

Re-crafting the culture: crafting the gender statements through circumcision and belly dancer dresses

Dilek Akbulut,

Gazi University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Industrial Design, Ankara, Turkey

dilekakbulut@gazi.edu.tr

Dilek Ayyıldız Hocaođlu,

Dođuş University, Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Department of Industrial Design, Istanbul, Turkey

dilekayyildiz@gmail.com

Dilek Himam Er,

Izmir University of Economics, Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Department of Fashion and Textile Design, Izmir, Turkey.

dilek.himam@ieu.edu.tr

Abstract

Craft often carries an ideology suggesting a particular look. Craft is not simply about making, but about making political statement since the Industrial Revolution. It is often perceived inferior to art with its sensual, skill based, pastoral qualities used to introduce amateur forms. Although craft is taken to mean an object having a high degree of handmade input, it does not necessarily require being produced or designed using traditional materials, produced as a one-off or as part of a small batch.

The culture's unification with market and consumption in Turkey brought certain changes and resulted in a struggle between signs in the domain of craft and production. Much of the craft work has followed social, cultural and ideological stereotypes exploring the relationship between gender and national identity. The craft tradition which has a rooted past in Turkey is abundantly fed from these cultural meanings.

The paper aims to investigate the projections of social changes on Turkish craft tradition through circumcision and belly dancer costumes for children. Circumcision is a rite of passage in which the boy is dressed in embroidered caftans with a crown-like cap and a baton. The boy becomes an Ottoman prince (shahzadah) with belt of "maşallah" worn to avert the evil eye. On the other hand, the belly dancer costumes turn into a souvenir item produced for children and sold in touristic sites. Since commoditization changes the meaning of cultural products, craftwork and local culture is often destroyed by the treatment of it as a touristic attraction. In the case of belly dancer costumes, the handcrafted item transforms into an item of orientalist gender manifestation decorated to look authentic for children.

Within the framework of the study, the gender codes and orientalist statements will be elaborated with the transformation and production of the craftwork on these costumes with the observations and interviews conducted with the producers and retailers.

KEYWORDS: Belly dancer costumes, circumcision costumes, craft, gender statements

I. Introduction

Arrangement of clothes, techniques of craft and the adornment to display certain body techniques highlights relations between the body and its social habitus. In that sense the body is actively constructed through how it is used and projected (Craik, 1993:10, cf. Elias 1978:187) that

are depicted from our childhood. Clothes are an index of codes of display, restraint, self-control, transformation, tradition, authority, order, distinctiveness and hierarchy. Rather, clothing relates particular codes of behaviour, gender statements and rules of ceremony and place. It denotes and embodies conventions of conduct that contribute to the etiquette and manners of social encounters (Craik, 1993: 10). Considering these specific properties of dress, circumcision garments for boys as a part of very deeply rooted ritual in Turkey and belly dancers costumes as souvenir products give way to analyse gender specific statements with their transformed authenticity.

Authenticity is argued as a socially constructed interpretation of the realness of the objects, a constructed reality by beliefs, attitudes, and powers (Cohen, 1988), and an inadequately defined genuineness (Spooner, 1986) using the styles of an unbroken tradition (Hillman, 2012). Therefore the constructive authenticity is a contextual, negotiable, ideological, or expectant one of object (Bruner, 1991; Silver, 1993). In terms of ceremonial costumes, authenticity operates on both the form and decoration of recent items. The market conditions, as well as the production techniques resulted in a contextual transformation of such items. The circumcision costume, for example, turned into heavily embroidered attire. On the other hand, the belly dancer costume is being re-interpreted for children with reduced details and simplified embroiders. Such rare-use items today, serve for a childhood fantasy condensed with gender statements.

In this article the function of dress considering its references through gender statements and authenticity will be discussed with the transformation and design process about circumcision and belly dancer costumes for children. Finally the mechanism interacting between craft culture, gender codes and designing processes of these garments will be analysed giving references through our field study conducted with actual producers and retailers in Turkey.

II. Dress as an Agent to Perform Gender Statements in a Childhood Fantasy

Dress or clothing articulates certain aspects of the language, gestures and disciplines of the trained body in its habitus. More than simply clad the body for warmth, modesty or comfort; dresses through different genders provide visual distinctiveness. Clothes construct a personal habitus by articulating the body with its lived milieu and space. We use the way we wear our bodies to present ourselves to our social environment, creating a 'face' which positively constructs our identity (Craik, 1993). The body is not a given, but actively constructed through how it is used and projected (Craik, 1993, cf. Elias 1978:187) that are depicted from our childhood. Clothes are an index of codes of display, restraint, self-control, transformation, tradition, authority, order, distinctiveness and hierarchy. Rather, clothing relates particular codes

of behaviour, gender statements and rules of ceremony and place. It denotes and embodies conventions of conduct that contribute to the etiquette and manners of social encounters (Craik, 1993).

Dress and appearance are pertinent components in child development that help the child to create an identity and distinguish between social codes and roles. Taking the role of the other, that is imaging how another person thinks, requires advanced cognitive development. During this process, dress serves as a role taking agent. Game dress, for example, help the child identify and take on roles of self and other players in a game. On the other hand, daily clothing acts as an agent conforming to socioeconomic, religious, and other roles as well as teaching expressing gender expectations through socialization (Damhorst, Miller, Michelman, 1999).

“Socialization is the process through which the individuals become socially adjusted to the standards of the community and society” (Damhorst, Miller, Michelman, 1999: 98). During socialization, clothing and other forms of adornment both operates as an agent in forming self-conceptions, and providing exciting prospects for experimentation with new roles or qualities especially for children. In other words, children start developing role taking skills and experiment with identities with the help of dress (Damhorst, Miller, Michelman, 1999). Experimenting with various roles and taking notes of the reactions of others toward these roles takes place particularly during play stage. The child uses clothing as a visible, experimental indication of each role that is in the process of assuming. (Kaiser, 1985)

During the play stage, two forms of socializing experience as anticipatory and fantastic are defined. Anticipatory socialization, which is also termed as “interactional experiences” involves the acting out or playing certain future realistic roles that may be taken later in life. On the other hand, fantastic socialization involves the dressing up in costumes symbolizing roles that the child will never realistically assume like the superhero costumes (Kaiser, 1985).

That’s how the childhood becomes a stage for designers and producers. The surface of the body, as the common frontier of the society, becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization, enacted, and bodily adornment becomes the language through which it is expressed. From the early years of life, dress and bodily adornment constitute the cultural medium, perhaps the one most specialized in the shaping and communication of personal and social identity (Terence, 2007).

These depictions and statements are also so clear for ceremonial dresses and these statements are also exaggerated by using craftwork. In the Turkish craft tradition circumcision and belly dancer costumes for children can be analysed to search for such an authentic experience.

In fact, both of the costumes serve for the simulation of childhood fantasy with their exaggerated or non-existent gender and identity constructions. Both are craft oriented rare-use items serving for fantastic socialization. These rare-use items worn during a ritual or for an exposition diverge in manner of utilizing and transforming craft-oriented techniques and decorations. In terms of tradition and craftwork, Turkish circumcision dresses for boys and the use of belly dancer souvenir costumes for girls are a part of certain rituals and symbolic behaviours. Since the transformation of the craftwork from years, the symbolic meanings of these dresses have also been changing.

II.I. Circumcision Costumes

Cloth is far more than a means to profit in the textile and garment industries but rather a means to status among fashion-conscious consumers. Today, sacred and ceremonial moments are marked with banners, hangings, shrouds, and robes that are carefully conserved from year to year and often generations. The passage rites such as birth and maturation of children are also acknowledged with gifts of clothing (Schneider, Weiner, 1989).

Circumcision means the surgical removal of some or all of the foreskin (prepuce) from the penis circumferentially. Certain beliefs and views with religious, hygienic and sexual content have been dominant for centuries in firmly and strictly carrying out this tradition. Through circumcision, the boy is mixed with the Islamic community and transforms to be a man (Çağdaş, Yasa, 2012).

Circumcision has deep roots in the culture of human beings. Although the ritual and ceremony was first accepted in the Jewish society and passed through Islam, circumcision culture was a part of daily life in the ancient Egypt, Africa and American Society. It was regarded as the sign of transition from childhood to manhood and was always celebrated with ceremonies (Çetintaş, 2011). In modern Turkey, some families prefer to apply this rite as only a surgical operation when the boy is new-born.

In Islam, circumcision is regarded as a ceremony of introduction to the full prerogative of manhood, a rite of attaining puberty by imitating the prophet. Muhammad, according to some traditions, was born circumcised. So circumcision constitutes a superior state of being, the

prophet, which is distinguished from his birth (Gollaher, 2000). The state of being superior is symbolized in the ceremonial dress by emulating Ottoman prince (shahzadah) costumes (figure 1).

In 19th century, during the reign of Mahmud II, the circumcision dress was a good medium to observe the traces of the modernization. During the modernization period of the Ottoman Empire, 1829 dated attire rule book (Kıyafet Kanunnamesi) obliged men to wear İstanbulin (a suit consisting of a long jacket and modern trousers) and fes (fez). These new outfits, which symbolize the new modern individual in the Ottoman Empire also became the circumcision dresses for boys. There were additional attachments and accessories like: wide fabric belts (that is also another European dress element), medallion ribbons, evil eyes, vefks, armudiye, golds, accessories written maşallah and prays; silver mecdiye. The belt was using as crossed and having “maaşallah” or “barekallah” words embroidered with golden and silver threads (Çetintaş, 2011). Sometimes the fez was adorned with crowns made of fake diamonds and gold.

Figure 1: Circumcision costumes - Ottoman prince (shahzadah) model

A recent example of a circumcision robe is composed of four different types of clothes; a cloak, a shirt, a vest and trousers. As complementary accessories, a bonnet, a maşallah ribbon, a bow-tie and a staff are used (Çağdaş, Yasa, 2012). Attires, pajama-trousers, shirts, trousers, shorts and overalls were favoured between 1921 and 1968, and that officer-uniform style clothes (figure 2) were used as circumcision clothes from 1968 onwards. From 1970 on, some officer-uniform style clothes accompanied with cloaks were used until 1990. From 1990 onwards, a cloak, a jacket, a shirt and trousers were seen to be used, but in some combinations the other attire is seen to be accompanied with a vest instead of a jacket. It is noticed that from 2005 onwards sultan robes are added to these clothing types, which are still in use, and they are complemented with shirts, vests, loose trousers or trousers (Çağdaş, Yasa, 2012: 125). The fez like bonnet today resembles the old Turkish hats called börk or kavuk.

Figure 2: Circumcision costumes-officer uniform model

Sorts of fabric such as tırl, nazilli basması, patiska, poplin, gabardin, müslin, cotton, velvet, terikoton, satin are preferred in these costumes. However, until 1990's ornamentation wasn't widely applied. The intensified use of ornamentation appeared with the addition of cloaks and robes to the circumcision clothes (Çağdaş, Yasa, 2012).

II.II. Belly Dancer Souvenir Costumes

Belly dancer costumes are also a part of an old tradition like circumcision. The roots of dance in Turkish culture go through the shamanistic roots. Religious dances had been continued after the Islam called as semah as a sect ritual while other profane dances were continuing. In the Ottoman Empire, such profane dancers were called as: çengi, köçek, zenne, rakkas, tavşan or tavşanoğlanı, kâsebâz, curcunabâz, cinaskeri, beçegân, çegânebâz and çârpârezen. At the beginning, these dancers were all called as çengi without defining any sexual distinction. However, çengi began to be used just for female dancers and zenne for male dancers in time (Aksoyak, 2009).

Dancers in the Ottoman society were inevitable part of the Ottoman ceremonies and social life which is also same in modern Turkish culture. In the old times these outfits were including a shalwar(a loose unisex traditional trouser), an üçetek(a fragmented traditional gown), a hat and bells that is called as çalpara. But then it transformed into a more eroticized form that includes a bra, a fragmented skirt and sometimes adorned with head accessories. But the most significant part of these costumes for today are sparkling sequins and beads adorned the entire costume which becomes visually and acoustically aesthetic part of the dance for the audience (figure 3).

Figure 3: Belly dancer costumes for adults

Today, belly dancer costumes turn into a very popular souvenir item produced for children and sold in touristic sites. The authenticity of that dress is a typical example of sexual references in dress. These belly dancer dresses become a very popular item for the male and mostly western gaze.

III. Dress as an Agent to Perform Craft and Authenticity

In anthropological literature, the term ornament is usually said to be applied specifically to the adornment of the body. In addition to ordinary clothing which serves for practical use, the ceremonial clothing or ornaments manifest wealth in a richer and more fanciful mood. While the ornament is connected with modesty and display, its psychological basis is the same as that of dress, meaning attraction (Bunzel, 1933).

Whether for a ceremony or an exposition, the traditional experience is generally performed with a costume heavy in craft and ornament. The embroidery on the costume not only reflects the economic power of the beholder, but also serves as an agent to experience authenticity. In both

of the costumes of circumcision and belly dancing, the craft applied on the dress appears as an indispensable component. Especially, the belly dancer costumes for adults are unique pieces of haute couture heavy in craft. When the costume turns into a souvenir or a ceremonial item for children, the indispensable component becomes a sign of authenticity.

The term authenticity is generally taken as a concept of reproduction of the realness belonging to the other. It is a conceptualization of elusive, inadequately defined, other cultural, socially ordered genuineness (Spooner, 1986: 225) Authenticity is a socially constructed interpretation of the realness of the objects. Namely, authentic experiences come from constructed reality by beliefs, attitudes and powers, not from inherent realness. It is an eminently modern value whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence (Cohen, 1988: 373). Authenticity is regarded as a child of old-fashioned exoticism using the forms and styles of a supposedly homogenous and unbroken tradition (Rushdie, 1991, as cited in Hillman, 2012).

In terms of the mentioned costumes, authenticity operates on both craft and souvenir aspects. As an applied craft, the embroidery on both of the costumes is a manifestation of wealth and tradition. Techniques of dress and decoration in non-western cultures are regarded as traditional and unchanging reflections of social hierarchies, beliefs and customs. Non-western dress embodies meanings of spirituality, religiosity and fertility while also encoding power relations. In particular the elaborate decorative techniques employed in ceremonial occasions differ from those employed in everyday life. While everyday techniques reinvented dominant cultural foundations, the ceremonial ones prompted certain rituals and symbolic behaviour (Craik, 1993). In terms of tradition and craftwork, the embroidered costume is the essential part of the circumcision ceremony. However, the intensified ornamentation in the costume is relatively a new issue appearing after 1990's with the addition of cloaks and robes. Likewise, another recent item, belly dancer costume for children (figure 4), is also intensified in ornament generally finished with mechanized embroidery, beads and sequins.

Figure 4: Belly dancer costumes for children

The craft is also a manifestation of authenticity in souvenirs for tourists. In case of belly dancer costumes, the craft, generally in the form of inferior ornamentation, is a reproduced tradition promising an oriental experience. Tourism is an economic act which emerged with the need to travel in order to seek out new experiences and ways of life. The tourists who experience alienation through their daily working lives pursue authenticity through their journeys and holidays to return home with an experience of a more primitive or alternative lifestyle (Litrell,

Anderson, Brown, 1993). In that sense, belly dancer costumes offer the proof of the journey and the authentic experience.

Objective authenticity can be defined as an experience which genuinely samples the culture of the other, that is the host society and the host people (Hillman, 2012:2). As typical tourists' travel motivations like social status, cultural enrichment, and learning new things, experiencing a foreign destination successfully work with such souvenirs. Those souvenirs include items reminding of the trip (Swanson, Horridge, 2006). In the case of belly dancer costumes, the souvenir is expected to remind the authenticity provided by the dance show.

On the other hand, authenticity of both the experience and the souvenir is questionable. Although the tourists are motivated to quest for genuine, spontaneous and authentic experience and to see the real life as it is, generally they meet with a 'staged experience' supported with a 'staged authenticity'. The artificial settings created for the tourists serve as a front stage where a 'false reality' for show and performance is constructed (Hillman, 2012). As a result, the souvenirs appear as the reminders of these staged experiences created through staged authenticity.

Turner and Reisinger (2001) identify three product attributes important in determining overall purchase satisfaction for tourists: value (range, quality), product display characteristics (colour, display, packaging, size), and uniqueness (memory of the trip). The costumes as souvenirs fulfil mainly the display characteristics with their colour, embroidery and exaggerated gender codes.

According to the typology of Gordon (1986), souvenirs are classified as pictorial image, piece of the rock, symbolic shorthand, markers and local products. Foods and clothes are examples of local products indigenous to the area. Although the costumes can be evaluated as such local products contextually, the materials and the techniques of decoration are hardly indigenous elements in the industrial era. They more serve as the reminders of the false reality of a staged experience. For this reason, the western tourists do not question the authenticity and the quality of the belly dancer costumes for children much. However, the country is culturally identified via these souvenir items.

IV. Field Study:

Within the scope of the study, interviews were conducted with retailers and producers of circumcision and belly dancer costumes for children. Relevant children's costume producers which are the leading brands are selected for the study. Face-to-face interviews are conducted to

trace the company's attitude on production, design, and market concerns. At the same time, the questions are directed to costume retailers and the answers addressed a variety of demographic and lifestyle oriented attitudes on purchase and production of the costumes. The respondents participated in the study with the understanding that their names would be used for direct mail purpose.

IV.I. Companies

The companies interviewed were selected on the basis of their operation range and significance in the market. The circumcision, as a passage rite, is seen to create its own market. The companies are involved with circumcision costume production for at least 10-12 years. The costumes are generally designed by the owners of these companies. As the market is vibrant in circumcision costumes, some of the producers did not hesitate to widen the product range with ceremony souvenirs, accessories, and even decoration items.

The first company, 'Sünnet Sarayı' is located in İstanbul which was founded in 2000 by two brothers as a single storey shop. Today the shop occupies 4 floors in the same building. Before 2000, the owners were also involved with circumcision costume production. Besides providing the items for both İstanbul and Anatolian market, the company has a web site for e-trade. The second company, 'Namlı Sünnet' is located in İzmir and is involved in the sector for more than 20 years. The company also provides these costumes to popular TV serials on Ottoman history. Both of the companies run their own workshops and operate on ready-to-wear market. Some special embroidery is done at home by women. However, Sünnet Sarayı also adjusts production on individual customer requests; the company may change the fabric, the material or the ornamentation in a model according to the desires of the client.

The belly dancer costume production generally appears to be craft oriented. The intensified ornamentation on these costumes is an elaborate work handled either in workshops or by home-based industry. The middleman retailers serve as the agent between the housewives making embroidery for the costumes and the companies. Dilek Textil, located in İstanbul appears as the example of them. Founded in 1986, the company is involved with folkdance and fantastic costume production for both adults and children. Rather than running a workshop for belly dancer costumes, the company works with a middleman that hires housewives for embroidery and tailoring. While the belly dancer costumes for children are ordered to certain districts in İstanbul, the costumes for adults are generally tailored and embroidered out of İstanbul, in Adapazarı, where delicate workmanship quality is high with low labor cost.

Besides the manufacturers, belly dancer costume retailers were interviewed. Among them are Öztaşlar in Mısır Çarşısı İstanbul, Kaftan and Bereket Gift Shop in Kapalıçarşı İstanbul, and Avcı Hediyelik in Marmaris. Avcı Hediyelik is active in e-trade as well. All of the retailers emphasized that the children belly dancer costume production was carried out informally as a small-scale home production by women. These manufacturers were also involved with the production of other components of the costume such as traditional slippers (figure 5), and the distribution of the items on direct contact with the retailers. The retailer in Marmaris told a true story about an attempt of production on the costumes: a volunteer initiative women group in Malatya, a city in eastern Turkey, was seeking for a job opportunity for housewives. The production of these cheap items was proposed to the group, but the attempt failed after the production of the first party for the reason of high production costs.

Figure 5: Traditional slippers worn with belly dancer costumes

IV.II. Production and Materials

Although both of the costumes serve for a childhood fantasy, and involve intensified ornamentation, the production process reflects divergence for the costumes. As a “once in a life” event, circumcision creates its separate market with the costume standing as the main figure. Today, the costume producers are also involved with the production of other ceremonial items such as souvenirs, quilt covers, and even the evening dresses for the mothers. Since the costume fragments requires diverse production techniques differing from hand-made embroidery to textile relief print, the companies easily enlarge their product range in order to utilize the already existent technology.

While the circumcision costume is the main item standing on the centre in circumcision sector and market, children belly dancer costumes appear as a side product in dance costume production with reduced ornaments and scale. Apart from such companies, Dilek Textile stands as the general producer for fantastic child costumes for special occasions. On the other hand, the home workshops in southern Turkey target the souvenir market in the same region and produces other items related with the costume such as slippers and belts.

In the production of both of the items, the embroidery is generally done by women at home. The companies appear as a supporter of low cost home production by providing informal employment on order base. Generally the garment is made out of translucent fabric embellished with sequins and beads. The materials and the details used in the embroidery is observed to be varied in belly dancer costumes produced in İstanbul. Since the production act is carried out by

the large scale workshops with certain experience and access to varied material, the costumes emerge with intensified ornaments and in varied models.

The materials in circumcision costumes are satin, velvet, lining, taffeta, gilded and decorated fabric, luminous stones, Swarovski stones, beads, gilded threads, pearls, feathers and furs provided from the wholesalers located on the vicinity of the producers. Besides, the companies work with particular suppliers applying certain techniques such as relief print on the textile. The material suppliers as well as the costume producers are very much affected by the historical references offered in the current TV series on Ottoman history. With reference to the Ottoman caftans, new models appeared where velvet is abundantly used. The current textile designs and colours are also influenced from the same stream. Besides the popular white and cream tones, colours like maroon, red, dark blue are extracted from the old Ottoman palace garments.

IV.III. Product Range and Context

Although the main components of the circumcision costume did not change much in time, the product range is varied today with models named as 'shahzadah' or 'sultan'. In addition, there appears a new model as army officer uniform for those who find the traditional costume trivial or exaggerated, or the boys who get circumcised in an age close to adolescence. Such costumes can also be worn by the elder brothers of the boy to be circumcised during the ceremony. Besides the model, the ornaments on the costumes reflect national identity as well. For example, crescent and star embroidered capes resembling the Turkish national flag (figure 6) are very much preferred by the customers living abroad.

Figure 6: Circumcision costumes-cloak with crescent and star

The models of the child belly dancer costumes are varied in İstanbul and some almost verge on daily outfit with a shalwar and a blouse. In fact, as a souvenir, the models target different nationalities; as the shalwar-blouse model targets Arab tourists. On the other hand, the only model encountered on touristic sites offer variations on the colours and the fabric. The most preferred item is the one out of shimmering fabric in pink, turquoise or purple.

Contextually, both of the costumes serve for certain occasions: the circumcision costume is a ceremonial item and the children belly dancer costume is a souvenir. However, there seem to be an exchange in context between these items (Figure 7): from time to time, the hat and the scepter of the circumcision costume attract tourists' attention and purchased. Even some are said to buy

the complete set as a carnival costume. And the belly dancer costumes are not only purchased by the tourists, but also for native Turkish people as a dance costume to be worn in henna nights.

Figure 7: The contextual exchange

V. Conclusion

As an agent for fantastic socialization, both of the costumes mainly serve for the augmentation of gender statements. Gender constructions articulated with certain meanings and ideologies emerge as a new design dialect in these costumes. The ideological gender stereotypes are reflected on these items in the form of souvenirs or ceremonial costumes.

Techniques of femininity are acquired and displayed through clothes, looks, gestures while codes of masculinity are inscribed through codes of action, especially relating with the different forms of body-craft arrangements. Within this context, both of the costumes offer similar experiences concerning authenticity and gender specific meanings.

As a rite of passage, circumcision means the transformation to manhood. For this reason, the traditional costume first appeared as a miniaturized adult suit with a fez and a 'maşallah' ribbon. However, the costume in time turned into an embellished fantastic costume especially in the second half of the 20th century. The transformation to manhood, by time, began to be symbolized with exaggerated representation of the Ottoman prince.

The market conditions, the variety in materials and the improved production techniques helped new fancy models to emerge. However, the production still leads a half-mechanized character and is supported with low cost home production in certain ornaments applied by housewives. As the heavily embroidered new models are very much influenced with neo-Ottomanism offered in TV series, the sector's need for handicraft does not seem to end. In a way, these costumes are also a symbol of national identity; the crescent and star embroidered capes are ordered and purchased most by the customers living abroad.

The children belly dancer costume, on the other hand, stand as a less detailed, seldom use item inferior in the quality of embroidery. The costume, as even a miniaturized fantastic item, is a souvenir which appeared very recently. Considering the tradition of adult belly dancer costume production, these appear only a side product of the sector. However, the production act carried out in the touristic sites as the sole source of income for some families gives birth to other items

like the oriental slippers or belly dance belts as the complimentary garments of the main costume. Although the costumes first appeared as a souvenir for the foreign tourists, the natives also purchase the item for special occasions like the henna nights.

The belly dancer costume production in İstanbul and out of İstanbul manifests different characteristics. The producers in İstanbul are generally larger in scale and are involved with the production of other pieces such as party costumes or adult belly dancer costumes. These have access to variety of materials, production techniques, and distribution networks. As a result, the pieces produced in İstanbul appear to be intensified in embroidery, material and model. On the other hand, the small producers located generally in touristic provinces are mainly involved in the production of the mentioned costume and are unable to reach diverse materials. As a result, these items remain as simple costumes with less detail. Moreover, the producers act as the distributor of their own products and supply the items to shops and wholesalers themselves.

Although both of the items function whether as a ceremonial costume or a souvenir, these contexts seem to intersect from time to time. The pieces intensified with authentic and gender specific codes converge to serve for both the domestic and global market: the circumcision hat and sceptre may serve as a souvenir or a carnival costume for the tourists, or the belly dance souvenir costume turns to be the little girls' outfit for the henna night in Turkey.

The models in both of the costumes are influenced by the current cultural mood. As the projection of the social change in Turkey, the circumcision costumes reflect ostentatious imperial mood, although during the imperial era the costume was no more than a smaller in scale version of an adult man's suit. And even though belly dancing is only regarded as an exaggerated mode of femininity, but not a real gender role approved by the society, today the belly dance costumes are adopted for little girls.

As the meaning of the garments change with commoditization, the craft tradition applied on these garments is also transformed and get adjusted to the new market conditions. Moreover, the new garments and the new forms of craft act as the new cultural indicators of a country.

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Figure 1: Circumcision costumes - Ottoman prince (shahzadah) model



Figure 2: Circumcision costumes-officer uniform model



Figure 3: Belly dancer costumes for adults



Figure 4: Belly dancer costumes for children



Figure 5: Traditional slippers worn with belly dancer costumes



Figure 6: Circumcision costumes-cloak with crescent and star



Figure 7: The contextual exchange

