

CRAFTING MEMORIES IN THE MANTARO VALLEY OF PERU –
PERFORMANCE AND VISUAL REPRESENTATION
IN CRAFTSWOMEN’S SOUVENIR PRODUCTION

by

KELLEY D. TOTTEN

A THESIS

Presented to the Interdisciplinary Studies Program:
Individualized Program
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

September 2009

“Crafting Memories in the Mantaro Valley of Peru – Performance and Visual Representation in Craftswomen’s Souvenir Production,” a thesis prepared by Kelley D. Totten in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Individualized Program. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

Dr. Lisa Gilman, Chair of the Examining Committee

Dr. Julianne Newton, Committee Member

Dr. Carol Silverman, Committee Member

August 25, 2009
Date

Committee in Charge: Dr. Lisa Gilman, Folklore
 Dr. Julianne Newton, Journalism and Communication
 Dr. Carol Silverman, Anthropology

Accepted by:

Dean of the Graduate School

© 2009 Kelley D. Totten

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Kelley Dianne Totten

for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Individualized Program

to be taken

September 2009

Title: CRAFTING MEMORIES IN THE MANTARO VALLEY OF PERU –
PERFORMANCE AND VISUAL REPRESENTATION IN CRAFTSWOMEN’S
SOUVENIR PRODUCTION

Approved:

Dr. Lisa Gilman, Chair

Approved:

Dr. Julianne Newton, Committee Member

Approved:

Dr. Carol Silverman, Committee Member

The Mantaro Valley of Peru is known for its distinctive Andean villages whose residents specialize in a traditional craft that defines the community’s identity: gourd carvers call Cochas Grande home; tapestry weavers reside in Hualhuas; and silversmiths forge traditional designs in San Jerónimo. As tourism to the region develops, travelers purchase these handicrafts as souvenirs to represent and remember a visit to Peru. John Urry suggests that tourists “gaze” on locals, causing them to reconstruct themselves in

terms of the tourists' ideas of authenticity. Based on my fieldwork in the Mantaro Valley, I complicate Urry's argument by presenting a multifaceted approach analyzing the complex ways in which these women communicate their individual, familial, regional and national identities through the objects they create. I incorporate visual rhetoric and material behavior theories to suggest alternative ways-of-looking within tourism interactions that consider the relationships between the craftswomen, intermediaries and tourists.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Kelley Totten

PLACE OF BIRTH: Fullerton, California

DATE OF BIRTH: August 1, 1976

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Individualized Program
2009, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Journalism and French
1998, Washington and Lee University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Folklore
With a concentration in Anthropology and Communications

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Conference Coordinator, UO/UNESCO Center for Intercultural Dialogue
Eugene, Oregon, January – August 2009

Graduate Teaching Fellow, University of Oregon Folklore Program
Eugene, Oregon, April 2007 – June 2008

Assistant Expedition Leader/ Purser, Lindblad Expeditions
Seattle, Washington, February 2005 – June 2006

Student Host, John C. Campbell Folk School
Brasstown, North Carolina, June – December 2004

Marketing Manager, Armed Forces Recreation Center Resorts in Europe
Garmisch, Germany, October 1999 – February 2003

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

Graduate Student Research Grant, “Crafting Memories in the Mantaro Valley of Peru – Performance and Visual Representation in Craftswomen’s Souvenir Production,”
Center for the Study of Women in Society, University of Oregon, 2008-2009

Association of Western States Folklorists Bea Roeder Scholarship, 2009

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my committee chair, Professor Lisa Gilman, and my advisors, Professors Julianne Newton and Carol Silverman. Their assistance, guidance and support were invaluable in this process. I would also like to thank the many people who contributed to the completion of this thesis by providing me with stimulating conversations, printing assistance, laughter, food and coffee.

I am especially grateful to the people I met in the Mantaro Valley while conducting my fieldwork, especially Gaby and the Maldonado family of Hualhuas, Maria of Viques, Delia of Cochabamba Grande and Nelly of San Jerónimo de Tunán.

This research was supported by a graduate student research grant from the Center for the Study of Women in Society at the University of Oregon.

This thesis is dedicated to my father, Peter, and my mother, Dianne – two beautiful craftspeople who have always supported me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION TO SOUVENIRS AND THE MANTARO VALLEY	1
Souvenirs, Communication and Tourism	5
The Mantaro Valley	6
Hualhuas	7
San Jerónimo de Tunán	9
Cochas Grande and Cochas Chico	11
Viques	12
Tourist Types	14
Travel to the Mantaro Valley	15
Method	17
Gender and Family Dynamics Amongst Craftspeople	21
Souvenirs	25
Peruvian Souvenirs	26
Examining the Process	28
II. INVOKING ACTION, THE SOUVENIR AS MATERIAL RHETORIC	31
Visual Rhetoric	38
Maria's Faja	39
Material Behavior	42
Material Rhetoric	43
Experiencing the Gourd's Story	45
III. A WEB OF EXPERIENTIAL GAZES IN TOURISM	48
The Tourist Gaze	53
Web of Experiential Gazes	59
Applying a Rug to the Web of Experiential Gazes Model	62
Agents of Buying and Selling Souvenirs	66
Authenticity and Authenticating the Object	69
Craftswomen's Agency in the Authentication Process	74
Tourist Perceptions of Place	75

Chapter	Page
IV. CONCLUSION	79
APPENDIX: CRAFTSWOMEN OF THE MANTARO VALLEY	87
BIBLIOGRAPHY	94

LIST OF PHOTOS

Photo	Page
1. Delia Poma, Cochabamba, Peru	1
2. Hualhuas	8
3. San Jerónimo de Tunán	10
4. Cochabamba and Cochabamba Chico	11
5. Viques	13
6. Women’s sombrero “gazebo” located in Viques	22
7. My first visit to Viques	33
8. Weaving a faja with Maria	35
9. A “weaver’s-eye” view of the faja in progress	36
10. A souvenir photograph from Viques	37
11. The Maldonado family shops in Hualhuas	49
12. Faustino Maldonado explains the weaving process	51
13. Mate burilado (gourd) carved by Delia Poma	56
14. Experiencing a rug from Hualhuas	63
15. Baby alpaca shawl.....	68
16. Experiencing the silversmith’s process.....	81
17. Delia Maria Poma de Nunez.....	87
18. Maria Magdalena Huzco Toribio.....	88
19. Gabriella “Gaby” Dámata Maldonado Lazo	89
20. Agrepina Lazo de Maldonado.....	90
21. Maria Lazo Hinostroza	91
22. Graciela Dámata Maldonado Lazo and family.....	92
23. Nelly Vazquez.....	93

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Nature of Visual Rhetoric	40
2. Nature of Material Rhetoric	44
3. Nature of Material Rhetoric, Graciela's Rug	66

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Analysis Model of Visual Rhetoric	41
2. Web of Experiential Gazes	60

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO SOUVENIRS AND THE MANTARO VALLEY

At the corner of Giraldez and Calle Huancas in Huacayo, Peru, you can catch a pale yellow bus that will take you from the paved streets of the city to the narrow dirt

Photo 1
Delia Poma, Cochas Grande, Peru
July, 2003



roads of Cochas Chico and Cochas Grande.

On October 9, 2008, just over five years from my previous visit to the Mantaro Valley, I caught this bus, hoping to visit the home of Delia Maria Poma de Nunes, a well-known gourd carver from Cochas Grande.¹ I was carrying a photograph I had taken of her five years before when I visited Peru for two months of a year-long backpacking trip, a common style of low-budget, independent travel. The photo shows Delia in the courtyard of her home (*see photo 1*). She stands to the left of a

¹ Whenever I had a personal interaction with someone in this paper, such as craftswomen and tourists, I will refer to the person by their first name following the first mention of their full name. Delia is well known as “Delia Poma,” though she signs her work both as “Delia Poma” and “Delia Poma de Nunes.”

banister lined with gourds she has carved. She wears the traditional sombrero (hat specific to the region, not to be confused with the stereotyped image of the wide-brimmed Mexican sombrero), an embroidered justa (skirt) and a manta, a colorfully striped woven blanket worn by women for both decorative dress and as a functional carrier. I took this photo of Delia after visiting with her one morning in August 2003. During that trip, I had planned to spend a week in the Mantaro Valley; I ended up staying for a month. As a souvenir of my visit to Peru, I bought one of Delia's gourds – one of her smaller gourds, with large figures depicting a caterpillar's metamorphosis. Both the picture and the gourd became important possessions of mine since that first trip to Peru. They are objects whose meanings have evolved. The gourd tells multiple stories – of my year-long travels, of my experience in Peru and of the photo, my meeting with Delia Poma. And the photograph simultaneously reveals a story of the gourd. Person, place and meaning combine in the two objects to reveal a moment in which my life intersected with the life of Delia Poma. And while it exists as a representation for a larger experience for me, it creates an idea of “Peru” in my mind. The way I think about the country cannot be separated from how I interpret this gourd and how I see this photograph. It was possibly this specific interaction – this moment reflected in the photograph and gourd – that led me back to Cochas Grande.

With a copy of the photograph in my bag, I knocked on Delia's door. The nameplate bearing her name was still above the door, reassuring me that I had the right house. A young teenager answered the door and I quickly explained, in my timid Spanish, that I had been there before and that I had a photo that I wanted to give to Delia

Poma, if she was home. The girl welcomed me in and asked where I was from. “Los Estados Unidos?” she asked. She was Delia’s youngest daughter, Consuela, and she asked me several questions as we waited. She was curious about who I was and why I was there. She seemed a little excited to meet a young woman traveling by herself, but she was obviously accustomed to foreigners showing up at her door.

Delia came down the stairs, a gourd and carving tool in her hand. She was very polite, but I had interrupted her work. She welcomed me and asked why I was there, most likely well aware that I was not there to purchase one of her “collection” gourds.² I handed her the photograph and told her that I had visited five years prior. I knew Delia was famous for her gourd carving and did not need another photograph of her posing with her gourds. She has a notebook at least two inches thick with copies of all of the prizes she has won. The National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. owns two of her gourds. Yet when I handed her the photograph, she was gracious and thanked me. She spoke slowly with me and asked me questions about my studies, my family and my work. Consuela interjected with comments and questions throughout our conversation. They were impressed by the fact that I supported myself, without the help of my family. They laughed when I revealed that I was not particularly good at my most recent job as a waitress. I had practiced a certain line of questioning and conversation in my head before I arrived. When we veered off that path, my nerves and molasses-paced thinking in Spanish could not quite keep up. So I continued to answer their questions,

² Collection pieces refer to items of fine detail and considerable workmanship, priced above a typical tourists’ budget for a souvenir. Craftspeople typically sell their collection items from their homes, at galleries, museums and international expositions. Craftspeople may also feature items in their collections that are not for sale.

feeling more like I had arrived for an interview. After a little time, Delia had to return to her carving. She was preparing for a big exposition and apologized for not having more time. Our conversation reminded me of the one we had had five years prior. I cannot pretend that it felt like I have known her for longer than I have, but I did feel like we were two people with something in common. Despite obvious language barriers, we were able to communicate, and our conversations flowed between discussing our families, our homes, her craft and my studies. We met in this place with such a diverse arsenal of back stories and we quickly found a place where they could converge.

Maybe this shared experience is something that I always saw when I looked at the photograph and the gourd. They were not just colors, lines, film, gourd. The reflected light on the photograph and the engraved images on the gourd communicated an understanding that is both personal and communal. They were shared experiences that required participation by both the artist and myself, the audience.

My backpacking year around the world was just one of many experiences working, studying and traveling abroad that I have had over the past ten years. As I returned to academic life, I could not help but gravitate toward studying these experiences. I began to look at tourism and interaction between the locals and tourists – the people being visited and the people visiting. Looking around my apartment, I realized it was filled with objects from my travels. Batiks from Indonesia, a drum from Benin, a tapestry from Laos, a sweater from Argentina, and a beer stein from Germany. I remembered some of these objects as items from specific places; some of the items were objects from individual people; and others were objects from memorable events. They all

communicated something. I started to consider these objects as a part of a process, a complex web of communication interwoven with the threads of folklore, performance and visual communication theories I was studying. The souvenirs displayed in my apartment were not kitsch items to be thrown away a few years after the trip. Examining the souvenir through a multidisciplinary mode of study opened up a broader understanding of the ways in which locals and tourists interact, beyond the object.

Souvenirs, Communication and Tourism

How do tourists begin to understand place based on objects? I decided to return to the Mantaro Valley of Peru to study craftswomen who are making traditional craft items and selling them as souvenirs to tourists. I am interested in the process of making traditional crafts, and what that process communicates when the audience expands beyond the traditional culture. Using my fieldwork with craftswomen in the Mantaro Valley as an example, I hope to examine this process and try to understand the ways in which locals and tourists understand one another through objects. Several questions inform my research: How do tourists come to know a place and its people based on the visual imagery of souvenirs; and how do the local craftswomen understand, create and control that communication? What happens when women sell their crafts directly to tourists? How do craftswomen in the Mantaro Valley perform gender and negotiate agency in the re-presentation of themselves as individuals and members of their communities? I will attempt to answer these questions by examining the souvenir through the concept of material rhetoric and the elements that contribute to the souvenir's ability

to invoke action and communication in the tourist experience. I will expand from this framework to consider the gaze, complicating John Urry's notion of the "tourist gaze," and will introduce a theoretical model, a web of experiential gazes that examines the souvenir-mediated tourist interaction in an effort to understand the complex ways in which the craftswomen communicated communal and personal identities to tourists.

The Mantaro Valley

The Mantaro Valley is known for its unique Andean villages, each of whose residents specialize in a traditional craft that defines the community's identity: gourd carvers call Cochas Grande and Cochas Chico home; tapestry weavers reside in Hualhuas; and silversmiths forge traditional designs in San Jerónimo, to name just a few. Huancayo, the region's central city, stages the oldest Sunday market in Peru, which includes a bustling souvenir market selling wares from the surrounding area, providing an interesting and multifaceted location for my study. Located in the Central Highlands at an altitude of 3,271 meters (10,730 feet), Huancayo is situated approximately 120 miles east of Lima, the coastal capital of Peru. The Rio Mantaro begins in Lake Junín and runs south until it meets up with the Rio Apurímac to form the Rio Ene, winding through the foothills of the Andes to create a valley with rich soil perfect for growing corn, wheat, artichokes, beans and hundreds of varieties of potatoes.

While Huancayo is the commercial center of the region, numerous small villages contribute to the cultural and political landscapes of the Mantaro Valley. The majority of the people in the outlying villages make their livings from craft production, selling their

items from their homes, in markets in Huancayo, Lima and Cusco, and in some cases, through export markets. Some craftspeople are able to fully support themselves through crafts, while others rely on multiple modes of income. The modes of income vary by both an individual family's situation and demand for the type of craft the artisanal family sells. For example, Maria Magdalena Huzco Toribio of Viques weaves fajas (belts) in the mornings and farms in the afternoon while her husband, Aurelio, works at the town's municipal offices. Aurelio embroiders justas (skirts) in the evenings and weekends, as needed. Aurelio's mother then sells the woven belts and skirts in Sunday's market. In Hualhuas, a weaving village that specializes in blankets and tapestries, there is a larger demand than in Viques for the craft products for both tourism and export markets. While the Maldonado family grows their own corn, they purchase the majority of their food items, relying on their craft for income.

Understanding communication and identity in the tourism experience in this area requires a closer examination of the towns and peoples beyond the city limits. I conducted fieldwork in four towns in the Mantaro Valley: Hualhuas, San Jerónimo de Tunán, Cochabamba Grande and Chico, and Viques.

Hualhuas

Hualhuas lies approximately eight miles north of Huancayo. Its townspeople proudly speak of their Wanka heritage, the indigenous group from this region who were the last to surrender to Incan rule in Peru (*see photo 2*). Spanish was the common language, though people in the older generations were typically raised speaking both

Photo 2

Huallhuas

Photo from street leading to Graciela Maldonado's home and studio, Incaroca.



Quechua and Spanish. Younger generations may have known several words in Quechua, but I did not know anyone who spoke it conversationally. Quechua terms are used quite frequently throughout the region as business and product names, sports teams, and especially tourist sites. In addition to agriculture, which was primarily for self-

sufficiency, Hualhuas' main industry was weaving. I learned during my time there that parents and grandparents taught the children how to spin and dye fiber and weave on floor looms. Though more and more young people have left their family industries because of increased education opportunities and hopes for better wages in Huancayo and Lima, it was difficult for me to find someone, either male or female, in Hualhuas who had never worked with yarn in some capacity. Weavers sold their wares through shops in their homes, tourist markets throughout Peru, and export markets. They created everything on the loom from rugs, blankets and tapestries to ponchos, purses and scarves. While many artisans spun and dyed some of their fibers, they also purchased a large majority of factory-spun yarn, particularly wool, to use in their work.

San Jerónimo de Tunán

Two and a half miles down the road from Hualhuas is San Jerónimo de Tunán, a small village whose main industry in the early 1900s was the silver and mercury mines (*see photo 3*). Because of the mines, the architecture, language and culture were more influenced by Spanish colonialism than in Hualhuas and some of the other towns in the valley. Today, San Jeronimo is known for its silver filigree jewelry. As I turned off from the main highway corridor, the road leading several blocks to the central square and cathedral was lined with jewelry shops. Professionally printed banners advertised each shop with the same fonts, colors and designs. They looked like any other shop one might find in a tourist market in Lima. The main room's display cases were filled with silver items that ranged from finely crafted earrings and necklaces fabricated in intricate filigree

Photo 3

San Jerónimo de Tunán

Sign as you enter town from the main road leading north and south along the Mantaro River.



designs, to crudely made figures of popular tourist iconography, such as a llama or coca leaf. However, when I ventured behind the main room, unlike a shop in Lima or even Cusco, I found the artist's work table, propane torch, and tools. While the silversmiths were from San Jerónimo de Tunán, the majority of the stores were owned by Lima-based businessmen who typically operated two to three shops on the road entering town.

Cochas Grande and Cochas Chico

Seven miles to the east of Huancayo, located off the road leading to a sacred glacier and Apu (mountain spirit) called Huaytapallana, lie the two towns renowned for gourd carving, Cochas Chico and Cochas Grande (*see photo 4*). A rusty sign painted with a landscape and adorned with the words “Cochas Grande” seemed the only indication that I passed from one village to the other. To the locals, there was a significant difference. According to Delia, the people of Cochas Grande were native to Cochas. The majority of the population of Cochas Chico was immigrants. And despite its name, Cochas Chico (Little Cochas), was actually larger than Cochas Grande (Big Cochas).

Photo 4

Cochas Grande and Cochas Chico

View of the “border” between Cochas Chico and Cochas Grande along the main road.



Approximately 60 families lived in Cochas Grande, whereas 150 families lived in the “little” village. The immigrants migrated primarily from the surrounding mountains, though some may have come from Huancayo and other villages. In Cochas Grande, each family owned the land and its home, passing the ownership along from one generation to the next. Thus people had not over built the land, maintaining a home large enough to suit their needs with a plot of land that accommodated the amount of food they needed, some chickens, and perhaps a burro or llama. There was a much higher percentage of public-use land space in Cochas Chico, making it more accessible to migrating peoples. Because of the long-time success of the gourd carving industry, Cochas (both Grande and Chico) was relatively better off than any of the other villages in the Mantaro Valley. Typical throughout the Mantaro Valley, homes were built around a courtyard. In Cochas, these courtyards served as the sites of carving production. Family members worked together in the home’s courtyard as they prepared the gourds, carved, and added color and the finishing touches.

Viques

Viques lies twelve miles south of Huancayo, directly on the Mantaro River. It was the smallest of the four villages I visited (*see photo 5*). Despite the easy transportation to and from Huancayo (it took approximately one hour to travel there by public bus), Viques was more isolated. In walking the streets of any new village, I inevitably had to stop and ask for directions. My first visit to Viques proved no different, and I quickly gained a sense that the place differed from some other locations in the valley. More

Photo 5
Viques
Bronze statue of woman depicting festival dance, located in the town plaza.



people here spoke Quechuan than in the other villages and were less accustomed to speaking with foreigners. Viques was not on the average tourist's radar. One tour operator in Huancayo, Lucho Hurtado, occasionally brought visitors to Viques, and resident Maria Magdalena Huzco Toribio was mentioned in a guidebook as a weaving

contact. People in Viques were self-sufficient farmers. Regionally, they were known for producing two important elements of traditional dress – the faja, woven belts worn by both men and women, and the embroidered justas, or skirts worn by women. The items were sold in the daily market in Huancayo, behind Avenue Giraldez – a chaotic maze of alleys and pavilions lined with everything from tools to imported plastic shoes to appliances to dead chickens.

Tourist Types

The label “tourist” encompasses a wide range of meanings and descriptions. A variety of tourists – from other regions of Peru, South America and the world – visit the Mantaro Valley. Considering my own experiences as a traveler, I will focus primarily on two types of tourists, foreign backpackers and volunteer tourists. Backpacking refers to a style of travel named for the baggage one carries. Though backpackers can be any age, the term typically connotes persons in their 20s and 30s with small budgets who stay in hostels, use public transportation and typically travel solo or in small groups. Volunteer tourists are travelers who volunteer as a means to see another part of the world, meet new people, and experience different cultures. A balance between a desire to “help people” and a desire to travel is highly subjective and individualized by each tourist. As volunteer organizations often offer low-cost accommodations and food, this style of travel appeals to tourists traveling on a small budget. Both volunteer travelers and backpackers often view their travels as a part of their personal identity, as opposed to a marked separation from their “real” lives. Along with backpackers and volunteer tourists, the tourist markets

in the Mantaro Valley hosted a large spectrum of national and foreign tourist types, including those people with less time to travel and larger budgets, as well as luxury tourists – tourists staying in high-end, often foreign-owned hotels who view their experience as a “vacation” and an “escape” from their everyday lives.

Travel to the Mantaro Valley

Although there was a small airport in the province, there were no regular commercial flights. The majority of travelers arrived by bus, a journey that winds over the Andes with roads climbing to 3,717 meters (12,195 feet) before dropping down into the Mantaro Valley. The second highest train in the world ran from Lima to Huancayo. Completed in 1908 the train ran continuously until 1993. In the early 2000s, the train was reintroduced, providing sporadic tourist service. In 2006, the train initiated its first official service, and while I was there, provided twice-monthly transportation between Lima and Huancayo. While some foreign tourists opted to take the tourist train, the majority of passengers were wealthy Limeños, residents of Lima, looking for a weekend getaway from the nation’s capital and largest city. Peruvian national tourists made up the largest percentage of visitors to the region. Throughout Peru, high schools often sponsored trips for their graduating classes to another part of the country. The Mantaro Valley served as a logical layover for groups traveling from Lima as they traveled on further east to La Merced and the Amazonian jungle. In November, the Maldonado shops in Hualhuas were visited almost daily by different high school groups.

Tourism to the area stopped completely during the late 1980s and 1990s when the Maoist terrorist group, the Shining Path, occupied villages throughout the Central Highlands in its war against the Peruvian national army. The region was still experiencing a slow, but steady recovery in 2008, and it remained a relatively remote destination for foreign tourists to Peru. The majority of foreign visitors were backpackers or volunteer tourists. Huancayo saw a significant increase in volunteer tourists, the majority of whom worked in orphanages or medical clinics. Backpackers with extended stays in Peru sometimes added Huancayo as a stopover on a circuitous route from Lima to Arequipa to Cusco to Ayacucho and north to Huancayo before returning to Lima. Huancayo served as a rest stop between arduous bus journeys. At times, the backpackers lingered longer in the area, but often they overlooked the villages just miles from the city center. This kind of tourist created a considerably lower-end market for souvenirs than Peru's higher-income generating regions of Cusco, Arequipa and Lima. The region's popularity was slowly growing, however, with the recently reinstated tourist train from Lima to Huancayo and its inclusion as a highlighted "off the beaten path" destination in several guidebooks written for foreign tourists. While the national tourists tended to travel in organized groups, the foreign visitors seemed to prefer individual travel. This difference was reflected in the kinds of tourist agencies operating out of Huancayo. The majority of the tour operators catered to a Spanish-speaking national clientele. Foreign backpackers who signed up for these tours seemed to look at the excursions as a way to experience "Peruvian" culture – interacting with the other tourists as a way to meet Peruvians, regardless of their regional backgrounds, and practice their Spanish. One

agency, Incas del Peru, operated by the aforementioned Lucho Hurtado, stood out as the most connected and widely-used agency for foreign tourists. Connected with his tour operation, Lucho ran a hostel, Casa de la Abuela, which was originally owned by his mother. Lucho's tours were markedly more expensive than others, run in English and focused on crafts and individual artists. Several of the volunteer agencies also acted as quasi tourist companies. They recruited travelers to the region to volunteer in orphanages, schools and clinics. They set them up in home stays or hostel-like accommodations and often offered travel excursions on the weekends.

Despite rising popularity among tourists to the region and the long-standing traditions of artists, Huancayo and the Mantaro Valley have attracted little attention from scholars. The aim of this research is to participate in a broader dialogue on cultural identity and agency in craft production for souvenirs by focusing on this understudied region.

Method

I approached my fieldwork in a similar way to how I approached my travel – I wandered. I made contacts in each village through the use of guidebooks, contacts and introductions made on my previous trip, and walks through the streets of each village, asking questions and talking to people at souvenir shops. I decided to work in the four villages included here based on the people I met, the relevance of their work to my project and their apparent interest and willingness to welcome me into their homes. I had the most limited time with Delia and Nelly Aide G. Vasquez, a silversmith from San

Jerónimo de Tunán. With both women, I conducted formal interviews and spent a day watching them as they worked, taking photographs and talking casually about a variety of topics, many of which were more about me and my family than them and theirs. I visited both women at their booths in Huancayo. Nelly had a stall every Sunday in the tourist section of the Sunday market. Delia had a booth run by several members of her family at the Casa de Artesanas, a permanent marketplace located just off the main plaza in Huancayo. I also had the opportunity to observe Nelly interacting with several tourists, though I played an influencing role in the interaction. The tourists were a group of people I had met in San Jeronimo's square as I was taking photos one day in November. I brought them to Nelly's house and acted as interpreter as she showed them her process for making the silver filigree and later sold them some of her items, as I discuss in Chapter Four.

In Viques, I took a backstrap weaving course with Maria. I went every morning to her house for a week and spent four to five hours working on my faja. I also spent time with her family as she invited me on several outings, fixed traditional meals for me and included me in a family reunion to celebrate her son Jhordan's ninth birthday. I conducted an interview with her and took photos on every visit. At Maria's request, I spent a morning taking photos of Maria and her mother-in-law, Marina Porrás de Memanta, dressed in their traditional, formal garments as they staged the process of weaving a faja.

I met Gaby on my first visit to Hualhuas during the first week of October 2008. She and her boyfriend, Celso, invited me back to a Sunday afternoon soccer match, an

invitation that sparked a relationship beyond the parameters of research. Gaby invited me into her weaving family and became a close friend. From October through early December 2008, I spent countless hours hanging out at her parents' shop, talking with tourists, sharing meals with the family and even helping around the store, which included attempting to sell items to tourists. I recorded interviews I conducted with Gaby and six of her relatives. I also spent time observing and photographing her parents' shop, her brother Gabbler's shop and her sister Graciela's shop.

In order to gain a better perspective of the tourist agencies working in the area, I signed up for a day tour of the Mantaro Valley with Peruvian Tours, one of the larger agencies located on the central plaza in Huancayo. I also conducted an interview with the tour guide, Jorge Piñas Mercado. I had several opportunities to interact with different tour groups whenever I was at Gaby's shop in Hualhuas. Agencies brought buses filled with tourists in every morning and I spoke with the tourists and several guides while the group spent about thirty minutes at the stop. I also interviewed Lucho from Incas del Peru and spent time with his office assistant, Rosario, who made most of the bookings. I stayed at his hostel, Casa de la Abuela, when I first arrived and again for a few nights before I left. Incas del Peru typically ran pre-arranged, specialized tours for groups that found him through the Internet. Lucho did not offer any of his "artisanal circuit" tours while I was there in fall 2008. I did, however, join one of his trips in 2003 when he led a group of tourists traveling with G.A.P. Tours, a U.S.-based "adventure" travel company. During that time, I was volunteering for a month at Incas del Peru, living at Casa de la Abuela and helping Lucho with marketing and English publicity. This experience enhanced my

understanding of intermediaries and the myriad of influences in the artisan/tourist interactions.

I met foreign backpackers during my stay at the Casa de la Abuela in Huancayo and accompanied them to the Sunday market. Mornings at the hostel provided a social opportunity over coffee and breakfast where conversation inevitably turned to the common interest of travel. I met tourists in markets and on the streets, including one American who volunteered at a mountain school for the poor, run by a local weaver. I met four tourists – two Americans and two Australians – who volunteered at an orphanage one afternoon in the main square of San Jerónimo de Tunán. I took them to Nelly's studio and helped translate. I later met the group and essentially led them on a "tour" to a livestock market in Chupaca and then to Cochas Grande to the home of another gourd carver, Alejandro Osoreo Cipriano, and his wife. I conducted formal interviews with the two Australian women, and have maintained email correspondence with all four tourists. As I draw on my own personal travels and extensive contact with other backpackers, my analysis will refer primarily to the experiences of this type of foreign tourist.

I also draw on over ten years of experience in the travel industry. In terms of traveler types, I have been a backpacker, volunteer tourist, study abroad student, ex pat, and an organized tour participant. I also worked in the tourism industry, in both marketing and logistics/operations. It was impossible to separate these experiences from my analysis, particularly in my interpretation of tourist behavior and communication. For this reason, as I analyzed tourist perspectives I included my own self reflection,

considering my first impressions of the Mantaro Valley, as well as my observations from my recent trip where I was, essentially, a tourist conducting fieldwork.³ As I continued to study tourism and its impacts on culture, my frame of reference and my role as a tourist changed.

Although I knew from previous visits to the region that both men and women produce crafts, I decided to focus my fieldwork specifically on craftswomen. I made the decision prior to my arrival in Peru, as I wanted to explore gender roles within souvenir production in the Mantaro Valley from the female perspective. I also focused on craftswomen for more logistical and personal reasons. As a female traveling alone, in some communities I have found that it is easier to relate to and engage in conversations with other women, using our shared gender as a starting point to initiate discussions. From my recent experience in the Mantaro Valley, however, I do not think that my gender necessarily facilitated or hindered my interactions with people; I found that the depths of my interactions and ease of communication depended on individuals, rather than gender. I followed through with my initial research intentions to focus on craftswomen and thus present my fieldwork and analysis based on my interactions and experiences with these women and their families.

Gender and Family Dynamics Amongst Craftspeople

Images of a woman's sombrero with two long braids adorned ceramic bowls, emblazoned sweaters and decorated purses. Villages in the Mantaro Valley

³ While some memories from my original trip to Peru in 2003 seem fresh in my mind, I referred to my detailed travel journal and saved email correspondence to family and friends.

constructed pavilions in their main plazas in similar designs – a concrete hat served as a roof to an open-sided shelter with concrete braids as the pillars or support structure (*see photo 6*). The images added an interesting element to the

Photo 6

Women's sombrero "gazebo" located in Viques.



catalog of standardized images, such as llamas and Incan suns, that adorned souvenirs; yet when I asked the craftswomen I interviewed about the significance of the sombrero design, no one seemed to know, or was too interested in why this image was so popular. Maria of Viques told me that it was just because that is how women wear their hair, and she shrugged her shoulders. Gabriella "Gaby"

Maldonado Lazo, of Hualhuas, explained that it was representative of women in the region and that the image demonstrated a pride in their traditional ways. While I think that Gaby's answer was influenced by my presence and her own interpretation of what I study, her nonchalance over the women's sombrero imagery reflected a common attitude, or shared response, from all of the craftswomen I interviewed when discussing the topic of gender: it was the belief that women were honored – as mothers, as life givers and as central figures in the family – but they were *part* of a family. The sombrero and braids seemed to represent family, mother *and* father, for the people of this region. Through my observations and interviews, I saw this respect for both genders in the craftswomen's homes and workshops.

Partnership and equality were central themes in my conversations with the craftswomen about division of labor. Gaby's sister Graciela Dámasa Maldonado Lazo also spoke about the shared earnings: "Everything goes to a single bag. A single table. All one expense. Everything. Our expenses... for dividing everything, the materials we buy, for the kitchen for the children. All is one."⁴ She emphasized that it was not just the money, or the income, that was shared, but the household decision-making as well. "We also share all of the decisions about the kids. What we will pass on to our children. For all of their problems, we find the solution together," she said.

⁴ I have translated all of the quotes from Spanish. I do not include direct translations; instead, I have used my judgment and interpretation of the context of the interview, based on in-depth conversations with each craftswoman in order to present the women's words as best I can. All quotes are transcribed from recorded interviews.

Graciela's mother, Agrepina emphasized the equality in her marriage and work as well: "Us two, we are together. We are not divided. We are equal. He works with me. I work with him. There is no division. When he sells, the materials, the money are mine. When I sell, they are his. Together."

Delia referred to her marriage as a partnership as well. She emphasized that duties were divided based on skill, rather than gender. Her husband, also a gourd carver, worked with her as they prepared, carved and finished the gourds together, with the rest of their family:

"Siempre unidos, la familia. Siempre unidos, todos. (We are always united, the family. We are always united, everyone.) My children, my husband, we all support each other. We do not say this is my work and that is your work. No. We work together. We divide everything. It is because of this that we have been married for so long. And my children live here as well, so that we can work together. Working on the mates means they can work here at home together."

Delia noted that they divide duties according to talent. "It is working together like this that allows us to advance," she said. For gourds that were considered part of her "collection," her husband may have prepared the gourd and helped with the coloring, but Delia did all of the carving. When it came to business and arranging paperwork for her travels, however, she says her husband was best suited to handle the details.

Gaby also emphasized equality in marital and familial relationships and noted that skills played the driving force in determining roles. According to Gaby, however – and supported by the Maldonado family’s division of labor – the women were better suited to handle the business affairs, while the men attended to the physical duties, particularly weaving. Gaby’s cousin Maria Lazo Hinostroza commented that while men may often have had more strength to work at the larger looms, women such as herself still contributed to the craft, using their skills at smaller more manageable looms.

In this paper, I intend to incorporate theories of visual rhetoric and material behavior in order to analyze souvenirs as communication between craftswomen and tourists, using my fieldwork for specific examples. I will then consider the concept of gazes and explore how the different ways of looking and experiencing inform craftswomen’s and tourists’ understandings, communication and behavior.

Souvenirs

Souvenir, to remember. It is an object that is a verb. A traveler purchases the object to remember the time, the place, the people. It seems simple, yet within this object lie complex networks of meaning, expression and communication. To examine these complexities, I hope, will reveal something about the people who make these items and the means by which they communicate with tourists.

Though souvenirs are often considered a post-World War II phenomenon, cultures have created objects for foreigners and visitors for centuries (Cohen 1993). The first records of African tourist art, for example, can be traced to the times of first European contact. In the 16th Century, peoples from different regions of Africa created intricate ivory carvings for the Portugese (Cornet 1975), the Chinese designed porcelain in the 17th Century to appeal to Western aesthetics (Scheurleer 1974) and in the 19th Century the Haida invented designs for argillite carvings to sell specifically to traders and settlers that eventually came to be recognized as distinct Haida cultural objects (Kaufmann 2005). Today, these early forms of tourist art exist primarily in a collector's market as opposed to the tourist market.

In early tourism studies, art historians and anthropologists considered souvenirs as inferior and valueless, a degradation of the artisan's culture (Crowley 1970, Forster 1964, Giesz 1975, Scheurleer 1974). In 1976, Nelson H.H. Graburn edited a seminal work entitled *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* that helped launch the study of souvenirs as an academic study, and challenged previous scholars who ignored the significant meanings and processes of production by the artisans who create art for tourists.

Peruvian Souvenirs

Llamas. Brightly colored hats. Pan flutes. These were all typical items found in markets across Peru during my fieldwork. A question of whether or not these objects were authentic, innovative or representative of Peru reminds me of a phone call I

received a few years ago from a family friend, Micky, who had just returned from a trip to Peru. Micky was a high school home economics teacher and had spent the past 30 years traveling internationally during her summer vacations. In the last ten years, she started to make return trips to places she once visited. Knowing of my interest in Peru and crafts, Micky called to tell me about her experience. She had traveled to Lima and Cusco, and spent most of her “shopping” time in Lima, at the Mercado de Indios (the Indian Market). “Kelley, they’re still selling the same llama trinkets and ear flap knit hats as they did when I was there twenty years ago,” she told me, mildly complaining about the lack of “art” or “innovation.” To her, she saw brightly colored llamas adorning one knit poncho after another. She was only slightly disappointed by the fact that she could not find something to buy as a souvenir of this trip; I think, based on the rest of our conversation, that she was more upset by the incongruity of her experience and the selection of items she had from which to choose the representation, or the souvenir, of her trip. The poncho was not the “Peru” she felt she knew. The “Peru” she came to understand through her travels was not represented in the souvenir shops she visited in Lima.

I went to the same market when I first arrived in Lima to see these items for myself. My bus dropped me off at a corner with a McDonald’s, Burger King and Starbucks, and I walked three blocks past several more fast food restaurants, kitschy bars and big department stores to the well-advertised indigenous crafts market in Lima. While I found a small number of somewhat higher-quality tapestries hanging up high in the back corners of the market stalls, the majority of the items were just as Micky had

described. Though many were handmade, their aesthetics and presentation were more aligned with commercially-made items – mass-produced and repetitive. I had a difficult time imagining the craftsman who created these items. The items were out of context and, for me, they did more to communicate messages of consumerism than craft. Each item did blend together, as did the stalls as I walked from one place to the next. But in the Mantaro Valley, where traditional craft making is integral to the communities and to personal identity, I saw a difference in the items sold. The weaving studios in Hualhuas all have a few tables full of the same items found in Lima, probably the same types of items Micky saw both when she visited Peru twenty years and two years ago. But they – along with the gourd shops in Cochabamba, and the silver shops in San Jerónimo de Tunán – also sell their own unique items. These were the items that the craftswomen showed me when I asked to see their work. These were the items they referred to in interviews. And these were the items they pointed out as the “final products” when tourists visited their studios.

Examining the Process

Stephanie Bunn, an anthropologist who examines the handicrafts of nomads in central Kyrgyzstan, suggests that scholarship concerning souvenirs should look beyond the created object to examine the process, which includes not just the tourist purchase, but the souvenir maker and the creative act of making:

Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that when considering authenticity we tend to focus on the object itself, asking whether it and the activities

associated with it are authentic. It might be more helpful to look at the maker and the making process itself – what goes on during the creative act of making. Secondly, we should consider the desires of the tourist. All these factors come into play in the question of authenticity (2000:185).

I agree with Bunn's approach to look beyond the object to the creative process that considers the maker and the tourist. This echoes folklorist Michael Owen Jones's scholarship that suggests expanding the concept of "material culture" to "material behavior" to consider the activity and behavior involved in creating and presenting objects (1997). Bunn suggests examining the *desires* of the tourists, which I would expand to include the *experiences* of the tourists. It is unclear whether Bunn intends to answer the question of authenticity. I believe that she suggests it to be a futile inquiry; rather we should consider the multiple factors at play in the tourism interaction and how they contribute to an overall understanding of the items as dynamic objects.

These approaches and questions are important queries in looking at the souvenir as a cultural and economic object in the lives of the craftswomen in the Mantaro Valley. The souvenir also presents an opportunity to study cross-cultural interaction and enhance our understandings of the artists as creators of these objects, culture bearers, and members of their families and communities. The cross-cultural interaction and various frames of human communication provide an interesting subject for scholars focused on the expressions and practices of different communities. As Amanda Stronza notes, "When tourists and locals come together, both have the opportunity not only to glimpse how others live, but also to reflect on their own lives through the eyes of others. As a

result, these cross-cultural interactions often cue “live performances” of some of the broadest theoretical issues in anthropology” (2001:264). I want to approach the idea of souvenirs from a perspective that questions the personal and communal meanings that are formed through the process of creating traditional items and presenting them as a means to communicate one’s own life to others in the context of tourism.

CHAPTER II

INVOKING ACTION, THE SOUVENIR AS MATERIAL RHETORIC

The Peru guidebook listed Maria Magdalena Huzco Toribio's street address in Viques. Although it is a small village, an address does little good in a place where street signs do not exist. I had arrived just before a storm and aside from a couple groups of children, I could not find anyone to ask directions. A man rode past on his bicycle, smiled and said hello but did not pause long enough for me to ask about Maria. Finally, I gave up and decided to venture back to the main paved road where I could catch a bus back to Huancayo. I noticed that the kiosk at the street corner had opened since I last walked past twenty minutes earlier. A few people sat around small tables covered in plastic floral covered cloths. They were eating baked chicken over rice and sharing a liter of the bright yellow Inca Cola, a Peruvian-branded soft drink that is very sweet and very popular. They all stared at me. I nodded hello and they continued to stare. They were not unfriendly, they just had no idea who I was and what I might be doing there. The proprietor smiled and said hello, so I decided to ask her about Maria. I had to repeat the name several times, though it was not until I remembered to add "Maria, she teaches weaving I think," did the woman realize who I meant. She started to tell me directions that seemed much more complicated than my wanderings through town would have revealed. The bus from Huancayo pulled up and several people got off, including a

young woman who obviously knew the shop's proprietor well. The shop woman asked the woman from the bus to show me to Maria's house, and after over an hour of wandering around the few roads of this small village, I suddenly had a guide that led me back to a home I had circled past several times. I knocked on the door and two young boys answered and led me into their courtyard. The older one yelled for his mother while the younger one grinned from ear to ear. I later learned their names, Jhordan and Arturo.

Maria and her husband Aurelio came out and said hello. I told Maria that I had read her name in a guidebook and was interested in learning how to weave on a backstrap loom. I told her that my mother was a weaver and that I had grown up around floor looms and fiber crafts. I had taken a short class on backstrap weaving when I traveled in Peru in 2003, but only learned a small part of the process. Aurelio disappeared into the house and came back with a stack of photographs. Maria proceeded to go through the photos with me, showing me all of the other students she had taught in the past. Aurelio went back into the house and came out with a bag of woven fajas. Maria went through them with me, slowly repeating the name of each figure represented on the belt – train, river, corn, Peruvian flag. Aurelio disappeared again. He returned with an embroidered justa (skirt). And somehow I soon was dressed up in the skirt with a faja tied tightly around my waist, posing for photos with Maria and her sons (*see photo 7*). We made arrangements for when I would return – in two weeks, to start a weeklong backstrap weaving class where I would be able to finish my own faja. Aurelio was gone again and after a few minutes, returned with a bag full of yarn. They asked me to choose the colors I would like to make my faja, and I had to dig through the bag of yarn to find the earthen and

Photo 7

My first visit to Viques

Posing for a photo with Jhordan, Arturo and Maria. Photo taken by Maria's husband, Aurelio.



muted hues that I tend to favor. Aurelio and Maria questioned me, asking me if I was sure those were the colors I really wanted. Wouldn't I prefer something more like a royal blue and electric yellow? No, I assured them, I liked the muted colors. Two weeks later, I arrived for my class. Maria brought out the supplies, including the four balls of yarn I would need to make my faja. The colors were all bright – yellow, green, royal blue and hot pink. Maria held them up and asked me what I thought. Before I could even think of a response she said, “these are better for you, perfect for a single young woman.” And so I

started my weaving project, with a yellow and green border and a pink and blue main design.

Maria loaned me an apron, and I placed the yarn in the pockets. Starting with the yellow, I began to wrap the warp (the vertical strings), preparing the yarn for the loom. In order to wrap the warp, you take each color and wind the yarn back and forth around the wooden pegs on the board (*see photo 8*). Once completed, we tied one end to a pole in her courtyard. Maria laid down a sheep's skin and several mantas (woven blankets) for me to sit on. We then tied off the "illiawas", a Quechuan term for the strings that are tied to create harnesses. The illiawas divide the warp, allowing one to create different designs with the weft (the horizontal strings). We took a full morning to prepare the loom. When I returned the next day, we started on the actual weaving. Plain weave was easy to figure out quickly; it is a repetitive process that takes little concentration. Making designs, however, is complicated (*see photo 9*). Maria sat with me the entire time, counting out the strings for each row to form the figures in the design. Before we started a new image, she asked me what I thought we should make, but really she had already decided what would be next. Every image was associated with some aspect of Maria's life – corn, a guinea pig, a llama, a house, a flower from her garden. We soon began to joke about the belt's "title" – La Vida de Maria, the Life of Maria. On the Saturday following my week of class, Maria invited me to lunch and an outing with her family. She prepared Cuy Colorado for me, a dish with the guinea pig she raised at home. After lunch, we walked down the road to Mayapampa, a recreation center alongside the Mantaro river with a pool, volleyball nets, a soccer field, gardens, food kiosks, and a swan-shaped paddleboat.

Photo 8

Weaving a faja with Maria

Maria wraps the warp, preparing the yarn for the backstrap loom.



Maria wanted me to have photos of a llama, an alpaca, and myself wearing my belt with a traditional skirt and hat. She felt the llama and alpaca were good representations of Peru and a good way to document my cultural experience. And so when we arrived at the park, she immediately pulled the skirt out of her bag and dressed me up, tying the belt

Photo 9

A “weaver’s-eye” view of the faja in progress.

Maria and I have just finished adding the image of a house to the belt.



tightly around my waist. She was a proud mother, showing me off to her friends and neighbors. Aurelio took my photo with Maria as we ran around the field trying to get the llama and alpaca in the shot. At the time, it did not seem important to me personally to have this photo, but Maria insisted I needed it. The photo is taken from far away in order

to get all of the necessary elements in the shot – the llama, Maria, her two boys, and me, all dressed up (*see photo 10*). As with my faja design, Maria did know what I needed – the photo became an important souvenir of my time with her and her family.

Photo 10

A souvenir photograph from Viques

Wearing the faja at Mayapampa. Photo taken by Aurelio. Under Maria's direction, Aurelio included all of the elements she thought were necessary for a proper photo to remember this day.



While the picture tells a story of that day with Maria and her family, the belt itself communicates something about my experience, the place and Maria. It holds multiple meanings in its design, colors, and use. Framing my fieldwork in rhetoric theory, I will like to examine the belt and other souvenirs from the Mantaro Valley to explore how these objects communicate.

Visual Rhetoric

Scholars of rhetorical theory have often used verbal discourse to formulate ideas and frameworks for understanding human communication. Sonja K. Foss incorporates visual communication into the field: “Because rhetorical theory has been created almost exclusively from the study of discourse, rhetoricians largely lack sophisticated understanding of the conventions through which meaning is created in visual artifacts and the processes by which they influence viewers” (2004:303). An application of visual rhetoric theories to the study of souvenirs can help us better understand the communication between tourists and local artisans. Foss’s rhetorical theories emphasize examining an artifact’s ability to invoke action over conventional rhetoric scholarship that focuses its examination on an artifact’s potential to influence change. The “visual” extends beyond images and includes items that permeate everyday communication: buildings, road signs, quilts, statues, classrooms, kitchen tiles, clothing, souvenirs.

I will first explore Foss’s examination of visual rhetoric in order to relate her theory to my fieldwork and broader terms of visual and material communication. Foss proposes dual meanings for visual rhetoric: as an artifact, or as an approach of study (2004:304). Under its first definition, visual rhetoric represents a creative act that results in an object that communicates meaning. In this study, I look at the souvenir as the rhetorical object. Three characteristics must exist in order to define the artifact as visual rhetoric: it must be symbolic; it must involve human intervention; and it must involve an audience (Foss 2004:304-305). As opposed to an iconic or indexical sign relationship,

the visual rhetoric must be symbolic, meaning that its semiotic relationship between signifier (or object) and signified (or idea conveyed) is arbitrary; the rhetoric's meaning is subject to personal interpretation. The second characteristic, human intervention, places emphasis on the artifact's creator, in this case, the local artisan creating tourist art, who makes "the conscious decision to communicate as well as conscious choices about the strategies to employ in areas such as color, form, medium, and size" (Foss 2004: 305). The final element requires an audience interacting with the visual rhetoric to create communication. In my study, I focus on the tourist as the audience; however the concept of audience in rhetoric is not limited in its scope and can include the artisans, intermediaries and local community members, for example.

Maria's Faja

Using the faja I created with Maria as an example, we can apply these three characteristics to understand visual rhetoric as an artifact. The act of weaving with Maria is the visual rhetoric in which we produced the faja, the rhetorical object. The symbols used in the faja may convey certain meanings and pre-established ideas of place, but the meaning and interpretation is unsystematic, varied and contingent on the creators (Maria and myself) and the audience. Maria and I created the faja, thus adding human intervention to the object. Thirdly, the faja has been presented to an audience. The audience is not a fixed group, but rather an ever-changing, evolving circle of individuals and groups.

Taking a theoretical approach to visual rhetoric requires an examination of the artifact of visual rhetoric. Foss focuses on three areas in her model: nature, function and

evaluation. Considering the nature of the artifact, or its distinguishing features, is essential to all studies of visual rhetoric (Foss 2004:307). To interpret the nature of the artifact one must also examine two elements of the object: what is presented and suggested. Examination of an artifact's presented elements takes into consideration the physical attributes the artisan employs— color, space, materials, medium. Suggested elements refer to possible inferences towards meaning— concepts, ideas, themes— that the viewer, or tourist, may take from the presented elements (*see table 1*). According to Foss,

Table 1. Nature of Visual Rhetoric

<i>The nature of the faja from my perspective</i>	
<i>Presented</i>	<i>Suggested</i>
llama	Peru, Andes
faja	Viques (the village in which fajas are made in the Mantaro Valley), formal dress
hot pink	<i>for Maria:</i> young, single, good for female <i>for me:</i> unnatural, 1980's fashion

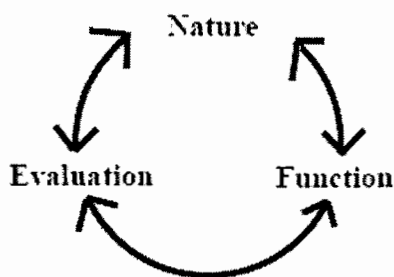
“analysis of the presented and suggested elements engenders an understanding of the primary communicative elements of an image, and consequently, of the meanings an image is likely to have for audiences” (2004: 307). It is important, however, to keep in

consideration the idea that the artifact's symbolism is arbitrary, based on interpretation. While these suggested meanings may exist, they are not fixed ideas, but rather malleable concepts. While I include specific examples below, these are my interpretations of suggested elements, which I presume are different from Maria's own interpretations. I include these items in a table below in an effort to explain the concept, but would like to emphasize that these are fluid concepts that cannot be confined to the boxes of the table.

Foss defines the function of an artifact as the "action it communicates" (2004: 308). Though the rhetor, or creator of the visual item, may initiate the action, visual rhetoric does not focus on her purpose or intended effect. Such a focus would limit the range of meaning and possibilities for interpretation experienced by the audience. This allowance for variance is imperative when examining the wide range of influences, motivations and intentions surrounding the communication of tourist art.

Inherently tied to an artifact's function is the evaluation of the object. Assessing the success or evaluating the viability of the functions allows one to question the "traditional notion of effectiveness" and determine alternative possibilities for rhetoric (Foss 2004: 309). Though Foss presents her analytical model as a linear progression, I would suggest a more circular approach (*see figure 1*). Meaning-making and analysis of visual rhetoric requires a fluidity of understanding between informing elements.

Figure 1. Analysis Model of Visual Rhetoric



Maureen Daly Goggin approaches her rhetorical exploration by breaking down the dichotomy between visual and verbal rhetoric, emphasizing instead its interconnection as exemplified in her evaluation of needlepoint samplers (2004). Although Goggin focuses on the semiotic communication displayed in a visual medium, she emphasizes the importance of performance. She suggests looking past the artifact and through to performance: “Doing so requires historicizing the praxis and demonstrating that rhetorical construction, artifact and circulation are pliant, radically shifting over time and place in response to myriad social, cultural, economic, political and technological forces” (Goggin 2004: 106). This performance-based approach is echoed in contemporary folklore scholarship.

Material Behavior

In folklore studies, initial performance theories examined oral traditions as a behavioral event (Georges, 1969; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1975; Bauman, 1986); scholars focusing on material objects began to expand these theories, suggesting that material culture could also be examined as performance (Bronner, 1985; Jones, 1997). Michael Owen Jones writes extensively on material culture, defining it as “objects that people make and ways in which they alter their physical environment” (1997: 200). Scholars applying this definition of material culture might look at souvenirs then from the perspective that Amanda Stronza classifies as impact tourism studies, examining how the souvenir, existing as a commodification of traditional art, impacts the local artist and community (2001: 267). They might also analyze the display and impact of the souvenir on the tourist’s life, but an examination of a souvenir as material culture would conventionally omit an analysis of its communicative and emotional elements between the artist and the tourist. Jones argues that examining material objects in this basic

structure limits the perspective and evaluation; he suggests framing the object in a behavioral analysis (1997: 201). Within this framework, Jones proposes the use of a new term: “material behavior— short for ‘material aspects and manifestations of human behavior’— [which] refers to activity involved in producing or responding to the physical dimension of our world” (1997:202).

Material Rhetoric

While other folklore scholars have analyzed the behavior, or performance, of material items (Toelken, 1996), Jones’s scholarship proves particularly apt in this discussion because of his close parallels to Foss’s theories on visual rhetoric. “Objects command attention in material behavior studies not as isolated phenomena but as *products* of activities, *embodiments* of otherwise intangible processes, or palpable *stimuli* that trigger responses” (my emphasis, Jones 1997:202). Jones asks us to move our examination beyond the object to understand the same elements that Foss uses to define visual rhetoric: the product or creation is human intervention; the embodiment is symbolic meaning; and the stimuli invoke response, thus emphasizing the importance of the audience.

The parallel theories of the folklorist and rhetorician provide a comprehensive understanding of the communicative possibilities of material items. In order to evaluate and analyze the souvenirs within these overlapping frames, I propose the use of the encompassing term *material rhetoric*. Though the material item *is* visual, using the term *material* allows us to include other senses that may occur from a material item – touch, smell, sound, taste. While material rhetoric draws on visual rhetoric, with heavy emphasis on the visual, it more clearly communicates the process of evaluation which takes into consideration the multifaceted nature of the artifact. For this reason, I would also like to

expand Foss's division of an artifact from presented and suggested. In addition to presented and suggested elements, material rhetoric should also examine the performance of the artifact. By performance, I mean to incorporate a broad range of meaning which examines the human elements that contribute to the object's performance in its environment. In other words, performance looks at the multi-sensory factors as well as the tradition and creation of the object (*see table 2*).

Table 2. Nature of Material Rhetoric

The nature from my perspective		
<i>Presented</i>	<i>Suggested</i>	<i>Performance</i>
llama	Peru, Andes	Discussion with Maria about llamas and Peruvian animals, working with fiber and natural yarns
faja	Viques (the village in which fajas are made in the Mantaro Valley), formal dress	Tradition, Dance, Festival in the Mantaro Valley
Hot pink synthetic yarn	<i>for Maria:</i> young, single, good for female <i>for me:</i> unnatural, 1980's fashion	Interaction between Maria and me, fond memory of my time in Viques with Maria

The presented and suggested elements inform the performance; understanding all three elements as the nature of material rhetoric contributes to a better understanding of the rhetoric's invoked action. A gourd depicting an event from the Shining Path terrorist years helps illustrate this concept.

Experiencing the Gourd's Story

Like many of the well-regarded gourd carvers in Cochabamba, Alejandro, a carver who lived down the street from Delia, had several gourds in his collection that address political issues, historic events, and in this case, a traumatic experience for his community. Carved on the gourd was the bus that runs from Huancayo to Cochabamba. Locals, depicted wearing *mantas* and *sombreros*, were inside the bus with looks of terror on their faces. Outside the bus, men in darkened ski masks were attacking the bus, setting it aflame, swinging their machetes, killing the locals. At the top of the gourd, Alejandro carved images of musical instruments, festival clothing, and farming tools. I first looked at this gourd when Alejandro handed it to me. I held it in my hands and turned it around as I slowly took in the images before me. The images carved into the side of the gourd were powerful; they obviously revealed a tragic story in the history of Cochabamba. Alejandro told me something about his experience through the gourd. The Shining Path terrorist group occupied Cochabamba during the late 1980's. Alejandro chose the most traumatic community event from this time and juxtaposed its images with designs that reflected everyday life and times of celebration. Above the scene of a brutal murder, the gourd had carvings of a hoe and a harp. Above the burning bus, a poncho worn during festivals. A drawing might communicate something about the same event, just as my description here may tell you something about the gourd depicting that event; however, the gourd conveyed more than the facts of the bus attack. Analyzing Alejandro's gourd under the

rubric of material rhetoric, the presented gourd suggested place (Cochas), an event (terrorism and occupation by the Shining Path), and a tradition (gourd carving).

Simply looking at the object was not enough to recognize its power. Experiencing the object involved multiple senses. Holding it in my hands, I could feel the carving, touch the gourd and run my fingers over the carvings' fine lines. Deeper gouges emphasized images that caused me to pause and focus on a specific part of the carved story. Carvers do not always empty out the seeds of a dried gourd, and as a result one sometimes can shake the object and hear them rattle. The sound always made me think specifically of the seeds and reminded me of the gourd's original natural state. In the Shining Path gourd, Alejandro had removed the seeds. Thus, as I moved the gourd around, there was a noticeable lack of sound; the silence of the gourd emphasized for me the seriousness and solemnity of the object. I cannot know how Alejandro and his community felt but the gourd he created caused me to think about the emotions, ask questions about his life and remember his story.

I learned of Alejandro's experience through my physical interaction with the gourd. My experience with Alejandro's gourd further supports my proposal to expand the concept of visual rhetoric to material rhetoric: to examine only the carvings as visual communication would be to ignore the complexity of the object's communication. In reference to tourism, Delia emphasized the importance of touch when showcasing her gourds in a foreign market. She spent part of the year traveling in other areas in South America (Colombia and Chile, primarily) and Europe. Whether she was selling her items during these tours, or at the Casa de Artesanas in Huancayo, she said it was important for her audiences to pick up the gourds. She noted that it was particularly important when the audience member did not speak Spanish.

The Europeans do not touch. If they do not like something, they do not touch it. If they do not know what it is, they do not touch it. They look at it, but they pass by. If they touch, they look, then things are explained. And once you start to talk, then you talk about how things are made. What materials are used. So there are people who look, touch, talk and buy. But those who just pass by, do not touch. They do not see the work.

Delia spoke about how touching the object led to a demonstration and when possible, a conversation, about the process of creating the object. The process was important to Delia because it gave her a chance to also share something about her culture. While it was important to her that people knew of her customs as a Peruvian, the gourd gave her more of an opportunity to share the customs and daily life of Cochabamba. She does not believe however that her gourds communicated consistently in all situations. "I will explain things and at times, the tourists will understand, but at times, no," said Delia. The fluidity of understanding is an important aspect to consider in the analysis of material rhetoric. Identity and understanding of place congeal and break apart within these malleable boundaries of communication. Multiple factors contribute to changing understandings of people and culture in tourism interaction involving the souvenir. It is within these grey areas that craftspeople exert agency and control over the display and performance of their culture. Within these fluid areas, intermediaries exercise their powers to either communicate or distort intentions of the artists. And within this fluid area, tourists learn and remember, sometimes in fleeting moments and other times in long interactions, a place, a person, a community through a "mere" object- a souvenir.

I will consider the multiple ways of looking at these objects in order to explore this evolving communication space. In order to do so, I will examine the concept of gazing and the ways in which craftswomen control and negotiate multiple gazes.

CHAPTER III

A WEB OF EXPERIENTIAL GAZES IN TOURISM

I arrived at the home and shop of Gaby's parents, Faustino and Agrepina Maldonado in Hualhuas at nine a.m. on October 25, 2008, the Saturday following the tourist train's Friday night arrival in Huancayo (*see photo 11*). Gaby, who typically wears blue jeans and a pullover, wore a justa (skirt) and a cream-colored blouse with a dark, machine-made floral manta over her shoulders and a woven faja tied tightly around her waist. She greeted me with the standard greeting of a kiss on one cheek and went back to setting up the shop. Faustino walked by, paused, greeted me and walked to the back of the store to finish up his preparations for the day. He wore a burgundy sweater vest, machine-made, with his name knit into the upper left shoulder in white yarn. Across the back read "Tahuantinsuyo," the name of the family's shop that means "The Incan Empire" in Quechuan. The letters were knit in rainbow colors, the colors of the Incan flag. Agrepina came out of her bedroom door, located just behind the front display room of the studio. She wore the same sweater vest as Faustino with her name knit across the front. She too gave me the obligatory kiss, grabbed my hand and instructed me to help Gaby sell things. There were more people around the shop than on any other day I had been there – aunts were organizing tapestries and folding blankets; Celso, Gaby's boyfriend, was busy hanging ponchos and sweaters with the help of his teenaged sister

Photo 11

The Maldonado family shops in Hualhuas

The entrance to Faustino and Agrepina's shop. Their son, Gabbler, has the shop just next door (in the background of photo).



Helen; the two main production weavers – Antonio (Agrepina's brother) and Glider (Gaby's brother, Faustino and Agrepina's oldest son) – were setting up the looms, also wearing their sweater vests. For the next ten to fifteen minutes, we busied ourselves

setting out the tables, straightening and arranging knit items, ceramic figurines, commercially made magnets, plates and toys, leather change purses and three sizes of soft and fluffy stuffed alpacas.

The tour buses from Huancayo started to pull up outside the shops at about 9:30 a.m. Faustino greeted the first group of tourists as they streamed off the bus. The majority of the tourists were from Lima and the tour was conducted in Spanish. He ushered them away from the front table of goods and back into the studio. The first “stop” was at the spinning wheel, which was always set up for demonstrations. Faustino explained how they take the wool from the sheep, llama or alpaca and clean the fibers with metal brushes. He pointed out several plants that were used for dyeing the wool. And then he demonstrated two methods for spinning the fiber into yarn – first with a drop spindle, which he called the “traditional” method and then at the spinning wheel, the “modern” method which helped make the process go faster. From the spinning wheel, he led the tourists into the back room of the studio, which housed more than a dozen looms of various sizes. On the side wall, a display of colorful yarns acted as a backdrop as Faustino explained in more detail about the process of dyeing yarn (*see photo 12*). He pointed out the difference between natural and synthetic dyes and then pointed to examples of tapestries on the walls behind his audience to show the different uses of the yarns in various works. From the yarn wall, he led everyone back to the looms. Glider and Antonio were back working together on a tapestry on the largest loom, but Faustino first showed the basics of weaving on a loom set up with a smaller project. Throughout his explanations, tourists snapped photographs and asked questions, but it was at the

Photo 12

Faustino Maldonado explains the weaving process

Faustino points out a skein of sheep's wool dyed with cochincal, bugs found on cacti in Peruvian Highlands. The sign above reads: "Primary Materials. Sheep – Alpaca"



looms that they appeared the most interested. The tourists started to mill about on their own, asking Glider and Antonio questions, taking more photos and playing with some of the looms not in use. Many started to head back into the shops where they then looked at items to buy. Gaby, along with the others, were ready. They started pulling out items, suggesting hats, sweaters and scarves; they unfolded blankets and pointed out the natural fibers and explained specific designs. Tourists asked questions, sometimes about the type

of work that went into the project, but more often about the price, the fiber, and whether or not there was a discount. Once they bought their items, they hopped back on the bus and rode to the next town up the valley.

Next door, Gaby's brother and sister-in-law, Gabbler and Rosario, who owned their own textile shop, were also busy with the same activities. And down the road, Gaby's sister and brother-in-law, Graciela and Victor, ran yet another textile studio. Walk into any one of the three, and at first glance one would most likely assume that each shop carried the same items, with the bright acrylic colors overpowering the muted, natural yarns on display. Each shop did carry the same commercially manufactured items, which they sold as cheap souvenirs primarily to teenage tourists from Lima. But for their higher end items, they all created objects that were unique to their shop. Faustino and Agrepina specialized in bed spreads and small wall hangings with traditional Incan designs. Gabbler and Rosario had both tapestries and wool rugs. And Victor and Graciela sold more innovative designs that drew from pre-Columbian and Incan designs and they focused on using quality primary materials. While these items varied, the processes to create them were similar. They all found it important to explain this process to the tourists so that their visitors had an understanding of who the craftspeople were and how much work went into each item. While everyone I spoke with in the Maldonado family mentioned a desire to share their culture and crafts with tourists, this processual demonstration was also a strategic presentation aimed at selling their items. The explanation of how items were made authenticated the objects for the tourists, making them more likely to purchase the item.

The Maldonados' structured presentation to tourists explaining their processes for making the textiles provides an opportunity to examine how varying situations, materials, and audiences influence the understanding and communication of the items. Personal, community and national identities were formed in these tourism interactions. In order to explicate this idea, I would like to incorporate the notion of "gazes" into the evaluation of the material rhetoric of souvenirs, and consider the ways in which multiple ways of looking and experiencing affect cultural understandings of people and place. I will build on John Urry's theory regarding the "tourist gaze" and suggest a multifaceted framework that allows for multiple understandings of any one item's rhetoric in the context of tourism interactions.

The Tourist Gaze

Urry introduces the idea of the "tourist gaze," theorizing that tourists seek out travel experiences – places, people and objects to look upon – that represent difference or the "out of the ordinary" from their everyday life (1990:3). Socially constructed, the tourist gaze causes the looked-upon locals to reconstruct themselves according to preconceived notions of the tourist: "People linger over such a gaze which is then normally visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured" (Urry 1990:3). Urry's theory places control in the eyes of the tourist. As Stronza discusses, under Urry's construction of the gaze, "locals may consciously try to match visitors' expectations of what is authentic, even if the results seem contrived or fake" (2001:271).

Urry focuses his study on the tourist gaze – the power, path and implications of the tourists looking upon another culture. He sets forth eight characteristics in examining the gaze present in tourists' photographs (1990:138-140). His analysis, when expanded to the souvenir as a visual representation of the visited culture, opens up the possibility for alternate gazes within tourist interactions. I will briefly examine Urry's analysis of photographs in comparison with souvenirs in order to suggest a broader approach to the gaze.

In his first characteristic, the tourist wields power through the appropriation of a subject to the photograph. "To have visual knowledge of an object is in part to have power, even if only momentarily, over it. Photography tames the object of the gaze" (1990:139). In a souvenir, the creator or craftsperson, controls the representation of her culture by deciding what aspects of her culture to present. Though she controls the visual knowledge in the material object, Urry might argue that the tourist has actually influenced this decision-making process, in some ways limiting the creator's agency. Most of the craftswomen I spoke to talked about changing an item, particularly colors, so that they might conform to a more "Western" aesthetic; yet the craftswomen's ideas and definitions on what that might mean differed greatly, dependent on personal design sense, past interactions, and exposure to national and foreign tourists. The range of influences was varied and endless, as were the interpretations by the craftswomen, the intermediaries and the tourists.

As opposed to limiting the craftswomen's agency in design, I found that change and innovation in souvenirs often reflected the dynamic nature of tradition. Lisa Gilman

writes that all traditions are dynamic, citing a progression of folklore scholarship that discusses the social importance regarding the concept of tradition: "When people label a practice traditional, they elevate it to a special status, and then members of that group often feel an obligation to repeat the practice in order to perform their identity and meet the requirements of that group" (Gilman 2001:33; see also Handler and Linnekin 1989 and Glassie 1995:395). Graciela's 18-year-old daughter, Merly "Sesy" Ingaroca Maldonado explained that she and her family control the change of items in their shop. She notes that innovation or modification is not the antithesis to tradition: "The tradition continues. Continues. We never change the tradition. But we're trying new things that we believe still represent us. The tradition will never change. It always is a part of us." Sesy articulates a sophisticated understanding of continuity and change that characterizes the traditional.

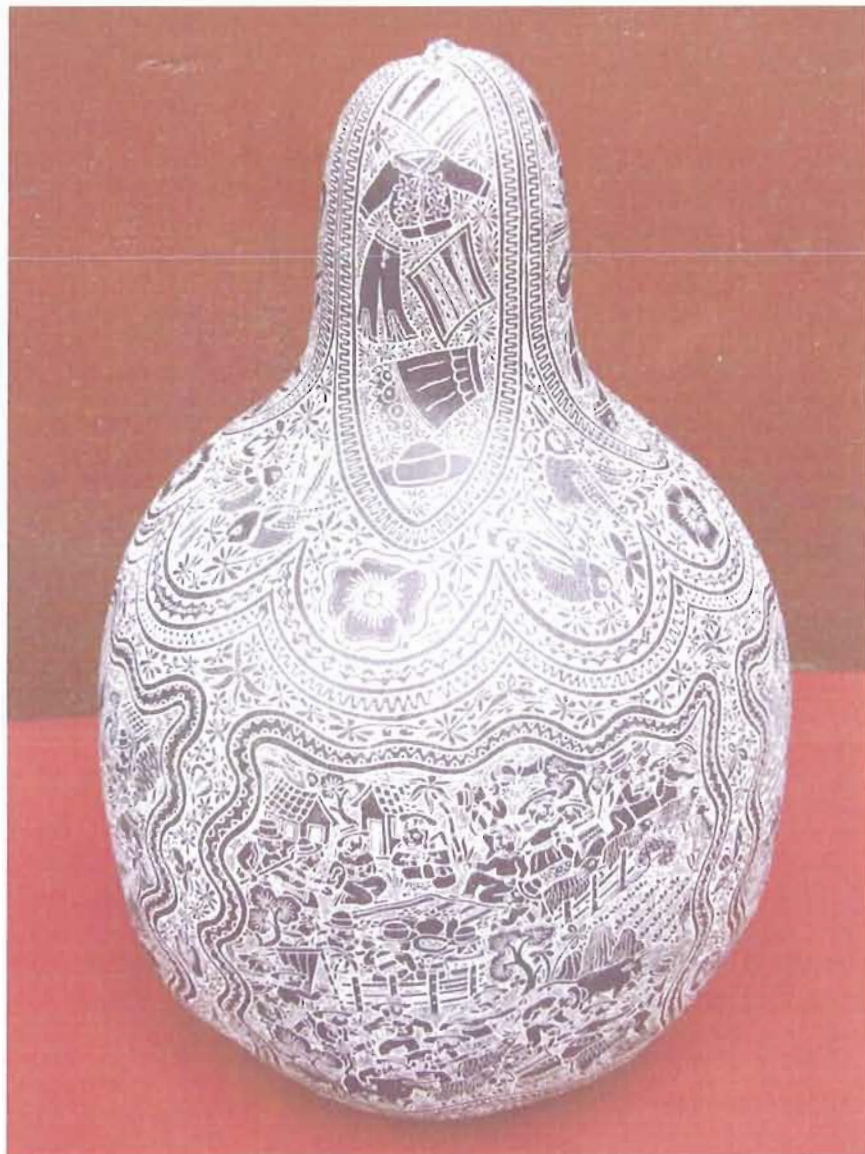
While the tourist clearly influences the object, the artist or local still has agency in the creation and sale of the item. Urry writes on a photograph's ability to "seem" real despite the tourist's role in constructing the image. The souvenir maker, in presenting an "authentic" object representative of her culture, too constructs the object with a variety of materials and design motifs based as much on what will sell as on native and individual design decisions. This does not necessarily supersede any existing commitment to artistic agency –whether that means to create an object according to a traditional process, include traditional images and elements in the object's design or create specific items traditional to one's culture.

Delia believed that her craft, even when it varied from traditional designs or forms, contributed to cultural preservation, an important issue for her. One can see in her designs the responsibility she felt for maintaining the traditions of her community and culture (see *photo 13*). Delia spoke not only of the tradition of gourd carving, but of those

Photo 13

Matc burilado (gourd) carved by Delia Poma.

Although Delia has applied color to the gourd in a style that has developed more recently, the carving method and design are in a style passed down through many generations. The design depicts a farming scene with traditional clothing from Cochabamba.



aspects of her everyday life that connected her to her family, her community and her culture. She noted the importance of including designs that display the farming techniques and home-building events in her town alongside those of holiday festivals, wedding celebrations and musical performances. She made the choice to include these themes as a way to communicate her culture, tell others about her town and life, and create a record, an object that documents her traditions. She noted that many gourd carvers in the town included these designs, altering them in their own ways, and continuing the traditions of gourd carving while simultaneously preserving the traditional ways of life.

We cultivate, conserve the culture here. Look at the tradition. We never stopped following the culture. It means that as long as we make our experience [carve gourds], our culture, we are transmitting it as well. Wherever you go with the gourd, wherever you succeed, it is because of here. We go where the gourd goes. That is how it is. We conserve the culture and show how we live, but it is not always thought about or considered.

By placing a cultural artifact for sale, as a souvenir, the creator exposes the object to a larger audience outside of her culture to create meaning and gaze upon the object and its associated cultures.

Urry writes that the acquisition of photographs becomes the motivation for tourist travel: "Indeed much tourism becomes in effect a search for the photogenic; travel is a strategy for the accumulation of photographs" (1990:139). We can replace

“photographs” with “souvenirs,” to emphasize tourists’ quest for material representations of the memory of a travel experience. According to Urry’s statement, the material object, photograph or souvenir, thus contributes to the personal experience of the tourist as much, if not more, than place and people encountered on the trip.

Broadening one’s concept of the gaze addresses the multiple looks, experiences and meaning-making stemming from the souvenir. Lutz and Collins examine this multivocality, or multi-looking, in their analysis of National Geographic photographs (1993). They focus on the “intersection of gazes” to better understand the meaning-making within a photograph: “These looks – whether from the photographer, the reader, or the person photographed – are ambiguous, charged with feeling and power, central to the stories (sometimes several and conflicting) that the photo can be said to tell” (1993:187). The authors introduce a typology for seven different gazes, examining the various interpretations and agents involved in the photograph, including the photographer’s gaze, the institutional gaze, the subject’s gaze and the reader’s gaze. Approaching an analysis of the photograph through this intersection opens up our awareness of the social context both within and expanding from the frame.

It is the root of much of the photograph’s dynamism as a cultural object, and the place where the analyst can perhaps most productively begin to trace its connections to the wider social world of which it is a part.

Through attention to the dynamic nature of these intersecting gazes, the photograph becomes less vulnerable to the charge that it masks or stuffs

and mounts the world, freezes the life out of a scene, or violently slices into time (Lutz and Collins 1993: 216).

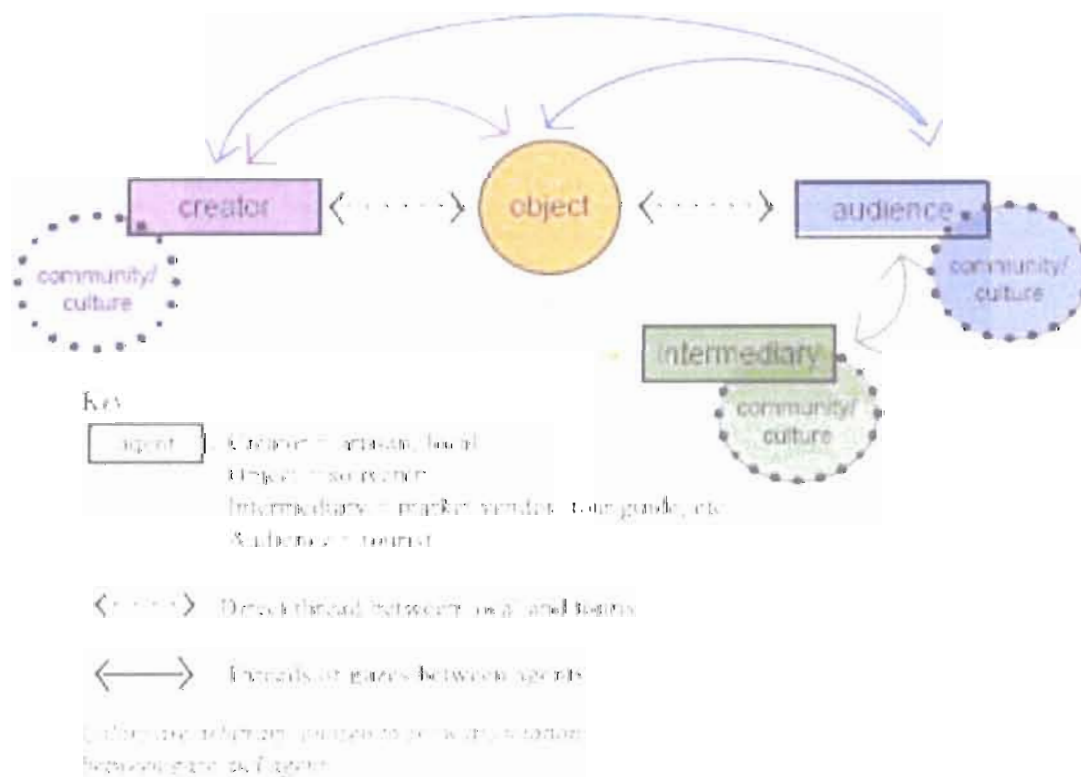
As I did above with Urry's analysis, I will substitute the object in question from Lutz and Collins' photograph to a souvenir. Like the photograph, the souvenir performs as a dynamic object that varies and changes according to the intersection of multiple gazes. The object's meaning is not fixed; to explore its complexities, I would like to consider these multiple experiential gazes and the people, or agents, who contribute to a collective, fluid understanding of an object. I would also like to examine how that pliant meaning contributes to an understanding of place and identity.

Web of Experiential Gazes

I draw from both Urry's and Lutz and Collins's approaches in constructing a web of experiential gazes to examine how a souvenir communicates meaning between the different agents of the material rhetoric. How do locals influence "gazes" of the souvenir? Can they control it? And how does the souvenir, material item, impact the tourist? I define "gaze" here as an experiential mode of looking, touching and sensing. Gazes are multi-directional and in constant motion. To emphasize the multisensory nature of gazing, I will refer to a gaze as an *experiential gaze*. To answer my questions, I also include the intermediaries who are often involved in the "translation"; who is presenting the souvenir, how, add to whom? The intermediary could be a tour operator, a "middle man," a development agency, or any person or entity that interrupts, translates or intercepts the communication flow of the souvenir.

Though the paths are not linear, one way to visualize the relationships between the multiple roles in the material rhetoric of a souvenir is to examine the intersecting threads in a web of experiential gazes. In the two-dimensional model depicting the web (see figure 2), the arched arrows represent the visual communication transmitted from

Figure 2. Web of Experiential Gazes



one agent to another.¹ The souvenir creator creates an object. The object then leads through to the intermediary, which then flows to the tourist. The tourist gazes simultaneously reflect on the object and the creator. In addition, a dotted line with arrows

¹ The web of experiential gazes model would be better represented in three-dimensional form that would be spherical and continuous, a web of interwoven circles and figure-eights. I do not intend for this model to be linear, unidirectional or fixed.

at each end exists between the creator and object and audience, representing a direct line of communication and meaning-making between the creator and audience. This is a reciprocal relationship that exists with or without an intermediary. The strength or boldness of the lines shift dependent on the strength of shared communication and variability of divergent meanings between the two. Connected to the creator, the audience and the intermediary, yet represented to the side in a dotted line bubble is “community/ culture,” to signify the relationship of the creator to her identity as a member of a community and cultural group. The creator, souvenir, intermediary and tourist all make up the agents of the material rhetoric. We can look at these agents as intersections in a web of experiential gazes, and at each intersection exists a filter. In examining the filter, how much of a “tint” does each agent create to obscure or make lucid the souvenir? As we add intermediaries, change the context of the object, and lengthen the distance of the direct lines of communication between the craftsperson and tourist, we add filters, increasing the potential for clouded gazes.

The Maldonado family finds it important to facilitate the interpretation of the items. “We explain, for example, I explain what I would want to learn – how the work is done, the raw materials to the finished product. I explain how I dye with plants, everything. How to spin. Which yarn is alpaca, which is sheep or which is llama fiber,” said Graciela. Her family does this, she said, because they believe it is important “for them to know and be able to see how we work.” Facilitating the interpretation of the items promoted sales. When I asked about this, Graciela, Gaby and their cousin Maria all agreed that selling the items was not just important, but essential to their lives. However,

they also emphasized the importance of sharing their ways of life and culture with others. Selling directly to tourists, they said, rather than through export markets or souvenir shops in Lima allowed them to share their experiences in a personal interaction that was meaningful to them

Applying a Rug to the Web of Experiential Gazes Model

Examining the threads of a web of experiential gazes can help us examine how the presentation and interaction between the craftsman and tourist affects the material rhetoric of the object. For example, what did Graciela communicate to me by showing and selling a naturally-dyed rug made from llama's fiber? (*See photo 14*). Applying this object to the web of experiential gazes, one must first consider the creation of the rug. Graciela and her family purchased the majority of their primary materials from the Hualhuas market, held every Monday morning, just off the town square. The Maldonado family laughed when I asked if I could go with them to the market. Gaby told me I could go, but I would not see it. It was a small market, consisting of one large truck full of yarn and sheep and llama pelts, a car with pelts spilling out of its trunk and two women at separate tents selling hot food made at home out of large pots, with tables and benches full of townspeople catching up over pork soup for breakfast. The already-small market was dwarfed by the large field where it was located. But for the people of Hualhuas, all primarily artisans, the items in the truck and car were what they needed.

Photo 14

Experiencing a rug from Hualhuas
Victor displays a rug woven by Graciela with naturally-dyed llama yarn.



With these primary fibers, they spun the wool into yarn, after which they dyed it with plant materials gathered from their environment. The spinning and dyeing processes were time and labor intensive, so Graciela and her family did not prepare all of the yarn that they needed for their weavings. They had an

agreement with a neighbor, Antonio Caceres, who ran a well-known and highly-regarded dying workshop, to supplement their materials. Design and planning also took time in the preparatory work. Victor, Graciela's husband, typically did most of the design work in their studio, using colored pencils and graph paper to chart out the design. Victor referred to books and ancient designs, as well as those motifs he learned as a child from his grandmother, to create new pieces. In some cases, he created replicas of antique designs, in others, such as this rug, he used those designs to inform and influence the new design. When Graciela began to weave from Victor's design, she added her own influence. She wove this rug as one in a series of rugs using the same color scheme. Although Victor designated which colors should be used where, Graciela, in the action of weaving, sometimes made subtle changes. It was an idea of a design, she told me about Victor's graphs, rather than strict instructions.

Actual weaving time on a rug such as this one would take her approximately five to seven days, weaving for ten to twelve hours a day. Her daughters, niece, and nephew, who also lived with them, helped out with the household chores, cooking, and taking care of the two young sons while Graciela and Victor wove.

Once the rug was complete, Graciela placed it on display for tourists. In their studio, completed items of this quality were folded and stacked neatly on a set of shelves back by the looms. At times, one of her daughters would show the rug to a tourist; Sessy, Graciela's daughter, first showed me this particular rug.

Sessy pulled the item out and told me proudly that her mother had made it. She emphasized the natural dyes and the double weave pattern, meaning that there was a different design on each side of the rug. She also told me that the rug was made with llama's fiber – local and durable. Her comments and display of the rug influenced the way I saw and understood the object. My gaze on the object now included an interpretation of Sessy's gaze, forming multiple understandings of the rug, Graciela, her family and the importance of weaving to them. The reciprocal relationship between Graciela and I was strengthened during the course of our interaction involving this particular rug. When looking at and experiencing the rug with Graciela, I admired the workmanship, colors and design; Graciela began to question me about my life and my connection to weaving. She learned more about my mother's weavings and my father's woodworking. Though our lives and work may have seemed radically different, Graciela and I found through this object, the shared experience, our lives molded through our parents' creative influences. The direct, mutual gaze upon the rug added another layer of understanding and meaning to the object, re-forming and shaping the dynamic web of experiential gazes.

The web, as an unfixed, negotiated understanding of the object, thus contributed to the fluid nature of the material rhetoric of the rug (*see table 3*). My interpretations of place and culture, as mediated through the rug, were obviously influenced by my studies, the amount of time I spent with Graciela and her family, my past trips to the area, and myself growing up in a weaver's household.

Each individual has his or her own individual experiences and knowledge that influence and affect his or her gaze.

Table 3. Nature of Material Rhetoric, Graciela's Rug

My perceptions of the material rhetoric of Graciela's rug		
<i>Presented</i>	<i>Suggested</i>	<i>Performance</i>
Handwoven rug	Hualhuas, Peru	Maldonado family traditions; Community traditions
Geometric design, with double weave	Complicated weave structure; time consuming	Collaboration between Victor and Graciela; memory of conversations with Sessy and Graciela
Naturally-dyed colors	Local environment, items used to dye the yarn: cochineal bugs, chilca, sage	Pride in upholding traditions; collaboration with neighbor and support and interaction amongst Hualhuas community members

Agents of Buying and Selling Souvenirs

Past tourism scholarship often refers to the agents – the creator, the intermediary, and the tourist – in terms of economic power. Production of crafts as souvenirs may provide a viable means for economic stability and/or advancement, and is thus perceived to grant the artisan increased agency or empowerment in their individual lives (Heckman 2003, Nason 1984, Richter 1980). Several scholars have challenged this idea, citing the confining nature of the tourism industry, exploitation by both tourists and intermediaries

and potential lessening of the souvenir makers' social status within the community (MacCannell 1984, Simpson 1993). Other ethnographies and studies examine the complicated ways in which both of these perspectives work simultaneously (Abbott Cone 1995, Nash 1993, Simpson 1993, Stephen 1993); souvenir production becomes at once a negotiation, compromise, exploitation, resistance, identity-maker, and empowerment for the artisan, particularly for craftswomen (Moore 2001).

The baby alpaca shawl that Victor and Graciela designed is an example of this (*see photo 15*). They used traditional materials, equipment and techniques from their culture to create an item to be worn in another culture. Both Graciela and Sesy displayed this item to me with pride, noting that their family's studio was unique in town for making shawls with such fine fibers and mentioned that foreigners were particularly drawn to such items. A shawl sells for approximately 40 soles, or 16 U.S. dollars. When I asked Victor about his prices, he told me that he knew that he could sell these items for more in the United States. He even mentioned that if he sold his items through a Peruvian exporter or agency in the States that they could make more money. However, to sell the items out of their home directly to tourists and still be able to compete with the other studios in town meant that they had to keep their prices down. According to Victor, the tourists may recognize the craftsmanship of the item, but typically they would not spend the extra money on it. So they compromised the price, without compromising the quality of the item. The shawl still ran higher than the average wool scarf or manta a tourist could purchase just down the road. However, the price difference was minimal, and in Lima or another country, the shawl would have been sold at a much higher price. Thus,

Photo 15

Baby alpaca shawl

Victor displays one of the baby alpaca shawls his family sells from their shop in Hualhuas.



the tourist often would consider the item to be a “bargain”; they perceived the discounted rate as something they “earned” because they had traveled the distance, made the effort, to obtain the object. When I asked Victor if this bothered him, he replied “no” without hesitation. They had control over that item. They were proud of their work and preferred to sell their items directly to tourists. The price that they set for the shawl was a fair price for their personal cost of living. He did note, however, that it would be nice to earn a little more so that they could finish the addition to their studio, have some secure funds for their children’s education, and perhaps even purchase a few luxury items. I suggested

again that he could charge more, and he just shook his head and smiled. “It is enough for us,” he told me.

Graciela explained that she and Victor had just opened their shop in Hualhuas in January 2008. Before then, they sold all of their items through an exporter in Lima. They realized that not only could they make more money selling directly to tourists from their home, they could also control what they made and what they charged. In addition, selling from home allowed them to travel less, giving them more time to spend with their family and to weave. They had just started considering selling their items online, with the help of Lucho and Incas del Peru. They saw promise in the internet as a means for increasing their market, but at the time of my visit, were focused on establishing the hope shop.

Authenticity and Authenticating the Object

Exploring economic agency through the web of experiential gazes model emphasizes the material rhetoric’s power to invoke action, which in this case involves selling the item. Witnessing the process of souvenir making often authenticates the souvenir for the tourist. Judd Lormand, a tourist from the United States whom I met at Huancayo’s Sunday market, visited a gourd carver in Cochabamba with his volunteer organization. He had seen the gourds in tourist markets in Lima and when he first arrived to Huancayo. Judd did not realize that the designs were hand carved until he went on a day trip to Cochabamba and saw a demonstration by a gourd carver.

I couldn't understand how they did it because it was so small. [...]
But she did it right there in front of us, and she did what I thought
was just a couple lines. Just squiggly lines. I was saying that in my
blog. And it was so quick – like four or five seconds. She went
“bleg, bleg, bleg, bleg.” And then she shows it to me and it's a
llama. Like the size of the tip of my pinky.

For Judd, the gourd became an authentic souvenir from his time in the Mantaro Valley. Judd pointed out the craftswoman he met when we passed her stall at the Sunday market, but he could not remember her name. Witnessing the process of gourd making, an experiential gaze on the gourd carver's culture, was more important to Judd than knowing the person. She represented Peru to Judd and her product, the gourd, authenticated his cultural participation and interaction with people in the Mantaro Valley.

The definitions of authenticity are often undefined and problematic; the question of who determines authentic culture for one's own community, or more often, for someone else's community creates a hierarchy of cultural determination that posits one perspective, typically a Western academic perspective, over another's (Cohen 1988, Steiner 1994). The act of defining authenticity suggests a concrete determination of what is “real” over what is “fake” or constructed and does not allow for multiple ways of knowing, experiencing and interpreting the world. The study of souvenirs has often been concerned with authenticity and whether or not art created for tourists represents the “authentic” culture of the producer (Forster 1964, Giesz 1975). In scholarship,

questioning authenticity in souvenirs often requires a static concept of culture that ignores dynamic change through innovation, change in materials, and contact with outside influences (Boynton 1986, Briggs 1980, Nason 1984, Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Instead of determining the “authenticity” of the souvenirs of the Mantaro Valley, I wish to discuss the concept of authenticity in terms of tourist perceptions and their desires to authenticate the object. Authentication of the souvenir occurs in the varying degrees of tourist interaction; like the web of experiential gazes, authenticity is in flux and determined by the various agents involved.

In her discussion on the effect of tourist narratives on the tourism industry, Regina Bendix compares the tourist’s longing for the objects of travel – photos, souvenirs and stories – with Walter Benjamin’s scholarship on the “aura” of art and its irresistible appeal (2002). She writes that Benjamin’s argument that secularization decreased the “aura” of art, led to increased travel:

People began to satisfy their craving for authenticity – that is, for a however brief experience of the inaccessibly remote – less and less through a culturally offered, collective religious framework and more and more through material possessions and individual experiences. Travel conveniently inserts itself here, as it offers both of these options at once: the experience of what has never been experienced before and making available token representations of that experience in the form of souvenirs and photographs (2002: 473).

Dean MacCannell's argument is similar, writing that modern people travel in search of authentic symbols and actions in a structure that parallels older models of pilgrimage in the pre-modern quest for the sacred (1976). Authenticity is gauged based on the impact of modernity on a collective social group (Appadurai 1986, Cohen 1993, Trilling 1972). Modernity has created a capitalist social structure that fuels the modern tourist's nostalgic quest for authenticity. As tourists consume visited cultures and destinations through the purchase of souvenirs, they at once attest to their ability to travel while they simultaneously create an idealized way of life for the modern person (Kasfir 1999, Stewart 1984). Alexander Girard, an architect, designer and traveler who collected folk art from around the world, adheres to this concept when he writes of the nostalgic origins behind his collection:

In most of us there is a tendency to try to halt time, to relive the past through the accumulation of souvenirs, to which we cling as a child might cling to an old doll. We treasure artifacts that remind us of people we once knew and loved, and we add to our collection objects of many kinds, which we identify with a way of life that we would like to see perpetuated...somehow (1995: 7).

The gourd carving in Cochas similarly affected Judd. He was impressed not just by the fine detail of the craft, but by the fact that the people in this area could support themselves with craft. He was nostalgic for an idealized form of work that he thought had been lost in the United States. "In the U.S., we're like three or four generations removed from every person having a skill, you know, where as here, you can still see that," he

said. He told me that when he would return home, that the story he would most likely repeat would be of his trip to visit the gourd carver:

That's impressive. You know, that's just not seen where I'm from in the U.S. And the friendliness. You know, Lima, just a few hours' bus ride, is so big, and they sell crafts everywhere you go and in all of the souvenir shops. But it didn't seem as genuine. [...] I'd rather buy a gourd here than a t-shirt in Lima any day.

Susan Stewart writes that the souvenir is an object of differentiation (1984). The souvenir, the exotic item, marks the tourist's difference from everyday life, his separation from work and entrance into the liminal leisure zone. This marked differentiation reaffirms the tourist's self-understanding and place within his own culture by juxtaposing "what is normal" with "what is exotic" (Steiner 1994, Stewart 1984). In line with Stewart's scholarship, the paths of gazes work to reinforce the meaning of the gourd for Judd as a differentiation from his life in the United States. Judd's meaning-making most likely differs from the craftswoman's intention and gazes. In this situation, one could consider Judd's nostalgic gaze back onto the object and the craftswoman as a "filter" which shifts the craftswoman's gaze.

According to Erik Cohen, the acceptance, or authentication, of a product, is often based on the inclusion of at least one "authentic" trait, the degree of which is determined by the tourists' desire for in-depth cultural interaction (1988). The threads of Judd's gazes connecting the gourd, the craftswoman and the Mantaro Valley are changed in his interaction with the gourd carver. His experience and new perspective on gourds

authenticates the object for him, moving him to purchase gourds as souvenirs for himself and his family. Beyond the purchase of the gourd, the interaction has changed the meaning of the place for Judd, informing his perception of the peoples and culture of the Mantaro Valley.

Craftswomen's Agency in the Authentication Process

Maria, the backstrap weaver from Viques, considers her craft a means to alter or inform tourist impressions about her home. While tourist handicrafts are often cited as a viable economic alternative for women in poverty-stricken areas (Gianturco and Tuttle 2000), ethnographies examining tourist art production and artisan agency commonly raise issues of regional and national identity in relation to the craftswoman's individual identity (Cone 1995, Heckman 2003, Lee 1999, Moore 2001, Nash 1993, Stephen 1993, Swain 1993). It is in the negotiation of multiple identities that many of these writers project a possibility for agency, as Margaret Swain writes: "The promise of women's production of ethnic arts as a survival strategy of indigenous peoples is in the reproduction of links with the past and the reinvention of future identity" (1993:50).

My conversations with Maria support Swain's comments. In teaching backstrap weaving classes, Maria redefined her role in her community as a sort of "diplomat" or interpreter. Maria's classes broadened the audience of the faja, the traditional craft of Viques. The interaction was not confined to the object. Maria was never just interested in teaching classes or selling her fajas. She wanted me to learn about her way of life through sharing meals, visiting the neighbors and spending time with her family. She was also

interested in knowing about my life. She asked me to take her home with me in my suitcase for a week (just a week, she would miss Viques, otherwise), so she too could travel. For Maria, her craft is a tool in which she can connect with her familial and local tradition, while also creating a place in her world that melds her local identity with her global pursuits, even if they are virtual journeys. By teaching tourists, Maria has created a situation for obvious economic advancement; however her world is more nuanced than that. Maria's story emphasizes the need to explore "agency" beyond an economic-driven definition to one that examines the power individuals have over self-definition and communicating cultural identity.

Tourist Perceptions of Place

As a tourist, I find that my initial ideas about a place stem from the images and objects I encounter when I first arrive, in addition to visual and material tropes I imagine before arriving, developed through my consumption of travel magazines, books, films and other popular media. When interviewing foreign tourists in the Mantaro Valley, they could all quickly answer my questions about what prior expectations they had for the types of items they would find in Peru. Their expectations were often met, they said, as they found the stereotypical items in markets. Those who spent longer in an area or had long personal interactions with craftspeople found different meanings in the objects and altered their ideas about the people and place from their original stereotypes.

My initial perception of the souvenirs with the women's sombrero and braids imagery, as mentioned in the introduction, provides an example of how lucid filters in the web of experiential gazes altered my understanding of women in the region. My own preconceptions of the roles of rural, Latin American women, based on research, previous travels, and undoubtedly popular media and stereotypes from the United States, led me to think that women were the primary crafters in the region for the standard items found in tourist markets. I had thought that the men worked in higher-end markets and only practiced a certain craft if they were highly skilled, and considered "artists."² The sombrero image seemed to represent the roles of rural women, celebrating the "traditional" Andean woman. The threads of my experiential gaze were clouded through filters of misconceptions and assumptions. By strengthening the lines of communication between the local and myself, and understanding processes and culture context, the filters have shifted, altering my gaze to understand the sombrero as a performance of family and tradition in the Mantaro Valley.

Judd Lormand, the tourist from the United States mentioned earlier, associated craft and culture with women. "I want something that some little old lady makes and that's all she's been doing for years," he told me when he

² I based this impression on my first trip to the region when I met several highly skilled and award winning craftspeople who were recognized internationally as artists. Delia Poma was the only female of the four people I met, and she was the only person from this group of artisans who sold her work in the tourist markets as well as through collections, exporters, and galleries. I have since learned that categorizations between "artist" and "artisan" are not used in the Mantaro Valley amongst the artisans themselves. Artisans were well regarded here when they are considered talented. Gender does not seem to play a role in this distinction.

discussed the handmade stuffed llama he wanted to buy as a gift for a friend's child. Although Judd volunteered with an organization run by craftsman Leonico "Tino" Tinoco, a master tapestry weaver, he commented that women were the primary craftspeople in the region: "I saw mostly women doing weaving, the gourds and all that. I don't know. Huancayo is awesome. There's so much more tradition, like old school stuff, here. [...] there's so much more culture here. And the crafts are like, to me, the crafts and the clothing are the two signs of that."³ Judd interacted primarily with older women in the marketplace. This interaction influenced his experiential gazes so that his impression of crafts in the region, particularly *who* is making the crafts in the region, reflected back upon the objects, the tradition, and the culture as both gendered (female) and aging. His perception of the reality of crafts in the Mantaro Valley and Peru differed from my experiential gaze that perceived crafts as created by both men and women of all ages.

Examining the souvenir through a web of experiential gazes allows for a more open language/terminology to discuss the variables and multivocality of tourism and its expression and experience. This model can help to address the ambiguity Michael Hitchcock notes in analyzing meaning-making in souvenirs:

Commodification transforms the original meaning of an object and its attendant symbolic codes. In order to identify specific genres and interpret what are perceived to be artistic codes, the purchaser must understand

³ Tino was one of the four artists I met in 2003.

some of the intentions of the producer. The exchange is often characterized by ambiguity since the maker's original intentions and the buyer's response often diverge. These rules are perceived by those involved in the artistic exchange, though the rules operate at many levels and are often modified and broken. Souvenirs do not comprise a unified set of objects and cultural meanings, though they often hint at the experience sought by tourists. (2000:11)

The web of experiential gazes demonstrates the fluid concepts of power and agency. Who has control over the meaning and performance of an object? There is not a set designation of power. Rather, control in tourism interactions is dependent upon a number of variable factors, including the presented, suggested and performative nature of the rhetoric; the evaluation, which considers the creator and the audience; and the function, or communicated action. The ways in which these elements inform multiple experiential gazes with their constantly-moving points of intersection creates negotiated power roles. By examining these gazes, we can learn the different experiential ways in which the different agents communicate, the craftswomen employ agency and the tourists formulate meanings.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

A wedding procession marched through the market plaza in San Jerónimo de Tunán accompanied by a small band playing festive Huaylas music. A few people at the market watched as they paraded by, but for the most part, people went about their regular business surveying the produce, filling their containers with rice and quinoa, and catching up with their neighbors. On my fourth visit to Nelly Vasquez's home, I walked a block from her house to take a couple more photos of the village center.¹ Nelly was finishing up some household chores for the morning. I walked around the square and watched the wedding couple lead family and friends past the market stalls to an open area with plenty of room to dance. They were most likely on their way to a reception, but they paused on their route to form a circle and danced; I recognized some of the music and footwork as Huaylas and Santiago, styles specific to the northern villages of the Mantaro Valley. A group of four tourists walked from the market stalls to watch them, timidly taking photos, unsure of the appropriateness of their behavior. I approached them to find out why they were in San Jerónimo and learned that they were volunteers in Huancayo, working at an orphanage and learning Spanish. Australians Rhani and Johanna were midway through an extended backpacking trip through South America. Kat and Forrest, a couple from the

¹ In the methods section, I included Nelly's full name. Nelly refers to herself professionally as "Nelly Vasquez." Consistent with the rest of the paper, I will use her first name for the remainder of the chapter.

United States, were traveling for three weeks and six months, respectively. Once they realized I had been in the town for more than an hour, they began to ask me questions. “Is there anything else here?” one of them asked. They had just visited the silver shops at the entrance and saw the small produce market. Rhani and Johanna were particularly disappointed; they had heard about unique silver jewelry made in San Jerónimo, but found the entrance shops to have all of the same items they saw in Lima. They did not see workshops or worktables behind the storefronts and questioned the authenticity. “Did they really make the silver jewelry in this village?” they asked. I offered to take them to Nelly’s house and help translate. When Nelly opened her door to the unexpected group of foreigners, she eagerly ushered them in her door and led them back to the workshop. She immediately started in the process she goes through to make the silver filigree designs (*see photo 16*). Nelly does not display her jewelry in her home and Rhani and Johanna initially asked about seeing the silver jewelry, the finished product. Nelly reassured them that would see the jewelry, but she wanted to first demonstrate how she makes the jewelry, one fine, silver wired detail at a time. She told me earlier that people do not believe it until they see her at work, and the reaction from these tourists supported her remark. After we watched Nelly lengthen and thin out the silver into fine wires, she wrapped it around a narrow metal rod and cut off individual circles approximately one sixteenth the size of my small finger nail. She then soldered the small loops together to form a circular, flower-like design. She added the small design pieces to one another until she had a bracelet, a necklace or earrings. While she demonstrated all of this, the tourists became more comfortable with Nelly and started to practice their Spanish. They asked

Photo 16

Experiencing the silversmith's process

Nelly Vasquez shows tourists Rhani, Johanna, Forrest and Kat the fine details of making silver filigree jewelry in her workshop in San Jerónimo de Tunán.



questions about her craft, her home, her family, her flowers in her garden and even her dog. When Nelly finished her demonstration, approximately thirty minutes after she started, she pulled out two suitcases. She laid down a red, velveteen cloth on the table and spread out all of her jewelry. Kat and Forrest, who had no interest in purchasing silver when they first arrived at her house were looking through the items and choosing earrings and necklaces. Though she might have said it as a matter of propriety, Nelly did tell them that they should not feel obligated to buy anything. I worried that maybe they felt awkward not buying something and were searching for items out of politeness, and so I

reassured them that they did not have to buy something. Rhani and Johanna both left without buying anything, but visited Nelly later in the month at the Sunday market. Forrest bought a necklace for his mother and commented that she would enjoy meeting Nelly. Kat said the earrings she bought would always remind her of this experience. When I met with them later, Kat said that meeting Nelly gave them an opportunity to get to know a “real” person and see a different aspect of San Jerónimo. If they had just visited the small shops as the entrance, she said, she would have had an entirely different perspective on the place. Rhani also commented that Nelly’s process amazed her. She was not originally interested in the silver filigree jewelry, as it was not her “style,” but after meeting Nelly, she started to look at the designs and pay attention. She stopped at shops and noticed others designs after meeting Nelly and said that the style of jewelry would always make her think of San Jerónimo and Nelly.

The story highlights one of the key concepts of this thesis – how tourists form meaning of place based on souvenirs and how craftswomen in the Mantaro Valley negotiate and perform identity through the process of souvenir making. By explaining the fabrication process, Nelly had direct contact with the tourists and was better able to enhance the material rhetoric and shape the web of experiential gazes. Examining the souvenir as material rhetoric, an object that invokes action, requires consideration of the nature of the souvenir – what is presented, suggested and performed. Nelly presented her silver jewelry to the tourists in her home; the tourists may have interpreted the nature of the jewelry to suggest a connection to Nelly’s community, while it performs the memory of their day in San Jerónimo and personal interaction with Nelly. There were, however,

five tourists, including myself, in the workshop with Nelly. Six different experiential gazes with six different interpretations. Taking into account the object's nature, in combination with its function and evaluation, requires recognition of the fluid meanings and communication of souvenirs. The souvenir intercepts and intermingles with multiple experiential gazes. Examining the webs of these experiential gazes illuminates the multiple, simultaneous flow of communication that is constantly shifting and realigning itself. By understanding this fluidity, one can better understand the complex ways in which the craftswomen in the Mantaro Valley interact with tourists. The interaction around the souvenir is not unidirectional or static. The experiential gazes are constantly moving and changing, affecting the dynamism of material rhetoric.

The craftswomen I interviewed and observed in the Mantaro Valley used their medium as more than a means to economic advancement. The souvenir also provided an opportunity for the women to continue traditions that connect them to their families, their villages and their region. They viewed the tourist market as an opportunity to tell others about themselves and their culture, as well as a means to learn about others. The items worked as tools of communication for them, specifically in tourism environments where there was not a shared verbal language. Artisans controlled the communication of the items in terms of the visual and material elements they wished to incorporate in the design of the object. They used the marketplace, whether it was in their homes or in the Sunday market, as a means to facilitate interaction. Maria taught lessons to foreigners. Members of the Maldonado family took tourists step by step through the processes of spinning, dying and weaving. Delia carved the details of her customs and way of life on

the face of a gourd. Nelly worked from her home and sold her jewelry only at the Sunday market, avoiding the Limeño-owned markets that populated the entrance to her village. They all made decisions in the design, production and marketing processes of their craft in which they exerted agency over the ways in which they re-presented themselves to the tourist.

An in-depth study on the roles, motivations and influences of the intermediary would enhance further research in this region that incorporates material rhetoric and experiential gazes into the analysis of Mantaro Valley souvenirs. How do local, national and international tourist agencies affect the flow of communication in tourism interactions?

In addition to adding the intermediary agent to this study, I would also suggest a discussion of the concept of “context” as discussed by folklorists. The paper hints at “context” without fully exploring the scholarship. It would be further enhanced by a discussion and incorporation of folklore scholarship concerned with the role of context as a tool for analysis – as opposed to explanation (Ben Amos 1993:210) – of the souvenirs conceived as material rhetoric. A contextual analysis could potentially elucidate the power of the souvenir to generate its own experiential gaze, recognizing an object’s power to invoke action based on its own historical and cultural influences which inform the craftswoman in her own interaction with the souvenir. The gourd, for example, began its journey to Cochabamba from the northern coastal regions of Peru. Its history, its journey to Cochabamba, and its performance as an important traditional object in the village influences Delia’s design and creation of the object. Analyzing the context of the gourd prior to

Delia's interaction with it, as well as when it leaves her hands, and the context of Cochas, would add breadth to this study.

The web of experiential gazes model presents its own limitations. While the model simplifies a complex web of multiple ways of looking and experiencing, the simplification into a two-dimensional model threatens to diminish, or even freeze, the fluidity of meaning-making and multiple experiences in the tourism interaction. This limitation also emphasizes its significance: the impossibility to construct an adequately complex design in 2-d form of the multiple ways of looking and experiencing accentuates the *need* for a model to help decipher the complexity.

Tourists' ideas of place are transformed by their interaction with the souvenir. The degree to which they get to know the object's creator informs the multiple ways in which different tourists make meaning. In this paper, I look primarily at the perceptions and observations of foreign backpackers, using myself as a subject. Future studies should explore a more diverse range of tourists' perspectives, particularly the national tourists. Examining the perspectives and meaning making processes of the tourists visiting from Lima could provide insightful analysis of current political and social differences between Limeños and the Andean peoples, an interesting topic which I do not cover here. It could also address the imbalance in current tourism scholarship that creates a false dichotomy between "tourist" and "local", often falsely equating each term with "Western" and "non-Westerner," respectively. Though I have not addressed this issue in my paper, I do not intend for this study, which does focus on foreign tourists, to reinforce this dichotomy. The majority of tourists to the region while I was there were national tourists for Lima. I

focused on foreign tourists because I am a foreign tourist- in order to understand the complex ways in which objects invoke action, I decided to consider an audience perspective that was most like my own.

The gaze involves more than just looking. The gaze is experiential. My own fieldwork and experience in Peru altered my gaze of the objects, souvenirs, people, and place. My experience informed my past, present and future experiences. My interaction with people, particularly Gaby in Hualhuas and Maria in Viques, changed the way I think and speak about my family; my fieldwork with craftswomen influenced my own craft, as a knitter and fiber artist. I finished writing this thesis at a folk school in North Carolina where I took in a one-week intensive course on natural dyes, using plant and animal products to dye fiber. Cochineal bugs boiled up in a pot behind my desk, slowly transforming my alpaca yarn to a bright red. The bugs were exported from the Peruvian highlands. They were the same materials Gaby and her family used to dye their alpaca fiber various shades of red. I saw Gaby laughing at me in that bright red liquid, heard Delia's stories and smelled Maria's cooking. A tiny smashed bug in a big pot in North Carolina immediately transported me to the Mantaro Valley.

APPENDIX

CRAFTSWOMEN OF THE MANTARO VALLEY

Photo 17
Delia Maria Poma de Nuncz
Cochas Grande, Peru



Photo 18
Maria Magdalena Huzco Toribio
Viques, Peru



Photo 19
Gabriella “Gaby” Dámasa Maldonado Lazo
Hualhas, Peru



Photo 20
Agregpina Lazo de Maldonado
Hualhas, Peru



Photo 21
Maria Lazo Hinostroza
Hualhas, Peru



Photo 22
Graciela Dámasa Maldonado Lazo and family
From left: Victor Hugo Ingaroca Tupac Yupanqui, Graciela, Marialena Sully Ingaroca Maldonado and
Merly Sesy Ingaroca Maldonado
Hualhas, Peru



Photo 23
Nelly Vasquez
San Jerónimo de Tunán, Peru



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott Cone, Cynthia. 1995. Crafting Selves: The Lives of Two Mayan Women. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 22:314-327.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, Richard. 1986. *Story, Performance, and Event*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Behar, Ruth. 1996. *The Vulnerable Observer*. Beacon Press: Boston.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. 1993. "Context" in Context. *Western Folklore*. 52:209-226.
- Bendix, Regina. 2002. Capitalizing on Memories Past, Present, and Future: Observations on the Interwining of Tourism Narration. *Anthropological Theory*. 2:469-487.
- Boynton, Linda L. 1986. The effect of tourism on Amish quilting design. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 13:451-65.
- Briggs, Charles. 1980. *The Wood Carvers of Cordova, New Mexico: Social Dimensions of an Artistic "Revival"*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Bronner, Simon. 1985. *American Material Culture and Folklife: A Prologue and Dialogue*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research.
- Bunn, Stephanie. 2000. Stealing Souls for Souvenirs: Or Why Tourists Want 'the Real Thing'. In *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism*, eds. Michael Hitchcock and Ken Teague, pp. 166-193. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Cohen, Erik. 1988. Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 15:371-386.
- . 1993. The Heterogeneization of a Tourist Art. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 20:138-163.
- Cornet, Joseph. 1975. African Art and Authenticity. *African Arts*. 9:52-55.
- Crowley, Daniel J. 1970. The Contemporary-Traditional Art Market in Africa. *African Arts*. 4:43-49.

- Denzin, Norman K. 1997. *Interpretive Ethnography – Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Forster, John. 1964. The Sociological Consequences of Tourism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. 5:217-227.
- Foss, Sonja K. 2004. Framing the Study of Visual Rhetoric: Toward a Transformation of Rhetorical Theory. In *Defining Visual Rhetoric*, eds. Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers, pp. 303-313. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Georges, Robert A. 1969. Toward an Understanding of Storytelling Events. *Journal of American Folklore*. 82: 313-328.
- Gianturco, Paolo and Toby Tuttle. 2000. *In Her Hands : Craftswomen Changing the World*. New York: Monacelli Press.
- Giesz, Ludwig. 1975. Kitsch-man as Tourist. In *The World of Bad Taste*, eds. G. Dorffles, pp. 156-174. Bell Publishing: New York.
- Gilman, Lisa. 2004. The Traditionalization of Women's Dancing, Hegemony, and Politics in Malawi. *Journal of Folklore Research*. 41:33-60.
- Girard, Alexander H. 1995. Foreword. In *Folk Art from the Global Village: The Girard Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.
- Glassie, Henry. 1995. Tradition. *Journal of American Folklore* 108:395–412.
- Goggin, Mary Daly. 2004. Visual Rhetoric in Pens of Steel and Ins of Silk: Challenging the Great Visual/Verbal Divide. In *Defining Visual Rhetoric*, eds. Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers, pp. 87-110. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H. 1976. Ed. *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Handler, Richard and Jocelyn Linnekin. 1989. Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. In *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres*, ed. Elliott Oring, 38–42. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Heckman, Andrea M. 2003. *Woven Stories: Andean Textiles and Rituals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

- Hitchcock, Michael. 2000. Introduction. In *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism*, eds. Michael Hitchcock and Ken Teague, pp. 1-17. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Jones, Michael Owen. 1997. How Can We Apply Event Analysis to "Material Behavior," and Why Should We? *Western Folklore*. 56:199-214.
- Kasfir, Sidney Littlefield. 1999. Samburu Souvenirs: Representations of a Land in Amber. In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. R.B. Phillips and C.B. Steiner, pp. 67-86. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Kaufmann, Carole N. 1976. Functional Aspects of Haida Agillite Carvings. In *Ethnic and Tourist Art*, ed. N.H.H. Graburn, pp. 56-69. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. 1975. A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance. In *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein, pp. 105-130. The Hague: Moulton Press.
- Lawless, Elaine J. 1992. "I was afraid someone like you...an outsider...would misunderstand": Negotiating Interpretive Differences Between Ethnographers and Subjects." *Journal of American Folklore*, 105:302 – 314.
- Lee, Molly. 1999. Tourism and Taste Cultures: Collecting Native Art in Alaska at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. In *Unpacking Culture*, eds. R.B. Phillips and C.B. Steiner, pp. 267-281. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Lutz, Catherine A. and Jane L. Collins. 1993. *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MacCannell, Dean. 1976. *The Tourist : A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- . 1984. Reconstructed Ethnicity: Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 11:375-391.
- Moore, Laure Jane. 2001. "Elle Meets the President": Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*. 22:21-43.
- Nash, June. 1993. *Crafts in the World Market: The Impact of Global Exchange on Middle American Artisans*. State University of New York Press: Albany.

- Nason, James D. 1984. Tourism Handicrafts, and Ethnic Identity in Micronesia. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 11:421-449.
- Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner. 1999. *Unpacking Culture : Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. University of California Press: Berkeley. 1999.
- Richter, Dolores. 1980. *Art, Economics and Change: The Kulebele of Northern Ivory Coast*. La Jolla, Calif.: Psych/Graphic Publishers.
- Scheurleer, D.F.Lunsingh. 1974. *Chinese Export Porcelain*. New York: Pitman Publishing.
- Simpson, Bob. 1993. Tourism and Tradition: From Healing to Heritage. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 20:164-181.
- Steiner, Christopher B. 1994. *African Art in Transit*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stephen, Lynn. 1993. Weaving in the Fast Lane: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in Zapotec Craft Commercialization. In *Crafts in the World Market*, ed. J. Nash, pp. 25-58. State University of New York Press: Albany.
- Stewart, Susan. 1984. *On Longing : Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Stronza, Amanda. 2001. Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 30:261-283.
- Swain, Margaret Byrne. 1993. Women Producers of Ethnic Arts. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 20:32-51.
- Trilling, Lionel. 1972. *Sincerity and Authenticity*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, Victor W. and Edith L.B. Turner. 1978. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.
- Wallendorf, Melanie and Eric J. Arnould. 1988. "My Favorite Things": A Cross-Cultural Inquiry into Object Attachment, Possessiveness, and Social Linkage. *Journal of Consumer Research*. 14:531-547.

Wood, David. 2002. Artesania Peruana: A Study of the Production and Consumption of the Mate Burilado [engraved gourd]. In *Cultura Popular: Studies in Spanish and Latin American Popular Culture*, eds. S. Godsland and A.M. White, pp. 57-70. Peter Lang AG, European Academic Publishers: Bern, Switzerland.