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Appropriation in souvenir design and production: A study in museum shops

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Abstract
This study examines the product attributes of souvenirs – that, for both retailers and consumers, serve as mediums of cultural and historical representation – from the perspective of design. Souvenirs that visually or conceptually refer to authentic cultural and historical elements claim to contain the essence of a culture or geography, and constitute their own genre. They are the result of the commoditization of authenticity that involves the appropriation of the attributes of authentic cultural or historical elements by one of various techniques, and subsequently the reinterpretation and incorporation of these attributes into a mass-produced souvenir as layers of representation.

The aim of this study is to investigate the link between the physical attributes of souvenirs and their source material in order to describe the role of design in the commoditization process. The methodology of the research was a compositional analysis supported by content analysis. Shops of six popular museums in İstanbul and İzmir were selected as sample sites and their contents' physical properties – such as size, texture, color, form, production technique, choice of material, and intended function – were studied to identify the appropriation techniques employed in the creation of counter-top souvenirs whose representational attributes reinterpret or reconstruct those of a reference element. These techniques include (1) surface treatment and condensing attributes of a source into graphics, (2) fragmenting, isolating, and scaling authentic patterns or graphics, (3) iconization and replicating an authentic source, (4) reproducing the effect of time and patina, and (5) reinterpreting the original function or redesigning the content in contemporary form.

128

1. Souvenir as research subject

The souvenir as a cultural, social, and economic phenomenon has been the subject of study in many academic disciplines. The irresistible link between touristic experience and souvenirs has led to a broad extension of the concept of the souvenir in the fields of tourism, leisure studies, material culture, and ethnography, as well as cultural, urban and historical geography and museum studies.

In the literature on tourism and leisure, the souvenir as a material object is a multidimensional phenomenon, central to the scientific exploration of how touristic activity, shopping experience, marketing and retail strategy, consumption patterns, dynamics of local development, cultural exchange, and processes of commoditization and globalization interact with one another. In both consumption and marketing studies, the souvenir as a manufactured product becomes a platform from which to observe the interaction of complex commoditization and marketing strategies and consumption patterns.

When considered as the product of a given culture or locality, the souvenir may be approached as a constituent of material culture, one which formally encodes aesthetic, symbolic, and ritualistic elements and transmits them to the beholder. The souvenir's capacity to be widely circulated provides an interface for the local and global to interact.

As an economic phenomenon, the souvenir is critical to the development of a local tourism strategy and reveals the dynamics of local production culture, resources, and global influences. As a carrier of meaning, the consumption of a souvenir is a malleable personal and social experience.

In some of the literature, souvenirs are deemed the apex of touristic shopping and are analyzed in terms of the motivations of tourists with various demographic characteristics (Littrell et. al, 1994; Kim & Littrell, 1999). Marketing-oriented studies have further investigated the relationship between souvenirs' product-specific attributes and consumer satisfaction (Reisinger & Turner, 2002). Studies focusing on the retail environment have combined the analysis of product attributes with visual merchandising and an overall evaluation of the shopping experience (Swanson & Horridge, 2012). Studies that focus on the souvenir as an artisanal object (Kim & Littrell, 1999) and those that focus on mass-produced souvenirs' impact on local communities and industry illustrate the complex interrelations among local economic development, community empowerment, tourism strategy, and processes of commoditization (Go, Less & Russo, 2003). Studies that link tourism strategies with handicraft production address tensions between handcrafts and mass-produced objects, as well as the economic and cultural consequences of commoditization and commercialization (Markwick, 2001). The spatial organization of tourist destinations and craft-based souvenir production centers (Cohen, 1995) has also been the subject of study in geography-specific contexts. While studies on tourism and the specific role of souvenirs as facilitators for local development in developing countries have advanced the positive impact in terms of poverty relief and community empowerment (Binns, 2002; Rogerson 2002), other studies have approached merchandising as the means for the commoditization of culture (Greenwood, 1997) and devaluation of the very authenticity tourists expect of their souvenirs (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Conversely, when considered as a vehicle for the "heritagisation of destinations" (Selwyn, 1996; Wang 1999; Jamal & Hill, 2002; Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1992), souvenirs functionally *authenticate the authentic*. Indeed, the variety of academic inquiry into souvenirs shows how the concept of the souvenir embodies the diverse perspectives of producers, retailers, marketers, and consumers.

In this study, we focus on mass-produced souvenirs designed for the tourism market and make some claim of authenticity by referring to cultural or historical sources. They are *ipso facto* commodities of local production (Cohen, 1988), but processes of commoditization and commercialization are invariably involved in their mass-production. In *The Tourist,* MacCannell (1976) catalogs the indigenous

elements of cultures and geographies that are damaged through commoditization. Acknowledging that mass-production allows for cost-efficiency, standardization, and customization, souvenirs so-produced attempt to reconstruct authenticity by fragmenting, reinterpreting, and transferring the authenticity inherent in cultural and historical elements. And while economics may necessitate such souvenirs, how they are made is open to interpretation by designers. When disconnected from the cultures of their eventual destination, souvenirs are likely to have short life spans, while souvenirs that are well thought through and produced accordingly may connect the end consumer with values other than their own. Design can thus play a positive role in impeding cultural commoditization. The unique interpretation of a designer may also imbue souvenirs with more complex and consistent references to authentic sources. There is therefore further need to address the physical attributes of souvenirs in the literature.

Table 1 summarizes the attributes of souvenirs based on various parties' expectations and demands outlined in the aforementioned literature.

Table 1 also demonstrates that studies concerned with how meaning is negotiated and transformed through touristic activity, travel, and consumption all ultimately refer to the physical attributes of souvenirs. Though Table 1 suggests a general understanding of how the physical attributes of souvenirs represent and shape expectations, the design, construction, and production

Table 1. Product attributes of souvenirs

"easily portable, relatively inexpensive, understandable, cleanable, and usable upon returning home" (Graburn 1976, cited in Swanson and Horridge, 2004).
"value (range, quality), product display characteristics (color, display, packaging, size) and uniqueness (memory of the trip, unique nature" (Turner and Reisinger, 2002).
"aesthetic qualities and workmanship of an item", "uniqueness of item", "whether the item was made by a well-known producer" (Littrell et al., 1994).

processes that precipitate the physical object are hardly addressed.

Goss (2004) claims that souvenirs simultaneously contain *substance* and *essence*. Cited by Goss (2004), Swanson and Timothy (2012) explain this as: "Souvenirs of essence are intangible recollections, abstract notions of place attachment, enjoyable holiday experiences, and social connectedness. Souvenirs in substance are physical, tangible, material objects that identify place and delineate a singular experience" (p. 334).

Because substance and essence exist simultaneously, further analysis and description of the physicality of a souvenir is instrumental to explaining the complex processes by which souvenirs are authenticated in the minds of their consumers. Schouten (2006) observes that "[tourists] are also quite happy to buy locally produced Madonnas and carvings of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper' at Hindu temples. Touched by the holiness of the visited places, they purchase their own icons of holiness as an affirmation of the experience" (p.193). In this example, Schouten illuminates the physical entity of the souvenir, including the icons as content, carving as a production technique, and Hindu temples as a context.

In her semantic analysis, Bagli (2001) posits that souvenirs contain four different representational signs: time, space, production and function. Souvenirs may represent time by referring to history, they may represent a place such as the Orient, and they may carry the traces of their production such as hammer marks on copper (Bagli, 2001). The association of traditional crafts with authenticity has been exploited through the production of souvenirs that appear handcrafted, but in fact are not. The use of traditional crafts and antiquing effects are mere signs for history (Bagli, 2001), as in the incidental wear on kitchen utensils that is deliberately preserved when the utensils are put up for sale as souvenirs (Bagli, 2001). Bagli (2001) similarly makes note of the strategies of making scale replicas and substituting materials.

As seen in the examples disccused in this section, a more comprehensive

analysis of the physical attributes of souvenirs will shed light on their pre-sale life and provide a fresh perspective about how design and production decisions address, shape, manipulate, and transform end consumers' expectations and perceptions of authenticity. We consequently argue that such a comprehensive analysis of the substance of souvenirs may enhance the real practice of souvenir design.

2. Method

In this analysis, a sample of souvenirs from selected, significant museums in İstanbul and İzmir are considered in order to identify various processes by which authentic sources have been commoditized. The method is the compositional interpretation of objects (Rose, 2001). According to Rose (2001), this method resembles an observer looking at images through a given vocabulary, such as color, spa-

Table 2. *Classification of research material according to reference source material, object type, material and appropriation method (continued in the following table).*

Image	Museum Shop	Souvenir	Material	Reference Object	Change in Form	Appropriation Technique	Observations
	İstanbul Archaeology Museum	Candle	Wax	Architectural fragments	Scaled down	Cast replica (Iconization and replicating an authentic source)	Souvenirs are scaled down replicas of architectural fragments and antique sculptures from the museum's collection, cast in different materials.
	İstanbul Archaeology Museum	Figurines	Plaster	Antique Sculptures	Scaled down	Cast replica (Iconization and replicating an authentic source)	
	Topkapi Palace Museum	Plates Vases	Unidentified metal	Aged Ottoman artefacts	n/a	Patina applied on surface (Reproducing the effect of time and patina)	Vases and trays are replicas made to look old with an applied patina.

Table 3. *Classification of research material according to reference source material, object type, material and appropriation method (continued in the following table).*

Image	Museum Shop	Souvenir	Material	Reference Object	Change in Form	Appropriation Technique	Observations
	Topkapi Palace Museum Hagia Sophia Museum Museum of Islamic and Turkish Arts	Generic products (mugs, pencil cases, tote bags)	Textiles Ceramic Metal Wood	İstanbul	n/a	Printing (Surface treatment and condensing attributes of a source into graphics)	Same drawing of İstanbul was printed onto generic mass-produced products. Graphics are identical in all the museum shops.
	Topkapi Palace Museum	Coffee, Turkish delight, mugs, key chains	Metal Ceramic Plastic Paper	Tile patterns from Ottoman and Seljuk periods	n/a	Printing (Surface treatment and condensing attributes of a source into graphics)	Tile patterns from Ottoman and Seljuk periods were printed on packaging for coffee and Turkish delight, as well as on mugs and key chains.

Table 4. *Classification of research material according to reference source material, object type, material and appropriation method (continued in the following table).*

Image	Museum Shop	Souvenir	Material	Reference Object	Change in Form	Appropriation Technique	Observation
	Pera Museum	Generic objects (Clock, paperweight, book mark)	Glass Paper	Architectural f "The Tortoise Trainer" painting by Osman Hamdi Bey	n/a	Printing (Surface treatment and condensing attributes of a source into graphics)	The tortoise trainer painting or parts thereof were directly printed on a clock and paper weight.
	Topkapi Palace Museum	Decorative object	Fabric	Kaftan	Scaled	Embroidery (Fragmenting, isolating, and scaling authentic patterns or graphics)	The souvenir is a scaled version of a Kaftan. However the embroidered pattern is not scaled to fit onto the surface.
	Topkapi Palace Museum	Shoulder bags	Fabric	Ottoman textile and tile patterns	Scaled	Sewn (Fragmenting, isolating, and scaling authentic patterns or graphics)	Fabric with Ottoman patterns were used to make shoulder bags. Fragments of original patterns were used.

tial organization and expressive content. Rose (2001) expands on Rogoff's (1998) "the good eye", which she describes as: "…a way of looking at painting that is not methodologically explicit but which nevertheless produces a specific way of describing painting." (p.17). Here, the expert and the expertise cannot be detached from the analysis, and so, the authors' experiential knowledge of industrial design and practice contributes to the study both implicitly and explicitly. In identifying features of objects, the modalities of compositional interpretation proposed by Rose (2001), such as "content, color, spatial organization, light and expressive content of a still image, and the mise-en-scène, montage, sound and narrative structure of a moving image" are replaced with form, material, production technique, and reference to original sources. As such, a basic content analysis complements the compositional analysis.

The sample objects used in the study were compiled from the Topkapi Palace Museum, the Hagia Sophia Museum, the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, the İstanbul Archeology Museum, and the Pera Museum in İstanbul,

as well as the Ephesus Archaeological Site outside İzmir. As a space, the museum shop has become instrumental in extending the museum experience, constituting a site of consumption where visitors' demand for mementos of their experiences are met with culturally and historically representative souvenirs. The shop is a site of "profitable retail operations" (Kent, 2009) in which the content of available products need not even relate to the museum's collection or the specific cultural experience the museum offers. As such, the museum shop is an ideal location for observing the plethora of available souvenirs designed to reflect various tourist demands and demographics and all the while maximize retail profit.

In initial field visits, the general content of museum shop souvenirs was observed. It was evident that the souvenirs consisted of a mix of museum-specific products, as well as a collection of objects with disparate, disconnected historical and cultural contents. These products ranged from Ephesus imagery to marbling (ebru) and were equally distributed among the stores. Though these products explicitly claim to represent authentic

Table 5. *Classification of research material according to reference source material, object type, material and appropriation method.*

Image	Museum Shop	Souvenir	Material	Reference Object	Change in Form	Appropriation Technique	Observation
	Pera Museum	Necklace	Silver Cold processing and casting	Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection	n/a	Reinterpreting the original function or redesigning the content in contemporary form	Silver necklace inspired by the Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection.
	Pera Museum	Earrings	Silver Cast	Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection	n/a	Reinterpreting the original function or redesigning the content in contemporary form	Silver arrings inspired by the Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection.
	Pera Museum	Necklace and Earrings (Authors' drawing)	Silver Cast	Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection	n/a	Reinterpreting the original function or redesigning the content in contemporary form	Silver necklace and earrings inspired by the Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection.
	Pera Museum	Brooch (Authors' drawing)	Various metals, enamel	Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection	n/a	Reinterpreting the original function or redesigning the content in contemporary form	Brooches inspired by the Anatolian Weight and Measures Collection.
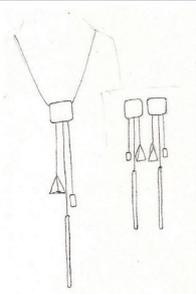
sources through visual reference, they fail to maintain the conceptual link between the antecedent and the souvenir: the majority of souvenirs' contents had been disconnected from the context of the reference source. References were merely attached to them graphically.

Souvenirs were photographed for later study, and to better identify the features of the products, their form, material, production technique and the cultural or historical elements to which they refer were cataloged, as in the tables presented above. Subsequently, the techniques employed to appropriate attributes of reference sources were identified and grouped to answer the question of how traditional content has been transferred to mass-produced souvenirs.

In addition to photographs, we also spent time in the museum shops drawing details for the possible improvement of the souvenirs studied and drawing sketches of the display arrangements.

The classification of sample material is seen in Tables 2-3-4-5.

3. Museum shops selected for field study and their contents

The shops selected for the study are located in "must-see" museums that differ in size, profile of their collections and temporary exhibitions, and management (public or private). Because they are destinations for both local and a wide range of foreign tourists, the

Figure 1. İstanbul and Hagia Sophia themed collections are displayed side-by-side in the Hagia Sophia Museum shop. Otherwise identical products feature different graphics.

shops located within these museums are expected to offer appropriately diverse souvenirs. In 2013, the number of visitors to these museums (excluding the Pera Museum) approached 10 million (Kültür Varlıkları web site, 2014), and as such, the shops are an apropos sample of sites where thousands of products have been designed to respond to the demands of mass tourism.

The fieldwork began in Topkapi Palace Museum, Hagia Sophia Museum, and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, as the shop contents in these museums have been outsourced to a single company responsible for the design, production, and packaging of thematic, generic, and independent souvenirs. As a major player in the souvenir market, this particular vendor

Figure 2. Cultural images are applied to souvenirs such as an İstanbul skyline tote and an evil eye key chain. From the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, İstanbul (2011).

supplies over 4000 products to over 95 stores throughout Turkey (Hurriyet Daily News, 2014).

In the aforementioned shops, we noted that irrespective of the unique experience offered by the host museum, the souvenirs on display contained a mix of content-specific product collections, generic product groups common to all three shops, and random souvenirs that are also to be found in local bookstores and gift shops. Handmade, mass-produced, and limited edition items – with corresponding price tags – could be found among the mix, but based on the documentation, it may be easily deduced that only a small percentage of the products on display related to the content of the specific museum.

Our analysis of these content-specific products revealed two distinct categories: (1) replicas and distinctive products inspired by museum content, and (2) generic souvenirs that were common to all shops, yet were customized according to each specific museum's holdings, i.e. museum-specific graphics applied to the neutral surfaces of pencil cases, bags, scarves, plates, and mugs. If the pencil case in Topkapi Palace Museum's shop featured a pattern selected from a sultan's kaftan, the same pencil case in Hagia Sophia Museum's shop would feature a graphic representation of one of the church's Byzantine mosaics seen in Figure 1.

Product groups that were unrelated to the particular museum's content and were common to all three shops included mugs, magnets, key chains, etc. with more anonymous graphics relating to city landmarks, everyday scenes and symbols, the evil eye, and historical tile and textile patterns, as seen in Figures 2 and 3.

Moreover, overstock from other Anatolian museum shops, the contents of which were altogether irrelevant, were also available for sale. A later visit to the shop at the Ephesus Archaeological Site in Selçuk, İzmir, revealed identical counter-top products to those sold in these shops, in addition to the content-specific Ephesus Collection, as seen in Figure 4.

Parallel with the product range, displays varied from locked glass cases to

Figure 3. The sign at the top right indicates a 50% discount rack. From the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, İstanbul (2011).

Figure 4. Boxed Turkish coffee, a coffee grinder, and mugs with generic Turkish patterns on display adjacent to content-specific souvenirs at the museum shop on Ephesus Archaeological Site (2011).

clearance shelves, with the style of the display suggesting the value, quality, and authenticity that the shop management associates with the given souvenirs. While expensive items, such as jewelry, daggers, replicas of the Sultan's everyday accessories, and limited-edition, hand-made adornments of gold and precious stones were displayed in locked glass cases, less expensive yet still hand-crafted items such as ceramics and glassware were spaced widely with spot lighting and information cards about their producers. The most affordable, mass-produced items were arrayed together on large, central shelves that present the wide variety of the shops' offerings. Figure 5 shows a large shelf displaying affordable souvenirs such as Turkish coffee, Turkish delight in metal boxes, mugs, key chains and so on in Topkapi Palace Museum Shop.

The museum shop in the İstanbul Archeology Museum stood apart from the previous three. Souvenirs there were not provided by a single vendor, but rather by a variety of suppliers ranging from artists to designers to small and large-scale commercial souvenir producers. Instead of a single, repeated strategy of souvenir design, construction, and production, each group of products exhibited a different approach. We deemed the contents of the museum shop to be a more random mix of souvenirs, including both generic and content-specific souvenirs, both hand-made and mass-produced. Hand-made plates and mugs showcasing İznik tile patterns were displayed alongside mass-produced ceramic bowls and mugs featuring city scenes.

Although postcards, bookmarks, and various stationery that reproduced visual material from the museum's collection were available, the majority of content-specific souvenirs were replicas of archaeological artifacts from the museum's collection. The choice of material was the characteristic that differentiated replicas in terms of their quality and value. Those reproduced in same material as the original, such as marble, appeared to be more expensive and were more carefully displayed than cast replicas in materials such as plaster or wax.
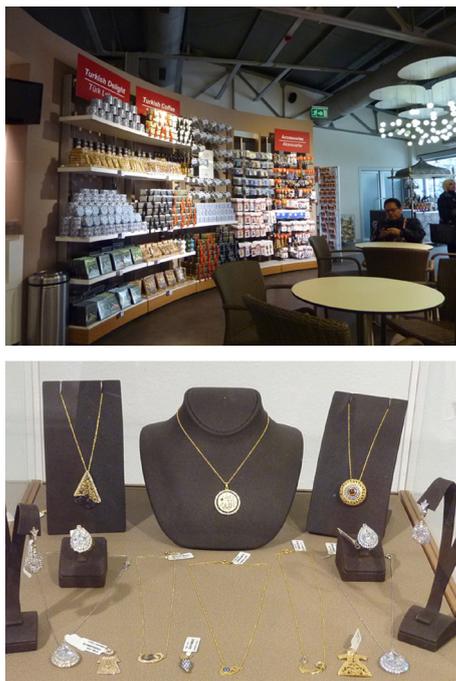
Figure 5. Mass-produced souvenirs at the shop entrance and jewelry in locked cases. From the Topkapi Palace Museum shop, 2011.

Unlike the display styles in previous shops, which were closely correlated to the value of the products, the product displays in the İstanbul Archeology Museum shop were as haphazard as the product selection. While expensive items such as jewelry were still displayed in locked cases, limited space appeared to have been the decisive factor in the random juxtaposition of product categories on general shelving, such as the placement of scholarly books directly adjacent bowls and mugs.

The shop at the Pera Museum, called *Artshop*, differed from the others in terms of branding and identity. It exhibited a consistent, calculated approach to the selection and display of the shop's contents. Souvenirs were presented as design objects: creative thinking and conceptual understanding of the sources of inspiration are prerequisite to understanding the products, creating a value that transcends visitors' more generic demands on souvenirs.

The majority of souvenirs on display were thematic and specific. The Pera Museum's permanent collections and temporary exhibitions were the primary sources of inspiration for the design

and construction of hand-made, limited edition, as well as mass-produced souvenirs, such as ceramics, glassware, jewelry, textiles, and stationery. We observed a thematic rather than functional or value-based organization of the displays, which (1) created conceptual links between otherwise unrelated types of products (hand-made and mass-produced), and (2) related the shop's contents to the identity and mission of the museum. Souvenir collections inspired from the museum's permanent collections, such as Anatolian Weights and Measures, illustrated the role design can play in souvenir construction, leading to relevant, contemporary products with unique identities that do not imitate, replicate, reproduce, or commoditize cultural or historical sources. Rather, they connect with these sources conceptually, through substance.

4. Appropriation as a strategy in the design of counter-top souvenirs

From the compositional analysis of objects, it was observed that selected elements from authentic cultural or historical sources are extracted and transformed into souvenirs through various means. Original material has been exploited through appropriation, which in art and design can be defined as the action of borrowing content to create a new work, as, for example, Andy Warhol appropriated the identities of celebrities. Ziff (2006) discusses the phenomena in popular culture with regard to the appropriation of Che Guevara's image in contexts ranging from advertisements to T-shirts.

In this study, all the observed souvenirs contain elements extracted and sometimes transformed from original source materials, so appropriation is clearly a significant strategy in souvenir design and production. This strategy is to complete visitors' desires to authenticate their experience and physically own it. The trick is to create a representation of culture that is small enough to offer up for sale. Following from this strategy, one of several techniques are employed to create such souvenirs.

4.1. Appropriation techniques

The techniques explained in the fol-

lowing sections are used when the goal of authenticity is to be met through the appropriation of cultural, traditional, or historical elements. They are employed to reconstruct material-symbolic attributes and imbue counter-top souvenirs with the subjectively perfect representation of a given visitor's authentic cultural experience.

Technique 1: Surface treatment / condensing attributes of the reference element into graphics

The most common appropriation technique is surface treatment, which involves first appropriating all or some attributes of a reference element, and secondly, condensing those attributes into two-dimensional graphics that can be applied to the surfaces of souvenirs.

This technique is mostly used for generic, mass-produced products such as bowls, mugs, t-shirts, scarves, notebooks, coasters, etc. which merely await authentication through customization. The objects themselves are blank surfaces which serve as a platform for the representational image. Textiles, ceramics, glassware, and stationery are the most prevalent categories of this type, and the most common surface treatment technique is flexible, low-cost digital printing, but embroidery was also observed. Figure 6 shows different uses of Tortoise Trainer painting by Osman Hamdi Bey on the surfaces of a glass paper weight, a clock and a bookmark.

Souvenirs that aim to represent a specific geography or city tend to fea-

Figure 7. The İstanbul Collection at D&R, İstanbul.

Figure 8. A miniature kaftan scaled down with appropriated embroidery, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.

ture graphical representations of skylines, architectural landmarks, and everyday life. The *İstanbul Collection* – on display in the museum shops of Topkapi Palace, Hagia Sophia, the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, and the Archaeological Museum – exemplifies common applications of this technique.

In graphics on tote bags and pencil cases, stylization of Çintemani – a common Ottoman motif –, seagulls – which are representative but not specific to any one part of the city –, and non-adjacent city landmarks – such as the Galata Tower (Galata Kulesi) and the Maiden's Tower (Kız Kulesi) – were treated as bits of geographical representation and merged together into single images.

As seen in Figure 9 and 10, counter-top souvenirs constructed through

Figure 6. The Tortoise Trainer by Osman Hamdi Bey, appropriated on the surface of a clock, a paperweight, and bookmarks, Pera Museum.
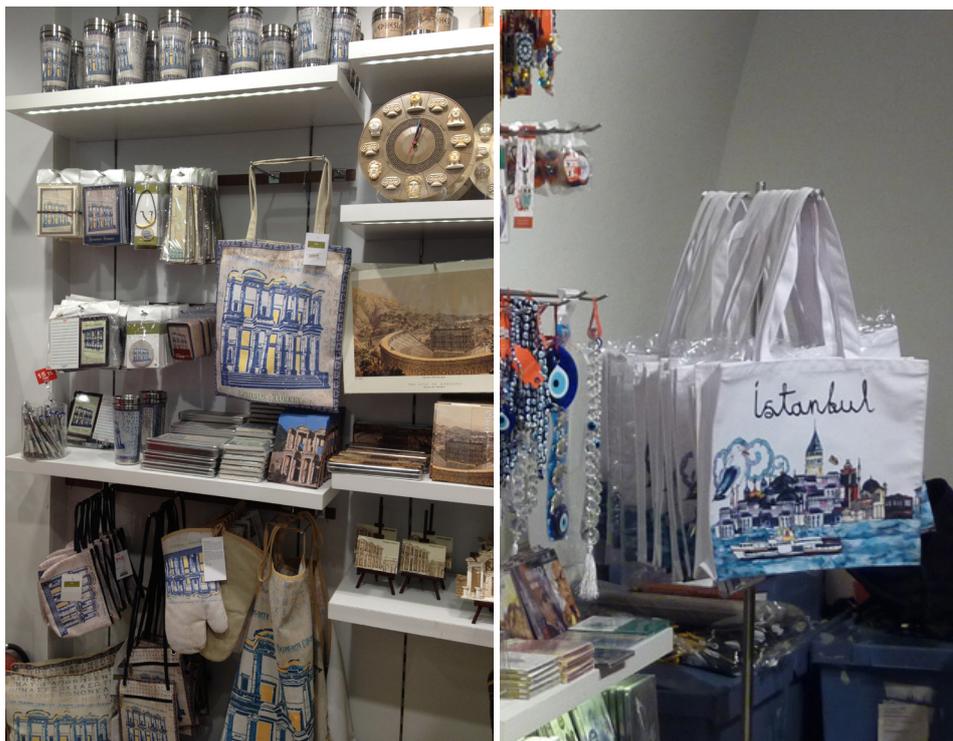
Figure 9. and 10. *Surface treatment on totes at the museum shops on Ephesus Archaeological Site and Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, respectively.*

surface treatment are arranged throughout the shops: the products in a given collection may be displayed as a group or mixed together with those of other collections. Smaller items are displayed at the point of sale, affirming that surface treatment is the appropriation technique of choice when the priority is profit maximization.

For the genre of products under in-

Figure 11. *Ottoman patterns used on textile bags, Topkapi Palace Museum.*

vestigation, certain elements of a cultural or historical source are isolated from the whole and are used as a metaphorical layer of representation that authenticates the souvenir. In this specific case, the representational content is condensed into a surface image, disregarding the sides, bottom, shape, and mass of the object itself. When traditional textile patterns of Ottoman kaftans are detached from the artifact (the kaftan itself) and applied to the surfaces of random mass-produced knick-knacks, the patterns become distorted and their scales become inappropriate as seen in the bags in Figure 11. Similarly, Figure 8 shows a mini kaftan with large embroideries of floral patterns that have not been scaled down relative to the size of the kaftan.

The resulting disconnect between a surface graphic and the physical form of the souvenir is correlated with a distortion in the representative power of the souvenir vis-à-vis the original.

Figure 1 shows glass displays in the Hagia Sophia Museum shop, where products from the *İstanbul Collection* are displayed immediately adjacent to content-specific souvenirs designed and produced specifically for Hagia Sophia. Products on the second shelf

Appropriation in souvenir design and production: A study in museum shops

illustrate surface treatment as an appropriation technique, as do totes in the shops at Ephesus in Figure 9 and at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Figure 10.

Technique 2: Fragmentation, isolation, and scaling of authentic patterns and graphics

The second appropriation technique used in the design and construction of mass-produced souvenirs is fragmentation, isolation, and scaling of authentic patterns or graphics. Though this technique is a variant of surface treatment, the attributes appropriated from the reference element are more specific. This technique is observed most frequently with textile-based souvenirs, as the careful repetition of an authentic textile pattern is deemed an authentication of the copy. A reference pattern from a historical textile is appropriated first by breaking the design down into constituent parts, isolating selected fragments from others in the design, and finally scaling and applying the fragment to the surface of the souvenir. Patterns are handled in two ways in the production of mass-produced souvenirs: (1) the pattern may be transferred to similar objects of comparable materials, as in the case of a pattern from a sultan's kaftan transferred to a handbag, illustrated in Figure 11, or (2) the pattern may be transferred to random, mass-produced items such as mugs, key chains, or ceramics.

In the first case, a more organic relationship with the original may be maintained, but if the fragmented and isolated parts of authentic patterns are not appropriately scaled and adapted to the size and form of the souvenir, the pattern becomes indistinct, losing its connection to its antecedent. The yellow and blue bag on the lowest shelf in Figure 11 illustrates how fragments of authentic patterns become unrecognizable when improperly scaled and repeated: the extreme zoom in on the Çintemani pattern disconnects the final graphic from its source, and so the implicit claim of authenticity is weak.

While the transfer of patterns from one type of textile to another may maintain a thread of connection – even if distorted – to the authentic design,

there is no translation of meaning when appropriated pattern fragments are applied to completely unrelated objects. The visitor cannot make any connection between the reference design and the souvenir. The patterns thus become anonymous and lose any authentic associations.

If applied correctly, however, this appropriation technique can be implemented in a way that maintains the essence of reference elements. Patterns appropriately selected, scaled, and integrated into the physicality of the new product can create a link between the original artifact and the new object.

Technique 3: Iconization / replicating the authentic source

As noted before, the majority of the content-specific souvenirs in the shop of the İstanbul Archeology Museum were replicas of museum holdings, including antique sculptures and archaeological artifacts such as jewelry and kitchenware. Though examples of replicas were observed in Topkapi Palace Museum and Hagia Sophia Museum, as well, those on display at the İstanbul Archeology Museum's shop best illustrate the approaches to replicating an authentic and historical form.

This technique generally involves the appropriation of the whole of a reference object, such as a sculpture, an everyday product used in the Ottoman palace, a piece of jewelry found at Ephesus, etc. But the souvenir is often replicated at a different scale, as a great

Figure 12. *Candles in the form of decorated architectural column capitals, İstanbul Archeology Museum.*

Figure 13. *Replicas of statuettes from the İstanbul Archeology Museum shop.*

many archaeological artifacts are not suitable for replication at full size. At İstanbul Archeology Museum, replication at different scales and in different materials such as wax, marble, and ceramics was a convenient way to expand the product range and to create choice, all the while keeping the focus on the geographic situation of the original sculpture, relic, or artifact.

While some souvenirs had been scaled down to portable sizes, others were full-scale replicas as seen in Figure 13. An antique statuette reproduced as a small-scale wax candle seen in Figure 12 suggests an alternative function, while full-scale clones made of marble and complete with ersatz wear (a missing arm or a broken face) not only maintain the authentic connection between the souvenir and the specific archaeological site, but address the tie between history and geography in a consumable form.

Technique 4: Patina / reproducing the effects of passing time

This technique involves the appropriation of those attributes of an authentic cultural or historical element that suggest the passing of time, which is reproduced in the souvenir through the application of a patina. By reproducing the aged appearance of authentic artifacts, this technique creates a sense of nostalgia for the reference source. The neutral fact of a mass-produced replica is meaningfully altered through the applied patina.

In "Modernity at Large," Arjun Ap-

padurai (1996) postulates a concept of patina that is not only an indicator of passing time, but also a representation of social status, the lifestyle of upper classes, and the "material culture of aristocracies" (Appadurai, 1996). In the age of global consumerism, "the gloss of age" becomes instrumental to modern merchandising for "inculcating nostalgia" (Appadurai, 1996). Modern merchandising has adopted the applied patina as a tool for evoking an object's historicity. This aging treatment closes the conceptual distance between the reference artifact and the souvenir.

Patina can be defined as the traces of passing time: discoloration or de-coloration and the wear on form or material. A piece of silver jewelry darkens over time, and a copper container oxidizes as it is used. With mass-produced souvenirs, the patina acquired by time and use is mimicked in a kind of temporal shortcut to historic authenticity.

Especially in the shop of Topkapi Palace Museum, it was observed that the otherwise neutral or even polished appearance of replicas of everyday Ottoman objects such as jugs, plates, and ceremonial items had been altered through the application of a patina as seen in Figure 14. In the Hagia Sophia Museum's shop, the aged look of the mosaics depicting the Virgin Mary had also been reproduced in souvenirs.

Technique 5: Reinterpreting the original function and redesigning content in contemporary form

It was observed that some souvenirs in museum shops were presented explicitly as new design objects that neither imitated nor replicated museum content or specific sources. Instead, as designed products, these souvenirs claimed an independent identity and conceptual integrity. The design-oriented approach of the Pera Museum's *Artshop* suggests that a conceptual understanding of the sources of inspiration, creative interpretations of authentic sources, focus on a design idea, and innovative uses of materials and graphics are all critical to the creation of souvenirs that reflect a sense of identity and a contemporary vision while still maintaining conceptual links to authentic reference objects. Through conceptual-

Figure 14. *An applied patina effect suggests a souvenir's traditional and ritualistic values. Topkapi Palace Museum and Hagia Sophia Museum, respectively.*

ization and design, the content of the museum is altered through the products, which in turn offer sophisticated new channels for connecting with the visitor. The value of souvenirs available at the Pera Museum is their design: their well-thought-through size, form, color, material, and graphics suggest multiple readings of authentic sources or cultural experiences that transcend the usual expectations of souvenirs. Instead of randomly appropriating selected attributes of a reference from the museum's collection, the souvenir as a designed product maintains a conceptual tie with source materials, in that they, too, were designed products.

The techniques observed at the Pera Museum involved the appropriation of the functions and/or the conceptual content of source objects. Design was then used as a tool for reinterpreting the original function for contemporary use and reconstructing conceptual content in contemporary form.

Jewelry inspired by the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection illustrates how design can play a crucial role in souvenir construction and create product attributes that connect with the customer at multiple levels. The necklace and earrings exhibited in Figures 15 and 16 exemplify the application of this appropriation technique. The necklace, which was inspired by balance scales and masses commonly used in Anatolia for measuring weight, neither replicates the mechanism of the scale nor applies its graphic image onto an unrelated object. Instead, the design of the necklace merely suggests the original form and function of scales by abstracting the ideas of weight and balance. Rendering the conceptual link to the reference object visible through its form, material, and construction, the necklace reflects the concept of measure and the tension of balance and imbalance with a silver cube that keeps a

Figure 15. *Silver necklace inspired by the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection in the Pera Museum.*

Figure 16. Silver necklace inspired by the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection in the Pera Museum.
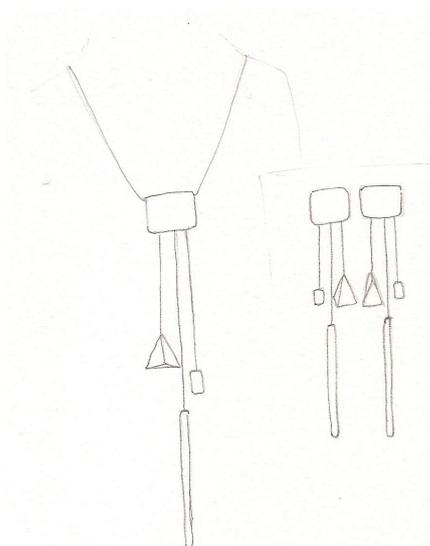

Figure 17. Drawing of a silver necklace and earring set inspired by the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection in the Pera Museum, Authors' drawing, 2013.

Figure 18. Drawing of brooches inspired by the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection in the Pera Museum, Authors' drawing, 2013.

silver plate in balance by its weight.

Similarly, the necklace in Figure 17 appropriates the constructive and functional parts of a scale, expressing a sense of gravity and rhythm in the arrangement of geometric masses suspended from a square pendant.

A different approach was taken in the design of a brooch in the same collection, shown in the sketch in Figure 18. Unlike the necklaces, the choice of material, the less abstract and more illustrative use of the parts of a scale, and the incorporation of the crescent symbol in the pin head gives the brooch a stronger visual link to a real scale. But the fact that the new product resembles a scale is nevertheless a carefully designed choice: an appropriation intended to evoke the sense of balance and weight.

5. Product attributes that refer to cultural or historical elements to claim authenticity

Based on an analysis of souvenirs sampled from selected museum shops, the authors aimed to identify the attributes of the specific genre of souvenirs that, visually or conceptually, refer to cultural or historical elements. The appropriation techniques used in the creation of these souvenirs help to further

Table 6. Product attributes of souvenirs.

Visually condensed product surface (a result of Technique 1: Surface treatment)
Surface as two-dimensional sign (a result of Technique 1: Surface treatment)
Material antiquated with an applied patina (a result of Technique 4: Appropriating the effects of passing time)
Overall form as direct reference (a result of Technique 3: Replicating the authentic source)
Structure as the abstraction of authentic function (a result of Technique 5: Reinterpreting the original function)
Physical composition as a conceptual diagram of the authentic source (a result of Technique 5: Reinterpreting the original function)

identify those specific product attributes that imbue souvenirs with a purported authenticity. To further develop the attributes listed in Table 1, six additional product attributes were identified for the unique genre of souvenirs that claim to *authenticate the authentic*. As seen in Table 6, some of these attributes are basic, physical ones, such as form, material, and surface that are common to any physical object. However, in the context of this study these physical attributes serve to convey authenticity by referring to an authentic source. That is why the authors have revisited basic physical attributes and redefined them in relation to specific appropriation techniques that are employed in the design and construction of souvenirs.

The first two attributes in Table 6 establish that souvenirs' surfaces may be a representational layer that conveys authenticity by hosting visually condensed graphics. Surface treatment as an appropriation technique causes the surface of the souvenir to become a sign, detached from its form. The third attribute suggests that the material of the souvenir itself can be a representational layer when the condition, color, and texture of the material are manipulated to achieve an aged look.

The fourth attribute suggests that the form of an object can be a direct reference to an authentic source, even if the replica has been re-scaled or produced from a different material. Overall form can thus independently sustain the link to original content.

The fourth and the fifth attributes posit that the physical structure and composition of the souvenir may be representational layers that refer to the function and concept of the source. As discussed in the previous section, even when the function of the souvenir is wholly different from that of its antecedent, the physical attributes of a souvenir may be a conceptual reinterpretation of the original function. The items of jewelry shown in Figure 15, 16, 17 and 18, for instance, are essentially conceptual diagrams of the real scales and masses to which they refer.

The composition of the structural elements does not imitate the form of the original, but rather evokes the sense of its function. Indeed, the function must be identified to even recognize that appropriations have been made. To design the earrings seen in Figure 16 and the necklace in Figure 15, the function of scales from the Weights and Measures Collection were appropriated, but the resultant products do not make any visual reference to the original. Only when the customer is informed about the inspiration for the pieces does it becomes evident that the designer has appropriated the concept of balance from the function of scales.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, it has been observed that the appropriation techniques employed in the process of design and construction of souvenirs are what differentiate them from one another in terms of their representative capacity. As elaborated throughout the research, the profit motive of museum shops has resulted in the production of souvenirs for mass consumption that strategically appropriate traditional or historical elements, effectively commoditizing heritage. The specific physical attributes of souvenirs that have been teased out in this research reveal the mechanisms and impact of mass production on the tourist souvenir market. Various appropriation techniques are instrumental in conveying authenticity, including: (1) surface treatment and condensing attributes of the reference element into graphics, (2) fragmentation, isolation, and scaling of authentic patterns or graphics, (3) iconization and replicas, (4) applying a patina for reproducing the effect of passing time, and (5) reinterpreting original functions and redesigning original contents in contemporary form. When carefully designed, these techniques can improve souvenirs in such a way that the harmony of substance and essence will sustain, transform, and reproduce cultural experiences even after the immediacy of the touristic experience has passed.

In addition to product attributes derived from the tourism and leisure literature seen in Table 1, the product attributes postulated in Table 6 is a frame of reference for further study on the physicality of souvenirs. The identifi-

cation of these attributes through compositional analysis expands the theoretical basis for the study of souvenirs, and also contributes to discussions of global consumerism as it relates to souvenir design.

The appropriation of elements from original sources – be they crafts objects, textile patterns, everyday artifacts, or sculptures – affects the reception and consumption of souvenir objects. Souvenir designs often merely detach a fragment from antecedent forms rather than reinterpreting the conceptual relationship between fragments and objects. This, in turn, can lead to misrepresentations or stereotypical representations of culture and geography. But by the same token, abstraction and reinterpretation through design may enrich the readings of a souvenir, as the historical and geographical situation of an object is transformed for contemporary use, unbound by concepts of the *traditional* or *vernacular*.

As noted, souvenirs' potential for representing a specific culture and geography is multilayered in the sense that product attributes such as form, surface, structure, and composition constitute channels of communication and representation for consumers. Future designers and producers may employ these channels to meaningfully extend, sustain, and reproduce cultural experiences, in addition to increasing profit margins. This suggests that designers, artisans, and producers have a relatively untapped power in this market: the corner cutting and disengagement of relevant stakeholders – like designers – in the production process of souvenirs is wasted opportunity.

The appropriation techniques described in this study may further be a guide for evaluating design decisions, providing craftsmen and designers alike with a critical understanding of the methods of souvenir design. Design can have a transformative impact on material culture, and in the context of this research, design decisions about souvenirs translate into meaningful, representative cultural statements to tourists. The meanings implicit in these objects' physical properties are far-reaching.

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Hediyelik tasarım ve üretiminde uygunlaştırma: Müze dükkanları üzerine bir araştırma

Bu çalışma, hem perakendeci hem de tüketici tarafından kültürel ve tarihsel temsile hizmet eden araçlar olarak görülen hediyeliklerin ürün özelliklerini tasarım perspektifinden incelemektedir. Müze mağazalarında kupa, kitap ayracı, rozet ve magnet gibi jenerik hediyeliklerle yan yana satılan, fakat görsel ve kavramsal olarak otantik bir kültürel veya tarihi öğeye atıfta bulunan hediyelikler, özel bir hediyelik türünü oluştururlar. Bu hediyelikler otantik olanın metalaştırılması sürecinin ürünleridir. Bu süreç, otantik bir kültürel veya tarihi öğenin temsil potansiyeli taşıyan özelliklerinin belli teknikler kullanılarak uygunlaştırılmasını, yeniden yorumlanmasını ve seri

olarak üretilen yeni hediyeliklerde bir temsil katmanı olarak kurgulanmasını içerir. Bu tür hediyelikler, referans aldıkları nesnelerin ürün özelliklerini ticarileştirirken, bir kültür ya da coğrafyanın ruhunu ihtiva ettikleri mesajını verirler. Hediyeliklerin üretim ve tüketim süreçlerinin bir metalaşma konusu olduğu özellikle turizm ve pazarlama literatüründe yaygın bir kabul olmuştur.

Bu çalışmanın amacı bahsedilen üretim, tüketim ve meta döngüsünde tasarımın metalaştırma süreçlerinde oynadığı rolü tanımlamaktır. Bu kapsamda seri olarak üretilmiş hediyelikler ile referans aldıkları kültürel veya tarihi öğelerin fiziksel özellikleri arasındaki bağın niteliği incelemiştir. Araştırma için, İstanbul ve İzmir şehirlerinde bulunan ve turist rehberlerinde ziyaret

edilmesi gereken yerler listesinin üst sıralarında yer alan altı popüler müzenin bünyesindeki mağazalar örneklem alanları olarak seçilmiştir. Bu müzeler Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Aya Sofya Müzesi, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi, Pera Müzesi ve İzmir, Selçuk'taki Efes Müzesi'dir. Bu mağazalarda satışa sunulan ürünlerin büyük bir bölümünü özel bir hediyelik türü olarak tanımladığımız ürünler oluşturmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle bu hediyelikler tüketiciler tarafından kabul görecek temsil içeriği olan ürünlerdir. Seçilen müze mağazalarındaki hediyelikler, seri üretim hediyeliklerin oluşturulmasında kültürel veya tarihi öğelerin referans alınmasına olan farklı yaklaşımları belirlemek üzere gözlemlenmiştir. Aynı mağazada satılan ürünlerin önemli bir bölümünün müze koleksiyonu ile ilişkili olduğu, önemli bir bölümünün de kültür, tarih ve coğrafya ile ilgili olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Müzelere yapılan gözlem amaçlı yapılan çeşitli ziyaretler sırasında müze mağazalarındaki hediyelikler ürün özelliklerine göre sınıflandırılmak ve etiketlendirilmek üzere yerinde fotoğraf ve eskiz yoluyla belgelenmiştir. Bir sonraki aşamada ürün özelliklerine göre içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Ürünlerin ebat, doku, renk, biçim, üretim tekniği, malzeme ve işlev gibi ürün özelikleri incelenmiştir. Daha sonra seri üretilen bir hediyeliğin tasarımında veya kurgulanmasında kültürel veya tarihi bir öğenin nasıl yeniden yorumlandığı incelenmiştir. Bu incelemeye dayalı olarak yeniden yorumlama stratejileri uygunlaştırma teknikleri olarak belirlenip adlandırılmıştır.

Bu teknikler (1) referans öğenin özelliklerinin sıkıştırılarak yüzey uygulamasına dönüştürülmesi (2) referans öğeye ait desen ve grafiklerin parçalanması, genelden soyutlanması ve ölçeğinin değiştirilmesi (3) referans nesnenin hediyelik boyutlarında bire bir taklit edilmesi (4) eskitme ve patina yoluyla zamanın etkilerinin yeniden üretilmesi, ve (5) referans öğenin özgün işlevinin yeniden yorumlanması veya içeriğinin çağdaş biçimlerle yeniden tasarlanması olarak belirlenmiştir.

Referans öğenin özelliklerinin sıkıştırılarak yüzey uygulamasına dönüştürülmesi olarak belirlenen ilk teknik özellikle üzerine grafik baskı yapılan ürünlerde gözlemlenmiştir. Bu tekniğin kullanıldığı sıkça rastlanan bir örnek bir kültürel öğenin hiç değiştirilmeden ve nesnenin formuna entegre olma çalışması yapılmadan kupa, defter, t-shirt, bardak altı, kalemkutu ve bunun gibi jenerik nesnelere baskı yöntemi ile aktarılmasıdır.

Referans öğeye ait desen ve grafiklerin parçalanması, genelden soyutlanması ve ölçeğinin değiştirilmesi ise tarihi veya kültürel bir nesnenin üzerinde desenin sadece bir parçasının alındığı fakat yeni tasarlanan nesne ile ilişkisinin kurgulanmadığı, nesnede okunurluğunu yitirdiği durumları belirtmektedir. Bunun bir örneği koleksiyondan alınmış bir dokuma deseninin çanta tasarımında kullanılması fakat desen ile çantanın ilişkisinin araştırmacılar tarafından okunamamasıdır.

Referans nesnenin hediyelik boyutlarında bire bir taklit edilmesi tekniği replika hediyelikleri tariflemektedir. Örneğin bazı heykellerin veya arkeolojik kalıntıların, dolayısıyla boyutları itibariyle replika yapılması mümkün olmayan nesnelerin küçük versiyonları üretilmiştir. Çoğunlukla turistler tarafından satın alındıkları için hediyeliklerin seyahat sırasında taşınabilir olmaları gerekliliği ölçek küçülterek replica yapınıma sebep olmaktadır.

Bir kısım hediyeliklerde eskitme ve patina yoluyla zamanın etkilerinin yeniden üretildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Daha önceki araştırmalar eskimişlik etkisinin turistik nesnelerde metalaştırma araçlarından biri olduğundan bahsetmektedir. Bu bulgu bu araştırmada da çeşitli ürünlerde gözlemlenerek uygunlaştırma tekniği olarak belirlenmiştir.

Diğer bir uygunlaştırma tekniği referans öğenin özgün işlevinin yeniden yorumlanması veya içeriğinin çağdaş biçimlerle yeniden tasarlanması olarakl belirlenmiştir. Bu ürünlerde diğer uygunlaştırma tekniklerinden farklı olarak kültürel öğe ile yeni tasarlanan ürün arasındaki malzeme, boyut ve biçim ilişkisinin yeni ürün üzerinden okunabilir olduğu görülmektedir.

Araştırma sonunda belirlenmiş olan beş uygunlaştırma tekniğini ayrı ayrı belirtilmiş olsalar da kesişen yönleri bulunmaktadır. Araştırmanın yöntem

ve sonuçları hediyelik nesneler aracılığıyla kültürel içeriğin yeniden kurgulanmasında tasarımcı ve üreticilerin eleştirel bir yöntem benimsemelerine yardımcı olabilir.