their respective nations, provide an immersive, curated experience that attempts to embody the most marketable stereotypes of those places.

In India, I specifically visited the following sites: OpenHand Café (Assi Ghat, Varanasi), The Mark Café (Assi Ghat, Varanasi), Agrawal Toys Emporium (Assi Ghat, Varanasi), City Palace (City Palace, Jaipur), Magic Crafts (Tibetan Market, Delhi), Dilli Haat (across from INA Market, Delhi), an antique shop in Delhi, the National Crafts Museum (Bhairon Road, Delhi), Ishana (Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi), and a Paharganj curio shop.

In Cape Town, I travelled to 2 major sites, Greenmarket Square and the V&A Waterfront, where I visited Soxy Animals, an independent knitter from Cape Town, Shongololo Toys, heartworks, African Trading Port, and three independent trading booths.

In these locations, I spent my first few days looking at all the different elephant offerings in order to better guide the next days of interviews and purchasing. I selected my individual specimens to attempt to both represent the ‘average’ of the many elephants I saw as well as showcase the variety of elephants available on the market. In general, I preferred textile expressions to other mediums as a way to both limit the scope of my investigations and investigate the often-overlooked stories of women in artistic production. In total, I purchased 19 elephant samples, an appendix of which can be found starting on page 65.

After purchasing any individual elephant, I conducted interviews with whomever in the production chain was available, like shopkeepers, businesspeople, and the actual makers. For the interviews, I followed a scripted but flexible protocol. I began by explaining the basis of my research to my informant, providing background to the project and explaining my role. I asked for permission to audio-record the interview, take notes, and use direct quotes from the informant themselves, letting them know that I intended to use that information in an academic thesis or publishing. They informed me of their preferences and restrictions, and I complied

entirely with their requests. As a general principle, I refrained from requesting to take or actually taking photos of my informants or the makers, as I worried that my apparent patronage may inappropriately obligate them to comply. In some circumstances, the informant specifically requested me to photograph him or her, and I will include some of those photos throughout this analysis. In some cases, such as in OpenHand's photographs of acid-burn victims in their marketing materials, I found that the company likely obtained those images from vulnerable individuals who may have been coerced into consenting to those images' use; as such, I have refrained from proliferating those images and will instead substitute a description in place of the actual images. Interestingly, many people I interviewed consented to their photos and stories being published but simply did not want to give their names for the interview. In this paper, these individuals will be designated by descriptive titles such as "Dilli Haat maker" or "Shongololo manager" instead of by name.

With these formalities sorted, I began my interviews, questioning my informant about the creative process behind his or her particular elephant production, the identity and status of the makers who produced the objects, the target demographic for these objects, and the maker's and seller's conceptions of this object as situated within a broader Indian or South African culture. Whenever possible, I revisited the shop or procured contact information in order to ask follow-up questions.

In brief, the information gathered throughout this study equipped me to comment on processes consistent throughout my north Indian and Cape Town sites, specifically the similar ways in which brown, native Indian and South African elephant makers and white Western CEOs imbue their objects with 'ethnic-ness' as a marketing strategy as well as how white Westerners conceive of and value these cultural constructions. Of course, the relationships between these objects and local non-craftspeople or people with more complicated, transnational identities–white Western expats living in India; brown Indian or South African expats living in the U.S. or Europe; Indo- or Afro-Americans; Indo-Africans and Afro-Indians;

those in South Africa descended from Indian indentured servants–would offer important perspectives to this project. However, given my insufficient language skills and minimal contact with such individuals over the course of my field work, I could only marginally investigate these perspectives and have thus limited the scope of my paper to areas for which I gathered more conclusive data.

Most importantly, through this fieldwork, I witnessed and recorded the way these elephant souvenirs actually *deviated* from the historical context that I originally believed informed their construction, leading me to focus this project on determining the processes underlying cultural curation of India and South Africa.

IV. CURATION THROUGH IMAGINATION: THE 'TOURIST WORLD' FRAMEWORK

The importance and self-sufficiency of endogenous tourist business communities in the construction and legitimation of souvenirs adds not only a new interpretation to these stuffed elephants but a new perspective to the process of cultural curation. Although these elephant shops still create "dream worlds" for primarily Western audiences just like Liberty's and the Crystal Palace of the past, these shops–not profiteering Westerners–often hold the locus of agency. These elephants, their makers, and their sellers now reside in India or South Africa, no longer forcibly exported to a European stage to perform. Instead of travelling to London to view an Oriental 'cabinet of curiosities' or a World Fair display created by a wealthy Crown associate, visitors travel thousands of miles away from their homes to these countries, made to witness these objects and their makers within their local contexts. Although some wealthy Europeans made such a trek in the past to these places to purchase 'cultural oddities,' they were vacationing to their nation's colonies. No longer do foreign states reign over India nor South Africa, so modern tourists cannot approach either as their own dominated territory.

Most importantly, the Indian and South African makers selling these modern elephant constructions do so not just voluntarily but *deliberately.* While some design, produce, and sell their products and others take on a single role, most of these locals personally control the marketing of both their products and their own identity. These makers intentionally capitalize on their own Indian-ness or African-ness, captivating white Westerners with exotic tales of family histories, artistic tradition, and village life and offer elephant-making demonstrations to match. At times where the local does not hold the agency–for instance, at OpenHand, where a white Western capitalist directs elephant production and uses his disabled Indian seamstresses as marketing materials while restricting their own voices–, these operations re-align with the historical arc of commodifying the colony. Thus, these modern souvenir operations carry with them new questions of agency that historic operations often lacked. We no longer can simply

fall back on the understanding of these objects as familiar, coerced creations meant to satisfy the Western need for the exotic.

But in rejecting this past, these objects grow more complicated: now, they are not just Indian/African made and plucked away for Western pleasure, but instead Indian/African *constructed* in a direct response to the West. What a Westerner considers 'culture' may be considered a 'construction' by its Indian or South African maker and, likewise, what a local innovator touts as a 'new cultural expression' may be rejected by an outsider as 'inauthentic.' To this, Vishakha Desai, the Senior Adviser for Global Affairs to the President of Columbia University, adds the pervasive notion of the "contradiction" of the coexistence of these so-called 'non-Western' identities with modernity, describing the West's instinct of questioning how "avant-garde art [could] exist anywhere in the 'timeless' cultures" we monolithically describe as 'Asian' or 'African.'[64] Furthermore, Professor of Anthropology at University College London Christopher Pinney questions the so-called contradictory nature of 'ethnic low art,' considering the role of romantic orientalism in denying these objects validity. "For some traditionalists," he remarks, "mass-reproduction has led to an aesthetic fall, and a decline from meaning and value" that is implicated in "embodying the decadence of mass-culture and as destined inevitably to erase the higher forms of Indian folk art."[65] As such, 'constructed' art actively antagonizes 'true' ethnic art and "sweep[s] away [the] now still meaningful remnants of traditional culture, as surely as the motorcar in America has replaced the horse."[66] Thus, we find that the historical Western anxiety surrounding proper 'authenticity' certainly has the power to discard modern souvenirs by

[64] Vishakha Desai, "Beyond the 'Authentic Exotic:' Collecting Contemporary Asian Art in the Twenty-First Century," in *Collecting the New: Museums and Contemporary Art,* ed. Altshuler Bruce (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 104.
[65] Ibid, 101.
[66] Christopher Pinney, "An Authentic Indian 'Kitsch;' the Aesthetics, Discriminations and Hybridity of Popular Hindu Art," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 38 (1995): 101.
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ignoring the possibility that Indian, South African, and other current object makers could be actors in modernity or that they could create a separate brand of modernity altogether.

But even with constructed identities, these elephant souvenirs somehow escape this wave and become broadly understood by tourists as 'true' cultural objects and miniature representations of their respective nations. Consequently, these elephant objects push against classic notions of 'authenticity,' compelling the viewer to consider *when, where,* and *to whom* a cultural expression is authentic rather than *what* is.

Conveniently, Igor Kopytoff's "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process" in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* outlines the shifting biographical spheres of commodity objects, tracking the way objects' identities change as they move through different social spheres. He defines commodification as a "cultural and cognitive process" in which societies both materially produce things and "culturally mark [them] as being a certain kind of thing."[67] Shifting location, ownership, and intent simultaneously shifts biographical details of objects to reveal "a tangled mass of aesthetic, historical, and even political judgments, and of convictions and values that shape our attitudes to objects labelled 'art.'"[68] Using this framework, we see that when a stuffed souvenir elephant enters the market, a society learns that this commodity "is a thing that… can be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a counterpart," thus indicating it has something "in common with a large number of exchangeable things" that can be bought.[69] This process of commodification, then, socially marks the elephant as low-value while setting aside and protecting priceless, "sacred" portions of the cultural environment.[70] In situations of cross-cultural contact, like in the case of a Westerner purchasing a handcrafted stuffed elephant from a curio shop, the "alien object" may

[67] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64.
[68] Ibid, 67.
[69] Ibid, 68, 69.
[70] Ibid, 73.

shift identities yet again given the new social values used to evaluate it as a 'cultural object' and the way it is "redefined and put to use."[71] In this way, while an artistic elephant may move through its social life as both a "contaminated" commodity and a sacred cultural object, depending on the cultural values and background used to evaluate it.[72]

Using this framework of shifting identities, we can define multiple fluid spheres of authenticity rather than a single stagnant one. To radically oversimplify, objects which may look 'authentically African' to American tourists may or may not look this way to South African citizens or scholars specializing in Africa. Even though these latter spheres may reject these souvenir objects, the souvenirs' 'perceived authenticity' in the former tourist sphere nevertheless functions as so-called 'actual authenticity' within that sphere. Thus, we can begin to consider sets of 'perceived authenticities' and analyze the ways these values act on objects.

Beyond the object characteristic of authenticity, I also investigated 'souvenir-ness.' University of London cultural policy and tourism specialist Michael Hitchcock defines souvenirs as the "material culture of tourism" with a specific interest in the objects of "cultural Others."[73] He, like Pinney, laments that souvenir objects have been "resoundingly rejected" by both art historians and anthropologists due to this 'perceived authenticity' problem, stating that stylistic hybridity "conflicts with essentialist notions of the relationship between style and culture" and "their production for an external market…conflicts with widespread ideas of authenticity."[74] Hitchcock pushes against these notions by admiring the "dialogic nature" of these objects' creativity and the speed at which makers respond to shifts in taste, something I absolutely see reflected in the stuffed elephants.[75] He suggests that historically, material goods outside of the Western sphere have been solely interpreted as either artifact/ethnographic specimen or work

[71] Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," 67.
[72] Ibid, 78.
[73] Michael Hitchcock and Ken Teague, eds. *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 3, 7.
[74] Ibid, 9.
[75] Ibid.

of art.[76] With this limitation in place and the frequency of interaction of "non-Western" peoples with Western consumers increasing, both local and Western designers alike "greatly increased replications of 'traditional' objects" and produced "innovative hybrid art forms" to profit from the production of these curated 'ethnographic-ish' specimens.[77] Thus, we find again that the "tourist gaze"–the "orchestrated process of selective representations in touristic encounters"–plays a role in shifting the identity of souvenirs.[78]

The interpretations of these souvenirs, however, are not solely left to the customer. Esteemed anthropologists Sally Price and Arkotong Longkumer argue that "external culture brokers" play a powerful role in shaping these 'perceived authenticities' by selling artistic culture that meets this "tourist gaze" for profit.[79] With an agency-conscious approach, Price and Longkumer consider Maroon and Naga indigenous peoples as "active participants in this enterprise" of "strategic articulation of... image."[80] Just as the Nagas utilize "nostalgic images" and "difference and authenticity" as marketing tools and the Maroon makers "satisfy customers who want an explanation of what they're buying" with baseless symbolism, the makers of stuffed elephants selectively market a heritage into which Western tourists love to literally and figuratively buy, making them as "culture brokers" as well.[81]

Last, I was particularly fascinated by Longkumer's description of a "mini-cultural universe," a curated space in which "new dimensions of authenticity are produced."[82] Whereas MIT Professor of History Rosalind Williams' "dream world" description prioritized the physical

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[76] Hitchcock and Teague, *Souvenirs,* 3, 7.
[77] Ibid, 9.
[78] Andrew Alan Johnson, "Authenticity, Tourism, and Self-Discovery in Thailand: Self-Creation and the Discerning Gaze of Trekkers and Old Hands," *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 22, no. 2 (2007), 173.
[79] Sally Price, "Into the Mainstream: Shifting Authenticities in Art," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 4 (2007), 607, 609.
[80] Arkotong Longkumer, "'As Our Ancestors Once Lived:' Representation, Performance, and Constructing a National Culture Amongst the Nagas of India," *HIMALAYA, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies* 35, no. 1 (2015), 51.
[81] Ibid, 54, 57; Price, "Into the Mainstream," 610.
[82] Longkumer, "'As Our Ancestors Once Lived,'" 57.

setting of cultural experience and its subsequent effects on the viewer, this “cultural-universe” framework acknowledges the intentionality of particular actors–the culture brokers–and the dynamic, responsive nature of that space.

Thus, I define ‘Tourist Space’ as a site-specific imagined dream world which houses and maintains deliberately marketable and performative identities of culture.[83] Immediately, I want to clarify that by the term ‘imagined,’ I do not want to suggest that these cultural representations are ‘fake’ or less authentic that other representations, although they often push against orthodox notions of authenticity. Rather, I’m using ‘imagined’ to describe the mindful, communal process of cultural branding–how makers, entrepreneurs, and consumers create ‘perceived authenticities’ and legitimate them through the production of objects.

At its heart, this Tourist Space framework is as physical as it is conceptual. Just as we think of certain places in the West such as Disney World or the Eiffel Tower as ‘tourist traps,’ Tourist Spaces, more generally, commandeer and command physical space, creating a cultural experience disjoint from the rest of a culture. In India, for instance, we can consider both popular tourist traps such as the Taj Mahal and the City Palace and less overt Spaces like backpackers’ hostels, internet cafés, souvenir shops, and cultural markets all as part of the same ‘Tourist World,’ or tourist-defined identity for India.

Every Space in a Tourist World seeks to concentrate and amplify ‘ethnic-ness,’ building a space dedicated to highlighting and summarizing ‘culture.’ Unsurprisingly, then, Tourist Spaces especially appeal to foreign visitors, to whom the Space provides a convenient, self-authenticating entry into what may be an unfamiliar and impenetrable new place. Due to their popularity, Tourist Worlds in places like India and South Africa have the potential to become exclusively Western subsets of their respective nations, cyclically exiling locals who are unable

[83] Longkumer, “’As Our Ancestors Once Lived,’” 57.

to afford to access these spaces or unwilling to partake in 'tourist activities' while catering to tourists and responding to their perceived needs.

These tourist needs range, running the gambit from Western-style foods to internet connectivity to English translation. Most importantly, however, Tourist Spaces make business of selling culture to tourists who seek to experience it. Like Liberty's of years gone by, these places offer a patron both carefully designed displays of culture and the opportunity to partake in it. An Indian Space may sell elephant rides, yoga classes on the Ganga-ji, or boat-rides to watch cremations on the river *ghats*. A South African Space may market safari adventuring, diamond mining, or game hunting. Critical to this analysis, Tourist Spaces will happily sell supporting objects–*tabla* drum soundtracks, animal pelts, African masks, and other material culture–to provide the tourist with a lasting reminder of their experience (Fig. 11). The collecting of these 'cultural curiosity' souvenirs becomes as important to the experience as the excursion itself.

Thus, our stuffed elephant souvenirs become "imagined representations" of their Tourist World and less of representations of the reality of their respective cultures. They serve as pervasive examples of the translation of the idea of 'Indian culture' and 'South African culture' into tangible forms that respond to both tourist expectations and inspiration. The intertwining of modern planning, 'timeless,' deeply-ingrained traditional expressions, and clever marketing yields carefully constructed cultural commodities that Western tourists perceive as both 'properly exotic' and 'authentic.'

Clearly, these Tourist experiences and souvenirs supplant a very specific image of their respective countries. Instead of couching these objects as 'not Indian' or 'not African,' then, we can choose to accept that although these elephants may not exist in quotidian or academic India or South Africa, they certainly exist in Tourist India or Tourist South Africa, which is nevertheless a subset of India or South Africa.

Using this 'imagined' framework helps combat notions that 'true ethnic art' is either the result of an antiquated society forever at odds with Western modernity or morally superior to the

West in its ‘purity.’ Instead, we allow these elephants to shift and twist in their identities like Kopytoff described, letting them be products of Western coercion in some cases and monetized cultural expressions in others. Overall, the ‘imagined’ framework of Tourist Spaces and Worlds validates them and the elephant souvenirs and other objects contained within them as carving out ‘perceived authentic’–but niche–representations of the culture in which they exist.

With this, we see that these elephant souvenirs become fascinating case-studies of the curation of culture. What new ‘authenticities’ are created, and who has the authority to manufacture them? Why and how are these expressions up-taken worldwide? And, as former director of the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History Doran H. Ross suggests, what does this elephant-making say about us–those who create and consume these images?[84]

[84] Ross, “Elephant the Animal,” 66.

V. IMAGINATION AS AUTHENTICITY

As my *tuk-tuk* driver navigated us through the most congested highway in Delhi, I watched the tourist market Dilli Haat emerge from the typical jumble of concrete, exhaust fumes, and automobiles. Set just off of the busy main road, its white columns, Indian flag-banners, and colorful, ornamented archways separate it entirely from its grayish landscape, catching the eye of any tourist passerby (Fig. 12). This enticing, patriotic entrance cleverly invites visitors to the otherworldly tourist *bazaar* beyond.

The successful brainchild and ongoing project of the Tourism and Transportation Development Department/Corporation of Delhi (DTTDC), Dilli Haat represents the massive governmental undertaking to promote tourism in Delhi and India at large.[85] DTTDC designed Dilli Haat to exude the ambience of a traditional rural village market *haat* while meeting "more contemporary needs."[86] Visitors pay a fee–30 rupees for nationals, 100 rupees for foreigners–and receive access to six acres of miniature storefronts housed in thatched-roof cottages and colorful tents (Figs. 13a, 13b). These shops, managed by Indian craftspeople from across the nation who register their specific craft with DTTDC, showcase their managers' artistic and culinary skills to visitors from around the world.

Beyond regulating the environment and flow of visitors in the *haat,* DTTDC controls the pricing of every product within the *bazaar* to appeal to Western buyers. Every Dilli Haat good comes at a set price and sometimes displays a price-tag, and bartering is strictly prohibited–all practices completely unheard of in local marketplaces. This convenience, however, comes at a cost: almost all of the products for sale inside the complex can be purchased just outside the gate for a fraction of the sticker-price.

[85] "Dilli Haat INA," delhitourism.gov.in, accessed December 2018, http://www.delhitourism.gov.in/delhitourism/tourist_place/dilli_haat_INA.jsp.
[86] Ibid.

DTTDC and the Government of India imagines Dilli Haat not solely as a marketplace but as a "magnificent dream" and "showpiece of traditional Indian culture."[87] As such, DTTDC only invites makers who conform to that traditional vision: Rajasthani cobblers, handloom weavers, stone-carvers, and saree-seamstresses. Like these goods, these makers' appearances and performances become showpieces of Indian culture by extending into this desirable traditional or traditional-esque realm. Like the artisans at the Crystal Palace or the Festival of India displays, the Dilli Haat seamstresses not only sit on a stage in front of ogling onlookers while sewing their sequence to silk scarves, but they wear impractically opulent sarees while doing so (Fig. 14).[88] The cobbler dons an exquisite embroidered vest–an article of clothing often reserved for special occasions and festivals–while hammering together soft leather slippers. In this way, the makers not only reflect their products but become *extensions* of them as well, their visible 'ethnic-ness' as essential to the shopping experience as their actual craft. With this consistency in traditional merchandise and traditional garb at Delhi's most popular tourist market, DTTDC curates a very particular, marketable brand of 'Indian culture' which prioritizes exoticism and experience.

This careful orchestration of products and performance exactly reflects anthropologist Longkumer's notion of culture as a constructive act, compelling us to consider the agenda of those who initiate this construction. DTTDC, we can reasonably assume, seeks to provide visitors with a cultural experience, offer Indian makers with a means of employment, and share some notable aspects of Indian-ness. These goals echo those of cultural museums, which perhaps explains why visitors may enter these Tourist Spaces with a similar set of assumptions concerning authenticity and concede a certain amount of authority to them. Specifically, museum display, University of British Columbia anthropologist/museologist Anthony Shelton argues, teams of curators, researchers, and installation specialists work to create shows that

[87] "Dilli Haat INA."
[88] Brown, "A Distant Contemporary," 343.

balance four categories of concern: concept and object; aesthetics and ethnography; historical time and the complicated present; and global and continental perspectives.[89]

While the display impulses of Tourist Spaces and museum spaces somewhat align, the weighting of commercial or educational goals differs notably between them. This is not at all to say that museums are not commercial spaces nor that Tourist Spaces lack pertinent cultural information; it is, however, to recognize that the presentation of Indian-ness in either case responds to different impulses and that that responsiveness ultimately yields different cultural displays. Consider Shelton's four categories of display. Clearly, the construction of Dilli Haat falls somewhere between the ends of each continuum, allowing it to present a sufficiently Indian experience while acknowledging the international background of its audience/participants. While DTTDC based the design on a traditional *haat* and ensures that all products, craft-makers, and techniques contained within are certainly Indian, the space looks and functions differently than any of the local street markets just outside Dilli Haat's gates. No other Delhi market carries the same products, uses the same pricing system, or present themselves physically in the way DTTDC constructed Dilli Haat (Fig. 15). Whereas local *bazaars* serve as utilitarian spaces, connecting Indian consumers with the quotidian goods they need, Dilli Haat seeks to promote tourism and traditional Indian handicrafts, connecting foreigners with unique, out-of-their-ordinary souvenirs to purchase for friends and family abroad.

This difference in the conception and execution of the *haat* certainly stems from the way that DTTDC negotiates aesthetics, historical time, and global expectations within the space. Although current Delhi street-markets do not include thatched-roof stalls, these touches appeal to the same idyllic, pre-Westernized past that caught the imaginations of Victorian England's citizenry during the colonial period. While DTTDC includes these antiquated, tribal-esque structures within their modern *haat,* they also replace common Indian elements of street-

[89] Anthony Shelton, "Curating African Worlds," *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 12 (2000), 12, 14, 16, 17.

markets with slightly Westernized counterparts. From Western-style toilets to tagged pricing to extraordinary levels of public sanitation to milder samosas, Dilli Haat converts the overwhelming Indian street-market into a more familiar–and thus comfortable–experience for foreign visitors.

This re-calibration of display yields a fascinating result: DTTDC translates a common Indian experience into a form that foreign visitors can both fully recognize as authentic and in which they can actually effectively participate. Online, tourists laud Dilli Haat as a "typical Indian market."[90] They gush about the food, refer future tourists to their favorite stalls, and post happy pictures of their excursions (Figs. 16a, 16b, 16c). DTTDC has displaced cultural barriers for entry–language, haggling, and utility of objects–in such a way that tourists may not realize those barriers ever existed. Instead, tourists can focus entirely on the material substance of the *haat*–the different foods, clothes, and craft products–as the cultural component of their cultural experience.

DTTDC curates these products using the same translation method it applies to the physical market space. Although both Dilli Haat and other street-markets sell clothing, jewelry, and shoes, the varieties offered differ between these realms. The markets just outside Dilli Haat sell mostly practical necessities and Western-style clothes and everyday necessities that most Delhi use on a daily basis: screen protectors, backpacks, printed T-shirts, blue jeans, purses, sneakers, and plastic jewelry (Fig. 17a). Inside exclusive Dilli Haat, though, vendors provide mostly ornamental objects and special-occasion garments like stuffed elephants, figure paintings, gold anklets, sarees, and slipper shoes (Fig. 17b). Craft-makers often manufacture these products with slight tourist-inspired adjustments to them, like cutting traditional *kurtas* shorter to 'American-style' hip lengths and leather shoes longer to accommodate bigger Western feet. Some offerings, like elaborate hookahs, are not available elsewhere in polite Indian society.

[90] "Dilli Haat," TripAdvisor, accessed January 2019, https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g304551-d320433-r552756933-Dilli_Haat-New_Delhi_National_Capital_Territory_of_Delhi.html.

The repetitive designs and materiality of these products further present a particularly timeless image of India. On throw-pillows, pashminas, and wall-hangings, the tourist spots familiar elephant motifs, tribal scenes, and religious symbolism. Depending on their execution, these items either construe India a place of exotic luxury or primitive simplicity. To further emphasize this handicraft quality of their inventory, Dilli Haat makers primarily utilize organic materials like leather, wood, metal, cotton, and silk in their work. This lack of plastic products contrasts strikingly with the PCU phone covers, children's toys, and jewelry sold directly outside the gate.

In this product difference between Dilli Haat India and the India outside it, we see an important internal contradiction arise in DTTDC's effort to present an accessible view of India, meet market demand, and control the Indian narrative. To curate Dilli Haat, DTTDC limits access to only paying visitors and properly handicraft-makers. This strategy builds a definitively Indian space but one that looks unlike any outside Indian space. Furthermore, it commodifies these makers' 'cultural' objects, an act Kopytoff suggests compromises those objects cultural authority.[91] To compensate, DTTDC injects even more Indian-ness–tribal huts, *tabla* musicians, makers wearing cultural clothing making things with elephants on them–to unify and reinforce the space. In doing so, Dilli Haat offers visitors a *haat* that radiates undeniable Indian-ness but neither looks nor functions like any existing Indian market-place. This describes Dilli Haat's perceived authenticity.

In this way, Dilli Haat becomes a very special subset of India: a place in which Indians imagine, curate, and act out the 'Indian experience' separate from the everyday happenings of quotidian Indian life. For tourists, the *bazaar* becomes a safe space to indulge in cultural fantasies and playact Indian-ness like the Crystal Palace exhibition or Liberty's of days gone by,

[91] Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," 78.

and souvenirs like stuffed elephants transform into covetable props in this performance. Unlike those past displays, however, the mindful *managers* of this performance are Indian.

VI. IMAGINATION AS AUTHORITY

Who are the culture brokers who create and sell these Tourist World constructions, and what authority do these individuals appeal to in order to successfully present these new expressions to both domestic and international audiences? Generally, these operations break into two categories: independent makers who offer personal anecdotes to situate their products within a wider cultural umbrella and corporate operations who use authentically ethnic *people* as their means of legitimation.

Independent Artisans

Mansur-ji greeted me warmly at the door of his store Magic Crafts. His humble, soft-spoken demeanor contrasted wildly with the dizzying display of the Kashmiri/Iranian painted souvenirs lining the walls of his impressive shop (Fig. 18). Mansur-ji offered me a seat and a hot cup of chai, both of which I took, and then began explaining his beloved craft.

Mansur-ji claimed he descended from an Iranian family with a well-established legacy in the arts. For 600 years, his artistic ancestors had produced Iranian miniatures on rice boxes and paper. Some of these painters emigrated to what is now Kashmir, and there they continued to ornament various rice-paper surfaces with their family's iconic imagery. Kashmir served the family and their production well: they settled in a beautiful riverside home where the cool, dry climate to expediated their boxes' drying time, the stone pigments they mixed into paint were plentiful, and the community had a healthy demand for their beautiful ornaments (Fig. 19).

In 1989, however, an armed insurgency took hold of the region following an election dispute. Quickly, the situation devolved into a power contest between India and Pakistan. To this day, India claims that the insurgents were Islamic terrorist groups attempting to bring Kashmir into Pakistan's fold; in contrast, the Pakistani government purports that the so-called terrorists are instead Kashmiri freedom fighters seeking self-determination in a presently Hindu-dominated region.

With this conflict and cultural divisions intensifying, the family's Iranian-style goods shifted from coveted to taboo, making them impossible to sell. In desperation, Mansur-ji agreed to uproot himself and his sons from their home and relocate to Delhi, a city with strong enough tourist economy to sustain the family business.

In this new market, Mansur-ji quickly realized the Western tourists visiting his store overwhelmingly sought elephant trinkets or had purchased them already from surrounding shops. He communicated this demand to his family back in Kashmir and encouraged them to expand the family product line to include papier-mâché elephants. As of Summer 2018, Mansur-ji's family has been making these elephants for 25 years, and they are the family's most popular products.

These elephants dominate the Magic Crafts shop. Perched on clear shelves, they completely line the shop's substantial back wall to offer an overstimulating jumble of bright colors and gold leaf (Fig. 18). These elephants range in size, standing between three inches and two feet tall. All, Mansur-ji proudly explained, his family creates by the same intensive, 14-day process. Starting as with small wooden base, Mansur-ji or one of his family members layers paper-mache into the proper form. Between layers, they sand and shape the dried paper with a pumice stone, filling any holes with paste. They repeat this process several times to build up the paper layers into the desired elephant shape. Then, Mansur-ji or someone else in the family paints the paper elephants, starting with a black base and ending with decorative flowers, leaves, and geometric designs on top. Once they complete the elephant's aesthetic transformation, they lacquer the object with a thick, glossy varnish to seal and waterproof the design. After a short drying period, Mansur-ji or one of his sons adds the elephant to his Magic Craft display for Delhi passersby to purchase.

Mansur-ji lauds his family's elephants as traditional expressions of Kashmiri/Iranian miniature painting tailored to his specific clientele. Mansur-ji targets foreign customers and a small, local market of Kashmiri expatriates who admire his work, although he "would love

anyone to buy [his] elephants… they are the best quality work in all of Delhi."[92] For both groups, he explained to me, he takes elements his patrons deem to be "the best of Indian" and to unites them on a painted elephant.

This concept of unification was especially noteworthy on the elephant Mansur-ji selected for me. After our interview, I explained that I wanted to purchase an elephant and asked Mansur-ji to select his favorite from his stock for me. With little hesitation, he presented me with a turquoise blue, palm-sized elephant covered in twisting vines and silver, red, and green leaves (Fig. 20). Compared to other elephants in the shop that almost appear marbled by their metallic tessellations, this elephant's slight irregularities in its many leaves mark it as handmade (Figs. 20, 21). When I asked Mansur-ji why he chose this specific elephant, he pointed to its cross-cultural meaningfulness: Delhi viewers who had come in took its twisting vines to represent the tree of life; the deciduous leaves nostalgically reminded Kashmiri customers of their distant home landscape; and a Canadian expat had recently informed him that they reminded him of the maple trees back at home.

From this selection, it is clear that at Magic Crafts, just like at Dilli Haat, the translation of authenticity into familiarity plays a key role in souvenir craft. Just as Longkumer outlines, Mansur-ji becomes a culture broker, using the authenticity of old, Kashmiri painting to give legitimacy to his new, hybrid elephants. The way the viewer interprets this authenticity, however, changes based on that viewer's identity. The typical Western client perceives both the striking painting style and elephant as authentic, understanding these forms as an Indian artistic tradition. In contrast, Mansur-ji's Kashmiri clients, aware of the elephant-less nature of the Kashmiri box-painting tradition, instead choose to read these new forms as cultural innovations.

Additionally, Mansur-ji emphasizes his products' own handmadeness to situate them in the cultural craft market. He shares his process with all of his customers, either describing the

[92] Mansur (owner of Magic Crafts), in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018.

steps he takes to produce each elephant or actually demonstrating his techniques in front of them. Given India's recent support of craft production to enhance tourism, his elephant's handicraft nature fortifies their validity as Indian objects.

Between this familiarity and handmadeness, both international and local patrons view Mansur-ji's painted elephants as legitimate Indian expressions, even though their personal interpretations slightly differ. This makes Mansur-ji not only a maker whose authority is not questioned but a skilled culture broker capable of connecting with different audiences and bringing new art forms into acceptance.

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An elephant-maker occupied the small stall in the back-right corner of Dilli Haat. Sitting cross-legged behind rows and strands of her stuffed elephants, a middle-aged woman dressed in an eye-catching blue saree wrapped fabric around elephant forms (Fig. 14). In this central position and bright dress, she seemed to be on display as much as her creations, performing the handmade-ness and authenticity of her craft.

Beginning with a slim wire frame, the maker looped brown, twiney strings around the frame to give the form volume. Then, she pulled bright strips of fabric taught over this form, covering the humble materials underneath. She minimally stitched together the edges of these pieces before wrapping a decorative ribbon around key points of the design–the legs, the neck, and the conical ears–to attach the cloth to the twine-covered frame.

As a result, the Dilli Haat maker produces highly abstracted elephants in her work (Fig. 22). They roughly possess four distinct limbs and a trunk, eyes and ears only implied by crisscrossing ribbon and twine. The haphazard pieces of fabric covering each elephant forms have little relation to one another. During my visit, the maker simply pulled cloth from overstuffed plastic bags, concerned with the size of the scrap and otherwise indifferent to its color or pattern. She roughly stitched each piece of cloth to the rest of the elephant then strategically wrapped ribbon over any exposed edges to hold all the pieces in place. After

completing the design, the maker either integrated many elephants into a vertical string with a bell or sold them free-standing.

The Dilli Haat maker clearly designs these souvenirs for economy. This elephant-making process, or at least she who I saw carrying out this process, emphasizes speed and the use of scrap material in order to create a color product quickly and cheaply. The maker's own perception of her work mirrors this notion of economy as well: she curtly spoke about her elephants as her "labor," not art.[93] When I asked for more information about her process, the maker bluntly communicated her disinterest and detachment from these particular objects and instead offered a discussion on her background and profit goals. She briefly explained her elephant-making motives–a method to financially support for her child–before expressing great interest in me purchasing one of her creations. After I had selected a miniature free-standing elephant and a short string of them, she pressed me to add a massive, 20-pound elephant to my order. When I explained that I had to fly back to America and only could take small samples, she bluntly recommended that, as a rich American, I should "get a bigger suitcase."[94]

Even though the Dilli Haat elephant comes from the environment that, out of all of my Indian samples, displays the most marks of conventional Tourist India authenticity, its maker essentially refused to market her creations as some sort of traditional artistic expression. To her, these elephants are unimportant fabrications and important producers of income. She does not appeal to these elephants' culture value and allure like Mansur-ji; instead, she emphasized their actual monetary value and the ability of these objects to provide her, the maker, with an income.

Interestingly, even though the maker rejects a broader artistic arc, she simultaneously feeds into an existing Western stereotype of the helpless Indian woman supporting her child. To be clear, the maker never mentioned any sort of suffering or hardship; she could potentially be middle-class. But her framing of the situation, her busy presence, and her directness with the

[93] Dilli Haat maker, in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018.
[94] Ibid.

consumer colors her products with an alternative–but still very powerful–legitimacy different from that of Mansur-ji's creations. Given the maker denied any traditional artistic background for her elephants, the tourist cannot reasonably classify these elephants as such. She can instead, however, align these expressions with that of poverty-alleviating Brand-Aid products. The elephant becomes a product of a 'real' (a properly needy and exotic) Indian woman for a 'real' Indian cause (poverty). Thus, the Dilli Haat elephants gain perceived authenticity.

Interestingly enough, the next day and a few kilometers away in a market-square known as Paharganj, I saw the exact same elephants for sale at a curio shop (Fig. 23). The salesman, noting my interest, proudly touted the elephants as a "traditional art form" unique to his "sweet Bengal village" and explained that he had brought them to Delhi to "share with the world."[95] When I pulled my Dilli Haat sample from my bag and asked if it too had come from Bengal, he went silent.

I have been unable to confirm whether this particular model of elephant comes out of any specific art-making tradition. My intuition, however, leads me to believe that this form is, as described by the Dilli Haat maker, a modern construction which, as the Paharganj shop-owner demonstrated, is profitable because it so easily slips into the roleplay of exotic India the Western world has coveted since colonization.

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Like the Dilli Haat maker, the heartworks store at the V&A Craft Market in Cape Town, South Africa avoids the 'traditional craft' marketing scheme and instead markets its cozy textile handicrafts as being simply homemade and handmade (Fig. 24). The store offers an assortment of homemade greeting cards, candles, South African dolls, duffle bags, and textile products. Of these objects, patchwork stuffed animals like elephants, rhinos, and monkeys sit most prominently on display, perching on show-tables flanking the store and within a cabinet at the

[95] Paharganj shop-owner, in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018.

very center of the room (Figs. 25a, 25b). These animals come in a variety of sizes, styles, and patterns. While many of these animals have bodies made entirely from patterned fabric, others feature intricate embroidered details that envelope their otherwise simple forms (Fig. 26).

The embroidery artist behind these designs is Loice, a middle-aged black South African designer and proud businesswoman. She not only hand-stitches all heartworks' products but owns and operates the shop as well. Inspired by the quilting patterns and stitching she remembers making with her grandmother, she attempts to create imaginative, nostalgic scenes and bright, chaotic patterns on these animals' bodies.[96] She enjoys filling the entirety of each animal with her free-hand stitches to transform them into a one-of-a-kind "art of love."[97]

Besides their intricate exteriors, Loice spoke at length about the actual bodies of her textile animals. She explained that she wanted the animals to perform like classic teddy-bears, being comforting and functional objects for children to use during both play and sleep. She designs the animals with this in mind, using connecting threads in their limbs to allow their arms and legs to pivot so that a child is able to 'walk' the animal around during play, 'sit' down for afternoon tea, or readjust perfectly for cuddles.[98] Furthermore, Loice constructs all her animals from machine-washable fabrics and threads, a practical construction to ensure her young, active audience could fully enjoy the toys. Contrary to Loice's intent, however, she finds that the majority of her elephants end up in the hands of vacationing tourists, purchased for display-purposes only.

More interestingly, Loice noted that the reception of her stuffed animals shifts based on the visibility of her person in her shop. When Loice overhears passersby browsing her toys outside her shop, they initially describe them as "decorations;" however, after she walks over to them and engages with them, her potential customers often revise their descriptions to notions

[96] Loice (owner of heartworks), in discussion with the author, Cape Town, South Africa, July 2018.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.

of “traditional arts.”[99] Even when Loice pushes back against this characterization and insists that her animals are simply her own creative expressions, her buyers often resist this designation.[100]

Yet again, we see that even though another female maker does not designate her own elephant creations as culture creations and actively *resists* the label of culture broker, the buyer reinterprets these products, their new conception remaining firmly within the tourist’s imaginative framework of a generalist ‘Africa.’ So even as Loice explains her embroidery as a personal hobby, the tourist presses for a traditional, ethnic origin for African embroidery.

Corporate Operations

Western entrepreneurs likewise seek to translate authenticity into desirable forms and sell those forms as ‘culture.’ This translation, however, relies on endogenous labor and the ‘ethnic-ness’–and thus natural authenticity–of this labor. Elephant productions for OpenHand in Varanasi, India and Shongololo Toys in Cape Town, South Africa both adhere to this process.

Located in Assi Ghat, a popular tourist district only a short distance away from the alluring burning cremation *ghats* of Varanasi, India, OpenHand Café offers visitors a welcoming, familiar coffee-shop experience within the unfamiliar bustle of the sacred city. Its menu explicitly denotes its customer-base as tourists: the menu’s header reads, “Open Hand Café is about YOU, the traveller.” Furthermore, the menu offers primarily Western-style food and drink–“Tourist Breakfast,” “Canadian Breakfast,” packaged meals for boat-rides down the Ganga-ji, salads made from lettuce, *americanos*, and milkshakes–and is written exclusively in English, identifying the generalized “traveler” as a Western one.

Although it uses these Western amenities to connect with its desired customer base, OpenHand mainly brands itself as an “authentically Indian” café.[101] When a visitor enters

[99] Loice (owner of heartworks), in discussion with the author, Cape Town, South Africa, July 2018.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017.

OpenHand, signs request her to remove her shoes at the door, as is done in many Indian households. She hears clanging Bollywood music play as she sits at her table. Looking up from the menu, the patron admires the shop's copious souvenirs, all handmade by Indian factory workers and seamstresses (Fig. 27).

Specifically, brightly colored OpenHand elephants catch her eye (Fig. 28). Like the India they seek to represent, these elephant forms are reduced both physically and visually, retaining only their most notable characteristics: trunk, legs, body, ears, and tail. Through features such as their rotund form, large eyes, contrasting colors, and hand-sewn patterning, these elephants present a balance of childlike and modern minimalist aesthetics. The creatures' sheeny blanket-saddles ornament these features, signaling 'Indian-ness' in a deceivingly frugal way. Pre-priced and palm-sized, these elephants appear to be perfect, suitcase-friendly gifts.

Upon closer inspection, however, OpenHand's merchandise better aligns with Western imagination than with actual reality. Just like at the department store Liberty's, some of OpenHand's products reflect stereotypical designs commonly associated with India but have no basis in it other than their origin of workforce. Although Indian workers create those bohemian cloth bags, mandala tapestries, and stuffed elephants on display, they do so following design patterns made by Western entrepreneurs, for Western tourists' taste, in order to increase these Western entrepreneurs' profits.[102] Other objects, like picture-postcards of *Ohm* signs, the iconic stepped *ghats,* Hindu gods and goddesses, and nude men ritually bathing in the Ganga-ji, accentuate India's supposed exoticism. Most importantly, all of these Liberty's-esque 'curiosities' are out for sale, waiting to be bought and owned by tourists.

To convincingly curate, build, and legitimate these imaginations of India, OpenHand capitalizes on Indian employees as signals of authenticity. The store employs exclusively Indian staff-members–cashiers, waiters, chefs, and even janitors–and sells products exclusively

[102] Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017.

produced by Indians, presenting the image that the café is completely Indian-owned and operated. It is not. Instead, Christiaan Bosman, a wealthy, South African entrepreneur, owns and controls all aspects of OpenHand's business, including artistic production. Specifically, the company Community Craft Exports, which produces the OpenHand elephants, touts a strict institutional hierarchy comprised of the design team, distribution factory workers, and seamstresses. At the top, Bosman steers the business with his wealthy European design team. This team entirely controls capital and the artistic direction of the company. It was this team's attempt to increase profits, in fact, that led them to use the off-cuts of Community Craft Exports' other textile products to construct their elephant souvenirs.

Below this design team, the distribution factory workers and seamstresses actually assemble the elephants. The former group works the power-looms in Community Craft Exports' textile factories in Delhi to produce the fabric for the company's various products. At this point, the elephants are more by-products than products: at the company's direction, the workers prioritize cutting expensive items like shirts, blankets, and scarves but save the scraps from these cuts in order to transform that fabric into souvenirs. "The loom work is very hard work," Bosman explained to me. "It is loud and hot. It is not suitable for women or girls."[103] Bosman's recognition of the difficulty of this work and his designation of it as "skilled" shows that he values these individuals for their manufacturing skills.[104] Particularly, Bosman uses the 'Indian-ness' of this work to emphasize that, down to their very materials, these elephants are "truly Indian."[105]

Similarly, Bosman uses his Indian seamstresses for their labor and image; in this case, however, he seems to value the latter more than the former. These women sew, stuff, and decorate the scrap material into simple elephant forms, a job Bosman describes as "something

[103] Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

anyone could learn."[106] In contrast, he speaks passionately and at length about these women's backstories. These women, Bosman described, live in New Delhi and Varanasi and have undergone terrible "kitchen accidents:" staged burnings at the hands of their dissatisfied husbands that resulted in these women's disfigurement and subsequent banishment from the marital household.[107] Images of these poor-but-smiling women, descriptions of their horrific mutilations, and signs reading "Made by handicapped ladies" nestle among the elephant souvenirs in the shop (Fig. 29).

These images deviate drastically from the norm in Varanasi, as India's long-standing social legacies limit and regulate female visibility. Since Indian independence, economic transitional teams have encouraged women to leave the workforce and re-enter the home to raise proper Indian citizens.[108] Throughout the 1970s, training programs and social norms further coaxed women to take up roles as "good wives, wise mothers, [and] competent housewives."[109] Older generations blend these notions with concepts of *purdah,* concealment as a means of showcasing purity and privilege, and subsequently teach young Indian women these ideas as virtues.[110] In this way, the Indian definition of female became associated with domesticity and, thus, literal "inside-ness."[111] In the 21st century, these stereotypes perpetuate, defining a respected woman as a modest, concealed woman and, second to that, a *visible* respected woman as a beautiful, fair, and "modern Indian" woman.[112]

Clearly, OpenHand's grotesque seamstresses do not fit this physical mold nor function like typical ads which attempt to sell everyday goods to the Indian public. Instead, Bosman uses

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[106] Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Mary E. John, "Gender and Development in India, 1970s-1990s: Some Reflections on the Constitutive Role of Contexts," *Economic and Political Weekly* (1996), 3073.
[109] Ibid, 3073.
[110] Nancy Ellen Auer Falk, "Women In-Between: Conflicting Values in Delhi," *The Journal of Religion* 67, no. 2 (1987), 259–260.
[111] John, "Gender and Development in India," 3075.
[112] Sonalde Desai and Gheda Temsah, "Muslim and Hindu Women's Public and Private Behaviors: Gender, Family, and Communalized Politics in India," *Demography* 51, no. 6 (2014), 2311, 2312.

these images of his seamstresses to sell tragedy exclusively to tourists who are wealthy enough to access Tourist India spaces. Like the Brand-Aid ventures of the 1980s, these tragic images allow OpenHand to market its elephants on the basis of uplifting disenfranchised female makers and condemning the men who perpetuate these staged "kitchen accidents" while simultaneously capitalizing on these abused women's resultant willingness to leave *purdah* and sell their image in exchange for economic support.

More insidiously, OpenHand can only market its merchandise as supporting poor, disenfranchised women so long as the women it employs continue to stay appropriately poor, disenfranchised, and willing to work for the company. Thus, it is in the company's interest to uplift its female makers enough to produce their elephants–to be, in Bosman's own words, "unskilled seamstresses"–but not enough to provide transferrable training that would allow these women to seek other employment.[113] The role of the makers, then, shifts from producing elephants to representing tragedy and reflecting the charity of those who purchase an elephant. As a result, these toy elephants stop being defined by what they are (souvenirs) and start being defined by the misfortune of who made them (goods that poor, handicapped Indian women created to support themselves).

In this way, we see that OpenHand uses 'Indian-ness' to base their marketing, and that it specifically construes 'Indian-ness' as handcrafted, impoverished, charity-needing, and properly exotic. These elephants, in conjunction with other constructed merchandise like bohemian throw-pillows, reductionist postcards, and mandala tapestries, yield an imaginary Tourist Space that represents what India *should* look like per Western stereotypes and aesthetics. In this way, Bosman takes on the role of a 'culture broker,' who transforms his store from a Western investment project into a quaint, locally-owned café that tourists are keen to support for its 'authenticity.' Correspondingly, he changes the elephants from souvenirs to markers of these

[113] Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017.

tourists' charity and the authenticity of their travels. Together, through a labor structure with a massive power differential, Bosman curates of the image of India, uses his labor to both make and legitimate this image, and panders to Western imagination. Thus, OpenHand becomes somewhat of a modern-day 'cabinet of curiosities,' a place owned by Westerners that hosts uncontextualized 'Indian-ish' objects for patrons to ogle in fascination before they purchase those objects, bring them back to the West, and display them to showcase one's worldly travels.

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Shongololo Toys, a toy company based in Cape Town, follows an OpenHand-esque model of Western investor as cultural guide. At its pop-up booth at the V&A Waterfront Craft Market in Cape Town, Shongololo displays bright patchwork monkeys, rhinos, lions, elephants, and other African safari animals (Fig. 30). With their emphasis on bright primary colors, schematic forms, rotund over-stuffing, and sewn smiles, the animals appear idyllically child-like.

It was somewhat jarring, then, that a very masculine, white man sat at the Shongololo cashier desk. He introduced himself as a representative of the company who handles business relations, corporate sales, and press. After sliding me his business card, he began his very rehearsed speech regarding Shongololo's production techniques.

The Shongololo Toys manager described his small team of black South African women who handcraft these stuffed animals as "incredibly talented and incredibly poor" (Fig. 31).[114] He explained that the owners noticed this desperation in the Cape Town community and created Shongololo as a way to help and collaborate with these seamstresses. Because their situation is "so, so dire," Shongololo Toys seeks to be as profitable as possible and happily conforms their designs to tourists' interests and needs to do so.[115]

The content and forms of Shongololo products draw directly from their tourists' experiences. First, knowing that visitors often come to Cape Town to experience exotic wildlife

[114] Shongololo Toys manager, in discussion with the author, Cape Town, South Africa, July 2018.
[115] Ibid.

via safari trips or day-trips to Boulders Beach, the company focuses on recreating the specific types of animals tourists would see, giving particular prominence to animals uniquely associated with the country like the elephant, rhino, and penguin. Second, Shongololo's clientele's jet-setting reality dictates the physical construction of these stuffed animals. The customer can choose between small representations which fit in a pocket or attach to a keychain and wide, flat ones that fit easily into a packed suitcase (Fig. 32). These stuffed animals, the manager further explained, make excellent airplane pillows during the long flight home. Besides stand-alone animals, the company also offers keychain accessories in the shapes of crocodiles and giraffes and baby bibs with rhinos sewn into them.

In an attempt to further distinguish their product from other similar offerings at the V&A Craft Market, Shongololo utilizes locally-sourced materials like a special cotton fabric called *shweshwe* in their designs. Although the French and German originally introduced this intricately-patterned cloth to South Africa, it has since become integral to the everyday lives of black South African women.[116] *Shweshwe* serves as the traditional foundation of Xhosa women's wardrobe, integrated into dresses, skirts, and aprons. In the modern era, *shweshwe* has been called the "denim" of South Africa.[117]

Shongololo products, however, tout only facsimiles of true *shweshwe* cloth. Instead supporting the local rolled-print industry, the company cheaply mass-produces their fabrics in a process similar to tie-dyeing (Figs. 32, 33). As such, Shongololo's textile animals clearly do not derive their value from the *actual* methodological legitimacy of their fabric; instead, shortcut techniques imbue them with sufficient exoticism and 'African-ness' for a global audience, yielding their perceived legitimacy.[118] Thus, Shongololo Toys profits from the illusion and allure

[116] Victoria L. Rovine, "Handmade textiles," in *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things,* ed. Sandra H. Dudley (London: Routledge Publishing, 2012), 276.
[117] Ibid, 276–279.
[118] Ibid, 270.

of ‘ethnic’ materials, providing a souvenir that is sufficiently ‘African’ for the customer and sufficiently cost-effective for the company.

When we try to undermine this perceived legitimacy of this *shweshwe* fabric, however, we run into the same problems as we did with the contested authenticity of textile elephants at large. Paralleling the old adage, if a textile is *shweshwe*-esque*,* is made by South African women in South Africa, and is used to produce a South African souvenir, what is it? Typically, the debate would be between classifying such fabric as either modern *shweshwe* or counterfeit *shweshwe.*

Under the imagined representation lens, however, we can investigate not just the souvenirs but the fabric from which they are made as entirely new South African expressions. In this case, we find that perceived legitimacy can become its own self-authenticating system: that when the tourist-consumer perceives a new, South African-made object as sufficiently ‘African’ and purchases it for its ‘African-ness,’ that acceptance confirms that the object has been properly up-taken into the fold of legitimate Tourist Africa. But what initiates this line of acceptance in the first place?

In both the case of OpenHand and Shongololo Toys, white, male investors collaborate with native makers to both produce authentic images. However, within OpenHand’s clean internet café and Shongololo’s craft-market booth, the directors of both companies actively subtract their own images from the equation and substitute images of these native makers to imbue the project with authenticity. They are able to posture as culture brokers or translators, individuals who solely ease the transaction between maker and tourist, rather than reveal a more involved business relationship which may shatter the fortress of ‘Indian-ness’ and ‘African-ness’ they have built around their objects.

So the Shongololo’s makers shift from producers to performers of authenticity. Just as the manager so eagerly described these women to me in person, these black makers are displayed prominently on the homepage of Shongololo’s website (Fig. 34). In this image, the

three makers work their craft, either sewing the *shweshwe* fabric into animal forms or proudly holding a large lion doll. In this way, Shongololo cleverly brings together its four products: black, female craftspeople; a traditional fabric; reminders of the exotic, South African safari animals; and physical souvenirs.

Gendered Operations

I argue that the elephants from Dilli Haat and heartworks *should* have the same kind of cultural 'authenticity' and 'legitimacy' as those from OpenHand or Shongololo. In all four cases, local, female makers produce stuffed, textile elephants in a modern way and sell them to tourists. Nevertheless, these expressions somehow do not carry the same clout of authority, of overarching 'Indian-ness' or 'African-ness' that OpenHand's or Shongololo's elephants do. All three men–Mansur-ji of Magic Crafts, Bosman of OpenHand, and Shongololo's manager–curate and direct new expressions of culture that simultaneously grasp onto established modes of authenticity while shifting those very expressions to meet the desires of their clientele. Subsequently, each man poses his own elephant craft as an authoritative cultural expression and sells it as such. When I directly asked Mansur-ji, Bosman, and the Shongololo manager if their products were "authentic Indian art" or "authentic South African art," respectively, all unequivocally stated, "Yes."[119]

I make this distinction because no female maker–the Dilli Haat maker, Loice, nor anyone else–I came across in India nor South Africa designated her own work as a broader cultural expression in this way. Rather, their brand of authenticity is that of a quaint, personal project of a 'real' Indian or African woman. This shift in interpretation comes, in part, from the fact that Dilli Haat's and heartworks' female makers both do not designate their own elephant creation as

[119] Mansur (owner of Magic Crafts), in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018; Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017; Shongololo manager, in discussion with the author, Cape Town, South Africa, July 2018.

culture creation; in fact, they actively *resist* the label of culture broker. In this resistance, the buyer does reinterpret these elephants; however, she keeps her reinterpretation within her imaginative framework of that foreign culture. So, the Dilli Haat maker describes her work neutrally as "a job," but the tourist reinterprets her labor as those of a desperate, poor Indian woman supporting her family. Loice explains her embroidery as a personal hobby, but the tourist presses for an ethnic, African origin. If the maker does not provide a fantasy-filling tale, the tourist may, nevertheless, use the context she is provided create one on her own.

Regardless of whether the operation is male- or female-dominated, however, we see that what can–and consistently does–legitimate these as cultural expressions ones is women's willingness to sell their image alongside their object. At Dilli Haat, the female maker becomes a crucial part of the act of not just making but actually authenticating her elephants. Like the Crystal Palace Exhibition artisans, the maker's performance of Indian-ness with her bright saree, veiled face, and the transformation of scrap to product provides tourists with exactly the images they seek to consume. In this dream world, customers can reaffirm their own expectations of Indian-ness and give their patronage to this specific brand of Indian-ness through their purchase of an elephant. At heartworks, the maker's own intentions are not sufficiently strong to overcome tourists' hunger for Tourist Africa. By her own apparent African-ness and her objects' handicraft-ness, they become colored as 'cultural' objects and absorbed into the Tourist Africa fold. At OpenHand and Shongololo, businessmen directly use the image of Other women in their marketing materials, intertwining the so-called 'exotic' identity of these individuals with the resultant 'exotic' nature of their products.

I cannot conclusively determine whether the male makers and managers of elephant production intentionally imbue their craft with Tourist World markers to capitalize on their profitability or if they actually believe in the authority of their own, new expressions and present them with that authority. The Western men at the helms of OpenHand and Shongololo design their elephants with Western audiences in mind, designating themselves as legitimate

translators of culture. Mansur-ji unabashedly acclaims his works as authentic, pointing to himself, his family history, and tourists' perceptions as evidence. The local female makers and sellers I interviewed, in contrast, did not connect their designs with 'Culture' but rather themselves. The Dilli Haat maker shared her dream of making her own income to attempt to sell me a 20-pound elephant, and Loice spoke proudly of her technical skills and inspiration to make her teddy-elephants special.

Thus, we see a stark gendered divide in who effectively brokers culture (men) and who becomes part of the transaction (women). Men, by in large, have the authority to change Tourist World expressions into 'Culture.' Western entrepreneurs have the reach and positioning between India or Africa and the West to convincingly offer new expressions as culture. Based on these observations, women make things culture, but they do not actually arbitrate that culture.

VII. IMAGINATION AS CULTURE

Once a legitimate culture broker brings a perceived authentic object to market, how do these expressions become consolidated in Tourist India or Tourist Africa? That is, how do these forms flourish transnationally and become part of Western–and oftentimes local–conceptions of Indian-ness and African-ness?

First, it is important to note that the distinction between 'authentic' and 'perceived authentic' becomes arbitrary at some point. Although these terms offer a helpful framework to speak about objects moving through their Kopytoffian biographies, this binary may sometimes conceal the fact that these very states themselves are dynamic and fluid. Certainly, Indians and Westerners have been producing exotic trade objects for millennia and have constantly produced, offered, and exchanged new authenticities for public consumption. Sometimes, societies immediately take up these authenticities; at other times, they reject these expressions for years before taking interest in them generations later. Both outsiders and locals 'vet' these new cultural expressions, choosing to accept or reject them. The movement of Kalighat art from low souvenir craft to the inspiration for major modern artists like Jamini Roy comes to mind specifically.[120]

When I think about this same consolidation of Tourist Spaces into both Western and wealthy Indian authenticities, the example of Ishana: Explore India quickly comes to mind. Positioned prominently within the international terminals of the Indira Gandhi International Airport and the Lal Bahadur Shastri Airport, Ishana cultivates a quintessentially Indian experience for passing travelers, one which stands out among otherwise familiar fast-food logos and high-scale makeup counters. Visually, the shop arrests the viewer's gaze, drawing her into a luxurious space where dark, rich woods line the interior, a mosaic-lined pool of water bubbles

[120] For more on Jamini Roy's work, see Ratnabali Chatterjee's 1987 article "'The Original Jamini Roy': A Study in the Consumerism of Art."

in the center, a live band plays *tabla* drums on a small platform, and the salespeople wear traditional, opulent garb (Fig. 35). On top of this backdrop, Ishana offers merchandise like gold jewelry, carved marble boxes, pure cotton pashminas, incense sets, silk tea-bags, and stuffed elephants with tags reading “The Conscious One” (Fig. 36).

Although other Tourist India Spaces within the same airport sell very similar products, Ishana cultivates an image of luxury and quality with which pop-up souvenir stands cannot compete. Perfectly box-folded pashminas give the customer a sense of chic orderliness. Dimly-lit jewelry displays enhance the glittering sparkle of semi-precious stone necklaces. Even the heavy cardboard price-tags attached to the merchandise have satisfying weightiness. Taken by the store’s decadence, one fellow customer remarked that Ishana seemed to be “the Taj Mahal of Indian shopping.”[121]

This speaker was, in fact, not a tourist–she was a Delhi business traveler. When I visited Ishana, the elevated aesthetic seemed to draw as many domestic customers as international ones, at least by inspection. Although in my experience Indians do not generally comprise a notable percentage of Tourist India patronage, it is not entirely uncommon for wealthy citizens to occasionally participate. While additional research would be required to better explore the broader phenomenon of domestic participation in Tourist Spaces, it is clear that Ishana’s Indian customers take pride in Indian handicraft. While I was browsing the store, several Indian visitors nearby complimented my selections, explaining that “Indian hand-woven silks are the finest in the world” and that they “love America, but what you see is special to India.”[122] In some cases, this self-regard directly appealed to the *swadeshi* movement and its dignified handicraft past. Under this lens, Ishana may not just represent the finest that India has to offer but a way to communicate that finery and exceptionalness effectively to Western tourists. To laud the

[121] Ishana Tourist 1, in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018.
[122] Ishana Tourist 2, in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018; Ishana Tourist 3, in discussion with the author, Delhi, India, July 2018.

elements of Indian-ness that appear enviable to outsiders seems to akin to other nationalist reclaimings throughout the subcontinent's history. While in South Africa, domestic buyers–including white domestic buyers–likewise appealed to a pre-colonial, illustrious past to accept Tourist forms as representations of their nation.

But what is the process by which *Western* tourists accept these same objects? It seems that three key components of Tourist World imagery play major roles: difference, consistency, and marketing. To explain these categories, I will highlight the function of each in Ishana's top-selling stuffed elephants (Fig. 36).

First, accepted cultural objects rely on the notion of difference between cultures. In a way, this trait captures both elements of local pride and Western wonder by providing the locus of that pride and wonder. For the Indian or African, these objects may be shrugged off as simply capturing special 'highlights' of culture or symbols that closely align with it. For the Westerner, likely aware that many aspects of two cultures overlap, these non-overlapping, 'special' elements become particularly alluring. When the tourist uses her own culture as a foil for the place she is visiting and measures legitimacy through separation, these non-overlap objects pass the test. Obviously, this difference component speaks to the merchandise directly offered for sale: stuffed elephant souvenirs, 'ethnic' clothing, trophy game heads, and other cultural fascinations. Moreover though, it encompasses the actual method of displaying these objects as well, situating them in unusual environments. Ishana's elephants clearly meet all these benchmarks because they not only offer the non-overlapping subject matter of the elephant and sit within a very Indian space but also have been intentionally rendered in a somewhat primitive style: handstitched, color-blocked cloth sewn into a highly simplified elephant form rather than a typical, semi-realistic Western representation.

This content matter and primitive style earmark the second unifying trait of Tourist World imagery: consistency. Repeated imagery fortifies Tourist World compositions, allowing visually-similar expressions into the fold with little hesitation. For instance, Ishana sells popular artistic

expressions that recur cross-nationally: stuffed elephants, pashmina cloth, spice boxes, gold jewelry, Western-style *kurtas,* and other exotic goods. Many of these exact forms, like stuffed elephants and carved marble forms of the Taj Mahal, can be found across the terminal at other Tourist India stores, pop-up booths, and the pharmacy counter (Fig. 37). Outside the airport, mobile salesman sell these same objects at one-third of the price. The stuffed elephants crop up in every e-café, hostel, and culture market in Delhi and Agra. But recall that the elephant motif is not solely repeated within individual stores or cities; rather, these expressions crisscross Tourist South Africa and Tourist India, covering expansive geography and time. Each place offers seemingly endless souvenirs, its merchandise circling back within itself, repeating and reproducing the same tropes in different ways. Although I have limited this paper to free-standing elephant toys, elephants also appear on blankets, t-shirts, pillows, keychains, tea sets, backpacks, postcards, blankets, and other souvenir forms. Beyond subject matter, note that the majority of the elephants investigated–OpenHand, Dilli Haat, Shongonolo, Ishana's–have followed an somewhat universal, simplified, 'primitive' style.

In this robust and consistent environment of imagery, one can hardly determine original objects from their subsequent iterations. Given this complicated network, what is perhaps more important is the way in which repetitive expressions self-legitimate. One elephant is inconsequential; one store of elephants is important; a country–or at least the Tourist subset of a country–full of elephants shifts the elephant from souvenir to icon. By sheer mass, the stuffed elephant pushes against Kopytoff's typical object biography, rocketing from lowly commodity back up to culture.

Marketing fortifies both components of difference and consistency. At Ishana, the notion of "cosmic consciousness" appears throughout Ishana's marketing campaign. Within the store and on the Ishana website, the company defines itself as "a hymn, a prayer to the enlightened, golden past that was steeped in the awareness of itself and of its surroundings… Ishana brings

forth the best of ancient traditions, arts, and crafts and therapies to the global audience."[123] By using vaguely pan-Indian spiritual practices as the basis for its marketing, Ishana both propagates a natural separation between its merchandise and its statistically more secular Western customers and appeals to a larger, pan-Indian identity that other Tourist India spaces like Dilli Haat mirror. Marketing's natural role–to spread information–mobilizes the Tourist World identity and expands it geographically, allowing consistent imagery to even arise.

This final piece of the telescoping of elephant imagery across Tourist India and Tourist Africa becomes particularly weighty in this analysis when we discover that tourists sometimes *solely* engage with these Tourist Worlds and not the quotidian country beyond. While the elephants themselves often pass between these two worlds, going from the place they are made to the place they are sold, tourists rarely access the former and labors receive only restricted access to the latter. First, tourists' economic privilege often shelters them from the reality lived by many of those laborers and instead pushes those tourists to an India or South Africa catering to Western imagination and pocketbooks. More concretely, these wealthy individuals can afford to hop on air-conditioned internet café to Western-style hotel to the Taj Mahal or their African safari and back to the airport, repeatedly seeing objects like silk pashminas, opulent sarees, African masks, bohemian tapestries, rattle drums, these elephants, and other exotic oddities along the way. In contrast, many of the laborers and seamstresses who make Tourist World objects cannot afford to buy any of the products they make, including textile elephants, at these souvenirs' Western premium prices.[124] When these locals enter these Tourist Spaces, they only participate limitedly as salespeople, performers of authenticity, and suppliers of the tourist 'experience.' Thus, Tourist Worlds become rich with self-validating experiences, oftentimes entirely disjoint experience from the rest of the country.

[123] "Ishana," Ishana, accessed December 2018, http://www.ishana.com/index.php?route=ishana/consciousliving.
[124] Christiaan Bosman (owner of OpenHand), in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, December 2017.

Once these elephants or other Tourist World merchandise become consolidated into the 'authentic' cultural sphere, they transform into valuable commodities which carry both cultural identity markers and personal identity markers. For instance, when I interviewed exclusively white American tourists purchasing stuffed elephants in OpenHand Café over the course of three months, their rationale for doing so consistently fell into one of four categories:

"If you go to India, you have to bring back something to show people you went."[125]

"I want to do good with my purchases and support the poor people who made them."[126]

"I want something authentic: something that looks Indian and was made by Indians."[127]

"Elephants are symbols of India, and these ones are very cute."[128]

Thus, these elephants' perceived value comes from their ability to prove the Western tourist's association with 'authentic ethnicness.' These elephants come to describe the reality of Tourist India, the consistent, curated sphere that inevitably reads as authentic, dominant, and propagates that reality. With their authenticity confirmed, the demand for elephants and, in turn, those elephants' ubiquity in Tourist India or Tourist Africa increases, strengthening both the visual separation between the Tourist World and the quotidian reality of that place and the ability to capitalize on that separation.

'Proper' India or 'proper' Africa is exotic, so 'properly exotic' individuals–those who are economically barred from participating in the consuming part of Tourist India or Tourist South Africa–make 'authentic' souvenirs. Due to the absence of these individuals, businesses re-imbue their spaces with 'Indian-ness' and 'African-ness' by using these people's images or curating the very walls to carry exotic difference. These Tourist Worlds carry pervasive, self-authenticating 'icons' of their respective nations. These elephants prove a Western tourist's association with 'true' India or Africa by replicating that highly consistent and pervasive imagery

[125] OpenHand Tourists 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, Fall 2017.
[126] OpenHand Tourists 1, 2, 6 in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, Fall 2017.
[127] OpenHand Tourists 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, Fall 2017.
[128] OpenHand Tourists 1, 4 in discussion with the author, Varanasi, India, Fall 2017.

of the respective Tourist World, which is read by friends, family, and the tourist herself as 'authentic.' As such, a wealthy patron buys into these pervasive expressions of the Tourist World, spurs that Tourist World's ubiquity within India or South Africa by increasing demand for such objects, and increases Tourist World's ubiquity in the West by bringing these representations back home. In this way, the Tourist World becomes dominant and oftentimes more 'legitimate' than new, nuanced, endogenous expressions of India, South Africa, or elsewhere.

Lastly, like Longkumer suggests, identifiable individuals–the culture brokers–create these Tourist Worlds and their separation from the rest of the culture, and it is important to highlight them. These culture brokers–such as any of the makers discussed in the previous chapter–can create goods through the local labor of the country, give those goods value by marketing them as aiding those local labors, and sell them to Tourist Spaces. I do not mean to suggest that this creative and capitalist venture is somehow inherently unethical or deceitful. Clearly, even within the few cases this thesis has explored, the intent of each elephant-making operation varies widely: at Dilli Haat, DTTDC seeks to promote tourism and support local artisans; at Magic Crafts, Mansur-ji and his family purportedly share their proud ancestral craft; at heartworks, Loice offers her own joy and creativity; at OpenHand and Shongololo, white managers seemingly use women for both financial and social gain; at Ishana, both local and international customers enjoy Indian craft. In all cases, however, a properly authoritative culture broker both mediates and creates culture based on the separation of the spheres of the Tourist laborers from Tourist World and his subsequent control of image production from that separation.[129] This crystallization maintains the divide between Tourist Worlds, the rest of the culture, and those culture brokers who can navigate–and capitalize–on them both.

[129] Price, "Into the Mainstream," 607, 609.

VIII. C O N C L U S I O N S

Although elephant souvenirs and other Tourist World objects from India and South Africa somewhat partake in historical patterns of culture making and selling, the site-specific location of these operations and the agency of their native managers and makers forces us to consider these expressions as more than simple cultural coercions. Instead, these objects occupy imagined, cultural fantasy worlds or 'Tourist Spaces' that cultural brokers–local makers, native salespeople, and CEOs–curate. Through these spaces, elephants and other souvenirs gain 'perceived authenticity' by tourist populations and, sometimes, locals. Thus, instead of disregarding these new forms as derivative or 'inauthentic,' we can explore these perceived authenticities as functional authenticities for a discrete tourist population and observe the processes by which these forms are integrated into or rejected from broader conceptions of Indian-ness and African-ness.

Using this imagined framework, we can re-conceive of souvenir objects and the spaces they occupy as dynamic, vibrant expressions with identities that shift throughout their object biographies and move from culture to commodity and back again given their specific contexts. Tourist Spaces balance Otherness with universalism to translate a cultural experience into marketable yet perceived-authentic culture. In the creation of these Spaces, the ethnic-ness of a place cyclically diverges from that of the outside culture to the point of obvious–and almost stereotypical–amplification. Simultaneously, the Space becomes increasingly responsive to Western needs and comforts. As a result, Tourist Worlds emerge as spaces with palpable 'ethnic-ness' that yet somehow sit entirely separate from the cultures which contain them.

Navigating this generative process are the culture brokers, individuals with the authority and insight to bring these new expressions to the forefront. These actors' relation to their craft and strategies for authenticating that craft differ based on their personal identity. In India and South Africa, two primary subsets of culture brokers emerge: independent makers who offer personal anecdotes to situate their products within a wider cultural umbrella and corporate

operations who use authentically ethnic *people* as their means of legitimation. In all examples explored in India and South Africa, the image of properly exotic female labor–either a nameless laborer or the maker herself–confirmed Tourist objects' authenticity and helped propel them into the Tourist World.

Often, the objects these culture brokers bring to market flourish, spreading transnationally. Furthermore, these expressions may be taken up both internationally and domestically, accepted into a broader conception of Indian-ness or African-ness within both tourist and local populations. This widespread acceptance relies on difference, consistency, and marketing, wherein 'highlighted,' non-overlapping elements of cultures duplicate into many forms to a point where they self-authenticate. In this way, the Kopytoffian cycle from culture to commodity and back to culture completes itself, leaving tourists with more than enough elephant figures, keychains, and T-shirts to fulfill any imagination.

In understanding this cycle, it is important to note that the imagined framework makes no inherent judgments on those who purchase or sell elephant souvenirs. This cycle of culture brokering has many complicated layers, and the nature of these transactions ranges from empowering to exploitative and aware to oblivious. This Tourist World methodology simply allows the art historian or anthropologist to consider the different avenues through which objects travel, gaining and losing perceived authenticity while shifting that very category of perceived authenticity, a process which correctly describes the agency and power these brokers and their products possess.

From Varanasi, India to Cape Town, South Africa, seemingly simple elephant souvenirs conceal the deceivingly complex reality of modern culture curation. Through the imagined representation framework offered by Tourist World analysis, these objects not only serve as portals into the way the West helps inform and commercialize Indian-ness and African-ness but force us to consider what that elephant-shaped fantasy says about us–those who construct and consume these images.

APPENDIX OF PURCHASED ELEPHANT SAMPLES

Name: OpenHand Café Elephant

Origin: Assi Ghat, Varanasi, India

Date Purchased: September 2017

Size: 4.5” x 3.5” x 4.5”

Name: The Mark Cafe Elephant

Origin: Assi Ghat, Varanasi, India

Date Purchased: October 2017

Size: 9.2” x 3.0” x 5.0”

Name: Wooden Elephant

Origin: Agrawal Toys Emporium, Varanasi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 4.0” x 2.2” x 2.5”

Name: Pregnant Elephant

Origin: Agrawal Toys Emporium, Varanasi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 2.8” x 1.8” x 2.5”

Name: City Palace Elephant

Origin: Jaipur, India

Date Purchased: October 2017

Size: 6.2” x 2.5” x 4.5”

Name: Magic Crafts Elephant

Origin: Tibetan Market, Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 3.5” x 2.2” x 3.0”

Name: Dilli Haat Elephant

Origin: Across from INA Market, Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 3.5” x 2.0” x 3.5”

Name: Dilli Haat Elephant Chain

Origin: Across from INA Market, Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 47” string length

Name: Antique Elephant

Origin: Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 6.2” x 3.2” x 5.8”

Name: National Crafts Museum Elephant

Origin: Bhairon Road, Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

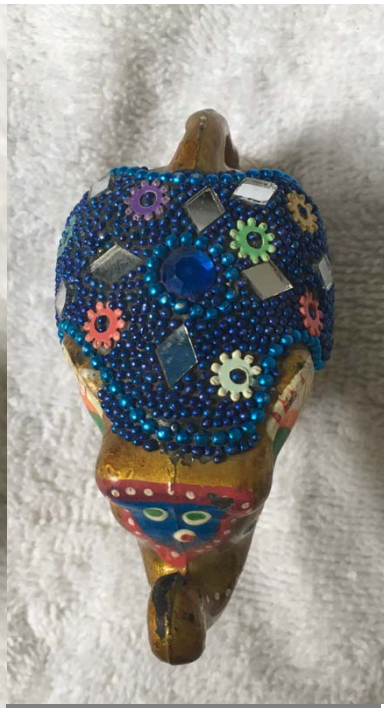
Size: 1.5” x 1.0” x 1.2”

Name: Ishana Elephant

Origin: Indira Gandhi Airport, Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 7.0” x 5.5” x 4.5”



Name: Paharganj Mirrored Elephant

Origin: Paharganj curio shop, Delhi, India

Date Purchased: June 2018

Size: 3.5” x 2.0” x 2.8”

Name: Soxy Rainbow Elephant

Origin: V&A Craft Market, Cape Town, South Africa

Date Purchased: July 2018

Size: 6.0” x 4.5” x 7.5”

Name: Independent Knitter Elephant

Origin: V&A Craft Market, Cape Town, South Africa

Date Purchased: July 2018

Size: 8.8” x 3.5” x 6.0”

Name: Shongololo Suitcase Elephant

Origin: V&A Craft Market, Cape Town, South Africa

Date Purchased: July 2018

Size: 9.0” x 2.5” x 7.8”

Name: heartworks Elephant

Origin: V&A Craft Market, Cape Town, South Africa

Date Purchased: July 2018

Size: 7.0” x 6.0” x 10.0”

Name: Greenmarket Square Elephant I

Origin: Greenmarket Square, Cape Town, South Africa

Date Purchased: July 2018

Size: 4.2” x 3.0” x 2.8”

Name: African Trading Port Elephant

Origin: V&A Waterfront, Cape Town, South Africa

Date Purchased: July 2018

Size: 2.2” x 1.2” x 2.0”

FIGURES

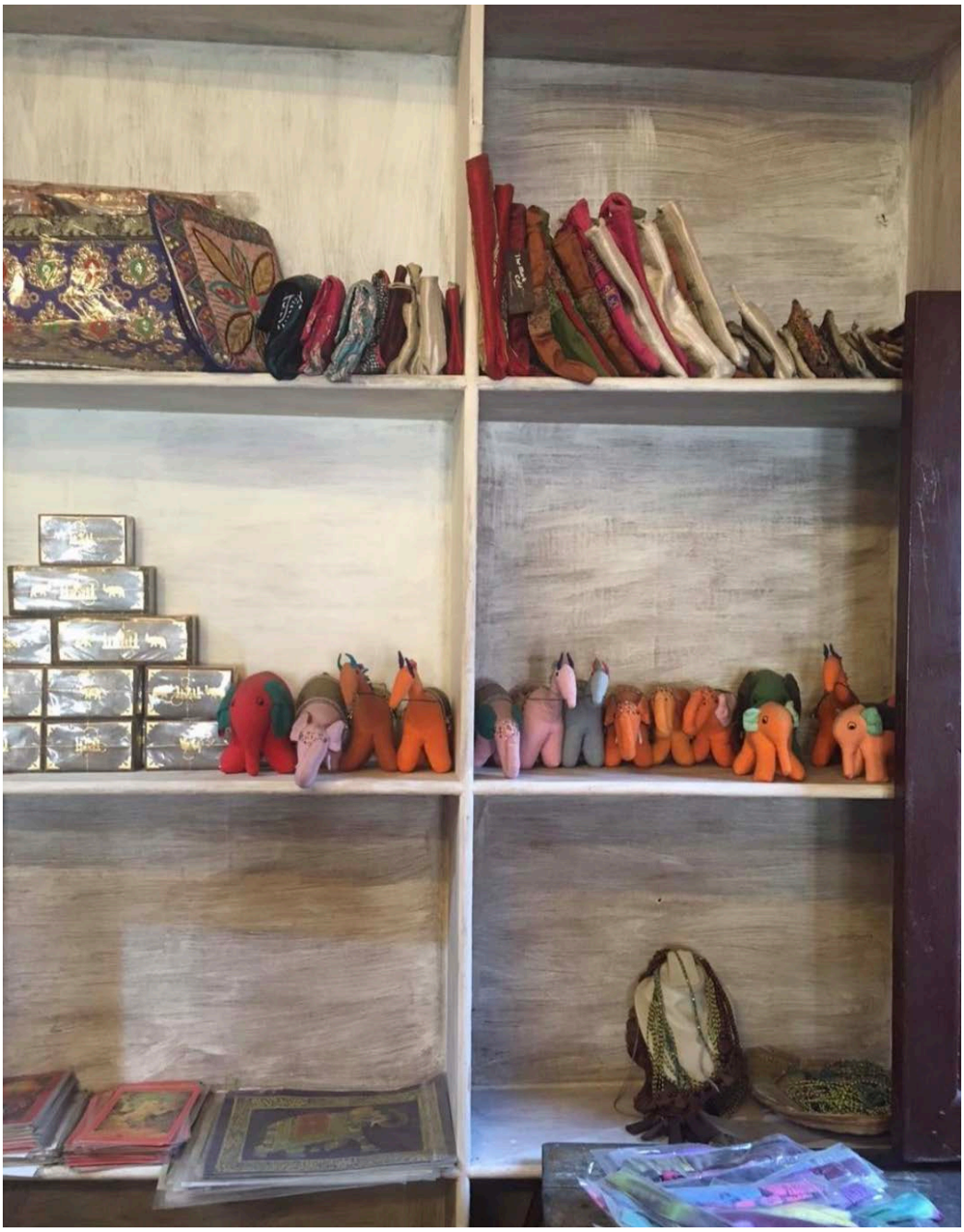


Figure 1: The Mark Café cash register display. Fall 2017 CE. Varanasi, India. Photo by author.

Figure 2: Tassili n'Aijer rock-cut elephants. c. 6000 BCE. Tassili n'Aijer National Park, Algeria.

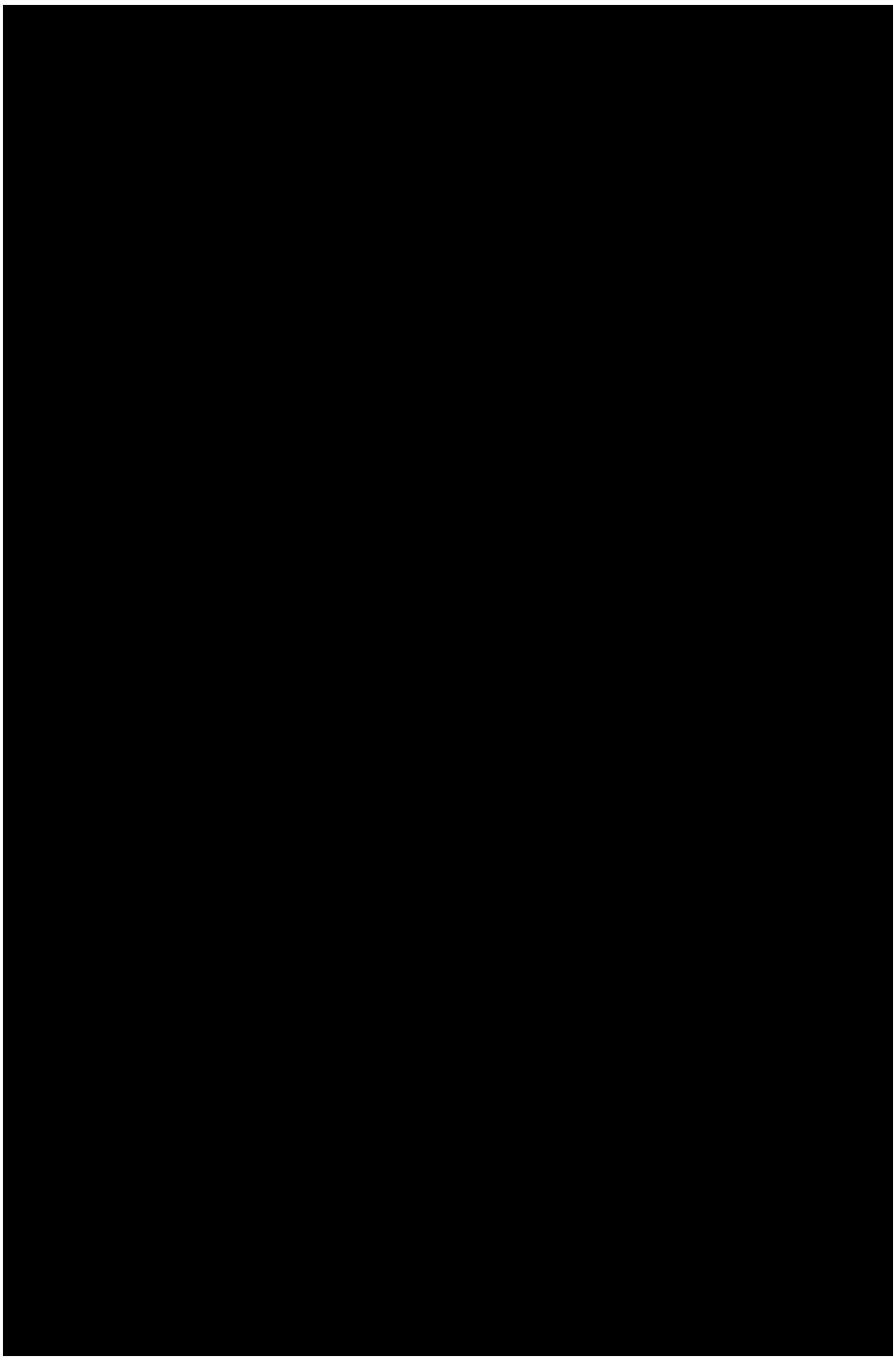


Figure 3: *Akbar Restrains the Enraged Elephant Hawa'I* from the *Akbarnama*, Basawan, c. 1590 CE. North India.

Figure 4: *Indian Temple, Said to be the Mosque of Abo-ul-Nabi.* Thomas Daniell, 1827. North India.

Figure 5: *Cabinet of Curiosities,* Domenico Remps, 1690.

Figure 6: *Crystal Palace India Display, 1851,* Dickinson Brothers, 1852. London, UK.

Figure 7: Liberty & Company catalogue. Liberty & Company, 1883. London, UK.

Figure 8: *Gandhi at His Spinning Wheel* in *Time Magazine.* Margaret Bourke-White, 1946.

Figure 9: The Elephant Pants website. One Tribe Apparel, Winter 2019.

Figure 10: Greenmarket Square. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018.

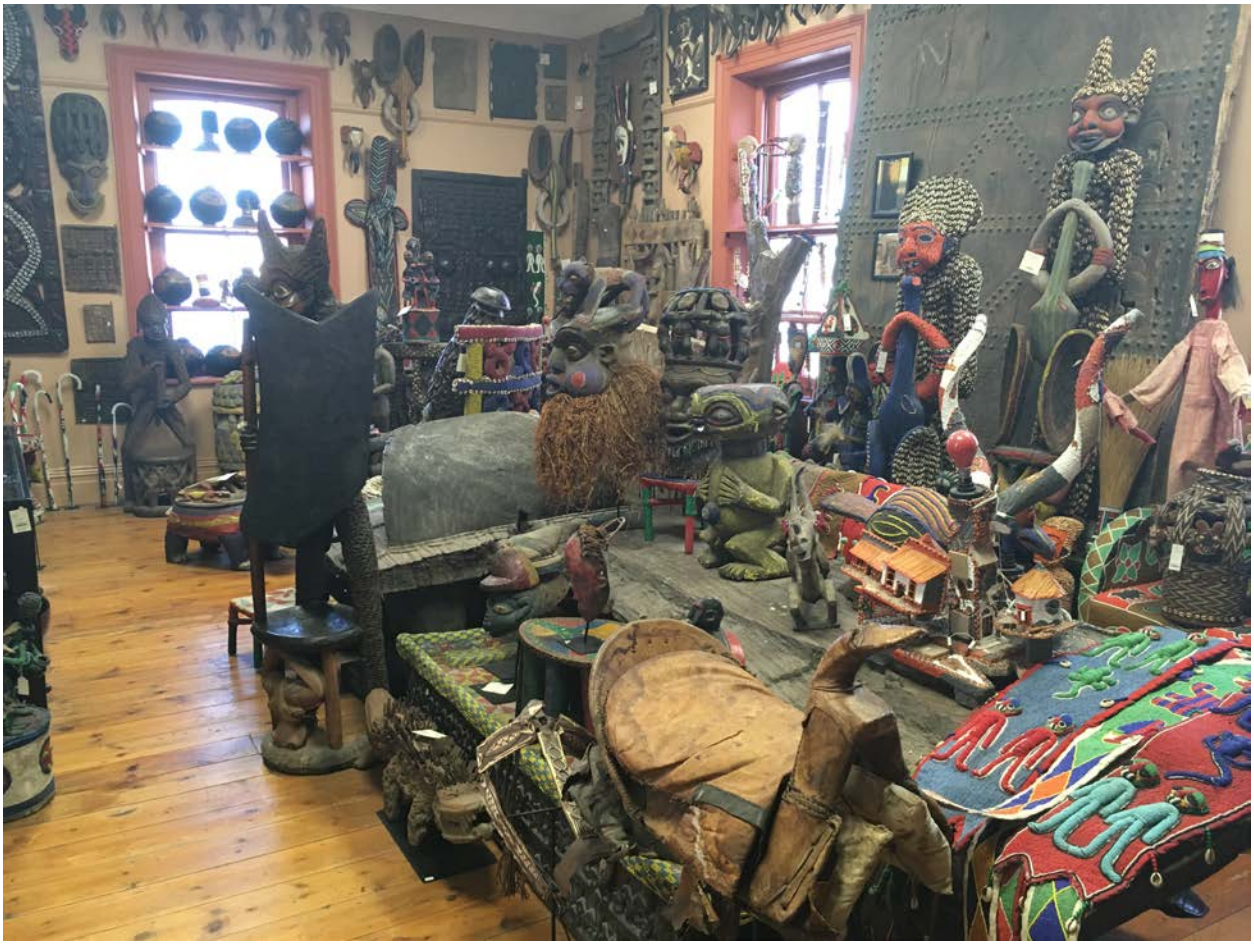


Figure 11: African Trading Port purchase display. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018.

Figure 12: Dilli Haat Gate. Delhi, India.

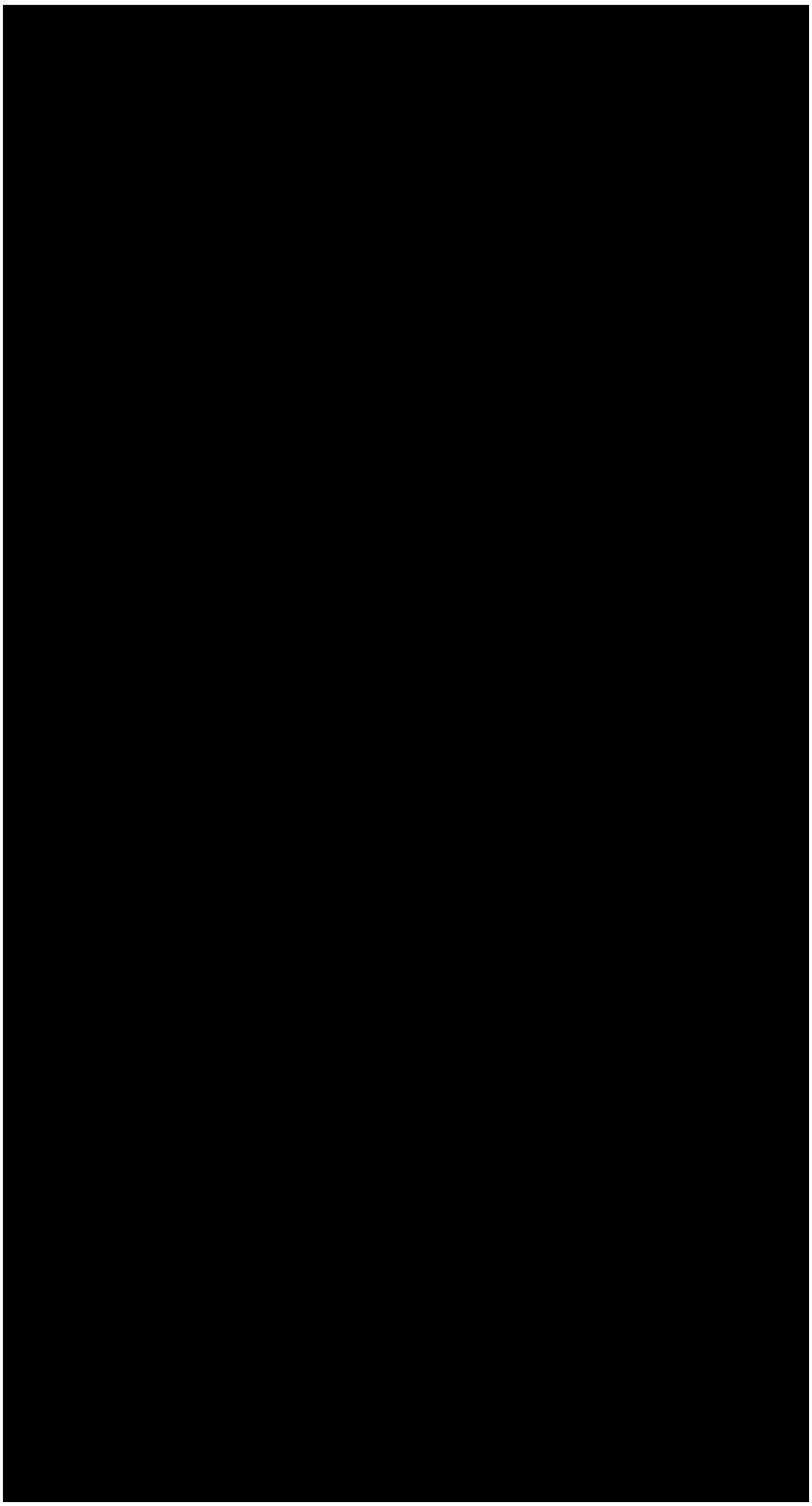


Figure 13: Dilli Haat Crafts Tent and Crafts Bazaar. Delhi, India.

Figure 14: Dilli Haat maker. Photo by author, Delhi, India. June 2018.

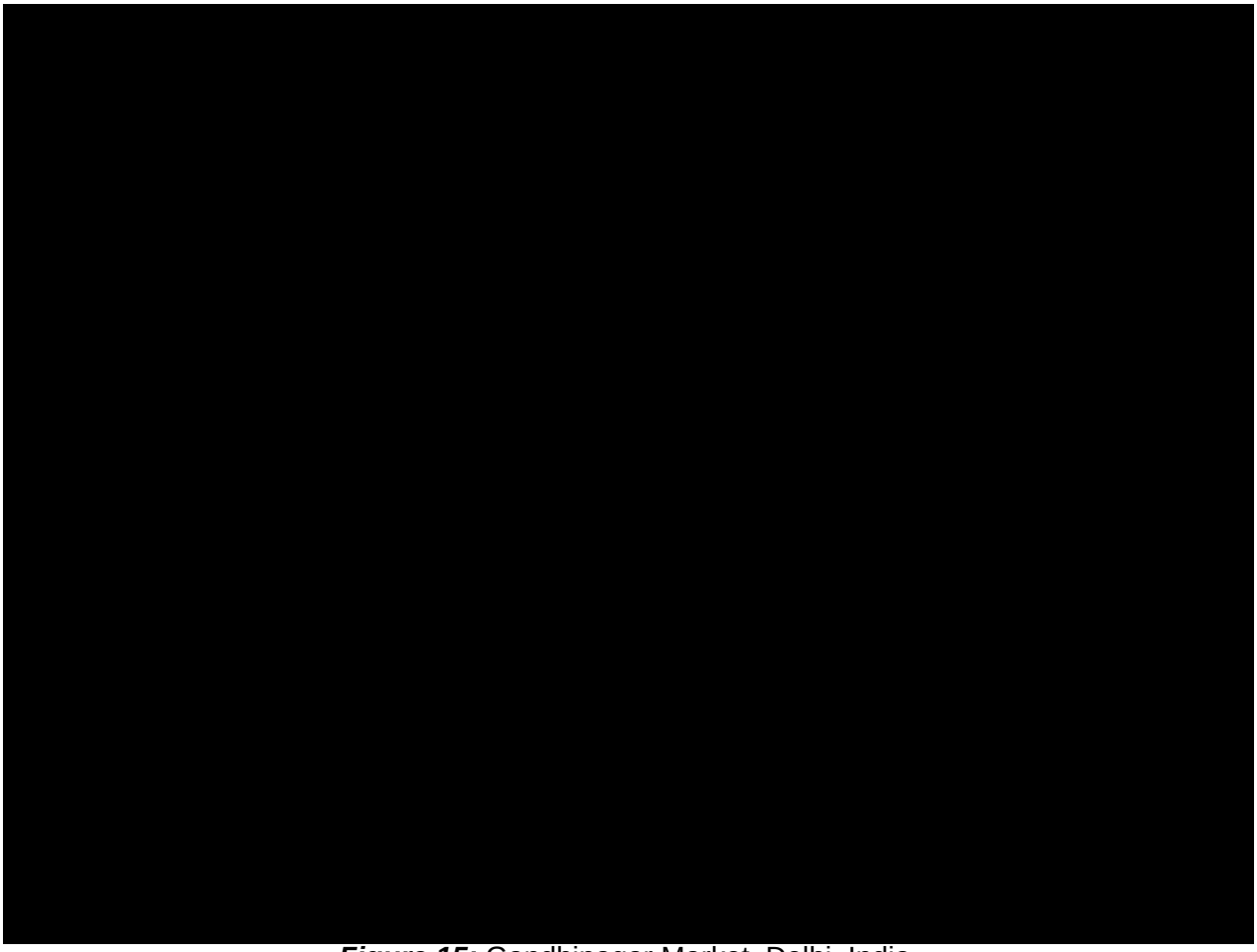


Figure 15: Gandhinagar Market. Delhi, India.

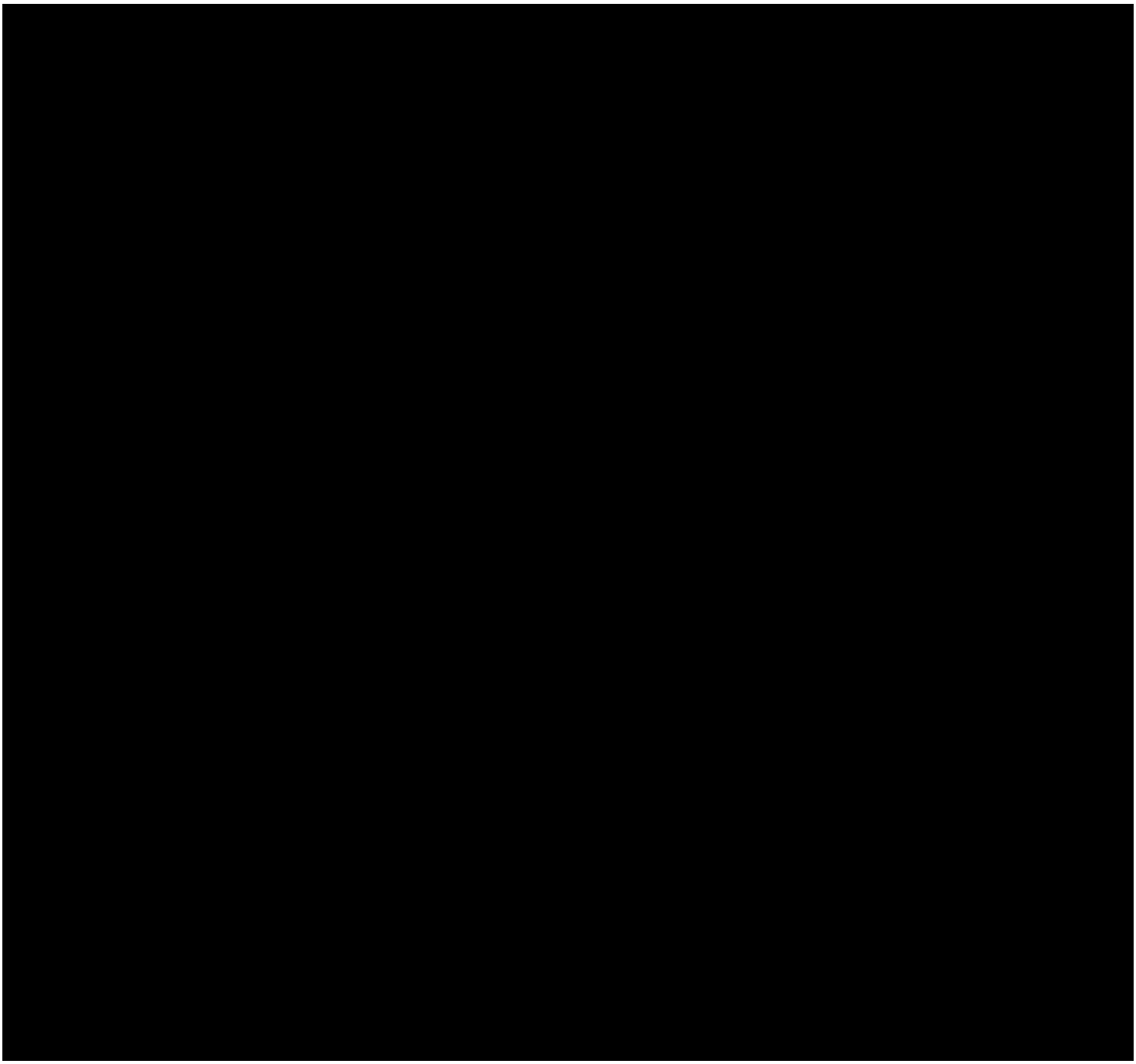


Figure 16: Dilli Haat tourists. TripAdvisor.com.

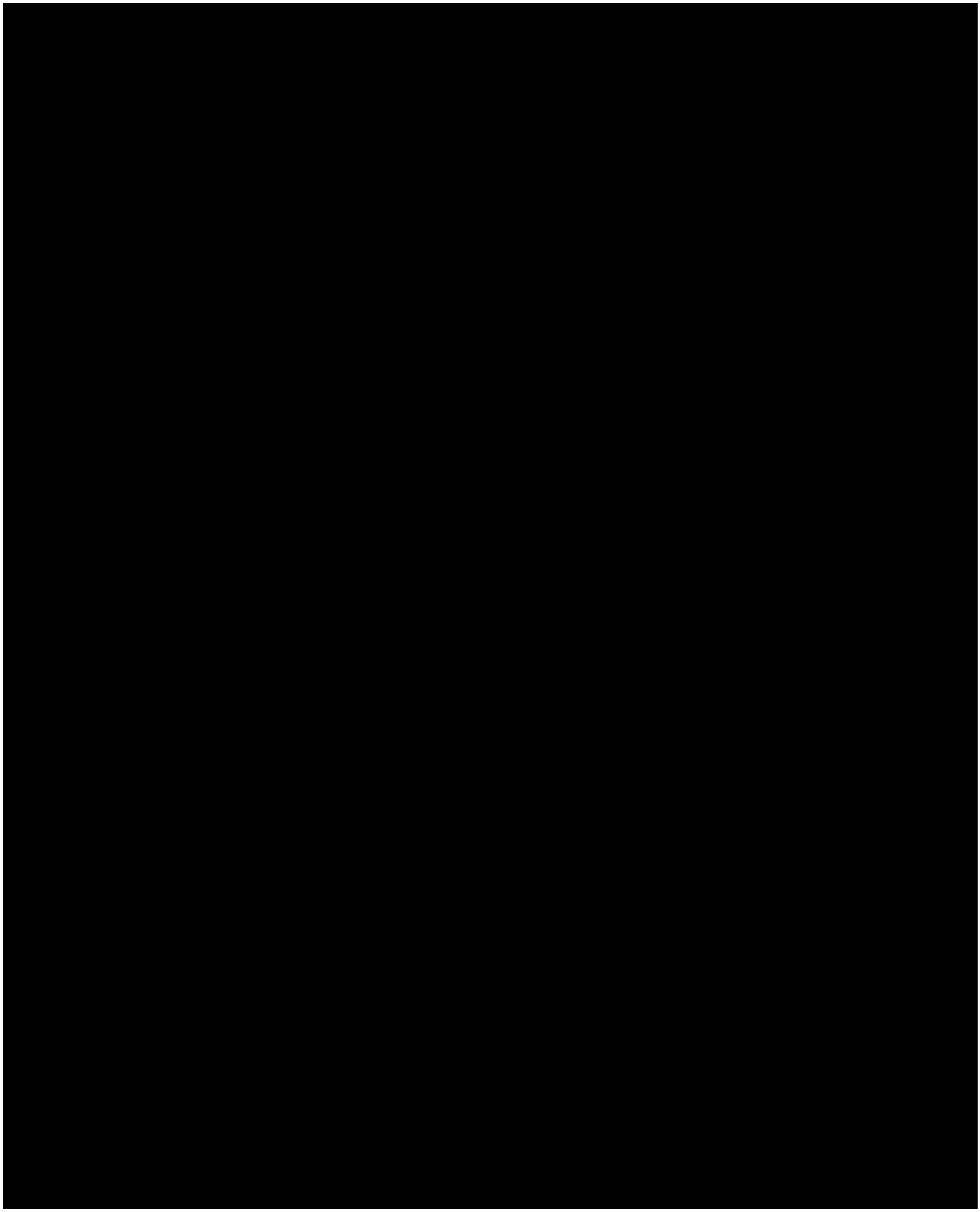


Figure 17a: Typical street-shopping in Delhi. Connaught Place, Delhi.
Figure 17b: Dilli Haat shopping. Delhi, India.

Figure 18: Magic Crafts display shelves. Photo by author, Tibetan Market, Delhi. June 2018.

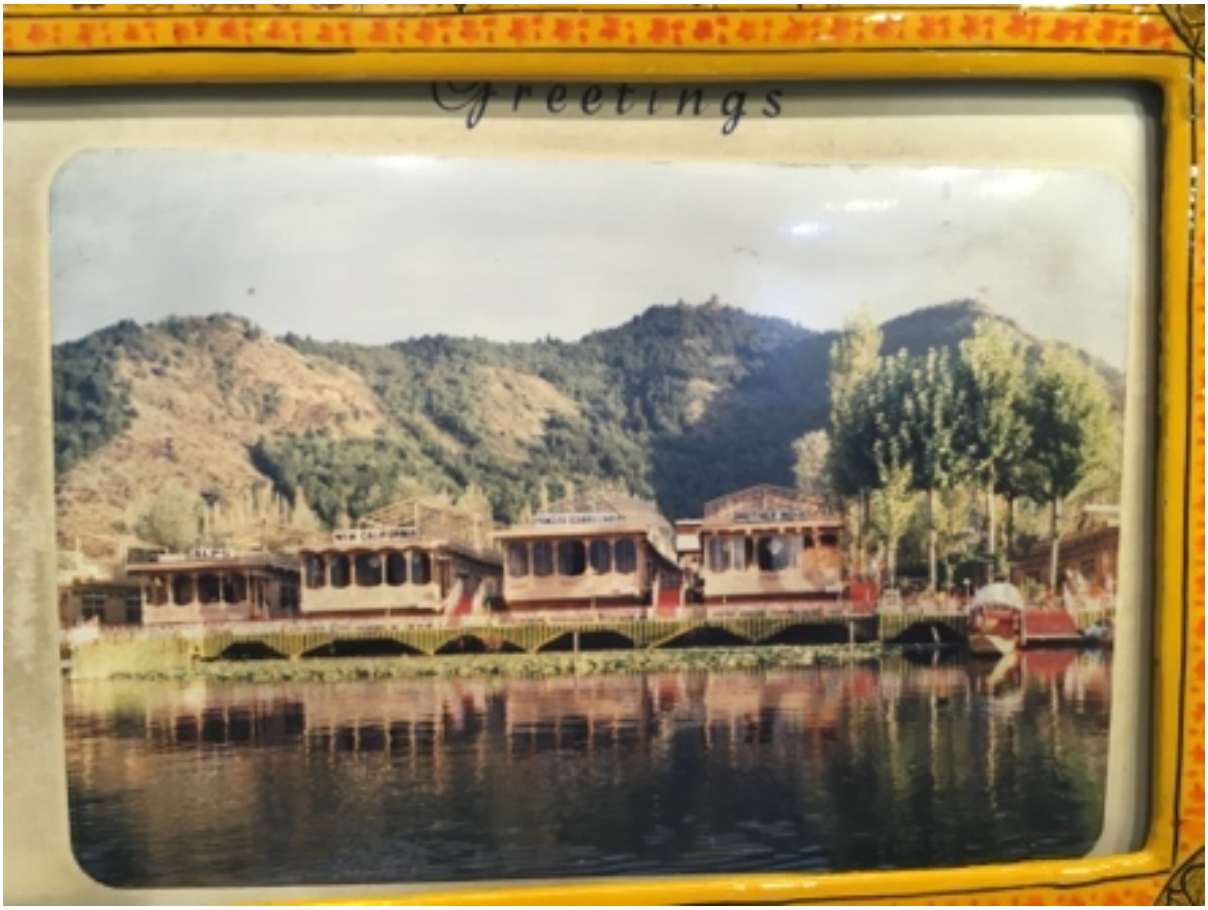


Figure 19: Photo of Mansur-ji's family home, 1973. Photo by author, Tibetan Market, Delhi. June 2018.

Figure 20: Magic Crafts Elephant I. Photo by author, Tibetan Market, Delhi. June 2018.

Figure 21: Magic Crafts Elephant II. Photo by author, Tibetan Market, Delhi. June 2018.

Figure 22: Dilli Haat Elephant Strand. Photo by author, Delhi, India. June 2018.

Figure 23: Paharganj Elephant Strand. Photo by author, Delhi, India. June 2018.

Figure 24: heartworks store exterior. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018.

Figure 25: heartworks displays. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018.

Figure 26: heartworks Elephant. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018.

Figure 27: OpenHand merchandise display. Photo by author, Varanasi, India. Fall 2017.

Figure 28: OpenHand Elephant. Photo by author, Varanasi, India. Fall 2017.

Figure 29: OpenHand cash register display. Photo by author, Varanasi, India. Fall 2017.

Figure 30: Shongololo display. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018

Figure 31: Shongololo makers. Shongololo website.

Figure 32: Shongololo Suitcase Elephant. Photo by author, Cape Town, South Africa. July 2018.

Figure 33: Authentic *shweshwe* fabric.

Figure 34: Shongololo webpage. Shongololo website. Winter 2019.

Figure 35: Ishana lotus pool. Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi, India.

Figure 36: Ishana Elephant. Photo by author, Delhi, India. June 2018.

Figure 37: Indian Delite Souvenir Pop-Up. Photo by author, Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi, India. July 2018.

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