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The Multiple Modernities of a Coastal Village in Turkey

Eli Collis

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the Requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Date submitted: 14th January 2005
Abstract

In the thesis I give a multi-sided account of the impact of tourism-oriented migration on the resident community of Kalkan, a small coastal town in south-western Turkey. In 2001 Kalkan attracted migrants, from all over Turkey, to run or work in its seasonal tourism-oriented enterprises, which reproduced the town as the idyllic village (re)presented in international tour operator’s marketing materials, and therefore expected by its predominantly British visitors. These in-migrants arrived as local residents out-migrated to work the summer pastures in Bezirgan. The migratory flow of the two groups meant that Kalkan’s resident community changed with the season producing two shifting but inter-linked communities, a Turkish town (winter) and a tourist destination (summer). I focus on the ways in which the collective adapted existing social conventions based on obligation and respect such as the family, friendship and place of origin (memleket) to ensure community stability. I examined how these conventions extended to include expatriates and tourists living in and visiting Kalkan. I re-evaluate the flexibility of conventions, where the majority of in-migrants lacked any connection to the collective. I illustrate the importance of shared regions, professional ties and property relations in establishing locality, where social relations, accessible from residents’ life-styles and property investments, make relatives of migrants and friends of expatriates. I argue that local social conventions based on the overarching ideology of the family do adapt to cope with seasonal transition and local social change. I argue that the division of the community into sub-communities, which contain potential rivalries, while at the same time obliging them to interact, serves as an example of adaptability. The finding that individuals experienced migration in particular ways requires that anthropologists reconsider each place as multi-sited: neither socially constructed nor experiential but inherently multiple and extremely complex.
I hereby declare that the work presented in the thesis is my own work.

Sigs

Dated: 04.11.05

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As with any project of this size and duration there are inevitably many wonderful people to thank and acknowledge. Above all, I would like to thank all those living in, passing through and visiting Kalkan for their time, energy and support throughout the year of 2000/01 and who in the words of my father, an astute man, “did a lot of the work for me”. In particular my appreciation must go to: ‘the lovely sisters’ Rhusar and Nüket Padir, who re-introduced me to the delights of Turkey with their enduring hospitality, kindness and wonderful cuisine during the six years prior to their sad departure in October 2001. To my pillars of strength during the long stormy winter months and equally long but less stormy summer ones: Patty and Kemal Safyurek, whose door was always open and who seemed to have an endless supply of Hollywood movies. To Sevilay, who fed me when the funds were low and recommended me to friends ensuring not only the benefit of their invaluable local knowledge but also accommodation, and that most valuable of all commodities in Turkey, a good reputation.

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Above all to my English/Japanese family: Dad, Marg, Debs, Masao, James and Sora who kept me going and to my husband Gültekin for his wonderful maps and his support throughout the longue durée, particularly at the final hour.
for Rosa
Transliteration

Turkish is written in the Latin alphabet, with a few special characters.

c is pronounced like 'j' in jam
ç is pronounced like 'ch' in chip
ı is pronounced like 'i' in Cyril
ğ is not pronounced, it lengthens the preceding syllable
j is pronounced like 'g' in gendarme
ş is pronounced like 'sh' in ship
ü as is the 'u' in the French rue
ö is pronounced like 'eu' in the French sent

Throughout, all Turkish words in italics (e.g. dolmuş) are spelt according to Turkish. English plurals added to Turkish nouns are not italicised.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the text:

YH Yerli Halk - Local
PTY Turk Yabancı - Permanent Resident
SPTY Turk Yabancı - Semi-Permanent Resident
DN Dual National - Permanent Resident
PY Yabancı - Permanent Resident
SPY Yabancı - Semi-Permanent Resident
RT Repeat Tourist
VPO Visiting Property Owner
HAC Hasan Altın Caddesi - the central shopping street in Old Kalkan
AKP Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - Justice and Development Party
ANAP Anavatan Partisi - Motherland Party
CHP Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - Republican People’s Party
DYP Doğru Yol Partisi - True Path Party
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Introduction: A Village in the World

In the summer of 2000, I left London to study a village in the world, or more particularly an old village inside a modern town connected by past trading and present tourism links to the world. Not just any village, but one in which I had spent several pleasant summer holidays since 1996. The village was Kalkan, a small, but growing, tourist destination on Turkey's Mediterranean coastline. Kalkan's beauty and tranquillity enticed me to visit. After a frantically busy year managing a computer-game development company, I was in need of a makeover. What swayed me to visit (I knew very little about Turkey) were my operator's assurances, that the pension was extremely quiet and that my hosts, were 'two lovely women from Istanbul used to catering for single women and who cooked fabulous vegetarian cuisine'. Suffice it to say I had a wonderfully relaxing two weeks. I came to know my hosts, Ruhsar and Nüket, and their friends, a family visiting from Istanbul, well, watching them cook Turkish food and learning a little of the language. I had such a pleasant time that I went back in 1997 and again in 1999 when I stayed with them on and off for six weeks while I visited archaeological sites in the area. On this visit, following a family tragedy, I was looking for a suitable field site, having decided to return to anthropology after a break of ten years. My intention, at that time, was to evaluate how villagers, living in small villages next to the archaeological remains of Lycian cities, related to the monumental history in their midst.

I decided on Kalkan due to its proximity to a number of archaeological sites and, more importantly, because I had a small but well-established network of contacts upon whom I could rely for access into the local community. In October 2000, after three months language training in the capital, Ankara, where I lived with my Turkish husband and nearby to his family, my husband and I visited Kalkan to find me accommodation for the year's research. In these three months, I had come to appreciate just how central personal networks were to getting things done in Turkey. Thus, my first instinct when looking for a home was to visit my friend Kemal, who ran a small tour agency in Kalkan, to ask if he knew anyone who was looking to rent out an apartment. He said he would ask around. A few days later while we were staying in a hotel he had recommended, he came back to me saying that he had met an Englishman who owned an apartment in Kalkan and who wanted someone to look after it for the winter. He said he would ask around. A few days later while we were staying in a hotel he had recommended, he came back to me saying that he had met an Englishman who owned an apartment in Kalkan and who wanted someone to look after it for the winter. He was keen to meet me if I was interested. We met Roger and his partner, Ian, for a drink early one evening on their roof terrace overlooking the Bay of Kalkan. They were out on holiday for a couple of weeks before the end of the summer. They were charmed by my husband's rakish good looks and spent as much time checking him out as they did me. Roger, who was in his late fifties, was in the final stages of completing a doctorate in history and Ian, who was in his early twenties, was an actor looking for work. They were great fun, and we...
spent the evening chatting until they decided it really was time for them to eat. Two days later, they let me know that I had the flat, a small two-bedroom apartment above, another friend's apartment, located in-between the two main streets which ran through Old Kalkan, and that I could move in from the beginning of November. This was somewhat inconvenient as it meant returning to Ankara for a couple of weeks to avoid paying Kalkan's tourist accommodation prices, but it gave me time to collect my thoughts and send my belongings ahead via land cargo to Ruhsar and Nüket's pension.

I arrived in November, ready to get to work only to find that as I arrived everyone I knew seemed to be leaving. This was unexpected. I had anticipated that life in the village would be a continuation of the lifestyle I had experienced on holiday. Nothing could have been further from the truth and nothing could have prepared me for the winter months in the village, which I had picked because it was a place in the world. Not only did my friends leave but also other forms of communication network stopped. The national coach network no longer served Kalkan but stopped in Fethiye or Antalya, you might get to Kas if you were lucky. The dolmuş (minibus) service, which ran every half an hour between Antalya and Fethiye reduced the frequency and times of its service to coincide with short winter nights and road conditions on the at times hazardous, unlit highway. The local dolmuş cooperative which ran dolmuş every half an hour to the three main archaeological sites I intended to study closed altogether, although some of the dolmuş were put into service for the daily school runs bringing children into Kalkan's primary and middle schools from the surrounding hamlets. The local taxi cooperative also closed and instead of the usual ten taxis outside the village's bus stop, there were none. Put concisely, I found myself in a great apartment, but with no neighbours, as my friend moved out when a woman in the UK bought his rented apartment, no network of friends, no transportation and most importantly limited funds. My resources were insufficient to bear the cost of hiring a car or to leave and find accommodation elsewhere. All I could do was find a new research topic.

Fortunately, in planning my research topic I had considered making a subsidiary study of the Kalkan community. I had prepared myself by reading ethnographic accounts of life in Turkey, most of which focused on the rural village lifestyle (Stirling 1964; Delaney 1991; Shankland 1999). However, a number of studies concerning the impact of change at the national and local level on the rural village lifestyle since the 1950s and 60s existed and were in process (Stirling 1974; Stirling (ed) 1993), most notably Kolars (1964) groundbreaking account of the impact of cash cropping around Antalya, and Hann's (1994) edited volume entitled When History Accelerates. I was also aware that a number of articles evaluated the development of villages as tourist destinations based on the development of small business enterprises. Particularly Tucker's (1997 & 2000) accounts of the Cappadocian village of Zelve, Bezman's (1996) account of Göreme and Incirlioglu's (2004) account of Kaleköy, all of which described aspects of the transition of the
local economy from agriculture to tourism. I also draw on the work of scholars studying similar issues in other parts of the world particularly Waldren's (1996) work on Mallorca, and O'Reilly's (2000) study of British expatriates in Spain. While these scholars provided instructive accounts of economic development through their representation of oral histories and ethnographic case studies, they did not really get to grips with the impact of what Human Geographers termed 'tourism-migration flows' and 'tourism-informed migration' (Williams & Hall 2002). Both Tucker and Bezman evaluated existing communities within a changing local economy, but their communities were made up of locals, and not, as in Kalkan's case, comprised almost entirely of migrants. While it might sound a little odd that, given Kalkan's settlement as a place since the 1800s, it was largely a community of migrants, this was in fact true. How then did the current community come to be formed of migrants? Well as it turned out, there were several reasons why this was indeed the case and which I discuss in detail in sections 1.1 (p31) and 1.2 (p48).

In brief, prior to c. 1850, Kalkan was a site of seasonal residence only. Turks living in the region practised climate-driven seasonal migration between their summer pastures on the high fertile plateaus inland and their winter residence on the coast. Hence, the community at the Kalkan site was transient. At some point, allegedly the 1850s, the site was settled by Ram (Orthodox Christian) traders from the Island of Meis. Kalkan had its first permanent resident community, whose population rose and fell as Turk migrants moved between their residence points. The Ram community remained in Kalkan until the early 1920's when they were repatriated as part of the compulsory exchange of populations with Greece. While some Turks in-migrated to work the land and entitle them to claim ownership or to appropriate property and acquire new skills within the flourishing port Kalkan had become, the majority continued the practice of seasonal migration. After the decline of the port due to the development of the national road network in the 1980s, many permanent residents out-migrated to find employment in other port cities and Kalkan returned to being a seasonally occupied village, empty and boarded up in summer. This brings me to one reason for my statement that a study of Kalkan is a study of a community of migrants. Not simply because its baseline population continued to practise seasonal migration, but more importantly, their out-migration coincided with the time of year when Kalkan became a tourist destination. Clearly, there was a community. The focus of my research shifted towards an evaluation of just who these migrants were and more importantly, how the two communities came to live in the same location, although I will argue not the same place, at different times of the year.

In answering this question I draw my theoretical direction from existing studies of place (Massey 1991, Cassey 1993; Appadurai 1997; Creswell 2004), landscape (Hirsch 1995), movement (Clifford 1997), tourism-oriented migration (Williams & Hall 2002), and social change (Bourdieu 1986), many of whom are not anthropologists but direct the researcher attempting to answer questions of this nature, on the ground.
I refer in particular to the work of Tim Cresswell, which highlights the considerable difficulty of studying places primarily through his excellent introductory text’s breakdown of the angles from which a place, in the common sense meaning of the term, is evaluated and subsequently conceptualised through reference to topographical coordinates, social constructs and people’s subjective experience. An ethnographic approach to the study of a community tends to take place as given. It focuses on the daily lives of people in a place. While the place or its material objects such as houses or pots or ceremonial masks may well reflect the dynamics of the community, it is the dynamics and not the type of place in which we are generally interested. Now this is fine if like Stirling (1964) or Delaney (1991) or to a certain extent Shankland (1999) or Hirsch (1995) your community exists in one place only with limited contact with the outside world and where the cultural process is one of everyday actualities against a background of imaginary potentialities. When culture is so territorial (Pieterse 2004), then the anthropologist is less likely to question the position of place. However, where it is translocal (ibid) due to actual or metaphorical movement, be it driven by the flow of people, information or capital, then the issue of place becomes central to the analysis of the community (Appadurai 1997).

Clifford’s (1997) definition of movement as the defining characteristic of modernity, and his entreaty to take a multi-sited approach to ethnography, inspired a whole generation of academics, including myself, to get out there and not isolate communities into manageable research chunks but to tackle the difficult issues of community multiplicity and dynamism. Massey’s (1991) ground breaking work in the mid-nineties advocating that places were and more importantly always had been in the world offered up some conceptual tools for the study of places and people within global flows. However, it would be inopportune to forsake, as redundant to a global world, all aspects of Hirsch’s conceptualisation of place as cultural process. Primarily because most places in the world, and especially those like Kalkan, were both territorial and translocal, and as such to better understand the set of structures that moulded local and migrant residents into communities and equally adapted to accommodate for external influences and inward global flows, required the use of both models.

As my intention was, by now, to assess the mechanisms through which places which lack a community emotionally attached to the land on which they placed themselves, Kalkan, with its numerous sub-groups and isolated individuals (the result of its fractured annual residence cycle), was an exciting, if somewhat lonely, place to be. The fundamental challenge was to obtain access to the multiple sites within a single location, or more aptly as Hirschon (2004) describes them, the multiple sides. Where I had some contacts in the village in November by the end of the month, the majority had packed up and gone home or gone abroad for a well-earned vacation. What’s more, not only had they left but also everything around me slowly closed. The area in which I lived was empty, apart from some unfamiliar faces who moved into
buildings nearby, and who did not seem particularly willing on one side at least to communicate (as it turned out, this proved an access point into aspects of community dynamics, between locals and female expatriates, in and of itself).

However, the problem with conducting multi-sited and multi-sided fieldwork is that not only is it difficult for a lone researcher to achieve but there is inevitably some form of place preferencing, in my case Old Kalkan. The difficulty was also compounded by the very factors I was trying to evaluate, namely the inter- and intra-group dynamic. When one group of people saw you talking to another group or people saw you talking to people outside their group then these people did not want to, or felt obliged not, to talk to you because they assumed you belonged to another group or network. This was where I found the anthropologists key tool, participant observation, invaluable. Unlike many foreign women living in Kalkan who found a group and stuck with it, I was forced to move around, belonging to no one group or another.

In addition, I had two advantages, I survived a village winter, which gained me tremendous respect, and I spoke Turkish. Both meant that I was able to move relatively easily between territorial (local) and translocal (local and migrant) cultures. This enabled me to collect as many sides of the community story as my snowballing networks and residents’ time would allow and consequently to attempt to build a picture of a place inside a town within a world. However, it was hampered by the semi-permanent residence of sixty-five per cent of the population at one time or another. Given the high level of seasonal residence, I chose not to conduct a household survey but I did conduct a survey of businesses in Old Kalkan. As it transpired, it was just as well I had not attempted to associate people with buildings as many buildings had several different occupants during the course of a single year. As each season changed bringing different occupants and residents, the appearance of many buildings changed and the logical classes within the community could be evaluated from a study of life-styles and the structures behind them extrapolated from the visible dynamism of the material world (Bourdieu 1986). I break down the methods I used to access Kalkan’s various sub-community’s through their life-styles and life-worlds in ‘The Methodology: Multi-sided Ethnography’. However, I begin by situating the village, and myself, through a description of my own migratory journey, from Antalya to Kalkan. The journey introduces the duality of the Turkish way of life and places both the field site and myself on Turkey’s Turquoise coast.
Migration a Personal Voyage: London-Ankara-Antalya-Kalkan

The journey from Clerkenwell, Central London to Kalkan, Turkey, via the capital Ankara to learn Turkish, took several months in the summer of 2000. It was a journey of both scale and intimacy, from the anonymity of the metropolis with its supremacy of the individual to the claustrophobia of village life and its controlling forces of aile (family) and dedikodu (gossip). It took me from the Central Anatolian plateau with its arid, chiselled contours, through the verdant forests of the Taurus Mountains, to the azure coves and sandy shores of the ‘Turquoise Coast’. It featured the ‘Orwellian’ buildings and ‘Stalinesque’ statuary, built by Atatürk to distinguish the ‘modern capital’ from the subtler ‘hues’ of an epoch-tinged Istanbul, and the Rum (Orthodox Christian) vernacular architecture built by those expelled in the process of nation building.

After a 45-minute flight, I disembarked into Antalya’s shiny new airport. Having arrived on a domestic flight, my fellow passengers and I drew little attention from the awaiting tour reps as we entered the arrivals hall and filtered out into the afternoon sun. Shouldering my trusty rucksack and clinging onto my laptop bag, I went in search of the shuttle bus to the main otogar (bus station) from where I would continue my onward journey. There were dozens of coaches lined up in the terminal’s coach park ready to transfer German, Russian and Israeli tourists to their hotels around the region. Eventually, I located the municipality’s shuttle-bus terminus between the international and domestic terminals. I embarked, paid the fixed fare (2.5m TL)¹ and sat back to enjoy the ride reflecting on the images outside the glass. Skirting over the urbanscape’s busy highways I was continually surprised at the contrast in architectural and life styles.

Views were disconcerting in their inconsistency. Dust rose off makeshift, unpaved sidewalks beside dust-free forecourts and ornamental gardens. To use an old cliché, there was something magical about travel in Turkey - the incongruity of a horse and cart trotting down the highway and then stopped at a set of traffic lights next to a top-end Mercedes. A gleaming metal and glass office complex or shopping mall rose skywards next to an old house or an unfinished construction displaying its innards to the sky. Antalya is a place ‘in the making’.

After a somewhat drawn out journey – buses in Turkey stop wherever a passenger wishes to alight – I arrived at the otogar (bus station), a modern building set out in two wings. One side caters for local travel,

¹ One pound Sterling = 900,000 Turkish Lira in 2000
the other for long distance travel, usually overnight. The majority of non-car owning Turks are unable to afford airfares and so take the bus. Until recently the requirement for a long distance travel infrastructure was minimal but the movement of people in search of employment from köys (villages) to büyük şehirs (large cities) has altered requirements (Stirling 1965, 1974 & 1993).

Quitting the shuttle-bus, a taxi driver directed me towards the local buses. Then came my first experience of an ongoing predicament — security probes vs. laptops. There are security checks at most public buildings, bus stations and major shopping malls. I need not have worried; the guard was clearly used to ditsy, overloaded 'tourists'. We exchanged greetings; ‘Merhaba’ (hello) and he held the door. The relative silence of the forecourt was broken by the cacophony of voices within shouting: 'Yes, please?' ‘Kaş?’, ‘Fetihye?’, ‘Kemer?’ in English, French and German. I strode determinedly through 'a sea of men' towards the Antalya Tour2 counter. I felt suddenly very aware of being female, my 'sexual capital' (S:4.1 p129). As is customary for women travelling alone, I sat next to another woman close to the front of the bus.

The dolmuş (minibus) journey from Antalya to Kalkan, a mere 220km, takes five hours with frequent stops scheduled: Olympus, Kumluca, Finike, Demre, Kaş, Kalkan and unscheduled: the man with a box of tomatoes, the woman with baby and three children waiting on the roadside. Distances between places are long yet I never grew tired of the route. Four hours watching light play on the Mediterranean, translucent orange, pink and purple sunsets, enjoying warm yet stilted conversation and above all the freedom from local gossip.

Leaving Antalya behind, we drove past sprawling orange groves and through two mountain tunnels just before the 'Kemer turn off', towards the vantage point overlooking the archaeological sites of Olympus and The Chimera. Transfer buses serviced Kemer, the location of holiday villages favoured by German, Russian and Israeli holidaymakers. The local dolmuş (minibus) did not divert its course from the main road, continuing past gözlemeni evi, small seating areas where women dressed in colourful salvar (baggy trousers) and turban (headscarf), made gözlemi (pancakes) filled with beyaz peynir (feta style cheese), spinach or potato pureed with spices, ayran (a drink made from yoghurt, salt and water) and çay (tea), served black and piping hot.

The minibus stops at the şay bahçesi (tea garden) at the Olympus turnoff. The tea garden not only provides the first rest break since leaving Antalya, but staggering views. The air is fresh and fragranced with the sweet scent of pines. For some this is the start of the 'hippy trail'. Taxis and smaller dolmuş (minibus) drive

\footnote{The Operator of the Antalya-Fethiye route.}
travellers the seventeen kilometres to the site where accommodation is in wooden tree houses built into
the forest. Most complexes have bathroom blocks with warm showers, communal dining areas with
regular mealtimes (all-inclusive), a bar and disco where you can get high on fresh air or whatever else is
being passed around. Best of all, the huts are within easy walking distance of the sea. What a walk, day or
night, through ancient bathhouses and civic buildings!

For the onward traveller it is a tough choice - use the toilet facility³, frequently blocked from over-use,
lacking in paper and/or water, or take pictures and hold it until Kumluca. Fortunately there is little time to
procrastinate and the majority, having sipped çay (tea), piled back into the bus more concerned with getting
there than archaeology and history.

After Olympus, the road begins a slow descent to the coastal plains of Kumluca, past roadside rest stations
advertising: 'You can cook your own barbeque here'. The Turkish family will take a mangal (brazier) on
long journeys on which, usually, the father cooks köfte (meatballs). The minibus stops at the municipal bus
station on the outskirts of the town. The air is dusty with a faint whiff of tost (toasted sandwich) and
chemicals from the local sanayi (industry)⁴. We passed banks, shops, the market and Central Square, under
reconstruction, on our way to Finike.

The approach road to Finike is the shoreline, 3km of fine grain, white sand and surf. The town is known
for its oranges, which are reputed to produce the best juice in the entire orange growing region. Replica
oranges welcome the traveller at either end of the town. It is also known for its beautiful marina and
waterways. The bus stop is spotlessly clean and the toilets sparkling. Here you pay to use the facilities,
including a dash of local, lemon or jasmine scented cologne, which refreshes everyone after three hours on
the dolmuş (minibus). Out of Finike the road is frightening, teetering on the cliff edge towards Demre.

Demre is the centre of the tomato-growing region and plastic-covered poly tunnels abound on the
surrounding rich valley soils. It is also the site of the ancient city of Myra and the birthplace of St Nicholas,
better known as Father Christmas, but neither was visible from the road. Myra had recently been re-
excavated uncovering wonderful masks illustrating the range of human emotions - huge faces gouged from
stone some with lapis eyes and snake-like tendrils of hair. The church of St Nicholas is also beautifully
decorated with coloured mosaics. The heady combination of religion and archaeology draws pilgrims and

³ Toilet facilities in Turkey usually contain both porcelain-covered holes in the ground and pan style toilets. It is
customary to use running water to clean oneself after excreting hence pan style toilets have been adapted as pan cum
bidet while alternately a tap and a jug are placed next to the toilet. Where paper is provided, it is placed in the small
bin, provided for this purpose; most systems are not built to cope with paper waste matter.
sightseers from all over the world generating scenes of contrast. At one end of the street is the small local dolmuş (minibus) station where we stopped. At the other end a hangar-sized restaurant with white cloth-covered tables set out with cutlery and glass. I never saw fewer than three 56-seater coaches parked alongside at any one time as the dolmuş (minibus) moved on to Kaş.

The views of Kaş were stunning from the mountain approach. The town, built around several large promontories into the Mediterranean, faces the Greek Island of Meis in the distance. It is a busy, cosmopolitan town open all year round as it receives many Turkish tourists throughout the year, particularly at Kurban or Şeker Bayramı, unlike Kalkan, which receives few and closes in winter. Some made the place their home, opening rock bars on the seafront and alternative style cafes with their groups of middle-aged rockers outside. Rock music was something of a political statement in Turkey, along with long hair, leathers and tattoos. Along with the cafes, Kaş is full of trinket shops designed to part tourists from their hard-earned cash. The number of silver jewellery shops was completely disproportionate to population size as was the number of hotels and pansiyons (pensions) along the coastline.

The scenery from Kaş to Kalkan was inspiring, dry baked-earth cliffs with clinging shrubs and herbs cascading down to the sea. There is always a risk of dry or wet landslides, which could be hazardous on the narrow, winding road where visibility is limited. Night driving was particularly strenuous as there was no street lighting and without headlights or the moon, it was a dangerous place to be stranded. Along the route were frequent opportunities for a swim break, coves where an old lady, seated under a faded beach umbrella, would sell fizzy drinks to those wishing to stay away from foreigners on the town beach, 'laybys,' a short scramble down to the rocks and a cool dip in the scorching heat. Impromptu breaks could however provide a different experience to that expected. Cliff sides, obscured from the window, served as garbage dumps. Stopping the car for a breath of the ocean, you catch instead the acrid scent of rotten vegetables rising from below. If you want to maintain the illusion then it is best to stay in the bus.

Rounding the bend over the brow of the hill, I had my first glimpse of Kalkan nestling on the mountainside at the head of the Bay of Kalkan. A Mediterranean village with small white painted terraced houses stepping down to the sea, dripping with bougainvillea, built around the church converted into a mosque, and the marina. The bus takes a left turn off the main road past the Hamsi Restaurant, several construction sites, the Han Pansiyon and the OBar before turning left again in front of the school to come to a stop at the bus stop, a wooden building at the top of the main street where the voyage ended and research began.

4 Translated as industry, this area is where vehicles are repaired.
Figure 2: Kalkan c. 1950 (Taken prior to the construction of the Marina from the area of the Pirat Hotel)

Figure 3: Kalkan 2001 (from the Antalya-Fethiye Highway)
Kalkan

On my arrival in 2000, Kalkan was a small town of between 2000 (winter) and 8000 (summer) inhabitants. The town sprawled out around the Bay of Kalkan on the Mediterranean coastline of the Teke Peninsula of Turkey, just off the main coast highway, route 400, which linked villages, towns and cities between Antalya and Fethiye (Figure 1). Kalkan is a fully-fledged tourist destination; a town with a resident population from all over Turkey and latterly the world (Chapter 2).

The local economy reflected the residents' life-styles: transhumance agriculture and tourism. Members of the town's older generation continued to practise a lifestyle based around the agricultural economy. This had combined charcoal burning, olive growing and animal husbandry on the coast at Kalkan (this was now a period of inactivity) with the cultivation of crops, such as chickpeas, grain, apples, and vegetables in the summer pastures located in the inland village of Bezirgan. The group migrated between the two sites with the seasons. Members of the younger generation worked in the tourism economy or used tourism-generated revenues to out-migrate to the cities to improve their lifestyle prospects. As the destination's popularity grew, seasonal in-migrants established tourism-oriented businesses in summer, returning home in winter. However, an increasing number decided to stay and the village expanded into a town.

Kalkan oscillated between a full destination and a half-empty town (S:1.2 p48). The absence of a solid year round form made it extremely difficult to describe. The town did have two distinct areas, which I refer to as Old and New Kalkan. Old Kalkan was the area nearest to the harbour; it formed the centre of the destination in summer, with many restaurants, shops and bars (Chapter 3). New Kalkan comprised all the other residence areas outside the old village particularly the area around the weekly market place and the middle school where the locals lived year round (Chapter 5). It was however impossible to say how many people lived there or where they came from. It was not possible to ascertain how many households they produced or if they formed households at all. The only area from which it might have been possible to establish household units was the main street, Hasan Altin Caddesi, of Old Kalkan, but this would be a guess. This street contained 47 buildings, which implied 47 households (Figure 17 p123). However, the town had expanded dramatically since that time, and as my neighbours came and went with the seasons, I assumed that both the number and function of buildings was questionable (Chapter 3).

Throughout the thesis, I have used the past tense. Like Just's (2000) account of life on the Island of Meganisi, I recognise that Kalkan has changed since 2000.
Kalkan's only certain characteristic was its growth. As it grew, its status in relation to other villages in the area had changed. In 2001, it was a *kislık* (aviary), and its boundary included several hamlets, of which Bezirgan was one. It had its own *belediye* (municipality) with purpose built offices in the centre of the town run by a locally elected mayor. The municipality made decisions about the provision of basic utilities and services including, electricity, water, sewerage, garbage collection and roads and administered bureaucratic matters such as planning permission, and the issuing of licences for the use of municipal land. To enable it to provide these services it collected an annual property tax. The municipality calculated the rate at 0.3% of the value of a house (approximately £20 to £30 per year) and 0.3% for developed lands6. New properties were ¼ exempt from the tax for a period of 5 years. All properties were subject to revaluation every 5 years for tax purposes (Mavi Estates, 2005). However, the lengthy period between revaluation and the high inflation rate meant that incoming funds were always inadequate for the town's needs and some innovative tactics made up the short fall. Various forms of payment in kind as opposed to cash, even commodities such as cement were accepted as payment for licences etc (S:4.4 p137). This way the municipality could conduct its civic responsibilities in the absence of an adequate income stream. It did mean however, that local property owners had the opportunity to influence the polity and explained why in-migrants who had not registered their domicile held considerable sway in local affairs.

While local affairs generated much contestation between local factions (S:4.6 p143), Kalkan's local authority came under the authority of the district and the province. The majority of bureaucratic matters, such as the issuing of official guest registers or tourism licences, were handled at the *kaymakamlık* (district level) in Kas, 27km from the town. Certain issues such as planning permission for property located in Old Kalkan (a state protected conservation area) had to be obtained at the *valilik* (provincial level) in Antalya or from the authorities in Ankara. While the municipality provides the official channel for getting things done, I observed that many local residents preferred to use their personal networks to get things done rather than the official procedure. Thus, while the local authority played an important role in the town it was possible to live there for lengthy periods without engaging with the polity.

I observed that people relied on their networks and their contacts' contacts rather than official procedures. There was always a way round every rule if you knew the right person. This attitude towards authority produced two tangential modus operandi for life in the village, the rules and the obligations. I observed that most people preferred to honour their obligations than the rules. This was understood by the polity, who

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6 Calculated according to the value of each square metre as determined by the authority.
were largely elected based on obligation between members of the community and members of the candidate’s social network (Chapter 4). In this way, the mayor and thus the municipality came to reflect the electorate’s views and more importantly the power of certain factions within the electorate at the time of the election (this is not the same as during the term). In 2000, the mayor was affiliated to DYP (moderately right wing, capitalist and secular). He replaced the former mayor affiliated to CHP (left wing secular). While the outcome of the election appeared to be a swing from the left to the right, I suggest that the choice of DYP indicated a desire for any (the former mayor had been in office for two terms) as opposed to a specific change. I also argue that it represented a return to power of local as opposed to immigrant control (S:4.6 p143).

In addition to the belediye building, the town had a number of other civic buildings and facilities. It had two schools, one on the outskirts of Old Kalkan, the other close to the weekly market place. The presence of the schools was important. The primary school was built in the early years of the Turkish Republic, opening to students in 1937. This meant that villagers in the surrounding area had access to an education relatively early. The construction and opening of the ortaokul (middle school) meant that it was possible for Kalkan’s children to receive a higher level of education than the compulsory five years legislated by the state within the town itself. In the 1990s, the average level of education in Turkey was five years, or primary level, which meant that Kalkan’s children were potentially significantly better educated than the overall population. In August 1997, the state raised the compulsory level of education to eight years all of which was available in the town. In 2001, the municipality were in the process of building a new school to house both the primary and middle schools. The municipality completed the school in the winter of 2001. It stood on the top of a hill on the perimeter of the town with easy access from inside and outside the town.

While it was possible to get a good education in Kalkan, it was difficult to find professional employment, with the exception of the construction industry where professionals worked as architects and surveyors. The majority of local jobs were within the tourism sector. However, locals perceived the sector as a relatively high status industry, where wages and opportunities were good when compared to other sectors (c.f. Scott 1997). A number of Kalkan’s entrepreneurs were highly educated elites from Turkey’s large

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7 Doğru Yol Partisi – True Path Party
8 Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - Republican People’s Party
9 For a detailed account of politics in Turkey see amongst others: Buğra 1994; Bozdoğan & Kasaba (ed.) (1997); Finkel 1990; Hale 1990; Lewis 1961; Mango 1999; Navaro-Yashin 2002;
10 Turkish National Institute of Statistics - Annual Year Books

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cities who relocated to Kalkan to set up businesses on their own initiative, trying out something new, to improve their lifestyles and life-worlds (c.f. Buğra 1994).

Kalkan also had a small hospital, which provided health care for all minor ailments. It was located on the Kalamar Road not far from the town’s main roundabout. This meant that the hospital’s rarely used ambulance, which usually stood parked underneath plant covered bower, had easy access to all parts of the town. The town had three doctors who provided healthcare from either the hospital or their surgery located above the town’s only supermarket. A nurse permanently staffed the hospital. Healthcare in the hospital was free (part of the state’s healthcare programme, whereas in the surgery) a few metres away, it was on a private patient basis. Two of the doctors were men and one a woman. All came from outside the village. In Turkey professionals working for the state, and not the private sector, such as teachers or doctors, worked away from their hometowns. This has its benefits and its problems. Professionals received respect as high status strangers but the status differential made it difficult for some members of the community to communicate with them. The ability to purchase medicine over the counter without a prescription meant it was relatively easy for everyone to receive some form of healthcare advice locally. There were two pharmacies in the village, one was a family run business just by the main roundabout, and the other was located in newly built premises opposite the hospital on the Kalamar Road. The style of the pharmacy was similar to a Boots chemist. Most tourists tended to visit this pharmacy if they needed any medication or advice. Items were on display for personal selection and the pharmacist spoke excellent English.

The town had two mosques both of which were located in Old Kalkan. The same imam, a serious young man who the town held in high regard and who had shown me the inside of the mosque, was responsible for both. In 2000 the older and smaller of the two was closed. The other located in a formerly Orthodox church remained open. The number of practicing faithful was small. The mosque was quite a distance from where the local people lived. In 2001, a new mosque was built in this area. I am not certain whether this would mean the closure of the main mosque in the old village. I had little contact with this aspect of people’s lives. Most of the people I met during my year’s residence did not visit the mosque at all. This was partially a result of the fact that some of my friends were not of the Sunni belief and partially that the majority were ‘secular’ or used business as an excuse not to go to the mosque11. The turnout for the Friday prayers was also small. However, life events such as circumcision and weddings were lively affairs. Wedding celebrations usually took place on the harbour front and the music and bonhomie reverberated

11 For a detailed account of Islam in Turkey see Shankland (1999)
throughout the Old Town, when cars and scooters whizzed through the town draped in ribbons and beeping their horns to mark the occasion. This also happened after Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray or Beşiktaş\(^{12}\) won their matches.

While few people regularly visited the mosque, the weekly market, which came to the market place outside Old Kalkan every Thursday, was always full. The market offered a mixture of products designed for the local and tourist communities. It had a large section selling fruit, vegetables and village-produced products such as cheese, yoghurt honey and olives, another selling plastic containers and ironmongery. A few stalls were filled with all types and scents of spices, others sold items made from local cotton such as bedspreads, curtains, towels, headscarves, T-shirts, jeans, underwear, jackets. The prices in the market were slightly cheaper than in the Old Town’s shops. Most local residents bought their produce from the market each week and relied on it to supply their provisioning needs. The market was where local women met to gossip or just to socialise around the vegetable stalls. In the summer, tourists always visited once during their one or two-week stays to find a bargain or to hunt out things they could not find at home.

The town also had its own bank and post office (§3.4 p107). Mail was delivered to the door by the postman each day, but parcels had to be collected. Telephone connection was possible throughout the town but it could take a while for a line to become available. The best way to get a phone line was to use the line a friend no longer needed. This way the service was quick and painless, alternatively there was a month long wait for installation. It was not yet possible to obtain high-speed broadband connection in the town but given the number of entrepreneurs whose businesses ran on an internet basis it was unlikely to be too long before this service arrived. Everyone seemed to have a mobile phone. I recall being asked for my phone number by a friend and when I they found out I only had a house phone, they replied, ‘when you get a mobile I will get the number’. This caused me much amusement, as I took it to mean my friend did not want to disturb my home life (family); somewhat comical as I lived alone.

While the above account suggests a town with all the major services, the majority of Kalkan’s residents felt that it lacked the facilities required for the lifestyle they wanted (§5.3 p162). Residents’ attitudes towards the town resulted from their different experience of the place based on their different particular, shared and social identity (Augé 1995). This reflected in the planning and development of the town and the way in which different groups of people used the town. These issues form the core of the thesis – how does a village in the world work?

\(^{12}\) Three of Turkey’s popular football teams.
The Methodology: Multi-sided Ethnography

The basis for information contained within the thesis was data collected during a number of visits I made to Turkey and Kalkan between 1996 and 2005. In June 1996 and October 1997, I stayed in Kalkan as a tourist through Tapestry Holidays. Between July and August 1999, I carried out a period of preliminary field research to evaluate potential field sites in Lycia. In October 2000 to November 2001, I moved to Kalkan's Old Town to carry out a twelve-month research project assessing the physical and human dynamics of a contact zone (Pratt 1986, 1987 & 1993). Prior to the field research, I spent three months' intensive language training at the TÖMER institute in Ankara, based at the BIAA 14, which I then continued throughout the spring and early summer of 2001 at the TÖMER Institute in Antalya. I travelled to Antalya on the dolmuş (minibus) every Friday night for a class on Saturday morning. I stayed overnight in the apartment of my friend who ran the Lizo Pension and returned every Saturday afternoon to help in their restaurant. Since completing the research, I have returned twice to Kalkan, briefly in October 2002 and again in June 2005 to visit my family who have since moved to Antalya and who keep me informed of events and changes as they occur.

In the introduction, 'A Village in the World' I advocated a multi-sided approach to the study of Kalkan (Clifford 1997; Hirschon 2004). My reasons for choosing this approach to the study of Kalkan were the nature of town itself and my interest in dynamic communities – a preference to study inter- as opposed to intra-group action. Data collected during a pilot study in the summer of 1999 had indicated that Kalkan was a community formulated from a number of sub-communities. Based on the initial study, I designed a programme of research activities to ascertain what the place meant to the people living in it. To find the answers, for I already anticipated there would be more than one, I needed to meet people and learn about the town's buildings and its history.

I did experience one potential difficult problem and that was my status as a single British woman. During my first months in the field, I spent a lot of time reflecting on this. To integrate within the winter community I had to have a good reputation, and to be shown respect or sağıt by the community. While I had taken note of Stirling (1964) and Delaney's (1999) accounts of the role of women in Turkish villages, it was difficult to behave in an appropriate manner. Living alone I had to interact with men in situations

13 Hirschon (2004)
14 British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
where, had I had a partner; they would have done it for me. This meant that I walked a fine line between local life-worlds. Early in the fieldwork, I decided that I would have to make use of local social convention to achieve respect I made use of my network of male friends. I was careful to interact with people who knew me through my male friends and their wives. This meant that I avoided problems by dint of their obligations to my friends. Gradually, as the village came to know me, I was able to establish relationships direct, but in the knowledge that everyone knew who I knew and what the reprisals would be for disrespect. I could call upon my male or female ‘relatives’ at any time to sort out problems for me and vice versa (S:4.1 p129). Whilst this rankled my overly developed sense of independence once I found out that this was what everyone did to survive I just got on with it. The tactic served its primary function to ameliorate my status as a ‘European whore’, the label attached to all British women irregardless of their behaviour (S:4.3 p135). Speaking Turkish also helped and the community integrated me as abla (older sister) warranted by my independent means, as a ‘household head’, and with family in the capital Ankara.

As I mentioned above, my arrival coincided with the departure of the majority of the population for their winter residences. At such times, the anthropologist’s primary tool, participant observation, comes through and I spent several weeks rebuilding my networks. My network expanded in one direction through my property relations. There was Hasan, the agent who managed the apartment for my landlord, Roger, and the local artisans who came to repair the house on Hasan’s instruction. There were my Turkish and British neighbours when they were around. The network expanded in another direction through my basic daily need of food and supplies. There was Mehmet who owned my local bakkal (grocers) which stayed open all year, and from whom I bought bread and milk. Then there were the two men who ran Tespa supermarket and the checkout girls who served me at least three times a week. There was the manav (green grocer) who stopped asking me how long I was staying and instead asked how I was. There was the postman, who managed to find my house even after I had moved to another address and the woman who worked in the bank, the daughter of my neighbour who got married in 2001. My network expanded in yet further directions through the people I met while walking my friend’s dog. It was nice to have the company although I was concerned that the village gossips would see it as the sign of a relationship rather than the obligation of long-term friendship. In any case, ‘doggie’ enabled me to meet Fiona and Jill, two British women who also walked dogs, and through them, I met their Turkish partners and their friends who owned restaurants and bars in the old town and heard about their business and house problems. My network of acquaintance snowballed until I knew more people in winter than I had known in summer.
However, as well as getting to know the people, I also needed to become acquainted with the town and the place. The winter months were a wonderful time to observe the physical environment as well as build a network. I spent a lot of time walking all over the town, from the harbour front out to the headland past the Yali Beach, along the main road or over the mountain to Kalamar. I scrambled out towards Klub Patara in the other direction to try to find the 'archaeological area', getting caught in streams and up mountains. When my friends returned from their holiday in Germany, I managed to get out to Patara and make my first visit to Sydema where the modern village contained the remains of old olive presses as well as fragments from the Lycian period. As I had no television, radio or sound system, I either spent my time walking or writing on the computer. I must have spent at least three or four hours a day wandering round outside returning home before dark at 4.00 pm. Through my interest in walks, I came to know Linda, the owner of ABI Travel, who somewhat unusually kept the business open in winter. Linda invited me to join in on walks around the region and to social functions organised by her for her expatriate friends. Between November and April, I carried out a survey of Old Kalkan, visible minus the trappings of the tourist season. I carried out the survey in a similar fashion to a household survey. I walked round the old village clipboard in hand, by now 'doggie' had returned to his owner, stopping at every building (once houses) to formulate its role and function within the town. While the majority of buildings were closed up I was able to establish the overall business composition of the old village, the town's main tourist shopping and eating area, and to make a note of any changes when the area opened up for business in the summer. Based on the survey I built a database of business premises. The survey reproduced the street names and numbers of specific buildings and businesses. It made a note of any signs of prior or potential occupation (mainly businesses names). Using this information, I was able to group the businesses by type of enterprise and by type of product and to formulate an overall outline of the business community on which I could build when businesses opened in the spring. It meant that I had more time to interview entrepreneurs and tourists.

However, it became increasingly clear that I was going to need more than a survey and the product of casual conversations to form some straight lines or squares (Rapport & Dawson 1998) from the information of inhabitants' multiple residence patterns. I realised that I was going to have to impose some kind of a structure onto my daily networking and wandering expeditions. The survey was a good start but I had to find a way to monitor my networking to ensure I included residents from all of the town's sub-communities. As I had a computer at my disposal, and I had already benefited significantly from the business property database, I decided to standardise the interview format to facilitate analysis and comparison between residents with such different backgrounds. I spent a number of weeks devising a
series of structured questionnaires which would produce answers to questions concerning place and identity and around which I could compile a set of monitoring databases. This enabled me to ensure that I accounted for each group and that there was a distribution of age, gender and residence category amongst my informants; that I interviewed similar numbers from each group. The computer-based monitoring of the research data in the field enabled me to follow up on missing information while in the field. The questionnaires (Appendix 2) aimed to elicit residents’ opinions about Kalkan’s identity as a village, a town and a destination; their opinions on the surrounding towns; and their views about Kalkan’s living history and Lycia’s archaeological sites. In compiling the questionnaires, I took note of my friends’ comments and their requests for information from tourists. The questionnaires formed part of a one-to-one, structured interview which lasted anywhere from between 2 to 5 hours and which aimed to collect both oral and visual accounts of informants life-styles and life-worlds (Bourdieu 1986). The interview began with 20 minutes in which interviewees drew a picture of ‘What Kalkan means to you?’. The questionnaire followed (Appendix 2). I then took photographs of interviewees and their property as a memory jogger. I carried out sixty interviews between April and October 2001.

Whilst my snowballing networks produced many residents to interview, I had to find a way of accessing tourists. This proved more difficult than expected given the presence of several hundred tourists a week. The reason was that tourists quickly established holiday routines, which they were reluctant to break. The short length of their stays compounded this. Fortunately, I had set up several strategies in advance to enable me to get around the problem of ordinary holiday lives (Justin Stanton, Tapestry Holidays 2004). From May to July 2001 I was the Maitre d’ for the Lizo Pension’s Restaurant serving drinks and meals three nights a week and making contact with the guests (approximately 200 in total). When I was not there, I based myself in three locations: Kalamus Travel (local tour agency), Tailor’s Place (restaurant) and The Ottoman House (restaurant), all run by friends from previous seasons. I put myself in as many places as I could to either talk or listen to tourists. In addition, I interviewed representatives (ordinarily Brits) of all the UK-based tour operators operating in Kalkan – Tapestry Holidays, Saville and Simply Turkey. This ensured their agreement to my interviewing their clients and invitations to participate in operator-organised tours and trips. I also participated on numerous independently organised tours and took the local bus service to visit the tourists’ sights.

In the following account of Kalkan, I aim to represent as many sides of the story as possible based on interviews and conservations with residents and tourists and my personal observations of life in the town, the village and the destination. I begin my presentation of the worlds within the town, residents’ different identities, through the events of Turkish history and the patterns of local seasonal migration.
Chapter 1  Orientations: History & Ethnography

In this chapter, I introduce a number of issues, which I consider critical to the reader's understanding of Kalkan's development as a place and a community. These factors include, but are not limited to: the rewriting of history to serve the nationalist politics of the early Turkish Republic (S:1.1.1); the enduring attachment of people to their places of origin (memleket) within Anatolia (S:1.1.2); and the impact of migration and rapid social change on the makeup of the local community since the 1950's (S:1.2). More specifically, given the focus of the thesis on people's experience of place, I evaluate how these factors continue to shape the local community and influence residents' perceptions of where they live. I discuss each factor separately to provide the background information essential to understand the ethnographic material represented in subsequent chapters.

1.1 Aspects of the Turkish Past

As an anthropologist working in Turkey with its rich, well-documented history, I found it difficult to locate the ethnographic present. The Old Village of Kalkan was a recognised conservation area preserving a living history. The landscape in the vicinity contained many state-protected archaeological sites. The time line visible in the landscape ran for millennia from the archaeological fragments at Xanthus right up to Kalkan's newest construction. There was no clear moment at which to begin my account of Kalkan. Several moments suggested themselves but each of them, to my mind, required an account of its position within the historical continuum. My greatest challenge was to get to grips with the sheer quantity of archaeological and historical information. This took time, but finally, in the late stages of writing, I decided that I would have to make a concrete choice about history and the present; that the choice would be logical and arbitrary. I chose the settlement date of the village, about 150 to 200 years ago. I then found myself searching for information about an undocumented moment. This was an event which no one living in Kalkan remembered. It was, allegedly, located in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, silenced in the discourse of the early Turkish Republic and only resurfaced in the tourist guides of the 1990's (Keyder 2004).

Understanding Kalkan as a place raised questions in my mind about the form of ethnographic representation. Monographs of Turkish villages had tended to present a lifestyle isolated from events in
the world (Stirling 1963; Delaney 1991). Kalkan did not fit the mould. It was not isolated. Its architecture
told the fractured history of a place in the world, the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. It was both a real site
and a place in the mind. To be fair to such renowned scholars as Paul Stirling and Carol Delaney, whose
initial fieldwork coincided with periods of military control and restricted access, their later works tackled
rapid social change (Stirling 1993; Delaney 1993). Both the Turkish Village and The Seed and the Soil
corroborated Clow's (2000) statement that Turkish villagers knew little of the history of their landscape.
While Stirling and Delaney’s texts illustrated the requirements of their particular academic discipline, they
also demonstrated villagers’ ability to live without history. This showed that inhabitants and
ethnographers perceived places differently. The informant described a place measured in dönüm (the local
measure of land)\(^{15}\). The ethnographer then situated their informant’s perceptions within broader
ethnographic and historic contexts. Ethnography of Turkey has become a form of social history. Faced
with the problems of history and language, early ethnographers of Turkey established a style of
ethnographic writing. The style represented the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish nation-state as discrete
entities while representing daily practice as an unchanging continuum. Later works such as Meeker’s (2002)
excellent A Nation of Empire, Hann’s (2001) Turkish Region and Alexander’s (2002) Personal States bridge
these epochs and in so doing, I argue, relocate their subjects within the world. They achieve this through
the recognition of the importance of the earlier Tanzimat period to the process of reform post 1923, and
the recognition that certain social constructs, the family and sociability, continued either side of the
dateline.

The following three sub-sections explore different aspects of the past in Turkey – the historical, the
emotional and the mythical. ‘Turkey: The Place of the State’, provides a broad-brush overview of the early
years of the Turkish Republic. In it, I focus on the construction of a place, a body politic and a citizen
through the reforms of the 1920s and ‘30s. The nationalist discourse created a place, Turkey, in which
citizens from other places throughout the Ottoman Empire could feel a sense of belonging. In ‘Anatolia:
Home Lands and the Relations of Property’ I consider the importance of people’s emotional ties to
Anatolia to the acceptance of the constructs of the nation-state. I also introduce the importance of such
sentiments to Turkish identity post the rural-urban drift of the 1950s and ‘60s. Finally in ‘Kalkan: Legend
and the Reconstruction of a Village’s History’ I reconsider the alleged history of Kalkan as a combination
of the state’s historical constructs, the alternative histories visible in the landscape and the recognition of
past occupancy as visible in the practices of the present.

\(^{15}\) A dönüm is the equivalent of ¼ acre (old) and ½ acre (new) – the amount of land a man could plough in a day.
1.1.1 Turkey: The Place of the State

The construction of the Turkish nation-state following the end of the First World War was a complex and lengthy process. Turkey’s leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, faced the enormous task of making a nation from the embers of the vast Ottoman Empire. Single party rule gave Atatürk the power to generate a country, an ideology and a people. Atatürk’s policies were in part a response to the changing makeup of the population of Anatolia following the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923 (Hirschon 2004). However in reality many Muslims in-migrated between 1902 and 1912 following the Balkan Wars and many Anatolian Orthodox Christians out-migrated to Greece following the defeat of the Allies-backed Greek invasion of Smyrna/Izmir in 1922 (Keyder 2004). Thus the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which legitimised the exchange, was largely a retrospective act. The two nation states compulsorily repatriated any remaining Anatolian Orthodox Christians (including the Rums of Kalkan) and Muslims between 1924 and 192516. In-migrating Muslims were absorbed as Turks (Aktar 2004). Other population movements contributed to the makeup of the population of Turkey, most notably the Armenians, but I choose not to go into this issue here. The makeup of Turkey’s population changed. In order to establish the Turkish Republic Atatürk had two major tasks on his hands: to construct an identity for its citizens and to situate the infant nation-state within its internationally agreed territorial borders.

There are silences in every nation’s history that underlie an active effort to forget. Turkish nationalist historiography is distinguished by the enormity of the effort to negate the previous existence of non-Turkish populations in the land that eventually became Turkey (Keyder 2004:48).

The issue that most concerns me, here, is the process through which people came to identify themselves with Turkey. This process of transformation was to change almost every aspect of people’s daily lives with consequences for their experiences of place. Religion was the basis of formal identity in the Ottoman Empire (Hirschon 2004). Communities, or millets, were organised on religious grounds. People would have identified themselves based on their religion first and place second. In the Turkish Republic, cleansed of its non-Muslim groups, nationalism recognised a single ethnicity, the Turk. As such, it is highly likely that people came to identify themselves through place alone, particularly given the separation of state and faith – Turk first and Muslim second.

16 Aktar 2004 cites the number of repopulated Anatolian Orthodox Christians as twenty percent of the Greek population and the number of in-migrating Muslims as four percent of the Turkish population
The emergence of modern Turkey was an ongoing process, which stretched either side of 1923. In this section, I focus on some of the key reforms that shaped Turkey; the Turks; and Turkishness. The international recognition of Turkey's borders was only one aspect of a lengthy process of transformation. The country was re-oriented along the lines of a new hegemonic force, Kemalism, named after its leader Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk). Kemalism incorporated six arrows, republicanism, nationalism, populism, reformism, etatism and secularism. Kemalism marked a fundamental reformulation of the ideological apparatuses from religion and the seriat law to nationalism and secularism. What the two periods had in common was the role played by a figurehead – the Sultan/Caliph in the Ottoman Empire, and subsequently Atatürk in the early single party years of the Turkish Republic. Atatürk and the Grand National Assembly set about conceptualising the nation around an ethnic group - separating religion and the state. The state abolished the old institutions including the Sultanate, the Caliphate, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Trusts, religious schools and the seriat courts. It replaced them with a new legal system based on European law (Swiss civil law, German criminal law and Italian economic codes) and a new education system (which would make use of the Turkish history thesis in its textbooks).

Atatürk's conception of Turkey as a nation was enthusiastically embraced by the majority of the people, however diverse their background and that conception is still largely accepted today. The basis of citizenship was simple: anyone living within the political boundaries of modern Turkey was declared Turk and expected to accept the tenets of the revolution. Acceptance of this political affiliation was sufficient to qualify for citizenship. This is succinctly summed up in the most famous saying of the new Republic: 'Ne mutlu Türküm diyene': 'How happy is he or she who says, "I am Turkish"' (Shankland 1999:21)

Atatürk's reforming zeal did not stop at the level of the state. It also focused on what Bourdieu (1986) terms the life-worlds of its people. The Turkish Constitution defined a Turk as someone who lived within the borders of Turkey, spoke Turkish and was Sunni Muslim. As cited above all that was required to obtain citizenship was to live in the new place and accept its tenets. Atatürk was not content to leave the process of reform here but began remoulding all aspects of daily life. The Muslim calendar was replaced by the Gregorian, the Friday holiday by the European weekend, surnames had to be taken, the language was reformed, the Arabic script replaced by the Roman alphabet, European dress introduced and traditional head wear, the fez, outlawed. The result was a re-designed habitus (Bourdieu 1977) whose inhabitants were Turkish citizens.

An essential part of the reform process was to provide the Turks with roots in Anatolia. The rewriting of history to silence contradictory discourses facilitated the perception of Anatolia as the Turk's ancestral homeland. The Turkish history thesis provided the Turks with a new form of self-perception. It described a civilised people who left their original homelands in Central Asia because of climate change and settled throughout the world. Following this out-migration Turks reached Anatolia before anyone else. The history thesis imputed Turkish origin to the original inhabitants of Anatolia, and the rest of the world. The thesis sought to establish the Turks as an ethnic group with ancestral rights in Anatolia. The new education system's history textbooks incorporated the history thesis and in this way disseminated it to the population. The history thesis, as a serious account of the origins of the Turks, lost its prominence following Atatürk's death in 1938. However, the impact of the thesis did not die with him but continued to influence the ways in which people experienced their sense of self and thought about place (Foss 2005).

During a presentation of a recent paper, Foss (2005) stated that what he described as 'Atatürk's mythical history' only influenced a generation of Turks between 1934 and 1950. Comments raised during the discussion of his paper suggested that while serious historians dropped the thesis as early as 1939 its influence continued beyond this date as teachers in secondary schools had been educated in accordance with this account of history. While the chair informed the group that the thesis was discredited my personal experience indicated that the power of the thesis to direct feelings about Turkish identity continued. Foss' paper did however answer one question. It suggested that the need to belong to a place, in this case Anatolia, came before, during and after Atatürk's particular account of history endorsed by the National History Society in 1934. The thesis served to answer a fundamental question: 'where do the Turks come from?' which arose at a time of great political upheaval and transformation. It proved useful during a period in which people had to give up many of their old ways. My research indicated that a sense of belonging helped overcome the feelings of displacement experienced by a group of people who had not actually moved. It is also possible that the extensive reform programme of the 1920s and '30s strengthened people's sense of place and expanded its significance as an organising tool within their worldviews. The period of rural-urban drift in the 1950s and '60s strengthened the role of place in relation to identity.

It took both time and force for citizens to re-identify themselves in line with the state's dictates. The threat of reprisals led to an outward appearance of conformity with nationalist policies. However scholars like Navaro-Yashin (2002) have illustrated that Atatürk's reform policies generated not a singular form of Turkishness, but a Turkishness which was multiple and often contradictory. In her work, The Faces of the
State she describes the increasing split between Nationalists and Islamists, a return to a society increasingly divided along religious lines. The discourse has changed from shared ethnicity to the political demands of multiple Turkishnesses - based on different perceptions and relationships to place. What became clear from my research was that my Turkish informants' accounts of place were coloured by their particular sense of Turkishness, which was not a fixed entity. It changed dependent upon who people were talking to and about what they were talking. At times informants described feeling inferior to Europeans. At others, they expressed shock at the unacceptable behaviour of the very same people. (Kutlay, RTY, 2001; Ruhsar, SRTY, 2001) Their sense of Turkishness and the values associated with it or placed on it were oftentimes contradictory.

The events of recent history explain the multiple senses of Turkishness. The struggle towards multiparty democracy, the military coups of 1962, 1970 and 1980 and the opening up of the Turkish economy to direct foreign investment in the Özal years (the mid to late 1980s) all facilitated the development of sectarian views. The end of single party rule and the engagement with democracy paved the way for the expression of alternative senses of what it means to be Turkish. The Turks are not the single entity conceptualised by Atatürk. As described by Navaro-Yashin (ibid), they are not 'Islamists' and 'Nationalists'. Subdivisions within both groups have produced an even greater number of senses of Turkish identity. These divisions reflected in the number of parties, 19, standing in the 2002 national elections. Division amongst left wing political parties, in particular, changed the face of Turkish politics irrevocably in 2002 with the election of the Islamist, AKP18, party with a huge majority.

The disparate and increasingly politicised nature of Turkishness is becoming clear in places like Kalkan. The Kas region's election results for the 2002 election showed an electorate divided against the government. Fourteen per cent voted for the AKP, 30% voted for the opposition CHP (left wing, markedly secular), 27% voted for DYP (right wing, capitalist, secular) and 11% for ANAP (markedly right of centre)19. The election results highlighted divisions in the community. I argue that in places like Kalkan division is attributable to in-migration. The increased divisions result from the in-migration of those who do not share the same history and the number of parties from which to elect a representative. Election results frequently represented local networks and power politics. As Özcan (1995), White (1994) and Bezman (1996) indicate in-migrants rely on family, friendship and sectarian networks to integrate themselves within the new location. Thus while shared organising principles produced an element of

18 Adalet ve Kalkına Partisi, Justice and Development Party
19 Election results obtained from www.belgenet.com, interpretation of parties (Shankland 1999)
community cohesion, factions arose from differential allegiances to the local community and the place (S:4.6 p143).

In the following section, I move away from the discussion of a place or country as a historical event or construct towards the discussion of places as lived experience. I introduce three concepts each of which I regard as fundamental to locals' and in-migrants' individual identities and their differential experiences of a place. All three concepts emphasise the centrality of origins – in the sense of having roots in the land or the place of the ancestors. Two of the three concepts, memleket (place of origin), aile (family) stress the relationship between an individual, as part of a family, and a place. The third, hemserilik (fellow townsmanship), transposes the behaviour patterns associated with memleket and aile onto those with shared origins living away from home.

1.1.2 Anatolia: Home Lands and the Relations of Property

In this section I argue that, while the Turkish history thesis marked a concerted attempt on the part of the state to legitimise its people’s origins in the new Turkish territory, it was people’s emotional ties to their homelands which rooted them in Anatolia. In Turkish, the word for homelands or places of origin is memleket. The importance of the land to the Turkish way of life is clear from Stirling (1965) and Delaney’s (1991) ethnographic accounts of Turkish villages. Their monographs provide detailed descriptions of the subsistence agricultural economy; a way of life revolving around attachment to or apportionment of land. People’s relationships to their land and property reflect their relationships to each other, as household heads or members of household units. The relationships within and between the households are shown to structure the community. The division of labour, the construction of the household, dowries as surplus or accumulated capital, the patronage of coffee houses as indicative of sub-groups and the partitioning of property following local inheritance patterns reflect the structure of the community. Central to Turkish culture is the working of the land. Working the land bestows tangible and intangible rights in relation to place. It provides origins, roots and status (S:4.2 p131).

To better-understood memleket's role in the organisation of Turkish society, I consider what the word means to Turks. Memleket is the place of the aile (the family), of blood connections and friendship networks. It is at the heart of Turkish identity and Turkishness. The term incorporates a deep sense of attachment between people and their places. With the exceptions of young men doing their national service and out-marrying women, people rarely left their villages (Stirling 1965). Memleket defines a group
of people by their origins. It implies a shared local knowledge and a shared identity. Rapid growth and
development in the 1950s and '60s changed the nature of the relationship between people and their
memleket (homelands). Improved communications networks and technology altered the nature of the
agriculture sector. Increased mechanisation and access to markets reduced the number of people, usually
children, required to work the land. Cash cropping overtook subsistence agriculture as the primary
agricultural economy. Many young men entered the migrant labour force working on construction sites in
Turkey's rapidly expanding cities. Migration separated these people from their homelands and families but
it did not reduce their attachments to their roots. In the context of migration, memleket and aile (family)
have become interchangeable. Shared memleket has come to signify a connectedness, as a set of obligations,
between people equivalent to that between family members. To have shared origins is to be a member of
the family. Outside the memleket, sharing origins establishes connections between people beyond the literal
meaning of the term.

Ozcan (1995) describes how migration and the subsequent need to integrate have not weakened migrants'
attachments to the memleket but altered its meaning. She illustrates how migrants made use of family and
friendship networks to integrate within new communities. They used their connections to establish and
develop businesses and livelihoods in Turkish cities. Following the rapid rural-urban drift of the 1960s,
towns and cities did not represent a group of people with shared origins. In-migrants established
themselves within these rapidly growing communities based on their shared connections with other in­
migrants. The most important form of shared connection became that of shared origins; referred to in
Turkish as hemşerilik (from hem meaning same, sehir meaning city and lik denoting the bond of fellow
townsmanship). Migrants' need to integrate within new communities increased the use of memleket as a
tool of connectivity. However, I will show that many migrants lacked this type of connection. These
migrants relied on what Meeker (2002) refers to as Turk's innate sociability to establish connections and
social networks. Sociability and migration resulted in the generation of networks based on property
relations (White 1994). Property relations enabled migrants to set up and develop businesses. The
development of Kalkan affirms Shankland's (1994) proposal that rural-urban drift was not the only cause
of urban expansion and that certain Turkish villages expanded into towns. The in-migration of Turks
from all over Anatolia drawn to work in one of Turkey's tourist resorts caused Kalkan to expand into a
town.

The centrality of connections to Turkish society, such as hemşerilik, is manifest in local migration patterns
and community stability. Out-migration from the memleket does not reduce a person's or a family's
obligations to the memleket. Visiting family members takes up most of the national holidays and
remittances form an important part of local economies. The establishment of communities based on shared origins preserves the lifestyle practices of the *memleket* within the new location. Family (*aile*) remains central to the negotiation of locality and identity in Turkey. I suggest that there are no individuals, only persons defined by their family and social relationships. People are either blood relatives, *hemşeri* or property relations where 'property is not a thing, but a network of social relations that governs the conduct of people with respect to the use and disposition of things' (Hoebel quoted in Hann 1998:4). *Memleket* defines a person’s character, through reference to the character stereotypes associated with different *memleket*. In turn, these stereotypes form an internalised hierarchy of character types based on the type of place a person comes from. For example, city dwellers were accredited higher social status than villagers were. However, as I discuss in Chapter 2, defining a person’s status is rarely so clear-cut.

The above discussion of the concept of *memleket* and *hemşeri* highlights the significance of place in Turkish culture. A desire to know a person’s place within society almost always formulates the first question between new acquaintances. To establish where a person is from, or more aptly linked to, as people may never have visited the *memleket* they define themselves by, catapults the conversers into a schema of place-based character types, through which they assess each other. It is possible to perceive the reflexivity behind the facial expression, flicking through the internalised schema in search of Bursa, Urfa or Amasya, finding it, making an assessment (judgement) and coming back to communicative consciousness. The recognition process is 'automatic' and takes a fraction of time (Bourdieu 1977). I observed the process repeatedly during conversations when peoples’ assessments of others reproduced the schema.

Place, *memleket*, provides an access point to a person’s character attributes. This is easily communicable between those with a shared model. Each *memleket* triggers an implicit understanding of a character based on what Bourdieu (1986) refers to as a life-world; the particular manifestation of a person’s capital. To understand the ability of place to identify a person’s character I make an analogy. *Memleket* is like a sign of the zodiac. Each *memleket* has a known set of attributes. People from the *memleket* manifest its particular attributes. The system accounts for relationships between people of different *memleket*. Relationships between people from the same place were relatively easy and those from different places more difficult. The system is surprisingly accurate although I am not entirely convinced that it is not self-reinforcing. The novice interpreter must beware of falling into the trap of ascribing solidity to stereotypes. The information merely assists conversers in sizing each other up. It only forms part of the basis upon which people relate and show *saygı* (respect). Friendships, networks of reciprocity, arose around two men’s fathers having come from the same town, village or hamlet. The trustworthiness of *hemşeri* is a fact within Turks’ inaccessible unconscious (Giddens 1994). It is automatic that *memleket* and trust go together.
outside the memleket. However, within the memleket, as in Kalkan, connection might be overthrown by power struggles and changing alliances. Informants told me that it was harder for Turkish outsiders, whose characters were associated with the stereotypes of their memleket, to integrate within the Kalkan community than for unknown foreigners (Chapters 4, 5 & 6).

My understanding of the significance of memleket as a cognitive tool, using character stereotypes to identify strangers, arose from the frequency I heard the question: Memleket neresi? Memleket neresî? was invariably one of the first questions put to strangers. Where the stranger is a visitor to the other’s hometown, the question is an attempt to identify what type of person the stranger is through an association with his or her memleket. The stranger’s answer establishes the degree of connectedness between the conversers and indicates the appropriate behaviour. If the stranger’s stay was of short duration obligations towards a guest prevailed (S:4.1 p129). If both people are strangers to the place in which they meet the question is an attempt to ascertain any connectedness. The level of connectedness establishes the social obligations expected between the two parties. Memleket neresi? Can be translated as ‘where are you from?’ Turks responded: my father’s people are from Erzurum; my mother’s people are from Alanya. They did not refer to their place of birth or residence. The question requests the stranger’s memleket. It asks about their ancestry and origins not their place of residence. More precisely it asks: where are your father’s people from?20. Expatriates and package tourists understood the question as being: where do you live?. Given the number of British residents and tourists in Kalkan, foreigners had come to mean British. Most foreigners responded with the town in which they lived, such as London or Manchester. It took several more questions to get the response to the original question. Many younger generation Turks had also started to respond differently. They re-formulated the subject of the question. They responded with their birthplace instead of their memleket. This was particularly evident among the city Turks I interviewed. They were keen to identify with the city as opposed to the village. Changes in the use made of memleket are central to my discussion of Kalkaners’ identities and the sub-divisions in the community (Chapter 2).

Having recounted the history of the nation-state and expressed the Turks’ sentimental attachment to Anadolu in the following sub-section, I construct the history of a place, Kalkan, from the remnants of historical fact. The re-construction of Kalkan’s settlement and development as a community draws heavily on legends, represented as history, by The Kalkan Foundation in their publication: Kalkan & Ancient Lycia. The Foundation’s account of history focuses on the role of a group of people expelled from Turkey in

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20 Given the traditional relocation of women on marriage, the memleket is traced through the male line. However, the majority of Turks I interviewed responded to this question with both their father and mother’s place of origin.
1923, the Rum or Anatolian Orthodox Christians, in the production of Kalkan's unique style. The nature of the account in itself marks the passage of time from the early days of the Turkish Republic. Its recognition of the role of the Rum in Kalkan's history as well as the history of occupancy visible in the surrounding landscape marks a desire for a return to historical fact over fiction. However, The Foundation also constructs a tale that is almost as mythical as the Turkish history thesis. It lacks facts and protagonists. The lack of evidence resulted from a gap in oral history and a level of local disinterest in the events of the recent and archaeological pasts (Delaney 1991; Clow 2000).

1.1.3 Kalkan: Legend and the Reconstruction of a Village's History

The historical periods and ethnic groups referred to by Keyder (2004) as the silences of Turkish nationalism are of particular significance to the history of Kalkan. The architecture of the Old Town and Lycia's archaeological sites represent a different history to that contained within the Turkish history thesis. The region's landscape represents a visible record of non-Turkish occupation: Hellenistic; Byzantine; and Roman and Kalkan's houses represent a synthesis of Rum and Turk vernacular architectural styles. Kalkan's history, as it appears in much of the literature about the region, voices the silences of Turkey's past (Kalkan Vakfi; Aksit 1998; Darke 1987; Slatter 1994). Written accounts of the village's history focus on two periods — the Lycians (a period running from approximately 1400 BC to 1071 AD (Kalkan Vakfi) and the settlement of the site of Kalkan by Rum traders in 19th and 20th centuries. Both periods occurred prior to the construction of the Turkish nation-state. The accounts of Kalkan's history illustrate a local re-engagement with the silences of the past post 1960. A single historical construct, based on a particular settlement legend, dominates both the literature on Kalkan and Kalkaners' perceptions of the past (Kalkan Vakfi undated).

The predominance of Kalkan's historical construct is surprising as the history of the village is largely unknown. Significant pieces of information such as the settlement date and any written or oral accounts of the early period of habitation are missing. What is certain is that the settlement of Kalkan, approximately 150 to 200 years ago, did not represent a first step into virgin territory. The Lycians inhabited the region as early as 1400 B.C. although the most successful period of the Lycians, referred to as the Lycian League, a confederation of cities, was between 200-100 B.C. In the 6th Century A.D., frequent Arab attacks on the Lycian cities (most of which were located close to the coastline) led to their decline, eventually turning into villages (Kalkan Vakfi). At the time of my research, many of the modern villages were located near the ancient cities: Knik, Minare, and Gelemiş. The Teke Peninsula (the modern
name of the region) was an open-air museum containing amphitheatres, sarcophagi, rock tombs, aqueducts, harbours, granaries, agora, roads, pathways and trade routes. Excavation had revealed the multiple layers of occupation contained within the fragments as each civilisation carved itself onto the landscape: Lycian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine. Given the Bay of Kalkan's location on the main sea trade route between the Lycian cities of Antiphellos (Kaş) and Patara (Gelemiş) it is unlikely that it was unknown in antiquity. Rather it is plausible that the deep bay harboured ships long before the site's settlement as a village. Maps of Kalkan indicated an archaeological site. However, I was unable to find it despite several attempts on foot between the Old Town and the Club Hotel Patara. Nothing remained visible on the ground and none of the local residents seemed to know anything about it. I can only speculate, based on the infrequency of houses situated along the old trade route between Bezirgan and Kalkan, that the site had been the location of a shelter for fisherman or traders.

The failure of the Bay of Kalkan to attract settlers in antiquity probably resulted from its inhospitable terrain. The area was malarial (Slatter 1994). Even when I was doing my research, the Kalkan municipality carried out a programme of spraying throughout the tourist season. Aside from the risk of malaria, the terrain was treacherous. At this point on the Lycian coastline, the Taurus Mountains rose steeply out of the Mediterranean, 990 metres in approximately 1 kilometre. The area close to the shore is dotted with ravines, cliffs and watercourses. It is prone to landslides and earth tremors. The surface of the landscape was jagged rock covered in thorny scrub. Access to the hinterland would have been difficult without some form of cut out or worn away pathway. In 1996, an hotelier I met while on vacation had complained about the difficulty of building houses on the Kaş side of the Bay. She explained that when she was building her hotel in the early 1990's there were no roads or electricity. She had transported building materials using donkeys. By 2000, roads linked the many houses built around her hotel and the noise of mechanical diggers digging out the foundations reached the village throughout the winter months. The speed of development produced a new sub-community within five years.

In addition to its inhospitable environment, Kalkan's late settlement could simply have resulted from its proximity by sea, the major means of communication at the time, to the Lycian port of Patara. Patara, situated on the estuary of the Eşen Cayı (Eşen River), provided an ideal harbour with easy access to the Lycian capital of Xanthus approximately 10 km up river. Unless weather conditions proved particularly bad, there would be little benefit to an additional stop in the Bay of Kalkan.

Changes in the physical environment, developments in technology and the search for new markets resulted in Kalkan's settlement and development in the 19th century. The harbour at Patara had become
usable by the 16th century A.D. (Işık 2000). The Bay of Kalkan was ideally suited to development as a trading port engaged in international sea trade using deep-hulled ships. Ships moored in the Bay, smaller boats ferried trade goods between them, and the shoreline - the construction of the marina was a later, tourism-driven, development. The existence of the port implies an inland route linking the Bay to the hinterland of Anatolia. A description of the route connecting the Bay of Kalkan to the network of ancient pathways criss-crossing Lycia is conspicuously absent from Clow’s (2000) account of *The Lycian Way* between Fethiye and Antalya. Other sources describe a well-used trade route between Bezirgan and Kalkan, which formed an important part of the Anatolian communications network by the 19th century (Kalkan Vakfı). I walked the old trade route in the summer of 2001 approximately 100 years after its heyday. It remained well defined and easily traversable, with the exception of the section in the immediate vicinity of Kalkan, now subsumed by the asphalt road linking the two villages. It began in the village of Bezirgan and continued past the village’s old-style granaries raised up on stilts in two neat lines facing each other on village’s edge from where it wound up into and through the mountains before finally descending to the coast about a kilometre above Kalkan. The eighteen-kilometre journey from Kalkan to Bezirgan had taken me 20 minutes by car. The walk back took me three hours. I might have managed it in 2.5 hours had I not lost the path in the rocky terrain above the Kalkan Jandarma station from where Kalkan was tantalisingly visible but the route had completely disappeared. By 2001 the route had been abandoned other than by walkers in search of rural Turkey.

Given the absence of any documentary evidence or oral accounts of the history of Kalkan my knowledge of past events relied heavily on accounts of the region’s history, existing ethnographic monographs, travel books and supposition. Slatter’s (1994) account of Charles Fellows’ excavations at Xanthus, approximately 20km from Kalkan, in the early 1800’s were particularly illuminating. In her text, she provides a useful account of life in the Ottoman Empire at roughly the time as the alleged settlement of Kalkan, according to the local guidebooks and travel publications (Bean 1978; Darke 1987; Akşit 1999; Işık 2000, Clow 2000). Earlier guidebooks described Kalkan’s terrain, climate, architecture and local economy in much the same way, albeit in considerably less detail, as the ethnographic monographs. Kolars’ (1963) account of impact of cash cropping on the Antalya area; Bezman (1996) and Tucker’s (1997) descriptions of the development of Göreme as a tourist destination and Özcan’s (1995) account of the centrality of family and friendship networks to the development of migrants’ small business enterprises deepened my understanding of Kalkan’s past and present communities.

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21 Kate told me that she never went to Kalkan, as she hated what tourism had done to the village (personal communication during a meeting with the author, 2001).

Later guidebooks represented legend and folklore as history (Kalkan Vakfı). The source of Kalkan’s historical construct was an undated publication produced by the Kalkan Foundation under the auspices of the then mayor Serif Karabağ – *Kalkan and Ancient Lycia*. In this publication, through a report of an interview with Karabağ, the Kalkan Foundation attempts to provide a plausible history for Kalkan. The account compiled during the 1990s coincided with Kalkan’s development as a tourist destination. In much the same manner as that described by Odermatt (1996) in his account of the (re)presentation of a Sardinian village the Foundation set out to construct a history which explained the village’s existing form. Visitors to Kalkan wanted to know about the village’s history and unique style. Tour Operators wanted a product they could sell in their home markets.

According to Keyder (2004) and Clow (2000), knowledge of the region’s history did not originate locally. Rather it trickled down to the local community in the 1960’s, because of the Istanbul elite’s interest in the Lycian shore, and in the 1990s, following the arrival of package tourists (S:7.2 p231). The proliferation of guidebooks and souvenir publications in the 1990’s represents an attempt by the former, coupled with input from outsiders from other Turkish and foreign cities, to provide information for tourists. In the 1980’s Kalkan was a favoured summer destination of the Istanbul elite. By the 1990’s an increasing number of outsiders had relocated to Kalkan to run local businesses. I argue that much of the historical information contained within *Kalkan and Ancient Lycia* (undated) was the work of these educated outsiders. Indeed Karabağ was closely associated with this group. In the light of the preceding section’s account of *memleket*, the detached style of Karabağ’s account suggests that Kalkan was not his place of origin. It lacks any personal anecdotes or the sentiment ordinarily associated with a description of the homelands (S:1.1.2 p37). According to my informants, Karabağ took his mayoral duties extremely seriously but his attachment to Kalkan reflected his interest in overseeing its development as a tourist destination. In this regard, he was not alone. By the time of his civic duties, many Kalkaners were non-locals. Neither local nor non-local Kalkaners’ disputed Karabağ’s version of events. His construct neatly accounted for the village’s architectural style - a mixture of the Ram and Turk vernacular (ibid). His account of the way of life of the Turk community, consisting of transhumance agriculture and animal husbandry between the coast at Kalkan and the inland village of Bezirgan, represented practices in 2001. Ultimately, as a group of people engaged in tourism-oriented businesses, Kalkaners benefited from the construction of a local history and its particular representation of the past. When asked about Kalkan’s history Kalkaners’ invariably reproduced Karabağ’s account. However the outcome of the local election campaign in 2000 indicated that the pro-tourism camp spearheaded by Karabağ and the Kalkan Foundation and their international supporters had had its day. The election of Karabağ’s main rival on the basis of a remit to
In the following paragraphs, I discuss sections of Karabag's historical construct in three phases:

i) The settlement of the village in the 19th century based on legend and folkloric tales, which account for transition in place names and architectural styles;

One of the legends which is most widely accepted is that a woman from the Island of Meis came with a boatload of goods which she tried to sell to the villagers around the Kalkan area. Her venture was successful and other tradesmen from Meis followed her example and actually moved to Kalkan about 150 to 200 years ago, thus making Kalkan a small trading coastal post.

During the mid-nineteenth century the area was plagued with bandits who frequently raided the small coastal settlements at night. At this particular time there was an unfortunate farmer who lived on the outskirts of the village and it was his farm that was one of the marauder's favourite targets. Using farm implements at hand the farmer improvised and defended his property with his home-made shield and weapons and became known locally as the man with the shield – Kalkanli (Kalkan Vakfi undated p18)

ii) The development of Kalkan as a trading port based on locals' memories of the past

Kalkan... became the most important trading port serving the Teke Peninsula... produce was brought in from the highlands (as far away as Elmali) and the Patara Plain. In those days it must have been quite a sight to see the cameleers driving their camels into Kalkan/Iskele loaded high with goods which would be unloaded by burly porters at the quayside into small boats which would, in turn, off-load onto the ships anchored in the bay. These ships, laden with cargo, sailed to the Eastern Mediterranean, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes and other destinations which were all part of the Ottoman Empire. (Kalkan Vakfi undated p19)

iii) Kalkan as a destination for yachtsmen, travellers and tourists.

In the passages cited above Karabag accounts for the development of the site of Kalkan as a trading post with a mixed Rum and Turk population in two short sentences. No further mention is made of the
alternative legends implied in his statement ‘one of the legends’. These alternative legends were absent from the framework of local knowledge by 2000. The settlement of the village by Rum traders had become an accepted fact without opposition or residual conflict. There was no annual festival celebrating the expulsion of the Rum community as described by Alexander (2002) in Erzurum23. There is no mention of hostility between the two communities. Rum and Turk communities may have engaged in different occupations, Rum as traders and Turk as agriculturalists and animal husbandry, but they appeared to have lived together in harmony. I speculate that the main reason for this was the village's location within an international trade network. Villagers of both communities would have been accustomed to strangers, even relying on them for their livelihoods. The timing of the settlement is also important. It occurred at a time when the Island of Meis formed a part of the Ottoman Empire and its citizens, like their fellow Muslim villagers, were citizens of the Empire. Whereas the existence in Anatolia of residents of non-Turk extraction is one of the great cover-ups of the Turkish history thesis, sixty years on Karabag saw no reason to exclude the role of the Rum traders from his account of Kalkan's history.

Karabag's historical construct provided an explanation for the village's architectural style which, when represented as the idyllic Mediterranean village, was a key factor in attracting foreign visitors. In 1999, the village organised a festival celebrating the role of the sea in the village's past and present economies — in 2001, the now annual Deniz Senligi (Sea Festival) provided an event to rival those of the neighbouring towns. Post 1921, Meis, or Kastellorizo, became the closest Greek island to the Turkish mainland. It is easily visible from the town of Kas. Perhaps the closeness of the two localities has served to emphasise a shared history rather than to make much of nationalist ideologies. In summer, numerous daily boat trips run between Kas and Meis. There was no attempt to alter Kalkan's settlement myth because of hostile relations at the national level between Greece and Turkey. In fact, the style of Kalkan's domestic architecture and the prominence of an Orthodox church (now a mosque) would require an entire reinvention of tradition or the destruction of buildings to refute the myth.

Another potential reason for the lack of opposition to the settlement myth is its reference to a prior presence; the tradesmen settled in an occupied territory. Traditional land use practices suggest that the villagers of Bezirgan had migrated between the two sites for centuries prior to the time of the legend. This annual migration was part of the remembered past and still practised by the older generation in 2000. If the legend's female protagonist had encountered villagers in the area, she would have made her voyage in autumn, winter or early spring or alternatively she would have known the route inland. Today this is a

23 The Erzurum annual festival celebrates the expulsion of the Russian and Armenian communities
time when, all along the coast, the large gulets (yachts) stand out of the water on the quay for the duration of the winter. The winter storms and gale force winds make seafaring outside the Bay a dangerous exercise and there are no tourists buying day-trips.

The myth, the local material culture, traditional land use practices and the developing community appear to sit well together. I will argue later that it is this combination which provides Kalkan's greatest attraction – place as product (S:7.1 p223).

Karabag's account continues with the legend behind the naming of Kalkan. This legendary thwarting of bandits by a single man could be a bogus story attempting to reclaim the land as Turkish (Keyder 2004). However, it is more likely to represent an attempt to place both Rum and Turk in the village at around the same time. There was no evidence to suggest that the two groups did not live in relatively close proximity prior to their co-presence in the village. Karabag mentions former names associated with the site of Kalkan, which indicated that Kalkaners used both Greek and Turkish languages: Kalamaki from the Greek, kalamari for squid, which were plentiful in the Bay of Kalkan and Iskele from the Turkish word for port/quay/jetty. Karabag makes no mention of Kalkan as a derivative of the verb kalkmak (to rise). Kalkan translates as 'the one who rises', rather apt for a village emerging from the Mediterranean at a point where the mountains tower overhead. This may well have been a result of the word's secondary meaning, an erection.

However it came about, Kalkan's locality played a key role in its development as a centre of international trade and global cultural flows. At its peak in 1915, Kalkan's services rivalled those of the 1990's. According to Karabag, the village contained seventeen restaurants, a goldsmith, shoemaker, several tailors and its own customs house at the time of the First World War and prior to the construction of the Turkish nation-state. Despite the upheaval resulting from the departure of the Greek community from the village in 1923, Kalkan continued to flourish as a port. The establishment of the local primary school in 1937 enabled villagers to receive the compulsory level of education. In 2001, Kalkan contained both the original primary school and a middle school and was in the process of constructing a new building to house both schools. This meant that the level of education available in the village was considerably higher than the national average in the 1990's. The port of Kalkan eventually fell into decline in the 1950s due to competition from road haulage companies following the construction of Turkey's national road network. Kalkaners who had been engaged in activities relating to the port out-migrated to other port towns such as Izmir, Antalya or Fethiye. This phase of out-migration is visible in the place trees presented in section 2.3.1 (p75). It also coincided with the exploration of the coastline by Turkish and foreign yachtsmen and
travellers. Kalkan's phase as a tourist destination began with the opening of a few local houses to provide
overnight accommodation for these explorers. Villagers' increased revenues from tourism, their
aspirations regarding their children's education and more importantly the unavailability of education locally
resulted in subsequent periods of out-migration in search of high school, tertiary education, professional
training and employment (S:2.3.586). Since the 1990s Kalkan's tourism-oriented economy has resulted in
an increase in the number of seasonal and permanent in-migrants. In the summer of 2001, traditionally a
time of out-migration, the number of in-migrants significantly outnumbered that of out-migrants (S:1.2
p48).

In the following two sections, I consider the consequences of migration and tourism-oriented
development for the Kalkan community. I also provide some observations about the ways in which
Kalkaners categorise themselves based on their connectedness to the place.

1.2 Migration and Seasonal Change

In this section, I aim to represent Kalkan's ethnographic present. I discuss the development of Kalkan as
a mature tourist destination with a tourism driven local economy. I consider the affects of migration on
Kalkan's identity and community structure. Its diverse forms of in- and out-migration have led to the co­
equates to the transhumance lifestyle between Kalkan and Bezirgan. Translocal culture refers to the
lifestyle practices of in-migrants living in Kalkan. Migration to Kalkan is seasonal. Different groups of
migrants and consequently different forms of culture are present at different times of year. Consequently,
Kalkan has different seasonal identities. In winter, it is a Turkish village, where territorial culture, as
described by Stirling (1964) and Delaney (1991), predominates. In summer, it is a tourist destination,
organised based on translocal culture. However as 1923 did not mark a complete break from the past, the
transition between winter and summer does not mark a total transformation in Kalkan's structuring
structures (Bourdieu 1984). Özcan's (1996) account of migrants' use of family, friendship and sectarian
networks in the development of small businesses provides a clue to the continuity of the Kalkan community.
While the protagonists come and go the process of integration, networking, remains the same.
Her assumption that migrants have access to this type of network in the new community was inaccurate.
Many in-migrants relocated due to 'tourism-informed mobility' (Williams & Hall 2002). Some were
trained tourism professionals and others skilled construction professionals (architects and geological
engineers) however the majority had taken a risk. They had no connections in Kalkan. They had
temporarily displaced themselves in the hope of becoming entrepreneurs in an unknown sector.

My understanding of Kalkan as a place with several different identities resulted from observations made
during my visits as a tourist. None of the 'locals' I encountered were from Kalkan yet the majority were
semi-permanent residents. My research confirmed this early observation. I was able to communicate with
people on a daily and sometimes hourly basis. I heard about their concerns, problems and opinions and
shared in local gossip. Life in the village as a resident, a known face, was very different from my
experiences as a tourist. A year's residence enabled me to observe the entire spectrum of Kalkan's seasons
- climate, agriculture, emotions, (un)employment, national holidays, construction season and tourist season.

Given the small size of the village, the scale of movement and the degree of seasonal change was
tremendous. My participation in village life provided detailed knowledge about the dynamics of the place
which reproduced numerous different layers or what Hirsch (1995) refers to as grounds.

Kalkan's different grounds are visible at disjuncture points. These points arose when the predominant
culture, territorial or translocal, switched. The switch was the result of cultural flows based on seasonal
change. The inflow of media and people alters the cultural process of Kalkan (Hirsch 1995). The extent
of alteration depends on the seasonal balance between in- and out-migration and the visibility of different
types of in-migrants. In summer, local residents out-migrate to the summer pastures and tourism-oriented
entrepreneurs and workers in-migrate. In winter local residents returned, tourism-oriented migrants out-
migrated and construction workers in-migrated. This last group were almost invisible as they lived in their
construction sites and rarely ventured into the village. The resident population of Kalkan was in constant
transition and locality was misunderstood. Tourists saw residents as locals. However, tourists' locals were
not local but rather in-migrants. The majority remained firmly attached to their memleket. Tourists
perceived an idyllic village or paradise. In-migrants perceived 'a strange place' (Kartel, SRTY, 2001): one
moment open and full of friendship networks, another moment closed and completely empty. They
complained about the downside of seasonal cultural transition. These distinctions proved a useful access
point for my research of Kalkan’s mobility dynamics, its authenticity and its multiple modernities, all of
which had left their mark on Kalkan. Residents' histories and their relationships to the community
illustrated that Kalkan the destination, a 'tourism-migration nexus' with its 'tourism-informed mobility'
(Williams & Hall 2002), was simply the most recent in a succession of identities.

Williams & Hall's (2002) 'idealised, evolutionary, aggregate model of tourism migration relationships'
(2002:19), Figure 4, although suffering from a tourist-centric stance: 'Tourists Origin, Tourists Destination
and Other Places', is the most accurate representation of Kalkan's current dynamism. However where it succeeds in presenting the evolution of Kalkan into a Phase IV destination it fails to tackle other forms of movement and migration. Their premise that once tourism flows then all movement will be tourism-informed is unfortunate. It fails to deal with the seasonality of tourism and the continued significance of other prior or concurrent motivations. Despite these limitations, Williams & Hall's model illustrates aspects of Kalkan's development since the '50s and '60s. In the intervening 50 years Kalkan has evolved through all four of the model's phases, pausing briefly at each stage. In 2000/01 Kalkan was a fully-fledged tourist destination. Kalkaners motivations' for migration illustrated Williams & Hall's (ibid) types including labour migration; entrepreneurial migration; return (labour) migration; consumption-led economically active migration and retirement migration or lifestyle migration (Chapter 6). In 2001 their final motivational category, visiting friends and relatives tourism (VFR), was becoming increasingly significant to the local economy (ibid, p25).

![Tourism Migration Relationships](image)

**Figure 4: Tourism Migration Relationships (Williams & Hall 2002)**
Williams & Hall’s model proved invaluable in the conceptualisation of Kalkan the destination. However, six months of my 12-month fieldwork period were spent in Kalkan the village; arguably a different place. To represent the village I made use of other models. Urry’s discussion of tourism in *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) and *Consuming Places* (1995), presents a more holistic evaluation of tourist places. While he bases his theory on the processes through which tourist’s consume destinations, he questions what it is they are consuming. He unpacks tourists’ perception of people and places as authentic. Instead, he represents destinations as multi-layered constructs revolving around someone’s, usually the tourist’s, expectations. Urry’s portrayal of tourist places as productions assisted in my understanding of Kalkan’s village identity. His statement that tourists have a different type of access to place than local residents suggested that there were multiple ways of seeing a place. Urry distinguishes between the front and backgrounds of a tourist place. The front grounds are public and easily viewable by the tourist. The backgrounds are private and occluded from the tourists’ gaze. The notion that certain parts of a culture are visible and others invisible to the onlooker is particularly relevant to Kalkan as both a village and destination. Urry’s concept enabled me to look beyond the visible dynamics of the tourist season into the private worlds of Kalkan’s residents.

Where his model fell down was in the assumption that front and back were present at the same time. In Kalkan’s case the back, territorial culture, was temporarily absent. Despite its absence, the protagonists remain influential in the Kalkan community through parental control and landlordism. Kalkaners are aware of the discrepancy between their lifestyles and those perceived by tourists. This becomes clear in the sale of ‘authenticity events’, such as ‘Turkish Nights’ or trips to Islamlar for dinner in a family home (c.f. Tucker 1997). These events were no less orchestrated than those in the destination were. However, they reincorporated the local knowledge of out-migrating relatives within the tourist economy. Their children and outsiders lacked the knowledge to produce the place expected by tourists. Thus place represents a performance of tradition. It results from local seasonal migration patterns. Tourists visited at the time when the village would have been empty. The tradition of out-migration from Kalkan for Bezirgan continued until as late as the 1980s. After that, improved communications, technology and tourism revitalised the local economy. Younger generation Kalkaners have since settled in Kalkan on a permanent basis. This altered Kalkan’s identity from a place of seasonal residence where locals made a living from animal husbandry, olive growing and charcoal to that of a modern town where the majority of residents were engaged in the tourist industry. The otherness anticipated by tourists remained embodied within the Old Town but its rapidly expanding outskirts were very different from their expectations.

Kalkan’s seasonal identities and changing urbanscape portray a community based on a series of transitional relationships with the place. The relationships between people and the site of Kalkan are best
conceptualised as child's toy in which a mechanism rotates a different layer into the foreground. Each layer represents the different relationships as they cycle throughout the year. However, the mechanical system is flawed and fragments of each layer remain behind, incorporated within the cultural process of the up-coming surface, subtly yet significantly changing the nature and form of the ground. The distinct grounds combined within the cultural process of Kalkan and its coping strategies.

The timing of national events and holidays such as Ramadan, Şeker and Kurban Bayrami\(^24\) exaggerated the distinction between Kalkan in summer and in winter. In 2001, as had been the case for the past decade, all fell outside the tourist season. The absence of local rituals and holidays from the tourist season reinforced the identity of place as non-Turkish. Tourists and summer in-migrants did not experience the Ramadan drum, family visiting, gift exchange, flags in the streets and Turks on holiday. The only Turkish celebrations taking place during the tourist season were weddings. These took place on the harbour front although there was usually only one per summer. The music and the compère's announcements of the cash donations to the couple by family and friends were audible throughout the village. Wedding celebrations were open to all passers by. Tourists who participated on the outskirts, swaying to the Turkish folk and popular music perceived a different place to those visiting in a week or month when no weddings occurred. They saw village women in their headscarves and salvar seated around the dance floor and shared in the refreshments, cartons of fruit juice and sweets, passed around to the celebrants. While the absence of local events enhanced the difference between Kalkan the village and the destination it was simultaneously reduced by the permanent residence of non-locals and expatriates who become familiar with both faces of the village's life.

Kalkan the village and the destination is a Turkish village modernising in accordance with the currents of national politics and local concerns (see Stirling's (1974) model of change in Turkish villages). Unlike the villages described by Stirling (1964), Delaney (1991) and Shankland (1994), the flows and requirements of tourists, in the manner described by Bezman (1995) and Tucker (1996), affected Kalkan's modernisation and inhabitants' everyday lives. Kalkan the destination, a town described by many of its residents, both foreigner and outsider, as 'not Turkish' (Claire, SPY, 2001) is modernising in tandem with conflict reduction between pro-tourism and pro-localism camps. Conflict avoidance was witnessed in the polity's attitude to urban planning – or rather the lack of it. One year an area was a green belt, the next a construction site; rumour had it, as an incentive to the local electorate. Likewise, restaurateurs could not

\(^24\) The dates of the national holidays shifted with those of the two main religious holidays – the end of Ramadan and the sacrifice holiday three months later. The timing of these holidays follows the lunar calendar and they move forward approximately 10 days each year.
put tables on terraces overlooking the harbour; they were need for benches to enable locals to enjoy the view. At one point, the desires of consumers to 'keep the village special' controlled development at another it was local demands to return the village to them (S:4.6 p143).

From a tourist's perspective, Kalkan the destination is devoid of politics and the everyday. It is capable of satisfying them and thereby ensuring an unusual degree of sustainability given the frequency of international events that affected the perception of Turkey as a safe place to holiday\(^5\). Kalkan the destination has remained alive due to clever marketing by foreign operators, discounted holidays to loyal customers, increased use by local businesses of the internet as an advertising tool, intense consumer loyalty based on experience rather than news sound bites. Above all mobility and migration of the local community has produced a local tolerance and level of immunity to the disjunctures of cultural flows. It has produced a degree of local adaptability to alien structures and other-induced change. Seasonal out-migration of the older generation of locals reduces the potential conflict between those holding different sets of values. The shared temporary residence of the majority of the remaining residents generates connectedness, although it would be naive to assume that investment in the destination is not without rivalry and competition for capital returns, or without consequence for the place itself.

Consistent with Williams & Hall's (2002) model, many of Kalkan's residents began their involvement with the community as entrepreneurs or tourists. Their expectations of Kalkan were based on capital concerns, the potential for economic and symbolic enrichment. However, both Kalkan's economic potential and its 'sacredness' (Diane 2001) have a twist in the tale. Involvement in businesses, relocation or the purchase of a summer home have led to the realisation that tourism is at best a fickle provider, and the processes of investment profane the place. It requires an engagement with Kalkan's Turkishness. The most successful maintain an aesthetic sense of place, although this frequently involves a separation of the physical and urban or humanised environments. The least successful — their ventures proving unsustainable as a result of lack of business skill, poor seasons or the changing nature of place itself — eventually relocate themselves elsewhere. Vicky, in her early 50's, from England, first visited Kalkan whilst working for a UK-based tour operator in a neighbouring village. She experienced the destination as a special place, where she felt she could develop spiritually. She accepted a job in Kalkan the following year. Upon relocation, the perceived potential turned to stagnation as her experience was not what she had expected. Only those who lived in Kalkan for longer periods experienced the reality of the place. To tourists Kalkan remained paradise.
In Kalkan the destination, there were those who worked and those who played. Residents are primarily engaged in (re)producing the idyllic village for tourists' collectively 'romantic gaze' (Urry 1990), whilst tourists are intent on gazing and consuming. The approximation of myth, representation and destination requires much effort, particularly given the initial lack of local knowledge amongst many of those engaging in tourism-oriented businesses, be it of guests' requirements and characteristics or of the region, requiring a fast learning curve to carry off the performance of localness. International tour operators, the local municipality and service providers collude in the (re)production of the place as the object reducing the risk of inconsistency between 'the image' (object of desire) and the destination (object of the gaze).

Residents in Kalkan the destination play host to tourists, the paying guests of the tour operator. Tourists view their hosts as locals, representatives of a memleket. However, host’s connections with the destination are tenuous and often transitory, there one year gone the next. Repeat tourists, with years of visiting experience, often found they had more connections than their hosts, subsequently acting as brokers of both local and global knowledge, to their hosts. In fact, hosts took little time away from their businesses premises, and so had less access to the destination than tourists and visitors. Initially they were equally reliant on tour operator information packs, guidebooks and oral accounts of the surrounding area to provide information to their clientele. The relationship referred to in much of the early anthropology of tourism literature as 'hosts: guests' based on local hospitality traditions (Smith 1989, Nash 1989, Graburn 1989, Meeker 2002) is doubly askew, as neither group belonged to the memleket. The relationship between Kalkan’s hosts and tourists was that between producers and consumers. The economic relationship was not without sociability, and when hosts and tourists had known each other for years, they referred to each other as friends. Moreover, they expected to see one another at a specific time every year. Consumers who had progressed from tourists to friends frequently regarded Kalkan the destination as their second home. To them the extraordinary behaviour associated with holidaymaking had become ordinary. Indeed many repeat tourists such as Morris and Marjorie saw Kalkan as ordinary and purchased a long distance holiday as a means of experiencing the extraordinary. Knowledge acquisition through repeat visits led to a more equitable relationship between co-residents: they were all strangers integrated within the Kalkan community.

25 The Gulf War in the 1990’s, the events of 9/11, the threat of War in 2003, a resurgence in the bombing activities of the PKK in 2004.
1.3 Some Local Distinctions

In this section, I make some initial observations about Kalkaners’ social identities. These observations involve concepts introduced in the discussion of the Turkish nation state’s relationship to the territory of Turkey and the Turkish people’s relationship to Anatolia. During a period of preliminary fieldwork in 1999, it became clear to me that Kalkan’s residents originated from many different places and that they experienced Kalkan in different ways. Waldren’s (1996) *Insiders and outsiders in Mallorca* and O’Reilly’s (2000) *The British on the Costa del Sol* provided useful models of communities differentiated by tourism flows. Waldren’s account of Deía, a small Mallorcan community, described the division of the community into insiders (those born in Deía) and outsiders (in-migrants both national and foreign) across time. While the categories of insider and outsider proved useful to my analysis of the Kalkan community, Waldren’s model presumed permanent residence, reflected in her title of a subsequent article, ‘we are not tourists - we live here’ (Waldren 1997). Kalkan was a community of seasonal residents. In her monograph about the expatriate way of life, O’Reilly describes four types of expatriate residence in Spain: permanent, semi-permanent, seasonal and peripatetic. Her model of expatriate residence allows for transition between types of residence as expatriates’ lifestyle choices change. I combined Waldren’s categories and O’Reilly’s typologies to produce a model, which I could use to understand the Kalkan community (Chapter 2). Kalkan’s residents frequently changed their residence type but they rarely, if ever, exchanged their residence category.

My early investigations suggested that Kalkan’s residents made use of two systems to identify themselves and others within the community. Turkish residents related to the village through the *memleket* system – which identifies people according to their place of origins position within the hierarchy of Turkish places. The system established a person’s identity in Kalkan. Locals distinguished between those who belonged and those who did not where belonging signified ancestry and inheritance, and connectedness in-migration and dependence on property relations. During my fieldwork the land ownership in and around Kalkan was being legally registered and its owners issued with deeds of ownership. Deeds made local residents’ intangible claims to their inheritance and property tangible. This made it easier for local residents to transfer their ownership to non-local residents and foreigners. Foreign residents related to the destination through the apparatuses of the state in the form of visa and residence regulations. Their relationship to Kalkan reflected their investment of capital and legal tenure.

Turkish residents made use of the *memleket* system to establish a person’s relationship to the village. A person’s *memleket* defined their degree of belonging within the local community. People born in Kalkan
had the closest relationship to the place, belonging by birthright. Those born in nearby hamlets were less
close but not strangers. By 2000, the development of Kalkan meant that some of the hamlets
incorporated within the political unit of Kalkan had become part of the village. A person born outside the
local community was a stranger, belonging elsewhere. By 2000/01 the in-migration of strangers and the
memleket system of identification, had generated local distinctions between residents as insiders or outsiders.
Kalkaners frequently voiced this distinction during conversations about their social relations. However
while members of each category tended to socialise separately they continued a symbiotic existence. Both
groups operated within the community. Each group formed a sub-group with a particular relationship to
the community. The system of identification was somewhat complicated by the fact that few Kalkaners
claimed Kalkan as their memleket. It was clear, however, from people's attitudes and comments about each
other that those residents who practised seasonal migration between Bezirgan and Kalkan were perceived
as more local to Kalkan than those in-migrating from elsewhere were. People from Bezirgan claimed
Kalkan not as memleket but as somehow theirs. In the early years of the destination, this claim was
minimised by the pro-tourism polity keen to develop Kalkan as a place for tourists with a history based on
non-Turk occupancy. The local population, keen to benefit from tourism revenues went along with their
policies until recently when the numbers of outsiders began to outstrip those of insiders. In 2000, there
was a definite move by locals to reclaim their memleket from the control of the polity formed of in-migrant
city-originating elites.

Foreigners' emotional attachments to Kalkan motivated them to live in the town. Emotions, in the
manner of Turk's sentiments toward the memleket, governed foreigners' choice of Kalkan as a residence
location. However, the state controlled their right to reside. Residence required permission (izin) from
Ankara. The majority of foreigners living in Kalkan had obtained tourist visas. Tourist visas enabled
foreigners to reside for a period of three months. Many foreigners living in Kalkan chose not to pursue
the system of obtaining permission from the state for their actual type of residence. Stories circulating
locally amongst the expatriate community about bureaucratic mix-ups and lengthy negotiations deterred
many from entering into negotiation with the state. Instead, they made tourist visas work for them,
visiting twice a year for two months or leaving the country for a few hours to return immediately via the
closest port of entry. Foreigners and expatriates talked openly about their visas, how they were going to
get round regulations to achieve their lifestyle choices. In 2000, the relatively relaxed attitude of the
authorities to foreigners' visa categories and duration was tightening up. As competition in the local
tourism increased, largely as a result of a greater number of businesses than there were tourists to sustain
them, complaints about foreign resident's improper relationship to the state and hence the place were
growing. While I heard of no complaints in 2001, which resulted in the extradition of foreigners, foreign friends told stories of visits from the Jandarma to check their papers following locals' complaints.

It appeared that the two processes through which people connected themselves to Kalkan were beginning to overlap. Turkish residents were beginning to use the mechanisms of the state to refute the sentimental attachments of foreigners, which led them to overstay their visas on numerous occasions. Likewise, foreigners were beginning to enter into relationships with the memleket, through investment in land and property. Revenues generated from property sales were encouraging Turkish developers and realtors to set up legal and advisory services to foreigners. The quality of the advice was improving and as a result, foreigners were not only legally resident with legal tenure but also took out Turkish wills to ensure their estates passed to their chosen beneficiaries. The purchase of land and property had affected local property prices. Many locals who had sold their land in the early stages of development could no longer afford to invest in the village. They could not buy back their claim to belonging. The economy of tourism had ousted them from their homeland and reduced their intangible claims over the memleket.

1.3.1 Turkish Nationals: Insiders & Outsiders

Part of the paraphernalia identifying Turkish people as nationals is the possession of a state-issued identity card. The ID, which must be carried at all times, details the holder's name, date of birth, place of birth, mother's name, father's name, marital status, religion, memleket and issuing office. Foreign women26 marrying Turkish men have the option of becoming dual nationals. They obtained I.D. cards on acquisition of citizenship27.

Turkish and dual nationals have izin (permission) to reside in Turkey on a permanent basis. In the context of residence, izin forms an agreement between the citizen and the state. The citizen is required to advise the state of changes in their residence location. However many residents fail to comply with this requirement – preferring to remain officially attached to the memleket. This results in a discrepancy between the information on the ID card and the citizen's actual residence location. Many permanent residents did not perceive the village as home. Their motivations were socio-economic, life-style choices. Its residents variously described Kalkan as a place of work, a place to retire, a place for freer sex, a place to

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26 A foreign man's marrying a Turkish woman was rare and I knew of only one couple, who met while she was studying in America.
27 Foreigners are also required to carry formal identification.
escape the Turkish lifestyle, a place to get rich and a place to get calm. Outsiders described their residence in Kalkan as an attempt to improve their status in their memleket. This was achieved either through the enhancement of their personal status or home improvements. Their perception of themselves as temporary residents prevents them from registering Kalkan as their official residence. The choice to remain registered elsewhere impacts on the local municipality's ability to provide adequate services, as the state awards funds based on the number of residents registered in a place.

Insiders, while owning property in Kalkan, were registered as living in Bezirgan; 'a true villager comes from Bezirgan' (Rebecca, Dual National, 2000). Kalkan was not a memleket. In early April, the beginning of the agricultural season, insiders migrate to Bezirgan. Outsiders move in, leasing insiders' vacated property for the tourist season. Many of these tourism entrepreneurs in-migrated on a seasonal basis. They tended to wait and see how business developed before relocating on a permanent basis. Seasonal in-migrants from Istanbul, Ankara, or Antalya described a dual lifestyle based on the seasonal benefits of their hometown and Kalkan the destination. They worked in the destination but they lived and socialised in their hometowns. They did not think of relinquishing their Ankarali, Istanbullu or Antalyali status, for köylü (villager). People from cities were attributed higher status reflecting the continued influence of the urban/rural duality. Few Ankara or Istanbul retirees described their choice to relocate to Kalkan as a desire to become köylü (villagers). Kalkan is a great place to retire but not to be from; although Kalkan's position in the memleket system was rising as it developed into a cosmopolitan town. Younger generation insiders, some of whom have become trained professionals, as well as non-local lawyers and estate agents mediated the social relations of property acquisition (Hann 1998). When the tourist season ended this group of outsiders departed for their hometowns. Insiders returned to reclaim their property. Construction workers join them. There was no construction work during the tourist season. This group in-migrated for the construction season, November to early May. In my six-year acquaintance with Kalkan, there was always plenty of work for this group in Kalkan. Construction workers billeted on-site to avoid expenditure. They built the town but were invisible within the community. Conversely, construction professionals, architects and surveyors had relocated to Kalkan. Their high status as educated elites made them visible within the community. As a group they were taking an increased role in local politics – organising a foundation to encourage planned as opposed to rivalry-oriented development.

Tourism has affected Kalkan's ranking within the memleket system of identification. Many köylü (villagers) were in fact wealthy entrepreneurs who sent their children to good schools and universities. Insiders called the in-migrants from the cities kaşams (runaways) indicating a failure to achieve what insiders have
achieved. Their failure to make it in the city does not alter the ranking of the city in the memleket system. In fact, many outsiders had retired to Kalkan based on lifestyle choices following successful careers. Having retired after the official twenty years' employment\(^\text{29}\) many were in their late thirties and hoped to build successful post retirement businesses to supplement their state pension. Some members of this group wanted to see Kalkan become a town of 30,000 with all a town's facilities. The reversal in the character stereotypes associated with Kalkan's different resident categories and types facilitated community stability. It allowed both insiders and outsiders to show saygi (respect). The mobility of Kalkan's residents did however make it difficult to perceive just who was who. There were three well-respected local extended families that belonged to the village, tourism or no tourism. There were outsiders who had become well-established members of the local polity. The Kalkan community contained both rooted (locals) and routed (migrant) Turks (Clifford 1997) (Chapter 2).

1.3.2 Foreigners: Tourists

Kalkan received local, national and foreign tourists. Turks visited during the national holidays, which, in 2000/01, fell in the winter and early spring\(^\text{30}\). The primary motivation for Turkish tourism at this time of year was visiting family and friends. In 1999 and 2001, Turkish tourism became a secondary concern for the local economy compared to foreign tourism. My observations of both seasons confirmed that the majority of tourists were indeed foreign nationals; approximately 15-20,000 per season. Foreign tourists fell into one of four types: package tourists, independent travellers, repeat tourists and semi-residents (Smith 1989).

The majority of tourists in Kalkan were package tourists on holidays organised by tour operators based in their country of origin. Despite the indisputably packaged nature of components: flight, transfers and accommodation, a holiday to Kalkan is pre-consumed as a ‘package holiday not like a package holiday’ (Tapestry Holidays). Interviews and conversations with tourists indicated that they perceived themselves as quasi-travellers, not package holidaymakers. Whilst tourists' self-deception had little impact on their official relationship to the Turkish state, it had a huge impact on the reproduction of place. Tourists I had encountered during previous visits were primarily middle-class British citizens keen to experience the social, cultural and archaeological aspects of Turkey. Many had read widely in advance of the holiday.

\(^{28}\) The ‘li’ suffix, derived in accordance with vowel harmony, designates the place of origin.

\(^{29}\) The retirement has recently changed to coincide with European retirement regulations.
The trip was more a process of authentication through a physical interaction with the place in their mind, than exploration of an unknown territory (Barry, RT, 2001). In 2000, the number of mass tourists continued to increase as Kalkan’s capacity increased. In 2001, Kalkan just managed to re-produce its product, the mythic idyllic village, but it was not what it once was. Development horrified repeat tourists and many made the decision not to return in future (Morris & Marjorie, RT, 2001).

There were also tourists who questioned whether a visit to Kalkan was a visit to Turkey. They were unable to reconcile Kalkan’s modern global feel, its cosmopolitanism, with their mental image of Turkey. Most tourists were unaware of the multiplicity of Turkishness in Turkey. More often than not classical myths and orientalist stereotypes defined tourists’ expectations of Turkey. In the early phases of tourism, travellers and yachtsman visiting Kalkan represented a concrete choice to see the country (Darke 1987). Package-travellers paying a premium for the ‘uncommercial’ holiday followed this group. In 2001, tourism in Kalkan found itself in a conundrum as tourists arrived without any knowledge of the place apart from its cost on the Internet. Budget-oriented travel often led to either disappointment, families wanting more child specific facilities, or a pleasant surprise (Chapter 7).

The disappointment and surprise reflected the ignorance of Turkey and the conflicting images contained within tourists’ knowledge of the country: the film *Midnight Express* versus Turkey’s performance in the World Cup semi-final and as hosts of the 2004 Eurovision Song Contest. It has taken a long time for friendly waiters and ‘glamorous mermaids cum belly dancers swimming across time, heritage and landscape’ (Turkish Tourist Board’s recent ad campaign) to replace the images of the terror in the tourist’s ‘sense of place’. Such conflicting resources are represented in informants’ expressed imaginations of Turkey, ‘full of misty minarets and sandy deserts rising and falling for miles’ mixing the ‘Eastern promise’ of Mars’ *Turkish Delight*, with the dunes of the film *Lawrence of Arabia*. The informant wryly admitted that he left holidays to his wife. He described his ‘horror’ at the prospect of Turkey, ‘how will I cope with the sand’. The image was gone forever following a hair-raising drive through the lush, pine forest from Dalaman Airport to Kalkan – where there are no sandy beaches!

Surprise was a commonly reported feeling by first time visitors to Turkey. They described it as being completely different to their expectations. Local politics did not enter into the tourists’ gaze. When the everyday did break through the surface, it did not spoil the holiday rather it was ‘quaint’ or ‘ambient’ (Morris & Marjorie, Tourists 2001). Tourists eschewed the everyday to luxuriate in ambience of the place.

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31 English spelling here signifies a ‘mis-taken’ identity.
Prior to the 2001 tourist season, entry visas were the only form of state control over tourists' movements and whereabouts in Kalkan. In 2001, a new control was introduced — Official Guest Registers. Hoteliers had to enter tourists' details into registers and send copies to the Kaymakamlık in Kas each week thereby notifying the state of the whereabouts of aliens (assuming they stayed in registered accommodation). My helping a friend who managed a pension to collect her registers inadvertently provided an insight into this aspect of the Turkish state and its bureaucracy.

Rhusar, who ran a local pension, asked me if I would like to accompany her to Kas, as she had to collect the pre-printed guest registers. As I had some banking to do I said yes and we set off together on the dolmus (minibus).

Before getting into the bus, Rhusar handed me a rather heavy package and asked if I would mind carrying it for her as she had some other heavy items. I agreed without hesitation, and nursed the plastic carrier on the journey to Kas.

On arrival in Kas we made our way to the Gendarme Station. This seemed a rather strange place to me to be collecting registers from but I imagined it was due to the official nature of the documentation that we had to go here. We were ushered into the appropriate room by an army fatigue-clad gendarme, and Rhusar's guest registers were duly handed over and signed for. I believe, if I recall correctly, there were two. At this point Rhusar asked me for the carrier I was still hanging onto, which had become extremely heavy on the walk from the bus station to the gendarme station, and passed it to the man behind the desk. On leaving the station, I asked Rhusar what she had given to the gendarme. She said it was two reams of A4 plain copying paper. Indeed, it was a requirement for all those collecting registers that they had to take photocopy paper to give in exchange for their official registers.

The state's desire to keep better surveillance of aliens' movements highlighted the formality and informality of official procedure. The exchange was not something that generated any concern, and would have passed unnoticed had I not asked for an explanation. Rhusar expressed a preference for 'properly-run administrations', but did not hold out too much hope for the near future.

1.3.3 Foreigners: Expatriates and Homeowners

The majority of expatriates in Kalkan were British property owners with holiday homes in the village. In 2001, the majority reported no intention of quitting Britain for Kalkan. Equally, they described their lack of interest in packaged holidaymaking (S:7.2 p231). This group of foreigners use the tourist visa as a
means of structuring their residence in Turkey; the most regular pattern was one or two month visits once
or twice a year. They entered Turkey as tourists. However, their ownership of property and lengthy stays
defined them as expatriates. Alternatively, they entered Turkey as tourists intending to stay an indefinite
period. This group continually renewed and/or overstayed their ižin (permission).

Take the case of 'John', who recounted the following story. 'John' had set out for the neighbouring town of Kas a
few days earlier with the intention of renewing his visa which had expired a few days previously. The Greek island
of Meis (Kastellorizo) being just a short boat trip from the Kas marina is the nearest point of re-entry for those
'stayings' in Kalkan. The urgency of 'John's' situation was enhanced by the fact that the season was closing in and
soon boats would stop making the journey to the island. 'John' reached Kas and went in search of a boat making a
round trip to Meis with its one small town and a few hundred inhabitants - not a place to spend a lot of time. After
a while he found one and the captain said they would spend about 30 minutes and return directly to Kas. 'John' had
a reason to be back in Kalkan by a certain time, and thought this was great. The whole thing would take about 2
to 2.5 hours. They set off for and reached Meis, where the 30-minute stay became longer and longer. Eventually,
after several hours of sitting waiting to return, 'John' found the captain and insisted on returning to Kas where his
passport was stamped, he paid his fine for overstaying the previous visa and returned to Kalkan.

'John's' story illustrates the ways in which certain tourists avoid returning home. In effect, they have
shifted their identification of where home is. Some tourists have used 'John's' route so frequently that the
Turkish authorities prohibited them from using it. They found an alternative route of re-entry, such as
Rhodes. Exactly why this group did not apply for a longer-term or different category ižin (permission)
prior to entry is unclear. The provision of visa-acquisition facilities at ports of entry has created the habit.
Technically tourists, this group are permanent residents. In Kalkan, British citizens formed the largest
sub-group. There were no specifically British 'clubs' (O'Reilly 2000) but the need for company during the
winter months generated expatriate get-togethers, parties and guided walks. A typology of expatriates was
beginning to emerge.

Permanent residents were retired British citizens who had made a lifestyle choice, women who had
married Turks, single or divorced women who fell in love with the place, or those who lacked the funds to
return to England. Of the couples that had retired to Kalkan, those who had made their location choice
based on their experience of the world were the most settled. This did not mean that they found the
relocation process smooth or easy, but that they were prepared to see it out despite some unexpected

32 A pseudonym is used to protect the informant
negotiation styles (bags of cement in return for planning permission). Semi-permanent or seasonal residents were those who returned to the UK for at least some or all of the winter months. This category was largely comprised of women both single (living with Turkish partners) and married. The reasons given for their return were threefold. One woman worked in her in-laws’ business during the summer months and as a PR Executive in the UK during the winter. Her Turkish husband returned to the UK with her. Another woman helped her Turkish partner run a successful hotel in the summer. She returned to the UK in winter to rest, recuperate and have fun. She left her Turkish partner behind to recapture his bachelor lifestyle. The final reason for leaving Kalkan in winter is the nature of Kalkan itself. One woman, who had intended to stay the whole year, found herself too depressed to stay (Julie, SPY, 2000). Her Turkish partner left her alone for lengthy periods at a time while he gambled in the local coffee shop. Her situation improved when he won transport that enabled her to get out more. A further reason for return was the UK holiday season. Many women found the Christmas season the hardest time to be away, preferring to be with their families at this time. Locals did not hesitate to advise women to ‘leave for a bit’. A huge amount of respect came from making it through. Lastly, there were property owners who came and went. They usually visited twice a year, most likely during May to June and September to October. One woman had bought a property ten years previously, and had visited several times a year, every year, since purchase. Another had recently bought a property to enable her to visit from America at least twice a year. In 2000, an increasing number of British citizens were starting to purchase, or seeking to purchase villas. The main thrust of the local economy was shifting from tourism to real estate. In 2004, there were an estimated 450 properties owned by foreigners.

I observed that British citizens living or buying property in Kalkan experienced different relationships to the local community dependent upon the type of izin (permission) held. ID cards and passports did not reflect Turks and expatriates’ motives for living in Kalkan. Given the increasingly competitive nature of the local tourism industry, it was essential that residents knew that foreign residents had the appropriate izin (permission) to avoid local reprisals. I heard about or witnessed several fights or instances of violence between insiders and outsiders and between nationals and expatriates. There had been no fines or deportations for working illegally, but my friends discussed anonymous reports of their activities to the authorities. Their social networks and property relations protected them. Ultimately, their position, and that of those like them, reflected a person’s ability to integrate within the community through the acquisition of connections and the state-granted izin (permission) was to a certain extent ignored. This highlighted the roles of the memleket and the state in the identification of people and places in Turkey. In the following chapter, I use residence categories (insider, outsider and foreigner) and types (permanent and semi-permanent) to re-present the make up and dynamism of the Kalkan community.
Chapter 2  Who are the Locals or Kalkanlıs\textsuperscript{33}?

In this chapter, I attempt to answer the question: who are the locals? To represent the community is not a straightforward process. It would be inappropriate to assert a clear-cut model of Kalkanlı identity. I mention a number of provisos concerning local identity including:

a) informants mentioned that although they felt local to Kalkan they were born and registered as local to Kaş, the district centre 27km from Kalkan\textsuperscript{34};

b) informants mentioned that they did not know their exact date of birth as registration had taken place a considerable time after the event (Kemal, RTY, 2000); and

c) the seasonality of employment, individuals are either fully employed or unemployed. Many informants experienced ‘the blues’ towards the end of the eight-month tourist season or the end of the winter, when money was running low or non-existent. Interviews conducted during these times elicited different senses of place to those conducted during ‘high’ times. However, the instability of the local tourism economy over the past decade meant that many residents’ sense of place had become consistent across both periods. They felt a permanent sense of insecurity that the tourist season would not produce sufficient capital to sustain them through the winter months or to finance their businesses for the following season (all entrepreneurs interviewed 2001).

2.1 Past Identities

Had this study taken place in 1910 it would have concentrated on the Rum settlers of Kalkan. Prior to 1923, Kalkan’s name was Kalamaki. Kalamaki was a mixed Rum/Turk community. The Rum, Greek-speaking, Orthodox Christians were permanent residents. The Turks were Turkish-speaking Muslims practicing transhumance agriculture between the coast and the fertile plateau of Bezirgan. They were

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} The Turkish term for a person who is native to Kalkan.
\item \textsuperscript{34} The Kalkan hospital did not have childbirth facilities. Kalkaners’ children were usually born in Kaş, or for those with money Fethiye (Kemal, RTY, 2005). Their ID cards stated Kaş and not Kalkan as the memleket (Gülsüm, YH, 2001)
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
semi-permanent residents in the village (Kalkan Vakfi). In 1910, both ethnic groups were citizens of the Ottoman Empire. However, in 1919 the status of the Rum population changed dramatically from that of a recognised group living within the Ottoman Empire. This group of Ottoman citizens became Greek citizens as new lines crossed old maps at the end of the First World War. Between 1923 and 1925,35 the Rum of Kalamaki relocated to Greece as part of the compulsory population exchange between Turkey and Greece (Hirschon 2004; Keyder 2004; Aktar 2004). To my knowledge there were no Greeks36 living in Kalkan in 2000/01, although some individuals did claim Greek ancestry. It was not clear whether they meant Greek or Rum; the latter having become synonymous with the former in contemporary Kalkan. Thus, one community melted into air, eventually becoming Modern Kalkan constructed around old myths and modern designs. The change of place names symbolises the change in the make up of the place.

The departure of the Rum from Kalkan left, theoretically, the Turkish residents as locals. The seasonal residence of this group posed some interesting questions for local identity. Did semi-permanent residence confer local or non-local status? Did continuous semi-permanent residence over hundreds of years confer greater locality than that of permanent residence? The answers to these questions were fundamental to local identity in Kalkan. An informant attempting to answer the question explained that her relatives described a local as a) someone who practised seasonal migration between Bezirgan and Kalkan, and b) described themselves as Bezirganli (originating from Bezirgan), and c) owned property in both villages. In 2001, the registration of land tenure, previously orally recorded, was well under way, and tapus (deeds) issued to property owners. The market value of land increased in value when officially registered. Owners were keen to legitimise their tenure although sales did occur. Property ownership was insufficient to confer local status. Many non-local and expatriate residents owned their property but were not considered local, by either themselves or others. The definition of 'a local' has shifted in accordance with historical events, redefining itself, in the absence of permanent residents, through land tenure. In Kalkan, therefore, to be local has come to mean to originate or have roots in Bezirgan.

The expulsion of the Rum did not eradicate their influence from Kalkan. It resulted in a new location, with Rum architecture and Turkish inhabitants. Despite the tumultuous nature of Greek/Turkish relations at the national level, there had been no deliberate attempt to cover over, rewrite or alter the village’s architecture. The municipality converted the church into a mosque, with little damage to the original architecture — the bell from the steeple is on display in the village’s municipal building (Kalkan Vakfi

35 The exact timing of the relocation of Kalkan’s Rum community is unknown. These dates cover the entire period of the exchange (Keyder 2004).

36 Kalkaners referred to the Rum as Greek.
undated). Conversely, the Old Village had become a designated conservation area; ensuring the preservation of the Rum role in Kalkan’s past. Avarice, laziness, controversy and gossip had affected the imperus to preserve anything. The unique style of the village attracted visitors, some of whom relocated to Kalkan. This further complicated the representation of what it meant to be local. Non-locals were frequently more concerned with preservation issues than locals who vacated the old in preference for modern purpose-built accommodation.

Following the formation of the Turkish nation state in 1923, the state clearly defined Turkish identity. A Turk lived within the borders of Turkey, spoke Turkish and was Sunni Muslim. Preliminary fieldwork indicated that this definition of local identity would be of little use in the representation of the Kalkan community. Many Kalkan residents did fit the definition. However, there were increasing numbers who did not. Some residents identified themselves as members of ethnic groups, Kurds, which until recently were unrecognised by the Turkish state (Kartel, SPTY, 2001). Others identified themselves as Alevi (Kemal, PTY, 2001). Foreigners drawn to the village’s tourist attractions had also relocated to the village. The majority were from countries where the Christian faith predominated and had grown up with Orientalist views of Turkey. Their romanticised views of Kalkan, the idyllic village, prevented them from experiencing aspects of Turkishness. They were unable to communicate in Turkish and used translators for their utilitarian needs. They had a romanticised notion of ‘the locals’ and equally their relationships with them. Transition from tourist to resident frequently created disappointment and alienation. Alienation resulted in the formation of sub-communities based on what Augé (1995) terms particular (group) identity. In 2001, Kalkan was once again a mixed community. Kalkan’s and Kalkaners’ identity around the structures and processes which governed inter and intra group dynamics.

2.2 The Language of Locality

In Turkish words are formed through the addition of suffixes. The ‘li’ suffix, derived in accordance with vowel harmony as li, li, lu or lü, denotes from or of. The correct Turkish word to refer to a person from Kalkan is Kalkanlı. The word means that Kalkan is the person’s memleket. In 2000/01, I met few people who described themselves as Kalkanlı. People with the closest claim to Kalkanlı described themselves as Bezirganlı (native to Bezirgan). The majority of the population and the people I came to know well were

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3 Shanklans (1999) describes Alevi as heterodox Muslims who make up one fifth of the Turkish population.
in-migrants. They described themselves by the places from which they came: Ankara, Istanbul, Adanali etc. The make up of the population was diverse. Movement and migration resulted in the co-residence of different types of people. The Bezirganh described the in-migrants by reference to their memleket. They also used two other terms: yabanci, someone from the wilderness, a stranger or foreigner; or kacan, someone who had runaway from the city. In Turkish yabanci means both a stranger, Turks from outside the memleket, and foreigner. I use Türk yabancı for non-local Turks or strangers and yabancı for foreigners. The in-migrants described themselves by their memleket. The majority, having in-migrated from towns or cities, described the Bezirganh as köylü, villagers (köy is a village). The three words reflect cartographic and hierarchical distinctions based on memleket. The terms inform residents about each other's life-worlds and capital relations (Bourdieu 1986). Köylü denotes the relationship between a person and a specific place. Köylü categorises the place and the person living in it. Yabancı and Kacan describe a type of person. However, the Bezirganh are not the only ones to describe their co-residents in a derogatory manner. Köylü (villager) was also a pejorative, implying inferiority or lower status. Memleket, as a cognitive tool, enabled people to assess each other from a single word (S:1.1.2 p37). A lot of cultural information was contained within these words. Residents' choice and use of words indicated the nature of relationships between groups of people. Those familiar with the system interpreted the cartographic in the manner of a child's pop up book, from which layers of meaning arose out of the surface. Köylü (villager) adds texture and depth to the plane of Köylü. However, it can also be misleading. It hides Kalkan's cosmopolitanism; the product of a succession of phases of in-migration and development. The last of which, foreign in-migration, has affected the language of locality. The Kalkan community made increased use of the English language. Signs and adverts were in English. People spoke to each other in a mixture of Turkish and English.

So how does memleket work as a cognitive tool? Memleket forms a schema for the identification of people based on the ranking of the places they are from in relation to each other. I argue that the ranking of büyük şehirler (large cities) over köys (villages) is indicative of the weighted dichotomies at the heart of Turkish identity and culture - rural/urban, village/city, uneducated/educated, poor/rich - and which had become implicit to people's interpretation of locality. To those unfamiliar with the village's history, to be from Kalkan was to be from a village. Köylü was not devoid of the köylü stigma despite Kalkan's reputation, with Turks, as a sophisticated holiday resort (numerous personal communications). Köylü contained socially constructed meanings. In 2000/01, these identity tags provided the key to understanding locality. Köylüs (villagers), as an ideal type, represented a lifestyle characterised by subsistence agricultural production unaltered for centuries. A lifestyle passed on from parent to child down the generations, where people knew their place. Adherence to village life was associated with being set in one's ways.
Non-local migrants described the lifestyle practices as backward and unsuited to modern business practices. They presented themselves as modern, up to date, with ideas suited to the economic development of the village; without which the village would remain stuck in the past. Köylü (villager) or Kalkanlı (Kalkaner) belonged in the village and yabancı did not, they were not native to the village. They had to integrate themselves within the community. In Kalkan, the use made of such labels was highly emotive and increasingly politicised as sub-groups fought for control of the polity. Those of city origin use köylü to mean ignorance and unsuitability for public office. Those of local origin fed up with their disjunction from the polity and wanting their village back used the same term as a political weapon voicing the rights of ancestry. They refer to their city-originating neighbours as yabancı (foreigners) or kaçan (runaways), who have come to the village following a failure to make it in the city. The distinction divides the community into two sub-communities – köylüs (villagers) and yabancı or kaçan (runaways).

The tourism-informed development of Kalkan’s infrastructure complicated the language of locality. Improved utilities affected the lifestyle practices of people living in the two villages. A constant supply of electricity overrode the climatic motivation for seasonal migration. Köylüs could live in Bezirgan all year round, renting out their Kalkan property to yabancı (foreigners). Alternatively, they based themselves in Kalkan permanently to run tourism-oriented businesses. More people were required to run its facilities than the villages’ populations could supply as the destination grew. Increasing numbers of yabancı (strangers) were motivated to in-migrate in search of capital advancement through tourism. The impact of tourism on Kalkan affected its ranking within the memleket system. Kalkanlıs had access to increased economic capital through the sale or rental of land at high market values. Increased economic capital enabled the older generation to provide a better education for their children. Villagers were no longer poor or un-educated. Finally, improved access and technologies facilitated the development of inaccessible land. Foreigners’ demands for a ‘slice of paradise’ fuelled development. The in-migration of expatriates and tourists redefined Kalkan as cosmopolitan - within global cultural flows. These foreigners were also yabancı (strangers); nationality terms made the meaning clear, İngiliz (English).

The meaning of köylü is changing. In 2000/01 many Kalkanlıs were yabancı (foreigners) or köylüs (villagers) who had become yabancı (foreigners) having lived outside the village for significant periods. Their knowledge of other places had altered their relationship to the village and their status within the community. Many of those educated outside the village or abroad no longer considered themselves köylüs (villagers). They no longer embodied the memleket. However, as Kalkan’s rank within the memleket system improved they were increasingly happy to represent themselves as Kalkanlıs. The degree to which people identified themselves as yerli halk (locals) was dependent upon the degree to which Kalkan adhered to the
stereotype of köy (village). Social change associated with the ways of the city enabled them to feel more comfortable identifying themselves with it. Köyliler (villagers) were uncertain about the kind of place they wanted Kalkan to become. Some wanted to maintain aspects of the village lifestyle and others wanted to see it grow into a large town with modern amenities and entertainment facilities (Local Architect 2001). The division affected köyliler (villagers) relations with yabancı (foreigners). Some associated more with yabancı (foreigners) than other köyliler (villagers). However, some Türk yabancı (strangers) newcomers were more köyliler (as an adjective, villagey) xhznyerli halk (locals). Kalkaners' identity had irrevocably changed by their participation in global flows – international trade and tourism.

Like köyliler (villagers), yabancı (strangers or foreigners) was not a homogenous group. It was a group of people united by their otherness to place. Within the group, there were numerous forms of otherness or individual identities (not to be confused with individuals). The diversity of identities meant that, unlike Özcan's (1995) account of migration to cities, many in-migrants had no connections in Kalkan. They remained yabancı (foreigners) or became property relations (Chapter 5). Those with connections in the village such as family, friends or hemşeriler (fellow townsmen), were integrated within their connections' sub-communities. These people remained Türk yabancı (strangers) but they integrated in an established local network. The mediation of köyliler (villagers), Türk yabancı (strangers) and other yabancı (foreigners) enables foreigners to integrate into the Kalkan community. As they did not speak Turkish, foreign in-migrants were reliant on professional help to conduct their personal affairs. The mediators protected foreigners from the everyday practices of the Turkish life-style. Foreigners integrated within their mediator's networks, and the success of negotiations on their behalf revolved around the strength of their mediator's connections. Some yabancı (foreigners) readily accepted these connections and settled into the social networks they provided (Pat & Margaret 2001). Others described their frustration, as things did not quite work out the way they had wanted them to (Gordon & Enid 2001). In 2000/01, they formed a sub-community based on shared complaints. This is the most likely reason behind Türk yabancı' (strangers) complaints that it was easier for yabancı (foreigners) to integrate within the Kalkan community than it was for them. Non-Turkish residents had no need to establish networks as others did it for them. Kalkaners distinguished between foreigners who had 'gone native' and those who formed a group based on their identity as foreigners i.e. as expatriates. In the following sections, I consider the identity of Kalkanlıs (Kalkaners) in greater depth.
2.3 Present Identities: The Residents

My lengthy residence in Kalkan enabled me to verify my initial hypothesis that Kalkan was a mixed community. The place meant different things to different members of the community. The community’s members participated in the life of the community at different times of the year and in different ways. In the preceding sections, I discussed the history of Kalkan as a place. I stressed the significance of population movement in shaping the community. My understanding of Turkish history and Turkish language provided me with the tools to comprehend Kalkan’s past and present identity. Changes in the local economy affected people’s social and individual identity (Jenkins 1996). In this section, I represent Kalkan’s residents not as labels but people. I begin with a quick recap of the situation so far. I define Kalkanlis’ (Kalkaners) identity, in 2000/01, through reference to some or all of the following relationships.

a) The state: citizen, dual national, resident, tourist;

b) Religion: Muslim, non-Muslim;

c) Memleket (place of origin): insider, outsider, foreigner;

d) Socio-linguistic: köyi (villager), Kalkanlı (Kalkaner), yabancı (stranger), yabancı (foreigner) and kaçan (runaway); and

e) Migration: permanent, semi-permanent, seasonal, occasional.

A local would be a citizen, Muslim, insider, köyi (villager) and semi-resident. Some Kalkanlı (Kalkaner) did fit this description but the majority did not. The value of defining identity in this manner is questionable. It ignores the complexities of people’s relationships (a) to (e). Labels provide a means to represent people. They do not describe how people feel about these relationships. Labels assist in representing ‘the locals’, but are inadequate to produce a detailed understanding of Kalkaners’ identity - singular (individual), particular (group) and shared (social) (Augé 1995). There are a few issues to bring to the reader’s attention before I move on to a discussion of the sample of the population. The issues are gender, ethnicity, religion, and family names. Each issue affects the way a person experiences a label.

Gender: Labels meant different things according to the gender of the person receiving the label. This was equally true for locals, strangers and foreigners. The way in which a person experienced gender and label was different in winter and summer. In Kalkan the village, social conventions regarding gender were similar to those described by Stirling (1964) and Delaney (1991). By their accounts, men frequent the public sphere, the streets and coffee houses while women frequent domestic space, houses and relatives homes. I observed these practices in the winter of 2000/01. Few women ventured into the streets. Men
walked up and down the main street pausing to talk to each other or sit for hours on the small bench outside the bank. I observed the male and female life-worlds taking place in different spaces. In summer, women were more visible in the public sphere. Some local women had been encouraged into tourism employment in the manner described by Scott (1995 & 1997) in Cyprus. However, the majority of female entrepreneurs were seasonal in-migrants. The were a large number of single male Türk yabanecis (strangers) who in-migrated to work in the destination and a smaller but visible number of single foreign women who also in-migrated in the summer. The relationship between male Kalkaners and female tourists was similar to that described by Bezman (1996) concerning the development of tourism in Göreme. Most dual nationals living in Kalkan were foreign women, I knew only of one foreign man married to a Turkish woman. Relationships with male Kalkaners gave tourists and expatriates access to the private sphere. I knew of no local women who had relationships with male tourists or expatriates. This group either out-migrated to Turkish cities or remained in the village and married Turkish men. I knew local women who had married köylü (villager) and yabancı (stranger). Seasonal migrants who lived in Kalkan the destination were observed to pay little attention to the lifestyle practices described by Stirling and Delaney, at least when in the destination. Permanent migrants both Türk yabanecis (strangers) and yabancı (foreigners) were careful to conform to the village values. They were concerned about saygı (respect) and reputation. They were worried about the stigma contravening local values could generate. Dedikodu (gossip) was a powerful force particularly where women’s reputations and status in the community were concerned. As the importance of gender in structuring the collective in Chapter 4: Community: The Structures of Locality and in the case studies presented in Chapter 6, particularly Rebecca, Sevilay, Özlen, Pınar, Tekin & Koray.

Ethnicity: Prior to 2001, all Turkish citizens were officially of Turk ethnicity. In 2000/01, changes in Turkish law legitimised the expression of ethnicity as Kurdish. During my research, it became permissible for people to describe themselves as Kurdish publicly - to the great delight and relief of one informant (Kartel 2001). I interviewed both Turkish and Kurdish Kalkaners.

Religion: Kalkaners followed several different forms of Islam: Sunni, Alevi and Sunni Wahabi. People I interviewed rarely discussed their religion and I did not see anyone attend daily or Friday prayers. I heard, from a friend with a restaurant opposite the mosque, that a four or five old men attended regularly (Julie, SPY, 2001). This would have been inappropriate for non-Sunni groups. Non-observance of the pillars of Islam is common in secular Turkey. People described as Muslim may have had little direct contact with their prescribed faith. The relationship between some Turks and Islam was similar to some Britons and the Church of England. There was a rumour that tourism workers received permission from the

71
authorities to remain open during the month-long curfew following the Istanbul earthquake in 1999, and to some this suggested a tacit permission to skip prayers.

**Family Names:** One way around the inadequacy of labels to express Kalkaners' identity would have been to use people's family names. In Kalkan, certain family names had come to represent locality. There were three family names associated with the *yerli halk* (locals) group. People with certain family names belonged to the village. However, family names masked family members' in- and out-migration from Kalkan. Most women would have in-migrated on marriage (S:4.2 p131). Entire families out-migrated in search of a better lifestyle (S:2.1 p64).

In the above list of categories, (a) to (e), I proposed 5 factors, with a total of 18 variants, around which Kalkaners based their identity. The longer I lived in Kalkan I became more convinced that the only thing people had in common was the fact that they lived in Kalkan. Few if any residents shared a singular identity. I decided to use residence as a way into people's more complex understandings of the place and the community. From this point forward, I use the term resident when referring to Kalkaners. Referring to them as locals was inaccurate in all but the colloquial sense of the term. I define resident in accordance with local perceptions of residence. Thus, resident refers to people residing for more than one month in any given year. Residents had integrated into the community through connections based on property ownership/rental, employment, casual employment, marriage and networking. Residents had become part of the group involved in (re)producing Kalkan. People resident for less than a month, ordinarily one to two weeks, were tourists. Tourists, as a group, played a significant role in community life and shaping the locality. Tourists, as a collective, had little impact on Kalkan as their operator brokered their relations. Tourists' experiences of Kalkan were different: they consumed the place constructed by the residents (S:7.2 p231).

The brief qualifying period required for resident status was justified by the constant transition of the resident group. The constant transition of the resident community indicated that the identity of Kalkaners also changed. Kalkan's physical appearance and population makeup changed visibly as the population oscillated between 2,000 (winter) and 6,500 (summer). The out-migration of approximately 33% of the community's winter residents for the duration of the summer affected the continuity of the community. The number of in-migrants was therefore even greater than the 4,000-figure difference indicated by the seasonal population swing. To understand Kalkan identity it is essential to understand the dynamism and variety of residence patterns. There was a local identity but it was no more, or less, than an imagined
entity, no sooner found than dissolved through rivalry, acid gossip, innuendo and the changing faces of place.

Given the varying relationship of residents to Kalkan, residents had developed a series of resident types. My observations indicated four primary sub-categories through which residents distinguished each other based on the claims of the ego to Kalkan as memleket. The distinctions were initially conceptualised not in the Turkish language but in the meaning imputed in the linguistic construction. Translation required a degree of linguistic licence to render local meanings explicit. My early observations divided residents into four categories, which I analysed based on two sample population studies — residents and tourists. The terms used to describe residents and their locally attributed meanings are yerli balk (placed folk or local); Türk yabana (non-locals, Turkish strangers); yabana (foreign strangers) and turist (foreign tourists). In this section, I consider Yerli balk, Türk yabana and yabana, and turists in Chapter 7. The residence categories: yerli balk (local folk); Türk yabana (strangers); and yabana (foreigners) were further divided to illustrate the length and type of residence - permanent or semi-permanent. This accounted for variation in the duration of residence due to seasonal migration and relocation (local and global). Permanent residence was, on average, 10 months per year. Semi-permanent residence was between one and nine months, distinguishing residents into six categories. In reality there were five, the community regarded yerli balk (locals) as permanent residents. A further two categories were added to reflect local understandings of social integration and changes in official residence status following the acquisition of citizenship, residence and or work permits. I based the residence categories on sixty in-depth interviews and hundreds of lengthy and casual conversations throughout the duration of my residence. The residence types represent a series of complex relationships between people and Kalkan.

i.) yerli balk (insiders) — seasonal migrants, Bezirgan/Kalkan
ii.) Türk yabana (outsiders) — permanent residents (entrepreneurs and professionals)
iii.) Türk yabana (outsiders) — semi-permanent residents (entrepreneurs)
iv.) yabana (foreigner) — permanent residents (expatriates)
v.) yabana (foreigner) — semi-permanent residents
vi.) Dual National — permanent residents (women married to Turkish men)
vii.) Visiting Property Owner — semi-permanent residents (holiday homes and seasonal lets)

Table 1, presents the sample population by resident type. In the last two columns, I estimate the percentage of the resident type in relation to the total population of Kalkan. It was impossible to calculate accurate figures due to the scale of out- and in-migration and the lack of any official records detailing
seasonal movement. The percentage of the overall winter and summer populations were calculated on the basis of four factors: population figures obtained from the municipality web-site; the estimated number of local seasonal out-migrants from kinship diagrams (S:2.3.1 p75); marketing statistics provided by Tapestry Holidays, and lastly my personal experience as a tourist and my observations during the period of research.

The data illustrate that the majority of the Kalkan population, in both winter and summer, were non-local residents, 61.5% in winter and 89% in summer. The percentage of local residents was significantly higher in winter 34% than in summer 11%. The seasonal variation of this group was only partially due to seasonal out-migration in summer. The swell in the size of the population during summer months artificially reduced the actual size of the residence category. The seasonal nature of tourism (May to October) further reduces the size of the group within the population. The make up of the summer population is particularly diverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>Average Annual Residence (mths)</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% of the total winter (2500) population</th>
<th>% of the total summer (6500) population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
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<td>1.75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist (foreigner)</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The Sample Population by Residence Category

During my residence in the village a number of my informants changed residence categories, some out-migrated yerli halk (locals) returned from the cities, some Türk yabanca (strangers) returned to the cities and others simply perceived themselves differently in relation to the locality. The category system, and more importantly the local community, was flexible to change. The transition of residents between categories

38 The web site was last updated in 2001.
did mask a range of initial intra-category distinctions. For example, Ankaralı (from Ankara) or Istanbulu (Istanbulis) had a different status to Adanalı (from Adana) or Urfa (from Urfa). All were Türk yabana (strangers) but due to the memleket system, not all strangers were equal.

An increase in the level of transition between residence categories was highly likely given the continual immigration of strangers and foreigners and the out-migration of locals. As an overall consequence, the population breakdown was likely to change. The compilation of residence types enabled me to represent the variety of residence patterns in Kalkan. However, I must emphasise that a resident's identity seldom conformed to type. I consider some of the factors which shaped residents' identity in sub-sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.6. I focus in particular on the impact of local seasonal migration, non-local seasonal migration, place of origin, travel, gender, marital status, education, skills training, linguistic skills and employment on residents' relationships with the local community. The relationships of members of the sample population to Kalkan are presented using diagrams, tables and residents' personal comments made during structured interviews. I have included as many comments as possible given my overall aim to illustrate the diversity of residents' relationships and experience. Residents' comments credited with the person's first name and their residence category and duration in brackets. The residence categories are abbreviated, for example; Yerli Halk (YH); semi-resident Türk yabana (SPTY); permanent-resident Türk yabana (PTY).

2.3.1 Local In- and Out-Migration: Social Change & Transformation

During the course of my fieldwork, I compiled kinship diagrams for two of the three local families. I compiled the kinship diagrams during interviews with two men from the younger generation of yerli halk (locals). My reason for gathering this type of information was to use it as a basis to chart local migration. The kinship data covered three generations of yerli halk (locals). The place diagrams, based on Fatih and Tekin's kinship diagrams, served two purposes. The data counteracted the slight bias of the sample population towards the summer population. Yerli halk (locals) were absent from Kalkan during the main data collection period. It also provided a visual representation of the extent and diversity of local movement and migration. My observations of local networks and movement patterns during the winter months (November to April) corroborated data in the place diagrams.

The place diagrams confirmed yerli halk (locals) seasonal migration patterns between Beziğer and Kalkan and their out-migration to other villages, towns and cities in Turkey. My cross-seasonal residence in the Old Village illuminated the changing make-up and identity of the local community. Winter neighbours
moved out in April and new neighbours (*Türk yabanas* (strangers), *yabanas* (foreigners) or tourists) in-migrated. In 2000/01, about a third of the *yerli halk* (locals) group departed for the *yayla*, (summer pastures). I observed that these seasonal migrants were mainly from the older generation. Some residents had settled permanently in Bezirgan and did not return to Kalkan in the winter. Families with school-aged children either remained in the village year round to allow their children to attend school or moved out later in the year when school had finished for the summer. The majority of the younger generation either settled in Kalkan or out-migrated to larger cities. An increasing number of the *Türk yabana* (strangers) and *yabana* (foreigners) groups had become permanent residents.

According to Tekin, marked by a solid square line on the Figure 5 (p78), approximately thirty years ago many Bezirganli chose to discontinue the practice of seasonal migration between Bezirgan and Kalkan. Instead, they migrated to other villages, towns and cities in search of more money and a better lifestyle. This type of out-migration is consistent with the countrywide rural-urban migration, which occurred in the 1950's and '60s (Stirling 1974). This pattern is clearly visible when I used his family tree to represent a series of place relationships. Tekin placed the beginning of permanent residence in Kalkan in the late 1980s with improved utilities, development of the road infrastructure, changing agricultural patterns and the development of tourism as an industry. Of the 58 members of his family represented in his family tree, 18 lived in Kalkan and 40 in other locations. These figures do not include spouses but they generally lived in the same places as their respective partners. Tekin settled permanently in Kalkan in 1988 when he was 22; he was 33 when I interviewed him. Other members of his family broke the pattern of seasonal migration in the earlier wave of change in the 1970s, as witnessed by the previous generation’s migration and settlement in Antalya and Demre (a centre of poly tunnel tomato cultivation half an hour’s drive from Kalkan along the coast road to Antalya). The data contained in the residence diagrams affected my understanding of the make-up of the winter population. Many of those assumed to continue seasonal migration had removed themselves from the population, living permanently elsewhere. In total, 66% of Tekin’s family no longer migrated between Bezirgan and Kalkan, choosing instead a settled life in either village or elsewhere. Hence, the majority of family members had absented themselves from the locality only visiting during the *Bayram* (holidays).

Applying the information on the change in local migration patterns to the overall population produces a *yerli halk* (locals) group of approximately 680 people. This figure based on estimated niifus (population) data and the residence diagrams, was reasonable in the light of Figure 6 (p79).
Analysis of Fatih’s residence diagram showed a more complex relationship between the members of his family and Kalkan. It showed a pattern of migration that was different to the Bezirgan-Kalkan migration. In a conversation about his relatives, Fatih mentioned that both his paternal and maternal grandfathers had in-migrated to Kalkan from outside the area of local migration. His paternal grandfather in-migrated from Elmali, a town further inland connected to Kalkan by the trade routes between central Anatolia and Kalkan. His maternal grandfather had in-migrated from Cyprus. Related to the community though his wife, he chose to stay in Kalkan to entitle him to claim land ownership. Working the land for 20 years conveyed ownership. The paternal grandfather worked in an olive oil factory and bartered for wheat. He also worked as a charcoal producer. He was able to amass land in the village but Fatih added that, ‘It is difficult to decide how and when to sell, as the land is not properly registered’. Whether he followed the migration pattern to Bezirgan was unknown, but it is likely that he did. Other members of the family did so it is likely that new arrivals also practised migration. Fatih told me that his other grandfather lived in Uluköy just outside Kalkan. Again, whether they practised migration to his wife’s relatives is unknown. Clearly, Kalkan was a place that contained many place experiences at this period in time as well as today. I present the individual’s family trees below. Whilst the purple triangles and circles indicate individuals living in Kalkan, this does not necessarily coincide with permanent residence across time. It is most likely that these individuals took up permanent residence with the increase of tourism. In fact, many are involved in tourism-related businesses.
Figure 5: Place Tree I Illustrating permanent settlement in Kalkan and out-migration from Bezirgan
Figure 6: Place Tree II Illustrating in-migration from Elmali and Cyprus and subsequent out-migration throughout the Region
2.3.2 Local Contact: Arrival in Kalkan

Analysis of the population sample's contact with Kalkan, as represented by Table 2, illustrated that approximately 70% of residents interviewed were newcomers to Kalkan. The majority had less than 10 years contact with the village. The timing of contact was consistent with changes in the local economy. These included the out-migration of yerli halk (locals) following the decline of the port, the period of national rural-urban drift in the 1960's and 70's and the in-migration of people in search of a better or different lifestyle following the development of Kalkan as a tourist resort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>Arrival in Village (No. of years ago)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent (P) or Semi Permanent (SP)</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Residents’ Arrival in the Village (Number of Years Ago)

The following personal histories highlight the fluidity of the residence categories and a few of the many motives behind residents’ changing residence patterns.

Tekin (YH): In 1988, myself and my brothers stayed all year round in Kalkan. Before that, we spent the summer in Bezirgan and the winter in Kalkan. There was no electricity until 1978. Before that there was a generator, and we only had electricity between 6.00pm and 11.00pm otherwise the generator would not be big enough.

Bülent (SPTY): I first came in 88. I stayed for the summers over three years, 88, 89 and 90. Next came in 90 to buy land, and in 95 to build a pension on the land. In 2001 (following loss of employment due to the economic crisis) decided to see if I could live in Kalkan permanently. I have an ongoing relationship with Kalkan on all different levels and across time. In 88 it was
very different. The pension was one of a few on the Kalamar yolusu (Kalamar Road). Now there are lots more buildings. The people have changed.

Roger (VPO): I first came to Kalkan five years ago. I used to stay in the Kelebek Hotel and once in the Pirat Hotel. Then I bought the flat at the end of October 1999.

2.3.3 Non-Local In-Migration: Routes to Kalkan

The recent arrival of many Kalkan residents from locations outside the local pattern of seasonal migration confirmed that the majority of in-migration to Kalkan was non-local – people moving lengthy distances to live in Kalkan for the tourist season. The majority of seasonal residents migrated between two points, the person’s particular memleket and Kalkan. However, some resident’s migratory routes incorporated a number of intermediary settlement locations. In fact, many residents had moved frequently or travelled extensively prior to their settlement in Kalkan. Table 3 illustrates residents’ place histories. The table shows the number of places in which a resident had lived prior to Kalkan and indicates any additional travel or holiday experience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type (Permanent (P) or Semi Permanent (SP))</th>
<th>Place Repertoire (No. per Body)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabanci (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabanci (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabanci (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabanci (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Residents’ Place Histories

All interviewees, yerli halk (locals) and Türk yabancı (strangers), had experienced other places through residence, travel, holidaymaking and or utility provisioning. Of those interviewed, 15 had lived in two to three other locations, while 16 had lived in four to six. Seven interviewees had place histories, which included more than seven different places apiece. In addition to residence locations, all interviewees had
travelled outside their place of residence confirming the high level of mobility and movement within the community. No two interviewees represented the same or even similar place histories. Individuals had immigrated from many different locations, and as a result had different place histories. When people migrated to Kalkan, they brought their place history with them. Some migrated alone, others with their families or partners. A person’s unit of migration affected their integration within the community. The community had a different attitude to single migrants than it did for families. Place histories, prior relationships between a person and a series of communities, became the means of integration within and identification by the Kalkan community. Kalkan was developing in accordance with the place histories of many of its newer residents. The co-residence of people with different relationships to Kalkan generated the conflict at the heart of locality and local politics. All interviewees had a different motivation and route to Kalkan.

Tekin (YH): Born in Beşirgan and moved to Kalkan on a permanent basis in 1988. I did my military service in Cyprus for 15 months. I went in 89 and returned in 90. Some people died while I was there. I also lived in Antalya for three years while I was studying.

Güllüım (YH): I have spent most of my life in Kalkan, although on my ID card it says Kas even though I was born in Antalya. Until my marriage to Ali I spent most of my time at home (apart from going to the weekly market). Since my marriage, I have travelled a lot in the area.

Zeynep (PTY) I was born in the Uskudar region of Istanbul. I lived in Ersin for 10 years, Ankara for 2 years, Antalya for 1 year and then Kalkan. I also lived in the United States as my husband was a Turkish Naval officer. I lived on the base in San Diego for 3 years, Naples for four years. I have holidayed in France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria. I also have a house in Mersin where I would like to live after I leave Kalkan.

Kutlay (PTY) I was born in Balikesir in the Marmara region near Bursa. I have lived in Kalkan for 15 years. Before this I lived in Bodrum and before that Ayvalik on the Aegean Coast. This was a nice place, a tourist town and an old Greek Island there. Very historical, interesting place and maybe the first touristic place in Turkey. I mean there was no tourism here 30-40 years ago but it was there. I have also spent one month in Holland and lived in Hamburg for 2 years altogether as I was married to a German lady. Also spent 6 months in Milan and 1 month in Austria.

82
Rebecca (DN) I was born and grew up in London. I spent some time in Hereford during my school years. I went to university in Hull. At age 15 I spent 3 months in America as an au pair, at 17 I went to Africa for a month. At 19 I spent 3 months in France as an au pair. At 21 I did a stage year in France. At 22 I spent a month in Hong Kong and at 23 6 months in Turkey.

Bobbie (DN) I was born in Lisburn Country Antrim, Northern Ireland. I lived in the Far East between the ages of 4-9 and then in Germany between the ages of 9-14. Then I moved to the UK before moving to Turkey for work.

Bülen (SPTY) I was born in a hospital in Ankara. I was the only one in my family to be born in a hospital; my other brothers were born in a field. The rest of the family are much older than me. I grew up in Ankara. I never travelled abroad, apart from 1 month in Yugoslavia. I would like to live in America, but I think my age is a problem. I see this as part of the Turkish mentality. 38 is not old, and would not matter for America. But also I am lazy and this adventure is unlikely.

Lisa (SPY): I was born in Fairfield, New South Wales – a suburb of Sydney. I moved around a lot in Australia as my father was in the military. I lived in Holsworth, Sydney, Port Wakefield, S Australia, Bexhill, Melbourne and Newcastle north of Sydney. I lived in London for 12 months in 1997/8. For the past four summers I have been living and working in Turkey with the exception of 2 months when I worked in Greece.

2.3.4 International In-Migration: Nationality & Locality

The in-migration of yabancı (foreigners) to live and or work in Kalkan increased the range of place histories represented by the resident community. Initially favoured by German tourists, during the fieldwork period Kalkan had become the preserve of British tourists and British tour operators. The transition from German to British tourist resulted from the German Government decision not to underwrite tour operators following the threat of PKK activities in 1998/9. As such, operators were unable to operate in the region. Once the British tourists had ‘taken over’ German tourists quit the location. The departure of German tourists also reflected the group’s preference for purpose built holiday
villages. Many of these centres were built around Kemer, approximately 45 minutes drive from Antalya, in the 1990’s. The large number of British tourists visiting the region had affected village demographics. Table 4 illustrates the various nationalities represented by the population sample. The table reflects interviewee’s responses to the question of nationality. While Scottish and Kurdish (*) are not literal nationalities they are included as such to represent interviewee’s answers when questioned about their nationality. The range of nationalities represented in Table 4 was greater for women than men. I present the reasons for the variety of nationalities below and in the following section on sex, gender and marital status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American (USA)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian (AUS)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American/Turkish (USA/T)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British (GB)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British/Turkish (GB/T)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish (K) (*)</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish (SCT) (*)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish/Turkish (SCT/T)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish (T)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Nationality and Gender

The main reasons for the greater variety of nationalities amongst the female than male population were a) the employment of a virtually all female staff by overseas tour operators and b) the different attitudes of foreign and local women to casual sexual encounters. Kalkan received a large number of repeat tourists – tourists who returned every year. Many repeat tourists had long-standing relationships with the village. Some had rented accommodation directly from Kalkaners for lengthy stays others had decided to purchase their own accommodation and invested in local life. Yet others had relocated on a permanent basis following their retirement in the UK. The type of tourist attracted to Kalkan, middle-aged couples, meant that female tourists felt it was a safe place to visit alone (S:7.2.1 p233). The groups tended to like the same kinds of activities. By far the majority of non-Turkish nationals interviewed were women. These women were either tour reps or past tourists who had established relationships with Turkish men during their holiday. As Bezman (1996) described for the Turkish male population of Göreme, the Kalkan community perceived female tourists and local women differently. They were the subjects of much attention as young and middle aged local men vied for their attention to the women’s varying delight or chagrin. Local understanding of what was acceptable male and female behaviour was different. Men received an element of kudos because of their attracting foreign women. Attitudes were also different for
different types of women. The local community did not expect foreign female tourists to behave in the same way as local women. Equally, they did not expect local women to behave as female tourists. Female tourists married or in a relationship with a local were not expected to behave as tourists. This may also have been the case for foreign men but the situation did not arise during my time in the village. I heard a local saying ‘we take in women but we do not give away our women to strangers’. This was certainly true for the Kalkan population. Several female tourists became repeat tourists visiting every year to continue their holiday relationship where they had left off the year before. A few of these relationships led to marriage and the acquisition of dual national status. The dual nationals I interviewed were permanent residents, but others entitled to dual nationality did not take it up or continued to be semi-resident. Others chose partnership-type relationships, with the women returning to their countries of origin during the winter months. Table 5 illustrates the relationship between nationality and residence category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>AUS</th>
<th>GBR</th>
<th>USA/T</th>
<th>GB/T</th>
<th>SCT</th>
<th>SCT/T</th>
<th>KUR</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreign)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Yabancı (foreign)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreign)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Residence Category by Nationality

Key:
USA = American
AUS = Australian
GB = British
USA/T = American and Turkish
GB/T = British and Turkish
SCT = Scottish
SCT/T = Scottish and Turkish
KURD = Kurdish
T = Turkish
2.3.5 Education, Professional Training & Language Skills

Residents’ educational levels, Table 6, further refute the village stereotype. Kalkan contains two schools: primary and middle school. It is therefore possible to gain eight years of schooling within the village, meaning that the available schooling was higher than the national requirement (the national requirement is now eight years rising from five years in 1998/9). Subsequent education is available in the neighbouring town or the regional centre, Antalya. Buses run regularly during term time, taking children to and from school. The community placed considerable emphasis on education.

The educational level of the population is represented in the following table where \( +V \) denotes vocational training on top of regular schooling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
<th>Post Grad</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent (P)</td>
<td>+V</td>
<td>+V</td>
<td>+V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Residents' Educational Levels

The table indicates that all members of the population sample completed secondary education as a minimum, and that the majority completed some form of vocational training and/or tertiary education. Whilst this is true of the population sample, it is most likely that within the population as a whole there are different patterns. Members of the older generation of yerli halk are likely to have lower levels of education than their children. This results from reduced access to schooling facilities and lower, national requirements at their education age.

The population sample data indicate a higher level of education amongst the Türk yabancı (stranger) group than the yerli halk (local) group with seven out of the nine residents interviewed having completed some
form of tertiary education. Furthermore, the Türk yahancı (stranger) group illustrated a higher level of education than many of the foreigners living in the village. Contrary to the notions implied in the stereotyping of gender attitudes, many of the foreign women living in the village had above-average educational levels, having completed degrees, vocational and/or post-graduate level education. These women were more often than not involved in business, either running their own businesses or managing part or all of their partners' businesses.

Evrím (YH) I finished ortaokul (middle school) and did one year of lise (high school). I did not finish even though I wanted to be a doctor. It would be very hard to go back to school now as extra training for exams is so expensive.

Damla (PTY) I graduated as an architect from Istanbul Technical University. I did not go on to do a Masters or Doctorate, as I did not have the money.

Özlem (SPTY) Between lise (secondary school) and university I obtained a license in computer programming from Exeter University. After this I studied two years at university.

Christine (DN) I did a BSc in Architecture and a post-grad qualification in Architecture and Town and Country planning. I thought of doing a PhD on Kalkan

Enid (PY) I left school at 15 as you had to pay to continue education at that time and Mum was left a widow with 5 kids so we had no money to continue.

In addition to educational qualifications acquired by members of the population sample, residents' language skills in relation to mother tongue clarified their identity (Table 7). Of the 18 Turkish/Kurdish nationals interviewed, 16 spoke good to advanced English (plus a range of other languages, primarily German or French). Of the 20 English-speaking foreign nationals living in the village only eight spoke good to advanced Turkish and of these only two had a degree of fluency that would have enabled them to fully integrate into village life without assistance. Thirteen foreign nationals living in the village were unable to conduct a basic conversation in Turkish and were reliant on the fluency of locals, sign language and agents. The lack of language skills affected the level of integration within local life. Whilst many believed themselves to be living in Turkey, few if any of this group had any awareness of local, let alone national, political issues and debates. To a certain extent they were living out the missing elements of
home, in homes decorated in a similar manner to those back home (Gordon & Enid 2001, Linda 2001). Friends were expatriates, and there was no motivation to push them to learn the language. The exception were dual nationals who either had learnt the language as a result of partner’s and partner’s family’s inability to communicate or to prevent their alienation from all possible communication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>T/AE</th>
<th>T/GE</th>
<th>T/BE</th>
<th>E/AT</th>
<th>E/GT</th>
<th>E/BT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Residents’ Mother Tongue & Level of Language Skill Acquired

Key:
T/AE = Turkish/Advanced English
T/GE = Turkish/Good English
T/BE = Turkish/Basic English
E/AT = English/Advanced Turkish
E/GT = English/Good Turkish
E/BT = English/Basic Turkish

2.3.6 Employment

The final variable I discuss in relation to population sample is employment. Employment was not a single variable but a combination of all other variables. Place, nationality, gender, education and language skills all affected residents’ ability to find employment. Current employment was not a true reflection of residents’ careers. Many of those living and working in the village had had a variety of careers in their past, and current employment marked only one stage of many.

In order to understand the employment patterns experienced amongst residents, it was important to understand certain cultural differences relating to employment. In 2000/01 Turks were entitled to retire (and receive a pension) after 20 years of employment. Employment did not have to be consecutive i.e. the 20 years might be completed over a period of say 30 years. However, there were some residents, who having commenced employment at age 16 were entitled to retire at age 36. Many of the retired Turkish residents continued to work to enable them to maintain standards of living and overcome inflation - hence
the category 'retired/working'. In contrast, Brits living in the village were used to a retirement age of 65 (this is now also the case for Turks). The ages of the retired populations varied enormously. Even accounting for ‘early retirement’, most of the retired British citizens were significantly older than the retired Turks. The attitude was also different. Retired British citizens had no intention of working and lacked the requisite ıkın (permission) to do so.

The majority of those living in the village, 29 of 39 interviewed, worked. Furthermore of the three interviewees noted as ‘not working/not retired’, one was a housewife (Turkish), another was an unemployed actor (English) and the third a property owner receiving an income from the rental of his property as a holiday let (English). Of the seven interviewees noted as ‘retired’ all were foreign, living off various forms of income from abroad. One of the retired interviewees did voluntary English teaching in the local cultural centre, another was engaged in writing a book, and others simply enjoyed their ‘property away from it all’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Retired/ Working</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Not working/ Not retired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Residents’ Employment Status

Of the working residents of the population sample, individuals were engaged in a variety of businesses, as represented in Table 9. In the table, ‘S’ represents employment as staff, where ‘P’ indicates proprietorship of business and/or owner of property. The shaded squares indicate those employed all year round. A lack of shading indicates seasonal (summer) employment.
By far the majority of employed residents interviewed worked in tourism-related businesses. Of the two residents in the ‘Other’ category, one worked as an architect, the other as a real estate agent. Both were engaged in property development or sale closely related to tourism and tourism-related development.

Of the *yeri halk* interviewed, two individuals worked in extensive family businesses. One worked as part of a family team running and managing a café, restaurant, bar and apartments. The other ran a café, restaurant and bar in association with his brother. The third, a young woman, worked as a waiter in a business run by a female *Türk yabancı* (strangers). Of the *Türk yabancı* (strangers), both permanent and semi-permanent residents, the majority, 13 of 14, ran their own businesses. The remaining individual worked for the family business (a hotel and the local bakery). Of the dual nationals working in the village, one designed and built the web site for her husband’s tour agency, one worked as the Head Rep for Simply Turkey Holidays (this job is with the UK company and technically UK-based) and three ran pensions, all of which were open all year round. Another worked as the head representative for Saville Holidays. Another worked on a ‘casual basis’ in a local beach-front restaurant and the fourth worked again on a ‘casual basis’ in a restaurant run by her long-term partner, another ran a restaurant with her husband (she had chosen not to take dual national status, which affects right to work). A further two worked as in-village reps, one as head rep for Tapestry Holidays, another as an assistant rep for Simply Turkey holidays.

### Table 9: Employed Residents’ Type of Business

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Shop</th>
<th>Bar/Restaurant</th>
<th>Local Agency</th>
<th>Tour Op. Local Rep.</th>
<th>Hotel/Pension</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (local)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>- 3</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual National (foreigner)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>- 3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- - 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- - 1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk Yabancı (stranger)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>- - 4</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- - 1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabancı (foreigner)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>- - 1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>- 1 1</td>
<td>- - - - 1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Property Owner</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- - 1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 3</td>
<td>6 1 1</td>
<td>1 1 1</td>
<td>3 1 7</td>
<td>0 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**
- **S** = Staff
- **P** = Proprietor
- **M** = Manager
Finally, one ran a hotel in association with her long-term partner (she obtained a working permit to enable her to do this – one of the few, if not the only one, in Kalkan). The last gained an income from leasing his property to a tour operator.

**Kadıla (PTY):**

Having left university prior to graduation, I worked as an accountant in a government company for four years. Then I moved to Bodrum and sold fish for a couple of years. Then I opened my own bar, Gece Bar, and did this for four years before selling it and moving to Kalkan. For the first four years I had a bar business. Then I started a touristic silver business. I have been doing this for 13 years.

**Bülent (PTY):**

I worked in an export/import business in Ankara. The company folded following the recent economic crisis sparked off by disagreements between the President and Prime Minister of Turkey. I do not miss the job but I miss the money. I did not save any money and I lost everything. I live daily with no saving for the future. I have no responsibilities (wife or children) so I spend what I earn. I now look after the family-owned pension in Kalkan. I spend most of my time sleeping and reading.

**Marion (SPY):**

I joined the Post Office at 16, which then became Telecom and then BT. My last job before taking early retirement was as National Customer Services Development and Support Manager. Following retirement, I obtained a visa to work in Kalkan as a hotel manager.
2.4 Summary: Local Identity

Kalkan was neither an isolated nor a static community. It has a history of mobility and movement from its initial settlement by Rum settlers from Meis, through the expulsion of this group in the population exchange of the early 1920's, the appropriation of property by Turkish residents, continued seasonal agricultural migration, local out-migration in search of employment and lastly tourism-informed mobility. The Kalkan community in 2000/01 represented a particular confluence of local and global flows at a point in time. What it meant to be Kalkanlı (a native of Kalkan) changed as Kalkan changed from a trading port to a village to a tourist resort. Each phase attracted different people, in- or out-migrating, individually or as family units, to live in the village for varying periods. The level of seasonal in- and out-migration affected and continues to affect the make up of the Kalkan resident community. The changing makeup of the community also affected resident's sense of self, their sense of place and the way they constructed and maintained their life-styles and life worlds. Whilst Kalkan clearly was a community where people had to live together, it was no single community. None of the residents I interviewed or met as casual acquaintances claimed the Kalkanlı identity. They considered themselves as local to other places. The Kalkan community contained sub-communities of permanent, semi-permanent and peripatetic residents from all over Turkey and other parts of the world. Kalkaners identity reflected the position of migrants within the contexts of memleket (place of origin) and international tourism. The diversity of identities within a single location challenged the way in which anthropologists conceptualise people's sense of place and the techniques required to tease out and represent dynamism and diversity.
Chapter 3  Old Kalkan: The Material World

In this chapter, I aim to illustrate the ways in which the identity of Kalkan residents and the makeup of the Kalkan community were established and corroborated by my analysis of the places in which residents lived and worked. I begin with a description of Old Kalkan. As the name suggests, Old Kalkan was the only Kalkan prior to the rapid development of the village in the late 1980's, 1990's and 2000's. Old Kalkan formed the kernel around which the town or destination had grown. The majority of my informants lived or worked there. It was the oldest part of the village, situated on a terrace of land rising out of the sea just above the marina and the man-made local beach. The area was somewhat hidden from view. It was visible from the sea but invisible from the main highway or from other areas of the village, which rose above it on higher terraces. It felt tucked in underneath the growing town. However, out of sight did not mean unused. Old Kalkan was the fading centre of local life in winter and the heart of the tourist economy in summer. Knowledge of its dynamics was essential to understand what Hirsch (1995) termed the everyday experience of residents' lives as well as the image or myth experienced by tourists (Selwyn 1996). The discussion of Old Kalkan highlights the impact of different groups of residents on the built environment and how the changes they made to the local environment had shaped their life-style choices.

I present Kalkan as an example of what Tilley (1994) refers to as meaning-laden, humanised space. As a humanised space, it follows that the meanings humans confer in a place, Kalkan, are available within the relationships between people and place: what Bourdieu (1986) terms people's life-worlds. To understand residents' life-worlds I analysed residents' life-styles as represented by their choice of houses, businesses, interior décors and goods selected for sale. I observed that the ways in which residents constructed and reconstructed their life-worlds reflected their singular identities, as locals or migrants. I also observed that the process of identification was constrained by residents’ changing perceptions of Kalkan and their position within the local community. My thick description of Old Kalkan reproduces the multiple sensualities and multi-sidedness within a single locale (Marcus 1998; Hirschon 2004). Kalkan’s architecture reflects the multiple modernities (Berman 1983) reproduced by the local structures of action (Giddens 1984)). The diversity of modernities produced local stereotypes and misinterpretations. Old buildings, visible in winter, were representative of past lifestyles (S:1.1.3 p41). New buildings and old buildings in their summer guises as shops, restaurants, cafes and bars presented another perspective, one which led many seasonal residents to propose that 'Kalkan isn’t Turkey,' (Claire 2001). The different use made of buildings at different times of the year reveals the rotation of resident groups (seasonal migrants) changing with the seasons. The description represents the social metaphors contained within the
architecture of a place. To represent the metaphor of the place, its diachronic and synaesthetic experiences, I obtained a detailed knowledge of the meanings within the location (Tilley 1991). My description of Kalkan’s past and present forms reflects these meanings and is fundamental to the representation of the impact of the place, as a dynamic rotating entity, on residents’ sense of self and their ability to function within the local community (Chapter 6).

My evaluation of residents’ experience of Kalkan, within the context of the anthropology of landscape (Tilley 1994; Hirsch 1995), was somewhat complicated by the absence of the term landscape from the Turkish lexicon. It was not possible to ask people what they thought or felt about the landscape. The closest terms for landscape in the Turkish language were manzara and gørintu. Both terms can be translated as “a view”. The former translates as a panorama, whereas the latter implies an opinion (about something). The local vocabulary proved useful to distinguish between residents’ representations of place as scene and experience (Chapter 6). Despite the absence of the word landscape colloquially, many of my informants understood and used the term, as they had excellent knowledge of the English language. More particularly, they had identified the importance of landscape within the discourse of Kalkan’s identity.

In the following sub-sections, I provide a detailed description of Old Kalkan. In the first two sub-sections I look at the background to Kalkan’s unique vernacular style. In Planned & Organic Development, I discuss the differences between Rum and Turk building styles and their respective impact on urban development. In Old Houses & Modern Apartments, I take a closer look at the way building practices have developed in line with local conservation regulations. In Fractured Years: Seasonal Change I briefly describe the changing seasons of Kalkan over a twelve-month period. I then use the medium of perceptions obtained during a walk through the village to present residents’ use of domestic architecture and their choice of business type and location. Presented sequentially Kalkan’s winter, spring and summer guises were integral to and understanding of the identity of the village and to residents’ sense of place.

3.1 Planned & Organic Development

Kalkan has undergone many changes and today enjoys a rich history and cultural heritage which is clearly reflected in the traditional buildings to be seen in the heart of the community. Climatic conditions, local geography and the availability of building materials melded with the needs of yesterday’s inhabitants have directly affected the distinctive Kalkan style. (Kalkan Vakfi undated:35)
Old Kalkan’s physical appearance had changed dramatically since the 1970’s. Kalkan’s buildings revealed the presence of logical classes within past and present communities. They indicated that Kalkan had always been a contact zone, a place formed by different life-styles. I perceived its varied architectural styles as a reflection of the relational organisation of different life-styles, the physical manifestation of the structural principles behind the organisation. Kalkan’s buildings illustrated a balance between residents’ intentionality and constraint across time, demonstrating structure as both constraining and enabling (Giddens 1984). Residents understood and recognised the workings of the *habitus*. When asked they described the singular compromises represented by their homes and businesses. They recognised that their compromises or preferences represented a choice from within a reservoir of meanings attributed by themselves and others to their places.

In this section, I evaluate the meanings laden within Kalkan architecture. I commence with the different styles of Turk and *Rum* (Orthodox Christians) urban designs and organisation. I consider vernacular domestic architecture, the placement of buildings in relation to intervening spaces (streets, beach, parks, gardens, seating and picnic areas) and the implications of living history for the conflicting concerns of conservation and development. My analysis of places to govern, worship, accommodate and entertain provided an access point into the structural changes reflected in the changing architectural styles and types of household accommodation (Kuban 1995; Ayata 2002).

In his beautifully illustrated text, *The Turkish Hayat House*, Kuban (1995) describes the manner in which Turkish urban areas were structured. He regards the organisation of urban space as the physical manifestation of strong social conventions regarding the family and the gender-based division of space. He attributes the style of urban areas to the ‘the organic pace of human life, the forgotten dimension of man-made environments of the past’. Urban areas replicate relationships with the land. A family unit lived on or close to their land and passed it down through the generations. Households of people, buildings and land were self-contained units. Villages represented the organic coincidence of several family units. As the village grew into a town, households formed inwardly oriented units or containers, which incorporated gardens and trees within the architecture of the domestic space. The in-between unpaved dirt streets were inappropriate for social intercourse and separated households. As the urban areas grew they divided into gendered areas with each area having its specific set of contained spaces. The male area was the commercial area with its markets, mosques, bathhouses and coffee shops. The female area was the residential area or the house. The involvement of the sexes in each other’s space was minimal or taboo. Men’s life-style was by inference commercial and ‘outside’, women’s domestic and ‘inside’, isolated by the in-betweens, perceivable only through covered windows of the house (ibid).
Kuban’s account of the formation of urban space through a particular form of house and street relationship provided a possible interpretation of urban Kalkan. However, his focus on large urban areas rendered it inadequate to understand the semi-rural village, and particularly Kalkan. Ethnographic accounts of Turkish villages provided a more detailed expose of village organisation. The social division of space occurs through the negotiation of space within the context of the domestic sphere. Male space was a *salon* on the side of the house in which men met to drink tea (latterly replaced by separated coffee houses). It was also created by the designation of the ‘in-betweens’, the streets, as male space. Men spent little time inside the house and much time sitting in the open, alone or with friends, or in the coffee houses. Women spent most of their time engaged in domestic chores or visiting friends and family close by. However, their engagement in agricultural work caused them to spend much time ‘outside’ toiling in the family’s fields (Stirling 1965; Delaney 1991). In the rural areas around Kalkan, women were oftentimes more visible than men. Many tourists commented that they never saw men working. However, in villages such as Kalkan, where trade or tourism provided the majority of work, the men worked. Local women remained inside in the domestic sphere. This local division of space reflected gender-specific honourable and shameful practices. Women remained in the domestic sphere except on market day when they visited the market with their female relatives (Gülsün 2001), or when they visited the tourist-free tea garden with their families in winter. The tea garden was on the harbour front in the commercial area of Old Kalkan. Neither Kuban’s account of the organisation of a Turkish town nor the ethnographers’ accounts of Turkish village life-style reflect the structure of Kalkan.

Pictures taken in the 1950’s portrayed a quiet, empty, unfinished action-free village. These pictures were inactive, as the photographer had taken them during a period of transition in the local economy, post-trading port and pre-tourist destination. The lack of human action allows the viewer to see the underlying structure of the village. The layout of the urban space is not characteristically Turkish. The organisation of houses is not organic and land-focused. Instead, it is planned and sea-focused. Thus, the village’s structure suggests an alternative meaning within the local use of space, or a non-Turkish resident. In fact, the latter was the case; the social conventions of the *Rum* settlers had structured Old Kalkan. The houses are outwardly oriented, open balconies overlook the street, to maximise on cooling sea breezes and social interaction. The design of household units and the relationship between units were trade-focused. Living accommodation was on the upper floor above commercial space or storehouses. All streets ran down towards the harbour. The streets served to connect the village and to further social interaction.

The role of movement and migration in shaping the life-worlds reflected in Kalkan’s structure and style was apparent from images taken in the 1950’s (Figure 2 p11) and those I took in 2001 (Figure 3 p21). The multiple life-styles of Kalkan’s inhabitants, *Rum* traders, Turkish entrepreneurs, tourists and expatriates,
were present in the design of buildings and the relationship between domestic and commercial space. Contact between groups had altered the structure of the system conditions inscribed within the dispositions of the habitus (Bourdieu 1986). Local architecture portrayed the process of transition and change. The departure of the Rum community in 1923 had left their meaning-laden structures empty. These buildings reflected different social conventions. It was this style of building which led Kuban to describe the Turkish house as different to houses in Mediterranean areas. Houses built by the Rum reflected the architecture of Meis – from where the settlers derived. DuBoulay (1974) described this type of house in detail in her account of a Greek mountain village. They were small one up one down structures divided into domestic accommodation and storage. After 1923, yerli halk (locals) appropriated these empty buildings for domestic use or a landslide destroyed them.

By 2001, many of these properties had changed hands several times. Türk yabancı (strangers) or yabancı (foreigners) leased some. Türk yabancı (strangers), entrepreneurs, who renovated Old Kalkan properties for business use, had bought others. Türk yabancı (strangers) purchased others, and renovated them as holiday accommodation for tourists or residences for expatriates. In 2001, Kalkan’s architecture reflected the diversity of its past and present logical classes. Each group or class had a different lifestyle. The different life-styles reflected the life-worlds and social conventions of Kalkan’s inhabitants (Bourdieu 1988).

When I compared past and present images of Kalkan, the shift from planned to organic development was apparent, as were changes in the relationship between commercial and domestic space. In Old Kalkan, houses represented a combination of commercial and domestic space. This multi-purpose use of accommodation did not correspond to Kuban’s (1995) description of urban living. What was similar to Kuban’s description of Turkish towns was the proximity of the mosque (formerly a church) and the harbour (the old commercial centre). However, the proximity of domestic accommodation to the commercial centre or male space showed a different type of urban construction. In 2001, the use of space appeared to be returning to the pattern suggested by Kuban. Many yerli halk (locals) had moved out of Old Kalkan. Hence, domestic accommodation was, once again, located outside the commercial area. Yerli halk (locals) built their new houses, domestic space only, in the area close to the weekly market place and the local schools. This area was located on the terrace of land just up the hill above the commercial or tourist centre. The relocation of domestic accommodation to this area meant that while the domestic and commercial spheres were once again separate, the market and the mosque (the units of male space) were now separate. The separation of mosque and market was unusual (c.f. Meeker’s (1997) description of the newly built Kocatepe mosque in Ankara). Indeed, I had passed through many towns during my journeys

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40 No-one was sure of the exact date.
in Turkey where mosques had a shop or shopping complex built on the lower floor. In 2001, a new mosque was built near to the weekly market place.

Kalkan had grown not by a planned expansion of the Old Village continuing its house/street relationships, but as a result of the social conventions of its newly permanent residents and in-migrants. The usual procedure for development was to acquire the land then to build on it over a number of years. Migrants acquired land wherever possible. The majority of land purchased had no links to the local infrastructure. Frequently people built houses and then waited for the infrastructure to incorporate their property. There were stories circulating locally that certain hamlets received services as a political incentive, or vote seeking exercise. Alternatively, people used their influence within the local polity to procure services. This meant that those with connections and hence influence received services prior to those without. The result of this style of building and service provisioning was a planned core (Old Kalkan) within an organically grown periphery. The different types of urban organisation corresponded with each group’s different social conventions and meanings within the arrangements of place. These conventions formed the local architecture and residents’ aspirations regarding housing. The majority of my informants desired a house with its own garden away from the public view and the commercial area (S:5.2 p155).

Where there would appear to be a shift occurring in local dispositions is in relation to the meaning attributed to the streets. Kuban (1995) described the street as disowned. In Kalkan, entrepreneurs regarded the streets in front of their businesses as part of their commercial space. In summer, the streets were full of products and signs advertising business activities. In 2000, the perception of the street as un-owned unsociable space had altered as a result of the tourism-oriented economy. In 2001, virtually all buildings in Old Kalkan, with the exception of two or three bakkal (grocers), catered to the tourist market. No building catered to the local market. While many of the items on sale in Old Kalkan were available from the local weekly market for a lower price, there was nothing on sale in the old village, which attracted the interest of yerli halk (locals), Türk yabancı (strangers), or expatriates. I had asked all of my informants whether they used the facilities in the old village. The majority replied ‘what facilities?’: Old Kalkan’s restaurants, shops and cafes were seemingly for tourists. Many businesses opened in response to the spread of a new idea. If one member of a family opened a café or hotel and did well, the chances were high that another member would do the same. In this manner, Old Kalkan became the focus of business activity oriented towards the tourist industry. Likewise, the area around Old Kalkan developed in an ad hoc or organic manner to cater for increased tourist numbers, the expansion of local businesses and the increased number of service providers required to run the village.
In 2000 Karabag, the mayor who had set up the Kalkan Foundation and constructed a history for the village was not re-elected as mayor. I heard that his two terms had made him over confident of being re-elected. His party started campaigning at the last minute when they realised the threat from the other contenders (Sevilay 2001). For two terms, Karabag had been committed to the development of Kalkan as a tourist destination. However, his lack of dynamism for a third term reflected a change in local, inter-group dynamics. Karabag's mayoral duties had coincided with the development of the village. In 2000, Kalkan's residents were feeling the strain of too close an attachment to a single foreign tour operator (Tapestry Holidays). There were worries that the operator might pull out if the village grew too large. In addition, the development of the village was attracting a different type of tourist, one with less money to spend. Kalkan's businesses were suffering. There were too many of them and too few customers. This local dissatisfaction led to the election of a new mayor, whose remit was to 'return Kalkan to the locals'. This initiative had its implications for the local environment. The mayor prohibited the placing of restaurant tables in the streets around the harbour and the paved area above the marina. They were replaced by benches and ornamental gardens, for sitting and watching – a return of public space to its local owners. The benches not used. However, it was significant that the new polity had the power to reclaim the space from tourism. At this time, there was less talk about the influence of foreign tour operators. Instead, there was growing unease at the number of foreign owned properties and the number of expatriates. When I returned in 2005, restaurants were once again set up along the harbour front and one old informant complained that: “they (foreigners) couldn’t get the land by war, so they get it by investment” (Shopkeeper 2005). Indeed the percentage of foreign owned property had grown to such an extent that the destination was no more and a town had grown up in its place.

3.2 Old Houses & Modern Apartments

The architecture of Kalkan reflected the diverse life-worlds of its inhabitants. Urbanisation had incorporated the mixture of past and present life-styles described locally as 'the old' and 'the new'. The conservation of Rum and Turk vernacular architecture in Old Kalkan had led to the village being identified as a particular type of place in the world. Between 1990 and 2001, the village had become a metaphor for the idyllic village or paradise, based on the Kalkan Foundation's representation of history within the context of the tourist economy. To understand the persistence of this perspective despite the village's rapid development into a town, it is important to note three factors. The decade marked the height of the village's tourist economy, when development monitored by Karabag to maintain the idyllic village myth. It took time to acquire the funds to finance development. The construction season of 2001 produced a
dramatic increase in the number of private villas, apartments and villa complexes. Tourists only visited in summer and so at this time the buildings in Old Kalkan displayed items to tempt them. The attractions of the old village managed to distract visitors from the level of development. More importantly, entrepreneurs were careful to highlight the myth of the Mediterranean fishing village in their displays and décor. The strength of the myth and the desire of tourists not to acknowledge change (if they were aware of it), had kept the myth alive in tourists’ views up until 2001 (S:7.3 p239).

The first view one has of Kalkan as described in the introduction is of a small village nestling in a tightly knit huddle on the edge of the Mediterranean. This was particularly true when the visitor arrived at night. They would see a concentration of bright fluorescent lights around the harbour, the centre of Kalkan nightlife. In the daytime the cluster of whitewashed houses with red tiled roofs at the edge of the Bay of Kalkan were easily visible from the mountain road. This area formed the heart of Kalkan. It was what residents, expatriates and tourists thought of as Kalkan. In reality Kalkan had become a sprawling development on either side of this neatly arranged old village.

A description of Old Kalkan, which only aims to replicate its built structures, would be inadequate. Rather it must take account of the landscape. Every building, street, alley or courtyard has a view of either the bay with its Mouse and Snake Islands or the overarching mountains with their rocky outcrops and knee-tearing sharp vegetation. The village developed in its specific location because the terrace of land nearest to the sea was accessible prior to the development of road transport (Kalkan Vakfi undated). Old Kalkan represented architecture in landscape. The old houses were made of local stone and wood and blended into the mountain slopes. The village contained a number of ornamental seating areas but they were somewhat dwarfed: inconsequential in relation to the surrounding natural landscape. Whatever individuals thought of life in Kalkan one thing never changed and that was the sense of pleasure at living in such truly amazing countryside - a source of lifestyle, income, reflection, activity and escape.

The landscape, buildings and the people were intimately connected. They influenced each other and the connection is there when discussing each. Most or all of the buildings in Kalkan had owners and or occupants (not necessarily the same). As I mentioned above, the Old Kalkan houses lived in by people with a different cultural origin to those who had originally built them. Despite frequent questions I was unconvinced which houses were Rum and which Turk built. Assuming houses and people were so closely connected and that old houses were subject to strict conservation regulations I would have expected to see a significant difference in building styles. However, this was not the case. Some informants differentiated life-styles according to flat or pointed roofs, others by the symbol of the crescent moon and star on
piedmonts. Both could have occurred as later alterations and as such, the buildings were works in progress.

The meanings of Old Kalkan’s urban spaces were unclear, confused by the fact that the village was experienced in parts. Different surfaces were visible at different times of year. Those who lived in Kalkan all year round saw the village as a composite of layers, a complex of spring, summer, autumn and winter practices as well as some that overlapped. However, there were few who did live in the village all year round. The majority of residents had a seasonal perspective on the place.

Lining the narrow streets winding up from the harbour are typical stone houses with their characteristically small shuttered windows and timber balconies. Whitewashed walls, contrasting natural woodwork, charming courtyards and gardens, and criss-crossing stony passages create the Kalkan silhouette (Kalkan Vakfi undated:36).

The majority of photographs of Kalkan are of the village in summer when it is ‘open’ and alive, but they do not show the structure of the buildings. There were two types of built structure in Kalkan old and new. The majority of old buildings were no more than 80 years old although one informant told me her house, in the heart of Old Kalkan was 150 years old. The new buildings were less than 15 years old. After 15 years, a house was old. Either modern building methods did not last particularly well in the local climate or more modern techniques and different life-style preferences and choices outmoded them. While residents referred to Old Kalkan’s buildings as old, this statement requires perspective. The surrounding landscape contained remnants of structures that were thousands of years old. There was little in between. In Old Kalkan, the old building category encompassed the village houses, the mosque (previously an Orthodox church built in the late nineteenth century - the bell dates from 1897) and the primary school (built in 1937). The new building category encompassed the local government buildings, the post office, the bank and the plethora of newly constructed apartments, villas, hotels and pensions. Some of these new buildings were in the style of old buildings but the use of different construction methods and building materials gave them a different look and feel.
Figure 7: Old Houses in Old Kalkan both houses were occupied in 2000/01. The house on the left was occupied by an elderly lady and had not been renovated recently. The house on the right was repaired every year by the family who owned it and occupied it in winter.

On the vertical plain, the old village was very similar. Conservation regulations regulated the overall height of buildings. Houses could only be two storeys above road level. As Kalkan developed on steep hillside terraces not all houses were two storeys above the road. Some had a floor below the ground floor and others a mezzanine, but overall the building was two-storeys high. The regulations also stipulated that old fixtures and fittings remained in place or replaced by replicas and that buildings must be of a certain colour. The strict enforcement of conservation regulations meant that many old houses were in a state of disrepair. Their owners were unable or unwilling to spend the sums of money required to restore the houses to their original condition. Conservation was costly and bureaucratically complex. Each aspect of building projects in the conservation area, down to the smallest detail, had to be (should be) approved in advance by the authorities in Antalya and occasionally in Ankara. The approval process could take years. Many residents were not prepared to wait that long.

In 2000/01, I observed the reconstruction of two old village houses. This involved the gutting and renovation of the inside of the old structure, the replacement of old exterior fittings with replicas and the re-rendering of the stone structure. Buying and reconstructing an old house could cost upwards of £75,000 for a one up one down property and the land it stood on. It is cheaper to move to a modern, recently built apartment in the new village. A new villa or apartment would cost a foreigner from £40,000. Locals would never pay this price. There were two factors behind this. Foreigners were quoted a different price from the outset and the high prices meant that locals were excluded from the market. Conservation
regulations proved to be one of the areas of local conflict. Some were peeved at the manner in which regulations were enforced. The constant changes in regulations left residents confused and annoyed. Others wanted stricter regulations to preserve the ambiance of Old Kalkan.

Some coincidences have appeared to happen but that did not get permission and suddenly there was a fire. Lots of old buildings have disappeared from Kalkan. The most notable was one beside the Merkez Café. The guy was taken to court and had to put something the same but did not. This frustrates me. What is happening to Kalkan has an impact on Kalkan (due to the implication of shady practices, I can only ascribe this to Resident 2000)

Old Kalkan houses had a different design to the Turkish hayat house (Kuban 1995). However, the old houses had a similar method of construction.

The use of rubble stone for ground floor walls was universal. In the upper stories timber was the main structural material for both vertical and horizontal elements. Wood was also used as horizontal beams embedded in walls. The infill was almost universally mud-brick (Kuban 1995:239)

Some of Kalkan's abandoned buildings show the method of construction. In Figure 8, the house on the left shows the use of timber frames with local stone replacing mud-brick as an infill, which although not common was less usual. The house on the right was of local stone. In 2001, I heard that a local developer who intended to renovate it for use as holiday lets had purchased the house (Rachel, PY, 2001). In 2005, the house remained in its dilapidated state of repair. I heard that the developer had become religious, quit the village and moved to Fethiye (Kemal, PTY, 2005).
Old Kalkan houses also differed from the Turkish hayat house in that they had windows on the ground floor facing the street rather than a solid, stone wall with cantilevered first floor windows overlooking the street. However, while the outward appearance was different, the function of the ground floor rooms as storage area or shop was the same. The majority, if not all, Old Kalkan buildings had balconies: some cantilevered and some enclosed by wooden panels in a manner similar to the hayat of traditional buildings. Balconies served as a utility area in cramped living spaces. They were places to watch the street, store the cleaning items, hang the washing and keep the shoes amongst other things.

Modern houses, including those built to replace old stone houses in the old village, were made from reinforced concrete. The construction was fascinating to watch. The internal staircases rose out of the foundations before the outer walls, followed by the steel rods to reinforce the concrete. The construction process was either amazingly fast or seemingly timeless. All over Kalkan, buildings were at different stages of construction and in different states of repair. Some buildings were well on the way to completion (Figure 9). Others were still at the foundation or dig out stage and had been for years. This was consistent with the process of building in stages or the addition of a storey or room as the household unit grew (Stirling 1964). In Kalkan, the outcome of the tourist season or the level of inward foreign investment determined building schedules. Development continued at a frantic pace either to meet the needs of holidaymakers or, according to several of my informants, to assuage local greed (Tekin YH 2001, Rebecca RY 2001).
Figure 9: Modern Buildings Modern Apartments during the construction phase and when complete. All the apartments were purchased by expatriates.

One building in the old village was demolished and reconstructed in five months (including rendering white-washing and the addition of the original style, hand carved, wooden doors, window frames and balconies) (Figure 10). The speed of renovation was no doubt to avoid an unsightly building site on the main street through the old village when the tourists arrived for the tourist season. The only difference between the old and new building was that instead of the dark brown wood of the old building everything was whitewashed, newly varnished and orangey yellow. It was an upmarket carpet shop instead of a jeweller's shop.

Figure 10: Orientalia Carpets (reconstructed in five months).
Having described Kalkan's buildings, I note that buildings were not just concrete, stone and timber. They reflected social, particular and singular relationships within the wider community (S:5.4 p164). It was not easy to pin point these relationships in Kalkan. The Kalkan community was always changing. Lengthy residence proved this was the case. A house frequently had more than one group of occupants in any one year, yet over a period of years, each set of occupants lived in the house at the same time each year. The appearance of Kalkan changed as the resident group changed. Yerli halk (locals), Türk yabancı (strangers) and expatriates' houses looked different to each other. Yerli halk (locals) houses were unkempt. Often things were just left lying around outside in the street. Expatriates' looked after their houses well and everything had a place. They took things out as required and put them back when finished with (Koray, PTY, 2001). Türk yabancı (strangers) houses were in various states between the two poles.

3.3 Fractured Years: Seasonal Change

As a place, Old Kalkan changed due to the in- and out-migration of residents with the seasons. The overall effect was that Kalkan was never the same. Its appearance changed as each group moved in or out. Its faces rotated throughout the year. The two most distinct faces were winter, Turkish village, and summer, tourist shopping mall and restaurant complex. Winter was a time of inactivity. It was the time to visit the family and enjoy the national holidays. Summer meant long working hours. Tourism brought about the opportunity to meet people from all over the world. The population makeup and the physical appearance of each phase had changed across the years.

The tourist season had fractured the year into two. The season began with the arrival of the first airport transfer buses from Dalaman bringing in Tapestry Holidays, Simply Turkey, Saville and latterly JM C's guests. It ended when the last transfer buses left the village. As operator's brochures were published in advance, everyone in the village knew the exact dates and could arrange to get themselves to Kalkan in time to set up their businesses. These dates were the first Sunday in May to the last Sunday in October each year. These dates also marked the end and beginning of the construction season. Tourism and development occurred at different times of the year.

The different faces of the village were a result of local seasonal migration and tourism-oriented population movements. At the end of April, the Kalkan community started to prepare for the season. Yerli halk (locals) who practised transhumance migration out-migrated to Bezirgan. They closed up their houses in Old Kalkan and left for the summer. It is a time of year when you could still see whole families on the
move. As this group moved out Türk yahana (strangers) entrepreneurs and female foreigners married to Turks returned. At this time, all construction work ceased. In-migrant construction workers departed for their memleket (place of origin) or other towns or cities in which they could find work. The departure of these men was unnoticed in Old Kalkan. They had little interaction with the old village. They billeted in the construction sites. In 2000 most of the development sites that required construction workers, hotel or villa complexes, were located on the Kalamar Road or in Kalamar.

The changing faces, life-worlds, of Kalkan are represented in Section 3.4 - Winter: Turkish Village, Section 3.5 - Spring: A Transitional Place and Section 3.6 - Summer: Shopping Mall & Restaurant Complex.

3.4 Winter: Turkish Village

I think the old town is lovely and just wish I had been here 25 years ago. There was just nothing here - it is just absolutely lovely. It can make me happy to walk through it in winter when all the crap has gone and you can see the buildings (Rebecca, Resident 2000).

As I walked home from the bus stop in winter (November to April) along the main street, which connected the newer areas of the village to Old Kalkan, I was one of the few women or foreigners outside. The main street was occupied by men going about their business or congregating in groups to chat and pass away the time. I felt uncomfortable as they stared me up and down. I had quickly learned to absent myself from their space by averting and lowering my eyes as I passed by. Life in the village at this time of year was quiet and family-oriented. It was a time of neighbourliness, national holidays\textsuperscript{41} and family visiting. There was little employment in Old Kalkan. The majority of seasonal entrepreneurs had out-migrated for the winter. Those who remained used the time to recover from the tourist season or to go away on holiday. The nights closed in early. Men spent hours sitting outside, fishing in the bay, or playing cards in one of the local coffee houses – frequently gambling away the season's profits. Women met in each others houses to pass the long winter days when winter storms made it difficult to venture out. Expatriates entertained themselves by walking the countryside or in evening get-togethers in one another's houses.

\textsuperscript{41} Both the main national holidays, \textit{Seker Bayrami} (the holiday at the end of Ramadan) and \textit{Kurban Bayrami} (the sacrifice holiday three months later) fell in this period in 2001.
On the walk home, I passed the local government offices, belediye, bank and post office which were situated in a row along the left hand side of the main street as you walk towards Old Kalkan. The road connected the old and new areas of the village. The location of these service related buildings outside the old village emphasised the utility/leisure provisioning division of space. Those located inside the village, such as the customs house, were no longer in use. The new village was where you went to get things done. To buy groceries, vegetables (usually always in different shops in Turkey), stationery, bus tickets or to do the banking, post letters or pay bills. The old village was where you went to be entertained: to walk, sit, eat, drink, dance, swim and take boat tours, in summer. For residents employed in tourist businesses, the old village was a place of work. Entertainment took place at home, time permitting. The old and the new areas of the village looked different. The former was quaint and closed in on itself. It exuded a sense of making do or adapting to suit new functions. The latter was widely spaced, functional and purpose built.

The functional buildings were all of a similar whitewashed, rendered, concrete based architecture. The municipal buildings had the appearance of a block of flats. These buildings differed in one respect from those in the old village – they were more than two storeys high. As they were outside the conservation area the height restriction did not apply. It may well have been the case that the regulations were different at the time they were built. Regulations changed frequently and keeping up was an ongoing task. At one moment they allowed the owner to build on five percent of their land, at another twelve percent. At times it was possible to build in certain areas, at others it was forbidden, then permitted, then forbidden again.

I only had two occasions to visit the belediye building, once to visit the mayor, Mustafa Şalvarlı, in his large office and the other to pay a utilities bill. There was little occasion to visit this building. However, the other two buildings, the bank and the post office were essential to daily life. There was only one bank in Kalkan in 2000/01. The bank provided for all the daily cash needs of the residents. Locals freely came and went from the inside of the building situated in the ground floor of the belediye building. They knew what to do and who to speak to. The majority of expatriate residents were completely lost, unable to communicate in Turkish. They used the cashpoint machine outside (luxury or demon). In winter, this was frequently out of order and in summer out of cash. There was no other way to get cash. It became a good place to meet people. A group of regulars would form in front of the cashpoint every morning conjoined in poverty, debating whether they had enough loose change for a bus ride to Kaş. Getting cash was a serious problem. In 2002, I was told that the bank closed and that a mobile bank was brought into the village (Kemal 2002). Social networks reduced the difficulties arising from a lack of ready cash. Often these networks were more important than cash in winter when money was short or unavailable. It

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42 Town hall.
was possible to pay when you had it — for some residents this would be the end of the first month of the next season.

Just a few steps down the road from the bank was Ali Baba's lokanta one of the few eateries which stayed open throughout the winter. As such, it was a focal point for local life particularly around lunchtime. The kitchen was set slightly back from the road a simple wooden construction with space for about 10 tables. When the weather permitted the majority of customers sat at tables out on the road in front of the café. The type of cuisine served was local ana yemegi (main course). The chef usually prepared a selection of three or four hot dishes. Each was served with rice and a small plate of tomato, onion and ye§il biber (green peppers). There was always plenty of bread on the table to soak up the juice from the sulu yemegi (dishes with a water-based sauce). I used always to choose nohut, a delicious traditional dish made from locally grown chickpeas. Eating here was a simple affair. The staff knew each customer and gave a special price to foreigners, like myself, who stayed all year round. It was comfortable place to eat alone.

The local post office was located just past the lokanta. The post office’s opening times varied with the seasons, short in winter long in summer. The entrance was reached by a set of steep steps from the main street; past the public telephones located at the foot of the steps under the shade of a tree. Only two of the four telephones could be used to make international calls. Most people had mobile phones, for which they bought kontors (credit) at the nearby gift shop. Inside the post office was comprised of two sections. The walls on either side of the first section as you entered through the revolving doors were full of home­made advertisements for local restaurants, agencies and shops. Directly in front of the entrance were two counters: one for the purchase of stamps and telephone cards and the other for the exchange of currency. In 2001 the post office had closed the exchange bureau due to the instability of the Turkish Lira. This meant that the bank was then the only place that dealt with money issues. A new exchange machine was installed outside the bank to deal with the increased volume of custom but, like the cash machine, it was frequently out of order. Many hotels, shops and restaurants accepted and indeed preferred foreign currency. This alleviated some of the pressure on the local services. To the right of the entrance was another section which dealt with bigger issues. It was where you went to pay a telephone bill or to sign for and collect a parcel that the postman was unable to deliver. There was always a form to be filled in and stamped and a book to sign. Out of the post office back onto the main street I walked past an off-licence, a barber’s shop and the Moonlight Bar on my way down towards Old Kalkan.

43 Lokanta is a type of restaurant. It serves the Turkish form of ‘fast food’. It is equivalent to the type of English café which serves breakfast all day long.
At the end of the main road, you had a choice of three streets. The middle street, Hasan Altin Caddesi, took you through the heart of Kalkan’s tourist shopping area. The left or top street took you along the back street past old and restored village houses before forking right down towards the old mosque and the public beach. The right or lower road wound past the newly built public seating area, the mosque (previously a church) before eventually reaching the village’s Atatürk memorial and a series of steep steps leading down to the harbour front. The two outer streets framed the old village. The three streets were interconnected by a series of alleyways and pathways. The result was a rabbit warren of in-betweens and courtyards. The close proximity of houses facilitated gossip and a detailed local knowledge of residents’ activities and movements. Apart from the outer streets, the streets were too narrow to allow cars to pass. They were a mixture of cobble, concrete and un-surfaced earth – unkempt, higgledy-piggledy and wonderfully attractive albeit treacherous at night. A patio or pathway would stop in mid-path to be replaced by a couple of planks or a hole. In some areas, litter was contained in the bins provided by the municipality (a mixture of purpose built and makeshift, old oil drum. In others, feral cats spread litter as they rummaged for scraps or attacked plastic garbage bags left out for collection.

Of the three streets, the back road had the highest number of old houses used for domestic accommodation. They were in varying states of repair. While control over house exteriors was strict, there was no control over interiors, and they became commercial spaces: pensions, shops and coffee house. The properties lining the street reflected the change of owner and function. At the top of the street on the left was the Kalkan Han, a small pension formed from the conversion of several old houses into a single unit. During the tourist season, a woman from Istanbul ran it, who had visited the village for many years. The pension was unoccupied and boarded up during the winter. This and other buildings used for commercial purposes oscillated between well kept, whitewashed every spring, and unkempt, beaten by the winter storm in winter.

Despite the open/closed duality, buildings used for commercial purposes kept well. Buildings which provided services for local residents appeared to receive little maintenance unless necessary. The coffee house opposite the Kalkan Han was a prime example. Unlike the pension, the coffee house was open all year round, providing a sanctuary for men. It was located in the upper storey of a two-storey building. Customers entered the coffeehouse via a flight of rickety wooden steps, which ran up the exterior of the old house. This coffee house was strictly for men only. As the entrance was on the upper floor, it was impossible inadvertently to see in. I was able to observe men coming and going to and from the coffee house but its interior remained a mystery. A close female friend, whose husband had gained her access, described the interior as ‘just men sitting around drinking tea – nothing interesting to see’. However, it was in this ‘uninteresting’ place that men gambled away their summer profits through the winter. The
friend's husband, a Türk yakıncı (stranger) from Izmir, had managed to acquire two cars, one a Suzuki jeep, during the winter months. According to local gossip, the atmosphere within the small interior could become extremely tense. This was the world of a particular group of men, yerli halk (locals), and those seeking to make connections within the community. Most of the men I knew did not frequent the coffee houses, therefore it was difficult to obtain further information.

Further down on the left stood another building used for utilitarian purposes. Externally it was in a similar unkempt state to the coffee house. Formerly an olive oil factory (Kalkan used to have three), the lower storey was used by the village yufkaa (flat bread maker) to make yufka (traditional flat bread). Through the open window, you could see the man seated behind a wooden bench working dough into large flat sheets. The bench was the only piece of furniture in the stone-floored room. The old building was being put to a new use rather than falling into disrepair like other buildings further down the street. One of the other two olive oil factories, just off Hasan Altin Caddesi, was now a restaurant, a shop and a hairdresser's salon.

Sometimes I think nearly 50 years ago there was a big earthquake and it destroyed the old town a little bit. And some people want to use old houses in a new way – want to destroy old houses to use stone. I think they must keep it as it is – they must preserve it as many people want to see old town and streets. This year two people came – 90 years ago their family lived in Kalkan – they were from America and Australia and they wanted to find their old houses (Demet, SRTY, 2000).

A little further down on the same side of the street was Zeynep's house (Figure 11). Zeynep, a Türk yakıncı (stranger) from Istanbul who retired to Mersin where she owned a property, had rented the 60-year old house when she opened a restaurant in Kalkan. Unlike many Türk yakıncı (stranger) entrepreneurs, Zeynep lives in Kalkan all year round. Zeynep had chosen the house for its Rum-style architecture of her two-storey house she rented from a yerli halk (local), who lived permanently in Bezirgan. She felt at home in the life-style represented by the old house. While the original structure of the house had been untouched, its exterior unlike the houses of yerli halk (local), was newly whitewashed. Ordinarily, yerli halk (locals)-owned houses were lived in by them in winter and either boarded up and left unoccupied in summer, or rented out to a Türk yakıncı (strangers) or expatriates. In the old village there were few houses owned and used by yerli halk (locals). Many locals preferred larger modern apartments. They had rented out their old houses to provide an income. Zeynep's house was small, with one room downstairs and two up. The house was refurbished as domestic space only. Prohibited from altering the interior, Zeynep and her partner had added a wooden lean-to kitchen and shower room onto the exterior of the house. The construction looked makeshift but its character was in keeping with the building and that of other houses along the street. It was a lot cheaper to construct than to have remodelled the interior. As
Zeynep did not own the house or spend much time in it, being occupied with her restaurant business five minutes' walk away, her alterations reflected her affinity with the building's history and a desire not to spend too much money on domestic arrangements in a residence she regarded as temporary – 10 years at the most (S:5.4.1 p164).

**Figure 11: Zeynep's House** an original house maintained in its original condition (on the left, view from the main street and on the right, view from a side street showing lean-to kitchen/shower room)

On the other side of the street stood, a house (Figure 12) owned and renovated by a Turkish woman, an architect living in Istanbul, who rarely visited the village. She had bought the building from yerli halk (local) as an investment. The building had two parts, one commercial space and the other domestic. However, unlike the vernacular architecture, which apportioned function by upper and lower storeys, she had divided the building horizontally into two halves. Ayhan, from Izmir, and his English partner Julie leased one unit, and the other half remained empty. The couple lived in the smaller building with a pale blue painted balcony (ordinarily they are unpainted). The balcony, rather unusually, formed a second bedroom completely at a tangent to both the vernacular and the hayat but in keeping with Turkish urban designs. A one-down two-up, the remodelled interior of the property included a kitchen area, just inside the front door to one side of the main room, and a shower room just off the main room. The house was in good condition, and its owner was particularly strict with the terms and conditions of leasehold agreements (Julie, SPY, 2000).
Slightly further down on the same side of the road was one of Kalkan’s most beautiful old house complexes of doorways, alleyways, sheds and courtyards (Figure 7). Compared to Ayhan’s, this house of rendered stone and wood construction, with the two crescent moons above the door suggesting it was Turk built still visible, looks unkempt and uncared for. Alternatively, some people saw it was an authentic unaltered construction occupied by its original owner, an eighty-year-old woman from a local family (Julie, SPY, 2001). The family had done little to the house, not wishing to disturb their relative. It was highly likely that following the woman’s death her family would sell or renovate the large property. The doorway to the alley off the main street was a worn, weathered wooden frame with its door hanging at a precarious angle. Passing through the doorway was like entering into another world, passing into history down steps recycled from the region’s monumental history with fragments of carved stone still visible. The polity had numbered all the doors off the alleyway. The implied separate spaces were unfeasible as they were little more than sheds or large cupboards. On one side of the alleyway, several of these small units combined formed a house. On the other, they were unoccupied, backing onto a piece of unused wasteland, at the mercy of the elements. The alleyways’ structures (Figure 13) symbolised the duality of life-worlds discussed in (S:3.7 p127).

I feel sad about the way people treat their houses – they do not care about the pavements in front of them. They don’t bother to clean them or light them at night- always expecting it from the municipality. They don’t look after buildings even though they are wealthy enough – but this is the general Turkish way. This is the whole culture. We make houses for protection from the environment but you Europeans make houses to live in (Geological Engineer, PTY, 2001)
Back up on the street the road bends round and down the hill to the sea. Kate's (SPY) house was located on the left hand corner of the bend (Figure 14). Recently renovated, the house was one of a few with its own courtyard surrounded by a high wall. It even had its own street light inside. The house was stone-built with white wash exterior. Inside there were two rooms downstairs and two upstairs. The kitchen at the back was an add-on and encroached out into the narrow alley passing behind it. Kate mentioned that it had to be demolished as it contravened building regulations. It was difficult to see where else there was space to put it – but I left before the situation was resolved. The interior of the house was full of dark wood fixtures: staircase, shutters and window frames. The house had little furniture as Kate had only recently moved to the village. Despite her short residence, she had certainly fallen in love with her house and spent much time with the architect and designer trying to make the house what she wanted it to be. This was just one of several renovation projects I witnessed during my stay in the village, all carried out for expatriate owners (S:5.4.1 p164).
Opposite Kate's house was the Kalamaki Pension, a modern building, 13 years old. The building, constructed in the style of Kalkan's old buildings by yerli halk (local), was leased to Durmuş, another yerli halk (local), and Christine, his Scottish wife. Christine ran the pension (S:5.6.1 p175). The building was purpose built. It is not clear whether it stood on the site of an old house or was a new build site. The property directly opposite the Kalamaki Pension, constructed by the same developer who built the modern apartments in Figure 9 was a new build. It was highly likely that the pension represented the earliest development of the old village. The area in which it stood had the name 'Scotch Corner' due to the predominance of Scottish owners and tenants. The group formed a sub-community located in between the old village and the 'landslide area' on the other side of the dere (stream) which channelled run-off water from the mountain rains into the sea. On one side of the dere (stream), building was possible; on the other, forbidden. The far side was a desolate yet beautiful ‘graveyard’ of fabricated stones. One of the Scottish women had bought a piece of land there and was waiting for the day when she could recreate her dream home, a little stone house exactly like they used to be.

Further down the street yerli halk (local) still owned and lived in their houses. It was possible to tell which buildings they owned; as their external appearance was generally worn, indicative of many years of seasonal residence. These houses had no courtyards or had significantly smaller ones to those mentioned previously. On one very sad occasion, friends took me into the courtyard of a local friend’s family home to condole with her on the loss of her young husband in a car crash. The courtyard was full of items left lying around as if just finished with or just waiting to be used again. The outsides of houses frequently resembled a ‘junk yard’ more than a patio. The front step outside the house was where the woman of the family frequently sat crocheting lace in the sunshine or where she met her friends to walk down the street.
for their daily walk together. As foreigners slowly acquired old houses, the appearance of the street began
to vary from dark and weather-worn to orangey yellow almost alternately as each new renovation project
came to completion — colour giving away the social identity and the life-world of the owner (Figure 15).

![Figure 15: Yerli Halk's Houses](left: a German woman renovated the first house, the second house was in its
original condition; right: illustrates the unkempt exterior of local's houses)

The street passes the Simply Turkey office, no longer used by the company, and the Balkikci Han
Apartments, used by tourists in summer and left empty in winter. Beyond this point, the street narrowed
to a pathway ending at the wall, preventing walkers from falling off the cliff side into the landscaped
garden area below. Just to the left is the old mosque. It had fallen into disrepair and was unused, it closed
some time in 2001. The odd terlik (type of shoe) scattered haphazardly on the ground inside the gates was
a testament to a time of use, but the building is now weather-beaten and forlorn. Beyond the mosque, the
path formed steps down to the man-made public beach, built by the municipality with the help of
expatriate donations. Every year the beach improved, the pebbled area extended or beach furniture, chaise
longue and beach umbrellas, arrived. The beach used to be patronised by the local people, but as beach
club prices rose, everyone used it. Walking back up from the beach along the road, rather than back up
the steps, you pass the Fener Café. Open all year round this was where Turkish families came for
refreshment after a walk at weekends in winter. Having spent a number of hours whiling away the day, we
all made our ways home as the sun slowly sank behind the mountain on the right hand side of the bay,
with a regularity that routinised the days in both winter and summer.

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44 Kalkan had several beach clubs. These consisted of concrete platforms blasted into the cliff face. To reach the
clubs you took a small boat from the harbour, they ran about every 45 minutes.
3.5 Spring: A Transitional Place

Springtime in Old Kalkan was a time of transition. A considerable amount of activity was required to transform the Turkish village into the shopping mall and restaurant complex it would become in the summer. Premises closed up for five months all required some form of rejuvenation to eradicate traces of the winter storms. At the very least, they received a fresh coat of whitewash and a thorough cleaning throughout. Businesses opened from the end of April with a view to catching the independent traveller. The majority of returning entrepreneurs had negotiated rental contracts at the end of the previous season, if renegotiation was required. The contract determined the known duration of their seasonal migration. In 2000, many entrepreneurs were engaged in rental agreements that specified a fixed rent for a number of years. However, as Kalkan's popularity as a tourist destination increased, property owners granted shorter leases. This enabled leaseholders to renegotiate rental values more frequently. A few entrepreneurs paid their rent in advance from the season's profits. Others paid on receipt of their first month's earnings.

Entrepreneurs returning to the village ordinarily arrived in Old Kalkan two to three weeks in advance of their chosen opening date. The timing depended on the size of their commercial premises. Frequently they returned laden with objects to recreate the look and feel of their businesses (Ruhsar, SPTY, 2001). The preparation of business premises in the old village took slightly less time than in other areas. The majority of the businesses were small shops, based in a single room. Time not spent on painting and cleaning went on arranging products in a manner to entice the customer to enter. An inordinate amount of attention went into every detail of these displays. Entrepreneurs rivalled each other to capture the tourist's gaze. The design of a display was dependent upon the type of merchandise on sale. Services such as tours, sporting activities, accommodation or dining, and objects such as carpets, jewellery, spices, ceramics and sweets required different forms of promotion.

Billboards, light boxes hung on exterior walls, and freestanding boards outside in the street advertised day trips. These displays contained the day's itinerary, photographs of people on past tours and customer feedback. Flyers to take away and peruse at leisure fluttered in stand-alone street racks or in specially designed wall holders. Most customers usually strolled past early in the evening to research activities for the following day, and strolled back again later to book in person, having made a choice over dinner.

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45 I was advised that rental values for the 2003 season had increased dramatically (Kutlay, RTY, 2003).
46 By Entrepreneurs I mean the proprietors of small business enterprises, self employed as opposed to paid workers (c.f. Özcan 1995).
Objects, unlike services, promoted themselves, as long as they are visible. Most were brightly coloured and ‘intriguing’, enticing the passer-by to look, touch or smell the textures and fragrances. Multi-coloured carpets hung unrolled from wooden roof beams and balconies or rolled out on the street. Blue and turquoise ceramics mounted on walls or stacked on shelves or dressers lined the street. Jewellery, primarily silver, and semiprecious stones of all hues and origins sparkled from behind well-lit glass display cabinets or from window recesses. Cotton clothes and tailored goods hung outside on hangers, rails and dummies or suspended from canopies unfurled to protect the merchandise from the glaring sun. Spices, apple tea, backgammon sets, fake brands, sarongs, handbags and t-shirts occupied every available hanging space and filled the narrow streets. The street, once empty and deserted, became alive through the embodied agency of old and new objects. It formed a covered bazaar of treasures to entice the tourist to enter into the worlds captured within business premises.

Over a period of years, I observed that some entrepreneurs were using new marketing techniques. They no longer relied solely on ‘hanging out their products’ to attract customers. They made use of additional signs, notices and adverts - all written in English. Turkish became a ‘second language’ during the summer. Restaurant menus were dual texts. Everyone wanted to practise their English. Most locals were experts in Pidgin English, hand signs and business etiquette, while a number of them were fluent English speakers. Most had cards, leaflets, brochures, signs, adverts and websites proclaiming their wares. The use of sophisticated marketing tools enhanced the entrepreneur’s status locally (it signified the knowledge and capital required to produce these types of advertising materials). While these tools did little to enhance business within the context of a captured market, they empowered people. They made them feel that they were doing something to counteract the slump in sales resulting from a change in tourists buying practices and decreased tourist numbers (S:4.4 p137).

3.6 Summer: Shopping Mall & Restaurant Complex

In summer entrepreneur’s life-styles and their business practices revolved around tourists’ daily routines. Tourists’ routines determined the atmosphere of the streets. In the day the street felt sleepy, and shops were closed and shuttered against the ravages of the midday sun. External displays remained inside. The old village was deserted. Most tourists (customers) had gone out on day trips or stayed by the pool. They would not venture into the village until evening other than for a light lunch or a cold beer. The shops appeared to have returned temporarily to their winter guises, but the colours were fresher and they look occupied and waiting to open.
Shops opened at around six in the evening to catch tourists as they returned from their day trips or walked down to the Marina for an early dinner, pre-dinner drink or a little window-shopping. At this time shutters were flung wide and products spilled out onto the street. Entrepreneurs vied to get the best position for their external displays without invading a neighbour's patch. The ownership of certain points along the street was the subject of rivalry, gossip and dispute amongst local entrepreneurs. Restaurateur friends of mine commented that they were forever competing for the best spot in which to position their outside, stand-alone menu board with the restaurateur next door (Julie, SPY, 2001). Nothing went to chance. It was easy to lose one's way under the hypnotic spell of baubles, lights, *rakı*[^47] and Turkish ‘friendliness’. Many purchases were made after the fifth *elmali cayi* (apple tea) (S:4.5 p140). Shops closed after the last customer. This was ordinarily around one or two o'clock in the morning. Entrepreneurs had little spare time in summer. Even when the shop, bar, café or restaurant was empty they were always on the alert in case a customer stepped in. The season was particularly long for hoteliers who worked seven days a week from seven in the morning to two the following morning throughout the entire six-months. Few people were able to take time off as they did most of the work themselves. Some shop owners, who opened in the late afternoon, did manage to take a siesta or go for a swim between two and six in the evening. Bars stayed open until four or five o'clock, many catered to entrepreneurs and workers unwinding at the end of a busy evening and preparing for another day very much like the last.

### 3.6.1 Shops

In 2000 and 2001, I conducted a survey of the businesses in Old Kalkan. This sub-section presents the results of my initial survey conducted in the winter of 2000 and its follow up conducted in the summer of 2001. Table 10 & Table 11 illustrate the results of the surveys, the overall business composition of the old village. Section 5.6 provides a more detailed representation of entrepreneurs' business practices (p174). Table 10 represents the various types of business, the number of similar businesses and businesses' opening details. Table 11 provides a more detailed breakdown of Old Kalkan's shops. The data confirmed that the majority of businesses in the old village were tourism-oriented ventures, corroborated by the small percentage of businesses which remained open during the winter months. Given that only 14 percent of businesses were open throughout the year, it was clear that there was no market for such items in winter. Indeed opening times coincided with the tourist season validating the Turkish village/shopping mall distinction.

[^47]: Aniseed flavoured liquor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Type</th>
<th>No. by Type</th>
<th>% of Business Profile</th>
<th>No. open year round</th>
<th>% open year round</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apartment Buildings</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cafés</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Hire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate Agents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet Bars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure Sports Agencies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosques</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops (Groceries)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Agencies</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>133</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10: The Business Composition of Kalkan's Old Village**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Merchandise</th>
<th>No. shops by merchandise type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antiques/'Antiques'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpets/Kilims</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts (glassware, handcrafted items - non textile related)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groceries</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather goods</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsagents (film, batteries, postcards)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography studio</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweets/spices/teas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor/Clothes/Textile products</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toiletries/Perfumery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11: Old Kalkan Shops by Merchandise Type**
To understand the makeup of Old Kalkan in summer, I focussed on the composition of its main shopping street, Hasan Alton Caddesi (HAC) (Figure 17). For some inextricable reason, the top of the HAC is always busier than the bottom, a factor frequently commented upon by entrepreneurs running businesses along the harbour/bottom end. The reason was, most likely, a reflection of tourists' physical needs. I observed tourists upon entry to the old village happily sidetracked by window-shopping. However, after ten shops and a couple of hours, they appeared overwhelmed by objects. As the dinner hour approached, they hurried down to the harbour. Many of my tourist informants and acquaintances stated that they tackled the old village in stages or stuck to the recommendation of other tourists. Also at this point, the road was particularly steep propelling walkers down the hill. I observed tourists from Taylor’s Restaurant, situated on the bend in the road. They paid more attention to staying upright than to the shop windows. After dinner, they returned to their hotels via a different route.

Of the 51 shops in the Old Village, 30 were on Hasan Alton Caddesi (Figure 17). Shops sold a variety of merchandise both antique and modern, from ceramics to the ubiquitous Turkish carpet. Kalkan was renowned for its silver jewellery, both locally crafted and imported. There was no product or merchandise specific to Kalkan. Kalkan serves as a bazaar for the produce of Turkey. In 2001, Mine Arts were trying to create a Kalkan ‘icon’ around which Kalkan specific souvenirs could be crafted, but it was early days. The icon was of two fish and represented the importance of the sea in Kalkan’s history (Mine Arts, 2001).
The shops were located in the closed up houses of our winter walk through Kalkan. Their appearance was similar to a village house. Shops occupied the ground floor of houses. Upper floors (there was usually only one) were either used by the business proprietor for domestic accommodation or by the owners of the building. The delineation between public (lower) and private (upper) space was stable. However, the instability of the Turkish economy as a whole and the tourism sector in particular, created a relatively high turnover. Landlords remained the same, their revenue stream was assured. However, the ability of tenants to pay rents is less certain. Businesses also changed location for more personal reasons: landlords wanted to use their property (Kalamus Travel, previously No. 2, now No. 3 HAC) or renovations led to relocation as a result of increased rents (K&S Jewellery previously No. 10, now No. 30, HAC). In these instances, the overall business composition remained unchanged but the balance had shifted.

For the tourist in summer, Hasan Alton Caddesi was both a surprise and a little daunting. The surprise was because neither the street nor the old village were visible upon entering Kalkan, nor were they visible from the main road above the village. The old village was also significantly different in style and density of architecture from the rest of the village, where the majority of tourists stayed. It was really only possible to view it on foot. Daunting, in that once entered there was no turning back. The tourist was ‘caught up in’ the activities associated with the old village. From the moment they entered the shopping mall they would be invited to look around, to try goods, to see more inside, to eat here or to go on one tour or another. Tourists entered into bars drawn by melodies or into restaurants by aromas and claims of excellent culinary delights. They were the focal point of attention for expert ‘sales technicians’. The tourists were the ‘big men’ of the day. Their questions and opinions were ‘valued’ despite the repetitive nature of the topics, their desires provided for and their money taken. Tourist’s experiences form the basis of Chapter 7.
Figure 17: The Business Composition of Hasan Altın Caddesi
3.6.2 Restaurants

Kalkan had a surfeit of eateries. Of the 133 businesses in the Old Village, 28 were restaurants, 6 were cafés and 6 were bars, making a total of 40 different locations to eat, drink or get a snack during a 7 or 14-night stay. This figure did not include hotel and pension in-house restaurants and bars or the eateries in neighbouring villages and towns. The latter formed the basis of a ‘holiday jaunt’ organised by tour operators and local tour agencies. Brochures and guidebooks featuring Kalkan quoted a figure of 100 restaurants available to sustain tourists (Tapestry Holidays, The Rough Guide). Most tourists had breakfast in their accommodation. As breakfasts were hearty and temperatures hot, the majority only ate one additional meal during the day. They usually ate at night when the sun had set and temperatures cooled down sufficiently to make leisurely eating a pleasure. Given that they dined in their accommodation on the first night, it left tourists with 6 or 13 nights to sample 100 restaurants (excluding bars and cafés). Clearly, it was an impossible task. Furthermore, tourists were creatures of habit. They applied the same technique they used for shopping to restaurants. They wandered around the village on the first day checking out everything before making a choice. Some tourists just went directly to places recommended by other tourists in their hotels. If the choice was a good one, then they usually returned for a second visit, further narrowing the number of restaurants they were able to sample during the holiday period.

Having strolled down Hasan Alton Caddesi window shopping or pausing to drink tea in one of the many shops, you reached a flight of steps leading down to the harbour front. The restaurant complex was located at the foot of these steps. Whether you turned left or right at the bottom, you faced restaurants. The harbour front (a right turn) was the most favoured place to eat in Old Kalkan. Until recently, it was possible to eat at a table situated on a terrace overlooking the harbour. During my fieldwork, this changed, causing considerable consternation amongst restaurateurs who used this space to seat their clients. Instead, the closest one came to a table overlooking the harbour was one placed in the street, closed to traffic in the evening, next to the terrace. New visitors were none the wiser, and enjoyed their *àl fresco* meal none the less for their lack of knowledge of where tourists sat in earlier years.

A left turn at the bottom of the steps took you past Jimmy’s Pizzeria (serving Italian style pizza – as opposed to Turkish *pide* – and a selection of local dishes), then Deniz Restaurant, serving traditional Turkish cuisine, then The Korsan, reputedly one of the village’s most successful restaurants, serving an internationalised version of Turkish cuisine. Finally, you reached the Kleo Bar, which served drinks and played music late into the night. This was the last business before the road ran into the public
beach. On the opposite side of the street was the Fener Café, the village's "çay bahcesi" (tea garden) serving light snacks, a lovely place to watch the sun set over the harbour.

*Al fresco* activities dominated the Kalkan life-style, and buildings reflected the life-style. Few restaurants had indoor seating facilities, with the exception of those open all year round. Tourists dinned at outside tables or on rooftop terraces, with either sun umbrellas or the stars overhead. With the exception of the Fener Café, the structures of the businesses mentioned above were remarkably similar. Each consisted of a small permanent structure at the back of the plot. With the exception of The Kleo Bar, where it formed the dance floor, the enclosed area was the kitchen. As these restaurants were only open in the summer, there was no need for an indoor seating area. The majority of the plots had an area of concreted floor in front of the kitchen. In winter, the plots were empty, and all plots merged into one unused space. In summer, these plots formed the dining areas of some of the 'posher' restaurants in the village. Their owners transformed them from a concrete wasteland into charming eateries subdivided from each other by potted plants. In these separate spaces owners created an 'ambience'. All restaurants had a sea/harbour view, and 'interior designs' made the most of this feature. Further distinction was achieved through the ambience (Turkish or eclectic), choice of outdoor furniture (tables and chairs), table linen and decoration, lighting, staff 'uniforms' and the menu. The latter was the primary concern. The menu stood in an illuminated, glass-fronted pedestal, or illuminated board, in front of 'the entrance' to the restaurant (an aisle created by a gap in the seating arrangements) in full view of passing promenaders reflecting upon what 'image' they wished to eat tonight. Eating was a public process. Despite attempts by proprietors to generate a private dining space, everything was on view, and it was impossible to avoid unwanted acquaintances (generated on holiday excursions) or acknowledge groups of friends (again generated by shared residence or excursion) without embarrassment.

Turning right took you past several restaurants: the Patara Restaurant, serving fish-based Turkish cuisine; the small *kumpir* oven, serving hot baked potatoes; the Pathcan, whose Turkish/German owners served food all year round, including Christmas lunch; Sultan Marina, serving Turkish cuisine, again open all year; the Ilyada Restaurant, the Yacht Point Café Bar, a place to dance into the early hours; the Café Marina, never as busy as its neighbour; and finally, after a row of leisure activity agencies, the Pirat Hotel's *ovakbasi* (open grill restaurant), serving *pide* (Turkish pizza) and salads.

These premises were different to those on the left hand side of the steps. They had permanent structures that remained standing in winter. The requirement for outdoor seating areas was important, but these restaurants had indoor seating or dancing areas, enabling them to stay open in all seasons. Restaurants were easily recognisable walls separated each business. They had constructed, rather than created, entrances – you open a door to enter, rather than crossed an imaginary threshold. As
mentioned above, the two restaurants open throughout the year, Pathcan and Sultan Marina, had indoor, permanently covered dining facilities to protect clients from severe winter storms. The style of these two restaurants is easily distinguishable in winter. One caters for the holidays of the non-Turkish community (with mulled wine and Christmas lunch) and the other does not. In summer, all catered for the same market, tourists on holiday and looking to enjoy Turkish cuisine.

What about the Turkish holidaymaker? During the fieldwork period, the major Turkish national holidays (bayram) fell in December and March. It was not possible to assess the impact of a Turkish clientele on the 'ambience' and style of Kalkan restaurants. Some businesses opened briefly to cater for Turkish holidaymakers during bayram (holidays), but overall the village remained closed. Largely, the timing of Turkish national holidays had kept tourists and bayram holidaymakers apart. Kalkan has not had to cater for two communities at the same time since its development into a tourist destination favoured by foreign tourists. It would be several years before the two groups vacationed at the same time, given the slow rate at which the national holidays changed this date each year.

Of greater consideration to the nature of restaurateurs’ presentation strategies was the nationality of the clientele. Local use of restaurants was of two types: special occasions or special deals. As mentioned earlier many of those involved in tourism businesses had little time to use facilities, or chose not to pay the high prices for food and drink. Those with families preferred to eat at home. Turks believed home cooked food is more tasteful and it is lavish to pay for what can be cooked at home (Yildiz & Bahar 2001). Locals visited the trout farms in Islamlar48 to eat fresh fish, but this was viewed differently to eating in the village restaurants, where 'home cooked' food is on offer. Those without families established a 'family type' relationship with a particular restaurant. They had their meals delivered.

The majority of customers were the British. Surprisingly, given the ongoing relationship of British tourists with Kalkan (c.f. Bodrum and Marmaris), the type of food on offer remained predominantly Turkish, albeit slightly adapted to the tastes of the regular clientele. It was possible to find an English breakfast including bacon (imported for the visitors), and there was one pub, the Swan, which served burgers (outside Old Kalkan). Kalkan did not cater for the burger-eating elements of the British public, particularly given the local alternative köfte, which meat-eating friends told me was far superior. Restaurateurs catered for couples, or groups of friends, wishing to enjoy a leisurely dinner and talk late into the evening. Most dishes were traditional Turkish recipes, eaten separately with copious quantities of bread and/or rice. Flavourings were often locally found herbs: oregano, thyme, mint and sage.

48 Located in the hills above Kalkan, the village received its name as its inhabitants were Muslim in a predominately Rum (Orthodox Christian) area.
Dinners were four courses followed by after-dinner drinks and more conversation. No one was rushed. Restaurants closed when the last client left, be it at the end of the night or the season.

3.7 Summary: The Duality of Place

Whilst the use of the English linguistic referents on shop signs, restaurant menus, and agency leaflets suggested that Kalkan contained two sub-communities, Turkish and English, the actual situation was considerably more complex. English linguistic referents, prominent within the destination, were absent from the village. Equally the destinations' non-utilitarian material objects (souvenirs) and services (eating and drinking), were absent from the village, as illustrated in Table 10 & Figure 17. This produced a duality of place based on different types of migration that resulted in different property and product relations throughout the year (S:1.2 p48; Chapter 4). The duality was largely a result of the seasonality of tourism. However, it also arose due to residents' different place histories and consequently different relationships with the village and the destination. The influx of seasonal migrants brought multiple senses of what it meant to be Turkish. These different singular identities were visible in Old Kalkan's architecture and business composition. For many migrants seasonal residence in Kalkan reflected a wider discourse, in which employment in Kalkan served only to enhance their status back home. This group made the most of English linguistic referents to achieve a successful business enterprise in order to obtain their ultimate goal of altering their position within Turkish society.

Having detached themselves from their linguistic referents for eight months of the year, several members of this group refused to use English linguistic referents outside the season. They were tired and fed up with trying to communicate in a foreign language: winter was their time off (Sevilay, PTY, 2001). The perception of the destination as English or non-Turkish was less prominent in the Turkish village. However, the empty buildings owned by expatriates were a reminder of the two faces of place. The Turkish/English duality represented by linguistic and material referents was complicated by the recognition of alternative identities embodied within the vernacular architecture and the surrounding landscape – 'Antiquity', Ottoman, Rum (Orthodox Christian), Turkish and English. Despite attempts to produce an index of local identity, the identification of Kalkan as a place was through indices of otherness. Objects produced outside the destination were used to construct the sense of 'Turkish' expected by tourists, arguably more Ottoman than Turkish. This resulted in the absence of utilitarian goods from the old village as shopping mall and its closure in winter. Old Kalkan had come to symbolise the idyllic village of tourists' dreams but it held a series of different meanings for yerli halk (locals), Türk yabanı (strangers) and expatriates (Chapter 5).
Chapter 4 Community: The Structures of Locality

The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalisation of the division into social classes... inevitably inscribed within the dispositions of the habitus is the whole structure of the system of conditions as it presents itself in the experience of a life-condition occupying a particular position within that structure. The most fundamental oppositions in the structure (high/low, rich/poor etc.) tend to establish themselves as the fundamental structuring principles of practices and the perception of practices (Bourdieu 1986:170-2).

In this chapter, I consider the ways in which such a diverse group of people manage to live together in Kalkan. I consider the cohesive and divisive forces within the community. I explore the ways in which the community integrated seasonal migrants, without local connections, and tourists, through traditional structuring principles such as memleket (place of origin), family, and friendship (Özcan 1995). I observed that all three structuring principles had the power to unite and divide the community along sectarian lines. Party politics were not particularly significant in the organisation of the Kalkan community. While there was, undoubtedly, much politicking and jostling for power between particular groups the disputes were outside of left or right wing affiliations. As seasonal residents rarely re-registered their place of domicile, they expressed their party political views in their hometown elections. In 2005, following the re-election of the Mustafa Şalvarlı, affiliated to DYP, as the local mayor I was told that the party was not important. The informant added that the mayor affiliated to this party by default, as he had nowhere else to go. His election represented his local affiliations over party politics (Kemal, RTY, 2005).

As the number of unconnected in-migrant residents increased, profession or type of business activity and place of origin had become significant structuring principles. Where Özcan (1995) and White (1994) have pointed to the role of hemşerilik (fellow townsmanship) in integrating migrants within a community, in the context of Kalkan which receives migrants from all over Turkey, shared identity was based on the region, not city, of origin. As a general principle, new residents were always seeking to connect themselves within the community. However, as the makeup of the community changed, locals were also required to reconnect themselves. While these principles were evident during my stay in Kalkan, the implications of the conflict between cohesive and divisive social forces on the structure of the community and the implications for the physical and architectural organisation of space

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remained unclear. Sub-communities did exist within the community. Whether the existing sub-communities would persist as groups, or be replaced by others, was unclear. The precise relationship between the individual and the collective eluded capture as residents' position within the community continually changed dependent upon the makeup of the community, which also changed. In this chapter, I present some of the factors which structured individuals' relationships with sub-communities and the community as a whole.

4.1 The Ideology of Family: Kinship & Sociability

Given the opportunity of making a short visit to Turkey, a non-Turkish speaking visitor might wonder why all men were: *abi* or *amca*. Posing the question, they would learn that *abi* refers to the 'older brother', and *amca* means 'uncle' (father's brother). If their time was spent in a small village, such close ties between male members of the community might be plausible, but they were unlikely in a city the size of Ankara or Istanbul or even a town the size of Kalkan. Evidently, kin terms of address in Turkish society do more than label blood ties.

In Kalkan, where the stability of the local community was challenged by the balance between in- and out-migrants, and where the people's sense of Turkishness was threatened by the growing number of foreign residents, the use made of kin terms of address provided a means of social cohesion. In Turkey, the widespread use of kin terms of address between both related and un-related people highlights the importance of the ideology of the family as a structuring principle of society. The family provides the blueprint upon which people connect to each other. Kin terms symbolise a set of socially acceptable roles. Roles govern people's behaviour and interaction based on respect and obligation (Casson & Ozertug 1976). The use of kin terms to address strangers and migrants establishes their position within the ideology of the family and hence the community. Kin terms established the type of behaviour expected from strangers. They also denoted their initial position or social status within the community. All of Kalkan's Turkish residents were brothers, sisters, uncles or aunts. The only non-family members of the community were foreigners. Interpersonal association between the Turkish and non-Turkish members of the community were based on what Meeker (2002) refers to as sociability: friendliness as opposed to friendship (S:4.6 p143). He describes as obligatory the extending of hospitality to strangers consistent with ethnographic accounts of relationships between hosts and guests (Smith et al 1989). Sociability and hospitality imply a shared interest in community stability. Kalkaners treated resident non-family members as guests, neighbours or friends (c.f. Meeker 2002).
So what did the terms mean in general and in relation to the Kalkan community? In Turkish families, distinct terms were used for relatives on the father and mother's side. This produced a complex kinship terminology: *amca* (father's brother), *dayi* (mother's brother), *teyye* (mother's sister), and *bala* (father's sister). In Turkey the number of terms used to address non-relatives was considerably reduced, hence the tourist recognising only *abi* and *amca*. The reduced number of terms was indicative of the mechanisms upon which *saygh* (respect) was constructed. Outside the family, the most frequently used terms were *abi* (older brother), *abla* (older sister), *amca* (uncle - father's brother), *teyye* (aunt - mother's sister) and *yenge* ('aunt'/in-marrying woman). The particular term of address used depends on the relative positioning of conversers vis-à-vis the family (community). Members of the same generation, work colleagues or friends, referred to each other as *abi* or *abla*, signifying respect between co-equals irrespective of their actual, relative ages. In cross-generational conversation, members of the younger generation addressed members of the older generation as *amca* or *teyye* while the older generation addressed the younger as *ogul* (son) or *kız* (daughter), indicative of respect and affection. In more formal situations, such as those between businessmen on initial acquaintance, strangers, or those of significantly differing status, *bey* and *hamm* are suffixed to the *ad* (first name) - *Aybilhamm* or *Mehmetbey*. The formality ceased after a number of meetings as it was against the social convention to remain strangers.

*Türk yabanı* (strangers) who relocated to Kalkan were addressed in the same manner as non-related *yerli halk* (locals). Address incorporated strangers within the family (community) based on obligations specified by the term. I argue that sociability was stretched when individuals relocated alone without visible family ties. People were unable to place them within the structure. I observed these individuals being addressed by name. The use of the personal name alienated them from the family (community). Some *Türk yabanı* (strangers) seemed to like being addressed individually (Damla, RTY, 2001). The majority felt uncomfortable at such apparent unsociability, and sought reconnection as *abi* or *yenge/abla*. Reconnection was usually achieved through property and business networks (S:5.4 p164; S:5.6 p174).

Kalkaners addressed foreigners by name, 'John' or 'Mr/Mrs Brown', in accordance with their own social convention. The use of the two social conventions highlighted the presence of groups affiliated by the use of different linguistic referents within the nominal linguistic utopia (Pratt, 1987). While foreigners were addressed as individuals, the type of address confirmed their particular identity as non-family members, living in tangent to, the family (community). Foreigners' integration within the community required an incorporative force, once again this was provided by the inter sub-community networking involved in property negotiations. Foreign men and women experienced Turkish
sociability differently. Michael, 43, a former psychiatric nurse from Nottingham, described being included in the local male community. He had fond memories of excursions with his male friends to pick tomatoes and stay up all night talking and drinking. Julie, 29, a former hairdresser from Norfolk, described the complex emotions generated by her sensing of disrespect towards her (Julie, SPY, 2001). Local perceptions of people's desire to be included — lengthy residence and familiarity with the Turkish language — occasionally generated shared linguistic referents, but this was rare. Kalkaners used kin terms, humorously, to initiate shared referents between foreigners and Turkish residents. Foreigners' acknowledgement of the role implied by the kin term used to address them distanced them from their English speaking sub-community. These foreigners were between sub-communities, closer to the family (community) and distanced from the expatriate group. Equally, a person's ambivalence towards the sharing of linguistic referents solidified sub-community boundaries. This reinforced the 'them' and 'us' divide implicit in the specification of a group within community (O'Reilly 2000).

My observations of the use made of kin terms allowed me to assess the extent to which Türk yabanca (strangers) and foreigners were integrated within the family (community). Türk yabanca (strangers) had negotiated their position within the community through the testing out of familial address during property or business negotiations. They had established connections within the village irrespective of whether they had any to begin with or not. Türk yabanca (strangers) and foreigners' day-to-day activities served to integrate them in the family (community). What Hirsch refers to as the everyday activities of life all required relationships. All residents wanted to be accepted, despite expressed preferences for independence or for belonging elsewhere. The persistent use of kin terms illustrated the durability of the ideology of the family as a governing structural principle, particularly when confronted with mobility, movement and migration.

4.2 Households: Extended, Nuclear & Unconventional

This section considers the impact of unsociability, migration and modernity, on a community organised along Family principles. Migration and modernity potentially uproot a person, literally or metaphorically, from their memleket (place of origin). People either relocate the household as a unit or move away from the household unit to create new households elsewhere. New household units may be constructed near other migrants, hemşer (fellow townsman), thereby regionalising the new community. Alternatively, they may be set up away from any connections with the emphasis being on

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52 This term is notoriously difficult to define. For discussion of its use in the Turkish context, see Bozdoğan & Kasaba (1997) Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey.
private space and individualism (Ayata 2002). My analysis of household composition enabled me to understand local attitudes towards such ‘unconventional households’. More importantly, it helped me to understand the threat they posed to the existing social structure based on the ideology of the family.

Stirling’s (1964) detailed survey of household composition in two Turkish villages prior to the period of massive rural to urban drift in the 1950’s and 60’s, had refuted the predominance of extended over nuclear family households but highlighted the power of the ‘ideal’ as an organisational principle behind social identity and place. Households typically consisted of the parent generation and their children (possibly grandparents, or unmarried aunts). Children remained at home until marriage (the age of which varies tremendously given economic circumstances, military service and increased participation in higher education). Traditionally male children remained within the family household upon marriage, which expanded to include an additional room or storey. On marriage the bride, gelin (the one who comes/is coming in), would relocate to the house of her husband’s family. Where villages practised exogamy the matrilineal kin lived outside the village, but not necessarily that far away. In the past, children had arranged marriages for which families often used a go between. Today, arranged marriages were less common but children knew the rules and remained careful and considerate of parents’ views when choosing their partners. Thus, households supposedly represented patrilineal kin. The place diagrams of two yerli halk (locals) families in (S:2.1 p64) showed that one of the two families was a patrilineal kin group and the other matrilineal. Faith’s paternal and maternal grandfathers, in-migrants to Kalkan, integrated within the maternal kin group. More significantly, the place diagrams show that many family members had out-migrated in subsequent waves of migration. They formed households away from the patrilineal line and the memleket.

In Kalkan, I observed the impact of tourism-driven out-migration and tourism-oriented in-migration on household composition and local attitudes towards household units. Migration had resulted in unconventional households. By unconventional I mean households that did not conform to either the extended or nuclear family unit. These might be households occupied by an individual or an unmarried couple. However, a change in attitude towards the behaviour of others is not quite the same as an incorporation of others’ practices within the governing ideology. Yerli halk (locals) ordinarily married within their sub-community and set up households in accordance with the practice described above. Men remained in the household or set up a separate household close by, and women moved away, but not too far, from their parental home (Gülsum, YH, 2001). Türk yabancı (strangers) in their relocation to Kalkan had broken this pattern. However the obligations to family ties remained and they ordinarily visited family members in the national holidays or were visited by them. Foreigners had a different attitude towards the household unit. The choice to become expatriates severed links to their place of origin and for the most part their family. Many were retired couples whose children had left home long ago and probably seldom visited their family. In fact, the
relocation of these couples to sunnier climes probably encouraged family members to visit more frequently than had they remained in the United Kingdom.

Whether family members were present or absent from the household unit, there was a great deal of curiosity surrounding a person’s family. Both I and other residents living in unconventional households experienced a great deal of curiosity about our relations. Our families and connections were the target of many questions. People appeared to require some form of reassurance that a person was connected or connectible. It was inconceivable that anyone would abandon their family obligations. I was aware that people’s questioning enabled them to relate to me in an appropriate manner. I made the most of my local connections, my family in Ankara. My family’s status made my position in the village appear unusual, as opposed to unacceptable, as single women did not normally live alone. In 2001, the integration of unconventional households within the family (community) was less contentious than it had been, but certain household types—solo or unmarried couples—still posed a significant threat to the community. The threat arose from people’s choice to remain outside the community. The community did not know how to respond to members of these households, particularly those living alone outside the social conventions of the community. Female informants described this as liberating, depressing, frustrating and painful (S:4.3 p 135).

Alienation from the community was a source of discomfort to some but also motivated others to relocate. Young people born into the everyday of conflict between hegemony and modernity relocated to Kalkan to escape the obligations of family (community) symbolised by their parents, and their obligations to them (Koray, PTY, 2001). Relocation showed the desire of this group to be individuals, to amass personal wealth and to experience sexual freedom. Ironically, Kalkan’s Turkish residents rarely managed to achieve liberation from family type obligations. The tourist presence had reformulated social boundaries, but it had not altered social constraints. The imaginary and the everyday community occasionally overlapped, but largely existed within two separate realms: the images of the brochures and the everyday routine of the village (S:7.1 p 223).

Young people’s life-style choices were not a repudiation of the ideology of the family. They represented the desire amongst a small, middle-class, city-based minority, or those who encountered the social conventions of others, by definition over-represented in tourist destinations, for an interim stage in life. This group chose to have a period living alone or co-habiting between childhood and marriage. The data I had collected in the winter of 2000 to analysis the relationship between genealogy and place provided information about household composition. The six residents with extended family members living in the village all lived as nuclear family units. The number of locations in which Kalkaners settled, together with my informants’ comments, illustrated the predominance of nuclear households amongst the yerli halk (locals) sub-community. However many families did live in
households within close proximity to each other' creating mahalle (districts) in cities with particular identities (Figure 5 & Figure 6). The data I collected in the summer of 2001 regarding Türk yabanı̈s (strangers) and expatriates' household composition indicated a growing number of couple and solo households in the destination. In 2000, it was virtually impossible to find accommodation designed for singles or couples. The design of domestic property evolved around the family unit. Many of the development projects completed in the 2001 construction season included smaller apartments suited to couples or solo occupants. There were even some studio apartments. The development of complexes incorporating this type of property symbolises the local recognition of unconventional household units. Albeit that they are usually associated with foreign residents or owners.

Türk yabanı̈s (strangers) living in nuclear households either migrated en famille as small children, or retired to the village and were joined by their adult children. Whilst resettlement of this group may have generated suspicion, its occurrence at a time of countrywide rural/urban migration meant that either unease had passed or that incoming households did not represent a threat to the family (community) in the manner of unconventional households. A family was included without damaging social convention. Türk yabanı̈s (strangers) living in solo or couple households had migrated alone, or with their partner in search of work, a different lifestyle or a retirement location. Married couples without children were included as kin, or foreigners, dependent on their nationality. Unmarried couples were acceptable if they shared the same nationality, educational level and income status. Unmarried cross-cultural couples posed the greatest threat to the community, as it was perceived as foreign women taking away the men (Government Employee, 2001). Living solo was the most unusual type of household. The attitude of the community towards people living alone tended to vary according to the age, gender, economic status, profession and place of origin of the person living alone. For example, Özlen, from İstanbul, single, well educated, well travelled, middle-aged, a retired employee of Türk Hava Yollari (Turkish Airlines), owner of a boutique business in the Old Village for several years, did not pose a threat to the family (community). However, Turkish village and tourist destination were different places, had she been a permanent resident it is likely she would not have found her situation so easy. Life-styles acceptable in the destination were unacceptable in the village. Seasonal migration allowed Türk yabanı̈s (strangers) to make the most of their destination and city lifestyles.

Ultimately, the greatest challenge to the ideology of the family was likely to come from the growing expatriate sub-community. Drawn to Kalkan by the sense of family (community), they were beginning to demand a voice. The challenge they represented differed from that posed by young Türk yabanı̈s (strangers) in search of independence and sexual freedom before returning to social convention. They wanted their linguistic referents acknowledged; for example, all public announcements regarding water or power cuts to be issued in Turkish and English, acknowledging
their presence. At the time of research, expatriates remained without influence, although the group's voice was gaining strength. They expressed their presence through charitable endeavours: purchasing of large plastic garbage bins to prevent street animals scattering refuse around the Old Village, donating money towards the purchase of outdoor furniture for the public beach, bringing in vets to neuter street animals. The latter proved particularly galling to the local polity, as it 'castrated' its authority. Many members of the expatriate community used to being in a position of power as tourists, were perhaps unwilling or unaware of local referents for dealing with such matters – the roles and conventions of the family. Subsequently, intra-community competition and rivalry were increasing, and money was losing its currency in the relationship game. Instead of bridging divides the acquisition of property enhanced division within the contact zone.

4.3 Whore & Yenge: Gender & Social Change

In section 4.1, I considered saygı (respect) in relation to family obligations. In this section I consider saygı (respect) in relation to gender roles. To better understand the manner in which gender structured the family (community) requires a brief discussion of the diversity of local attitudes towards gender-based roles and places. According to ethnographic accounts of life in Turkish villages, men and women occupied different life-worlds (Stirling 1964; Delaney 1991; Shankland 1993). Women spent the greater part of their time inside the house engaged in domestic activities or childcare and men outside of the house either working, talking or in the coffeehouse. When men entered the house they frequented the salon (lounge). In Kalkan gossip remained capable of damaging a girl's reputation, and thus her marriage prospects. To avoid the possibility of a damaged reputation gender was a primary factor behind the social organisation of space. An honorable woman was one who remained in the house of her parents until marriage, when she quit it for the house of her husband's family (Delaney 1991; Incirlioğlu 1993 & 1999; Bertram 1999). Informants stated that gendered space was still the case in Kalkan (Gülsum 2001). This gender-based division of space is changing in the cities (Kandiyoti 1982; Ayata 2002). Some young women were being allowed to work in the destinations businesses (Evrim 2001). Sexual relations outside marriage were regarded as unacceptable for local women, driving many young peoples' sexual activities underground. Marriage was as access to sex. While in Ankara, I observed that in the cities couples might secretly rent an apartment or lie about living together when family visit. In Kalkan, tourism-oriented in-migration has led to the co-residence of men and women with different perceptions of sexual relations, particularly with regard to the acceptable behaviour of women – polarising as local virgin and foreign whore. The myth has arisen not from male imaginings based around the conquest of foreign women (Bowman 1996), but largely
because of the behaviour of foreign women holidaying in the destination, who are sexually more liberal than the local unmarried women are allowed to be by their connections.

However, Kalkaners attitudes were changing. Many residents, both male and female, had left the village to continue their education in one of the neighbouring towns and cities. Education and opportunities for mixed activities altered their perceptions of sexual relations outside marriage. Education increased young people's desire for improved life-styles, sexual freedom and independence. Their parents had gained a wider perspective on the world through interaction with 'others'. Consequently, while some women remained at home, others participated in reproducing the destination. The entry of local women into the workforce was possible due to two factors: the type of work engaged in; and the increasing number of women-run businesses (c.f. Scott 1997). Many women exchanged their housework for paid work as cleaners and cooks. Working for women entrepreneurs maintained gender-based spatial arrangements despite women's contact with male foreigners. Whilst it has taken a long time for women to gain respect as entrepreneurs, they gained respect by hard work and success (Rhusar 2001; Sevilay 2001; Zeynep 2001). Whilst local women are beginning to participate in the work force, it is not acceptable for them to enter into liaisons with male tourists. This was not really an issue, as Kalkan attracted few solo foreign male tourists. However, it did attract significant numbers of Türk yabanası (strangers) to work in tourism-oriented businesses. Local women are off limits to these men. However, it is not these local women that this group of men were interested in, but female Türk yabanası (strangers) and foreigners.

Turkish men perceived these women as being available for sexual relationships, which caused them considerable difficulty in the family (community), whether or not the perception is true. Female Türk yabanası (strangers) were beginning to overcome the stigma of non-conformity. Their identity as educated city dwellers and owners of businesses was beginning to alleviate their discomfort. While their presence in commercial space decreased the respect shown to them, their status as entrepreneurs counterbalanced this. Not only women had to work to gain respect. Male Türk yabanası (strangers) also encountered difficulties and had to work hard to establish themselves. Again, their position as owners of property or businesses alleviated the tension (S:6.6 p204). Unable to work, female yabanasi (foreigners) felt offended and hurt by the locally believed myth about their sexual proclivity. For these women the English language became a symbol of their high status 'singular' identity. They were reluctant to let go of the distinction. Few intended to learn Turkish and neither did their partners encourage them to do so. Differential linguistic referents symbolised relative power in different seasons. Women identified with tourists while men used the Turkish language as a code, a means of rebalancing control (Pratt 1986).
Foreign women employed by international operators were not immune to stigma. Whilst their employment guaranteed respect, entry into a relationship, which most of them did, placed them in the same situation as unemployed female yabanas (foreigners). Sex and money were the main topics of conversation in the village. The potential for both motivated many male and increasingly female Türk yabanas (strangers) to work in Kalkan. I observed that relationships, where they occurred, were between men and women of equal age, where relationship usually led to marriage, or they occurred between older foreign women and young Turkish men. Competition for sex generated local tension and occasionally turned to violence. It also led to confusion as the presence of a foreign girlfriend generated a competitive edge in business. Sexual freedom and independence from family values motivates in-migration to Kalkan (Koray, RTY, 2001; Pınar, RTY, 2001; Damla, RTY, 2001). Marital status, particularly the increased number of single male Türk yabanas (strangers) and single female Türk yabanas (strangers) and yabanas (foreigners), had implications for local housing styles, household structures and the development of sub-communities (S:4.2 p131).

4.4 Making Connections: Shopping Turkish Style - Pazarlık (Haggling):

In this section, I consider the way in which the price demanded for goods and services reflects residents' social status and their network of connections in the village. The discussion reflects my observations of the shopping process, my personal experience of shopping, as well as entrepreneurs and tourists' accounts of transactions. Shopping in Turkey revolved around the social convention of pazarlık (haggling). As haggling was the modus operandi of transactions, there were no fixed prices for items or services. Meeker (2002) and Stirling (1963) give entertaining accounts of the prices they paid for meals during the duration of their research. The change in price reflected their changing status within the community. As strangers, they paid higher prices than as regular customers. As regular customers eating at the same place everyday, they had become part of the owner's social network or friends. As friends, they paid next to nothing for their meals. Their custom was no longer a business transaction but a social event. I found the way to get the best price was to buy my goods and services from people to whom I was connected and hence obligated. In truth, it was not possible to buy from anywhere else. Had I shopped elsewhere it would have offended my friends. This type of obligation was also the case for other aspects of my daily life as well as shopping. Almost every task I undertook required me to call upon the assistance of my local connections. Unlike other foreign residents, this was not a result of my lack of Turkish language skills, but recognition that the only way to get something done was to use the networks of my better-connected friends. The following paragraphs describe the shopping process through an anecdotal account of tourists shopping in Old Kalkan.
For tourists who spotted that ‘I’ve just got to have it’ object, it was useful to know in advance that shopping in Kalkan was different to shopping in the United Kingdom. There were no fixed prices and no price tags. The price quoted to the consumer resulted from a mental calculation of the consumer’s worth by the entrepreneur. Price voiced social and individual identity. It reflected the entrepreneur’s desire to connect with the consumer’s local contacts or to make use of the consumer’s contacts abroad, to receive assistance with translation or interpretation, or to seek advice on cultural issues or business matters. Above all price reflected the length of residence. The longer a person lived in the community, the closer they became to the family (community).

Entrepreneurs could make such assessments through a few well-chosen questions regarding where the tourist was staying and with whom they travelled. The prices quoted reflected the entrepreneurs’ respect for the tourist’s hosts and his desire to gain access to their contacts. Most entrepreneurs could make such assessments at a glance although the manner of tourists shopping – most objects were purchased after several reconnaissance trips to view the same item - allowed the entrepreneur time to ‘reflect’. Tags, where there were any\textsuperscript{53}, allowed room for a series of relationships: ‘discounts’, ‘special prices’, special prices to old customers, special prices to friends, special prices to relatives of friends, and so on. However, it was always possible to try your luck. British tourists commented that they were initially reluctant to \textit{parlarık} feeling intimidated by the lack of a fixed price. However, once they got the hang of it they described the shopping process as one of the most fun parts of their holiday (Beverley 2001). However, some did become over-enthusiastic. This was largely a result of price stereotyping. Tourists assumed that everything in Turkey was ‘ridiculously cheap’. I observed an elderly couple in Kartel’s textile shop attempting to haggle below the cost price for a pair of cotton shorts. They became extremely angry when Kartel refused their price. Eventually they left without the goods. The encounter upset Kartel, so much so, that he raised the event four years later when I caught up with him in 2005. He did not understand why the couple could not accept his statement about the cost price of the shorts. He also felt badly that he could not respect the elderly couple’s behaviour and that they did not respect his word. Prices were rising in Turkey, and ‘ridiculously cheap’ prices were outdated. Of course, the problem arose because of the \textit{parlarık} convention itself. No one believed that the price was the lowest and that the entrepreneur could make it lower if he wanted to. Even in 2001, prices were lower than in Britain. Data I collected from interviews with tourists indicated that the majority of objects purchased by tourists were for interior decoration (carpets, fabrics and ceramics) or personal adornment (jewellery and clothes). Their value to the consumer was as a memory-jogger or souvenir, a reflection of their economic, cultural and symbolic capital (MacCannell 1999). However, the high number of repeat tourists affected overall sales. Whilst many had bought a carpet on a previous holiday, they did not buy this type of item every year. After several

\textsuperscript{53} Having said this, ‘fixed prices’ were becoming more common.
visits, they stopped shopping altogether with the possible exceptions of a dozen pairs of fake-branded boxer shorts and a box of Turkish delight (Marjorie, RT, 2001).

Entrepreneurs were continually required to generate new methods of attracting consumers. They had plenty of time to use their ingenuity given their knowledge of tourist's shopping styles. Even new arrivals in the shopping mall picked this up quickly, as the season was a repetitive process of arrival, brief stay and departure. After three weeks, the pattern was clear. Tourists arrived on a Sunday usually late in the afternoon or early evening. They dined in their accommodation and either slept straight away or took a brief stroll. The first few days were taken up with window-shopping, then on the two penultimate evenings of their 7 or 14 night stay they purchased items prior to departure on Sunday. Entrepreneurs knew they had four to five days in which to build up 'social relations' from which a sale was most likely to be forthcoming, given the inability of the British to say no at such close attention. I consider the relationship between entrepreneurs and consumers in detail in section 4.5 (p140).

Payment for goods and services, like pașarlık (haggling), also reflected local social conventions. In Kalkan, many types/kinds of currency were accepted. Currency could be interpreted as any type of bargaining tool such as patronage, advice, assistance, translation, guidance, friendship, alliance, Turkish Lira, US Dollars, Sterling, Euros, bags of cement or reams of photocopy paper. Some haggling negotiations resulted in cash transactions and others bartered one object for another. Both types of transaction generated or regenerated social networks. Seldom, if ever, was a fixed amount of local currency paid for an item, by either tourists or residents. There were cases where in return for bags of cement residents received the official stamp for planning permission (Gordon & Enid, RY, 2001). This way the homeowners and municipality helped each other out. The cement went to build the roads the homeowners needed. My friends at the Lizo Pension bar gave me free meals, free rides to Antalya and respect, in return for running their bar. Respect took the form of the endless requests for an explanation of 'these English people'.

In relation to money the fact that Turkish lira were always quoted in millions generated payment customs. The smallest denomination of Lira was 50,000 Lira; it is not possible to give change of 25,000 Lira. As £1 was equivalent to 2 Million Turkish Lira, few tourists worried about the shortfall of approximately 1.25 pence. However, entrepreneurs were keen to avoid unbalanced transactions. As a result, small plastic beads in the shape of a blue eye hung from tiny safety pins and pieces of gum became a form of currency. These beads known as evil eye beads (nazar boncugu) could be pinned onto shirts or inside bags to protect the tourist from evil. Many British tourists although amused by the exchange perceived this as an inclusion within local life (Beverley, Tourist, 2001). Five years after my fieldwork I still possessed at least five of these beads acquired when I bought postcards or cards or
maps in Deste Gift Shop at the top of HAC, along with numerous larger versions of the eye which I had purchased or been given by friends.

Where the shortfall occurred on the tourists' side, they could pay later, an unspecified time in the future, usually prior to the tourist's departure, when they made additional purchases or correct change was available. The deferment of payment reflected a necessary part of everyday life in Turkey, the (re)cycling of cash as and when available. As British tourists were used to paying at the point of purchase if not before, many described feeling embarrassed by this type of exchange (Jo, Tourist, 2001). In Britain, the consumer gains nothing by trying to negotiate with the sales clerk in say John Lewis, Tesco, or Robert Dyas to pay next week. In Turkey, economic circumstances had necessitated different methods of payment. Payment in instalments (taksit) was available for most items from a pair of shoes or a blouse to white goods. In Ankara, I had observed queues of people waiting, at the end of the month when salaries came in, to pay their taksit at booths set up for the purpose in the underground station at Kizilay. Where taksit was not available, I observed that people used their social networks as a banking system. My friends would borrow money from a friend to pay for an item or utility bill. In order to loan the money the friend borrowed it from his friend and the friend's friend probably borrowed it from a further friend to the limit of the social network. In this way, the social network had facilitated its members' purchasing power when funds were inadequate. I perceived the process as an extension of the convention of family wealth to the family (community). When the borrower received their monthly wages, the loans paid back around the circle in the opposite direction and the network remained intact and in fact stronger for the expression of trust and friendship.

4.5 Friendliness: The Politics of Çay (Tea):

A Warning ...we think that the most important ingredient of all is the outreaching friendliness and warmth of the people of Kalkan which has won our hearts (Kalkan Vakfi undated).

In this section, I consider the social conventions governing interaction between entrepreneurs and tourists. Both Özcan (1995) and Bezman (1996) stressed the importance of networks in establishing relationships between migrants and the family (community). They particularly emphasised the roles of family and friendship networks formed based on family ties or hemşerilik (fellow townsmanship). Elsewhere, I argue that many of Kalkan's residents do not have this type of potential contact waiting for them in Kalkan. Many of these seasonal migrants actually find it easier to establish friendship type relationships with other seasonal migrants, neighbours or other professionals, and expatriates. However the type of friendship they proffer to each other is not the same as friendship described...
between men or women living in a village (Stirling 1963) or the cities as described by Özcan (1995) in her account of small business enterprises in Gaziantep, Denizli and Kayseri. Certain types of friendship, between Turkish men and foreign women, were similar to those described by Bezman (1996) in his account of the Cappaddocian village of Göreme. I argue that friendship is an inaccurate description of the relationship between producers and consumers. As cited above Turkish entrepreneurs were undoubtedly friendly towards their customers, but this is not the same as friendship. Friendship refers to something more solid than the transitory contact induced by trade: connections that related, in one way or another, to the *memleket*, shared origins. Both entrepreneurs and tourists are temporary residents, and their relationships formed based on consumerism and coincidence. In sub-section 4.1, I referred to the sociability and hospitality shown to strangers. While hospitality was a characteristic of most Turkish entrepreneurs I encountered in Kalkan, after a period of acquaintance they dropped the pretence. By this, I mean they became more open about their thoughts towards others and their own position within the dynamic. Consequently, I use the term friendliness and not friendship to describe the interaction between Turkish and English entrepreneurs and their customers. Entrepreneurs wanted to connect with tourists but they did not necessarily want to establish long-term relationships of the nature of Turkish friendships. Contrary to Bowman’s (1996) description of local/tourist relations in Jerusalem’s Old City and in response to the warning of the Kalkan Foundation cited above, my interview data showed that the majority of tourists did not perceive local friendliness as offensive or threatening. In the following paragraphs I explore the nature of friendliness to tourists through an anecdotal account of another social convention, tea drinking. Tea or *çay*, a relatively recent introduction (Beller-Hann & Hann 2001), had become ubiquitous to the Turkish life-style and it played a significant role in making connections between tourists and entrepreneurs in summer.

From my presentation of the business composition of Old Kalkan as shopping mall and restaurant complex it is clear that the range of merchandise on offer was disproportionate to the number of shops. In fact, many businesses sold similar merchandise and services (Table 10). Consequently, the marketing and public relations (PR) side of business was extremely important in obtaining customers and a sale. A personal connection with the consumer increased the likelihood of success. However, too much PR could be as ineffective as too little – hence the warning cited above. The balance was a fine one. Success required the entrepreneur to adapt to the cultural differences and social conventions of the consumer. The municipality advised entrepreneurs not to hassle the tourists (Fiona, RY, 2001). In the summer of 2001, I observed many entrepreneurs working on their balance.

The simplest forms of PR were verbal attempts to catch the passing tourist’s attention. Some examples were “Pretty lady” or “Where are you from?”. My resident entrepreneur friends would laugh when I walked passed the shop of a seasonal resident who shouted at me in this way. Of course, when
the entrepreneur realised their mistake there was much embarrassment and the calls stopped, replaced by a simple hello. In the context of the street where shops ran in a terrace without interruption the calls quickly become a point of humor, as several 'callers' use the same phrase, a wave of "Pretty Lady" or some such remark flowed down the street. Tourists found this type of friendliness amusing and some were flattered. Resident expatriates, like me, who were unknown to in-migrating entrepreneurs, took the back street to avoid the whole process. The turnover of seasonal-migrants meant that it was almost impossible to know who was a tourist and who lived in the village (c.f. Waldren 1997). Tourists tended to be more tolerant of friendliness than they were as semi-permanent residents. They found the interaction a novelty. As expatriates, they found that the novelty wore off very quickly. More subtle requests involved gay (tea), 'Would you like an apple tea?' than 'Pretty lady'. If the invitation is accepted the second PR phase clicks in. This consists of getting to know the customer. Some described it as the defining 'moment' of a Kalkan holiday (Alan, RT, 2001).

The effectiveness of this sales tactic depended largely on timing and the mood of the consumer. If a consumer wanted to buy, it was accepted. Once people had shared tea together, the next time the entrepreneur saw the tourist they would exchange a simple merhaba (hello). The tourist had become an acquaintance. Amazingly, both to me and the repeat tourists I interviewed, entrepreneurs recognised individuals both during their holiday and across the years (Barry & Sue, Repeat Tourists 2001). Seldom did they make mistakes — vendors remembered when repeat tourists were expected, and greeted them by name. I argue that such tactics claimed the tourists for a particular social network. They played on consumers' sense of obligation to people they remembered from past holidays. Tourists described feeling uncomfortable entering other shops in the vicinity once they had established a connection with a particular entrepreneur (Dianne, Tourist 2001). The tactics produced a series of parries; some tourists returned to the shop where they drank tea, others purchased from a shop out of sight of the first.

Customers drank gay (tea) while they chose a purchase. Tea drinking was ordinarily associated with the purchase of more expensive items, such as a carpet, kilim or jewellery. However, it is particularly pertinent to the purchase of a carpet or kilim, where the full range was not readily visible outside or inside the shop. The consumption of gay (tea) served two purposes. It established personal contact between entrepreneur and customer and it provided the time in which to locate and unfurl numerous carpets. Buying a carpet was a lengthy affair. Carpets could cost anything from £60 to several thousand so customers thought long and hard about spending this kind of money. The customers sat either on a low bench around the wall of the shop usually covered with a carpet or on a chair on the edge of the empty space which was the centre of the shop. This space was for the display of carpets pulled from piles stacked around the shop. Given that a boy carrying a silver tray with many small tulip-shaped glasses of strong tea delivered the gay (tea) from a nearby café, the least amount of time
the entrepreneur had to show his carpets was probably fifteen to thirty minutes. The *çay* (tea), served black and hot, took a long time for tourists to drink. It was unacceptable to leave before the *çay* (tea) was finished. During the time created by tea drinking, the entrepreneur would have found out many things about his customer. They would know: where tourists are from; how long and where they were staying; with which tour operator; whether they have been to Turkey before; what they thought of Kalkan; whether they had family (if not immediately obvious); how old their children were; what job they did; what colours they liked; what the house was like; and how many rooms... The list was endless. The customer would have received similar information about the entrepreneur's family and business, and detailed information concerning the carpets and who made them. Ordinarily, one *çay* (tea) becomes another and then another, and sometimes as many as five or six before the customer left — with or without a carpet. *Çay* (tea) created a pretext for interaction.

The possibility of a sale (although important) is not the only cause of such protracted negotiations. The majority of tourists, once actively engaged, really enjoyed the experience, coming away feeling that they have formed friendships for life through the sharing of personal information (Diane, Tourist, 2001). As many entrepreneurs owned other businesses, they were relatively relaxed about closing a sale in the carpet shop. The time spent establishing personal friendship was not lost. This type of investment provided the ideal opportunity to mention their restaurant, or their brother's restaurant, or their friend's boat cruise, or their cousin has guided tours or a taxi service — business diversity ensured survival of the family business enterprise. As new markets opened up or one person had a new idea other businesses expanded to incorporate it (c.f. Buğra (1994) discussion of holding companies). It was possible for tourists to fulfil all their holiday needs based on contacts gained during an evening spent drinking *çay* (tea). Tourists found out about more activities than they could possibly do during the holiday. This was of little concern to entrepreneurs who knew, from experience, that many tourists would return the following year. Thus, *çay* (tea) led to long-term relationships. Remarkably, tourists were extremely loyal. I observed them recommending their friends to new arrivals. In fact, they took great delight in their role as friendliness brokers. Thus, *çay* (tea) led to not only long term, ongoing relationships but also to recommendations, the most highly sought-after marketing tool in the village. Entrepreneurs knew that tourists trusted other tourists above all others. Once the tourist was onsite, it took a serious incident to break the bonds established through *çay* (tea) and friendliness (Dianne, Tourist, 2001).

4.6 Friendship & Rivalry: Behind the Destination
My preceding account of local friendliness in Kalkan in the summer describes the relationship between groups reliant on each other, entrepreneurs and tourists. It does not consider relationships between people or groups in competition with one other. Interaction was by necessity pleasant. Each of these two communities was easily recognisable in the village. I argue that the nature of friendliness became clear when people’s relationship to the village was less clear. The experience of permanently resident Türk yabanas (strangers) and yabanas (foreigners) indicated the reality of local friendliness. The friendliness shown to tourists was not the same as the friendship shown towards members of the resident community. The change of residence category from seasonal to permanent resident often led to people feeling confused, when they found out that the village was not the place they knew (Bobby, RY, 2001; Vicky, SPY, 2001). Friendliness as a description of Kalkaners innate characteristics was no more accurate than any other generalisation would have been. Friendliness to non-tourists was based on a person’s length of residence and perceived status. Where it was relatively easy for entrepreneurs to be friendly to tourists at the start of the season, it started to wear thin as entrepreneurs looked forward to a break. This type of friendliness ceased during the winter allowing people to recuperate (Sevilay, RTY, 2001). Behind the destination yerli halk (locals), Türk yabanas (strangers) and yabanas (foreigners) socialised based on family, friendship and professional networks as described by Ozcan (1995). Members of each group ordinarily interacted with other members of their group. There was relatively little interaction between groups although Türk yabanas (strangers) and yabanas (foreigners) interacted more freely than with yerli halk (locals) (Koray, RTY, 2001; Murat RTY, 2001). The Türk yabanas (strangers) and yabanas (foreigners) groups had otherness in common. While they had integrated within the family (community), they remained outsiders without roots in the memleket.

In 2000/01, there was increased tension in the destination as competition for tourism revenues increased. The tension manifested in competition and rivalry. Rivalry occurred between groups, within groups and within families. Where tourists perceived residents as a group, the locals, as discussed in section 1.3.2 (p59), this perception missed the diversity of sub-groups within the community. I observed that members of sub-groups had difficulty maintaining the peace amongst themselves, let alone across sub-groups. This is not to suggest that Kalkan was an exceptionally violent place, but to highlight the everyday activities of community life invisible to the tourist but apparent through long-term residence.

Prior to the commencement of fieldwork, there had been a change in the belediye (municipality). Karabag, a member of the Türk yabanas (strangers) group affiliated to CHP, whose remit was to “keep Kalkan special” through close interaction with international tour operators, was voted out. Mustafa Şalvarlı, a member of the yerli halk (locals) affiliated to DYP, was elected on a remit to “return Kalkan to the locals”. The change in the polity meant a shift in local power dynamics. Power shifted from the hands of interested parties into that of local factions. It alienated members of the old polity, the Türk
The Foundation he established to monitor tourism development closed, despite its persistence in Tapestry Holiday's brochures, and its members disbanded. Şalvarlı was reportedly reluctant to make use of an organisation established by the old mayor. Residents who had been active in local politics felt so strongly about what they perceived as the threat of deterioration posed by the new regime that they often refused to discuss the matter at all. Many absented themselves from local politics to concentrate on their businesses enterprises. From being fervent believers in Kalkan's future, many became apathetic. They had given up all hope of achieving the planned development for Kalkan. Their alienation made them increasingly critical of the new regime. Critique (gossip and private conversations) focused on the new mayor's social status. One member of the old regime described him as kabab (lacking in social graces). Criticism of the mayor's social skills (table manners etc) reflected a change in the class of power from elites to villagers.

I observed that changes within the local authority generated feelings of insecurity and anger among the local business community, the majority of whom were Türk yabanas (strangers). Those with business premises situated close to the harbour were the most concerned. They faced the possibility that they would lose their licences to use municipality land. They were relieved when the municipality issued them with licences for a further year. However, as noted in section 3.6.2 (p124), they lost the right to use the harbour front terrace as commercial space. Ingenuity overcame initial concerns over the reduction in commercial space. Tables were set up in the street in front of their licensed commercial space. This reduced the overall impact of the official reduction in their commercial space. When I returned in 2005, there were tables on the harbour front terrace. Many former locally-politically active people and entrepreneurs viewed the new polity as a nail in Kalkan's coffin as development escalated due to the municipality placating local factions and intra-group rivalry. They felt that the new polity (despite their being locals) was ill qualified to manage issues arising because of the tourism-driven economy. This perspective was somewhat ironic considering the new mayor, an accountant, had an intimate knowledge of their finances. They believed it would be more appropriate to achieve a full village than a half-empty town. They proposed that new entrepreneurs invest in existing businesses rather than to develop new and potentially under-utilised complexes (Kemal, PTY, 2001). In 2001 conflict between sub-groups manifested in 'the taxi drivers' dispute', described below. In 2001, the direction of local politics began to shift because of changes within the tourism-driven economy. Increasing numbers of tourists were purchasing holiday homes instead of staying in hotels or pensions. The local economy switched from tourism-oriented to real estate driven. The growing community could not agree about urbanisation and cosmopolitanism. The Yerli halk (locals) sub-group, already a minority, had been engulfed by the influx of resident Türk yabanas (strangers) and expatriates. By 2005 many yerli halk (locals) resented the occupation of their memlekset by outsiders (Mehmet, PTY, 2005).
Access to surplus capital, money and sex fuelled the majority of inter and intra-community rivalry. The taxi-drivers’ dispute of 2001 was a prime example. It was one of the few everyday activities witnessed by tourists. Unlike the majority of local disputes, which normally occurred away from the tourists’ gaze, the taxi drivers asked tourists to take sides in the dispute. The dispute, which centred on the transportation of tourists to and from hotels, highlighted several aspects of the local economy and inter-community rivalry – declining revenues, professional alliances and local/outsider competition. The taxi-drivers’ co-operative, whose members were primarily yerli halk (locals), were incensed by the hoteliers, mainly Türk yabancı (strangers), use of their privately owned vehicles to transport their guests. They claimed that this was affecting their business and should not continue. Hoteliers felt that the use of hotel vehicles to transport guests was part of the service and that guests should not have to pay for taxi hire. Informants who ran a pension provided an example of the seriousness of the dispute. One evening they had asked their kitchen boy to run two elderly female guests home in their car after dining in the pension’s restaurant. On the way back to the pension, some men stopped the car and the boy was threatened. The owners of the pension also received telephone calls asking them not to use their car.

Whilst they felt considerable resentment at not being able to provide this courtesy service they took the view that it was better to capitulate. Others were not so lucky and there were reports of threats leading to actual physical violence (‘John’, PY, 2001). The scale of the dispute affected the atmosphere of the resort. Many tourists commented on it and entrepreneurs realised how bad it was for business. The dispute undoubtedly affected business. While tourists continued to use taxis as usual, their knowledge of the dispute marred their image of the village. It was no longer idyllic or paradise. The dispute put some tourists off returning and they decided to holiday elsewhere the following year. While the dispute provided the main reason for their decision, they acknowledged that it was the final straw amongst many perceived changes. The dispute eventually died down of its own accord. The people I spoke to the following year said that things had returned to normal although the number of taxis seemed disproportionate to the level of business.

The taxi drivers’ dispute was primarily about money and local control over power. The other aspect of the destination, which generated competition, rivalry and violence, was access to sex. Tensions arose from a perceived increase in sexual freedom. Single foreign women were the objects of much attention from Turkish men. Sex as a commodity was readily accessible through local charm. Conquests raised a man’s status amongst his peer group (c.f. Bezman 1996). Relationships between Turkish men and foreign women were of three types: a) holiday fling; b) those between men and women of equal ages; and c) middle-aged foreign women and young Turkish man. The possibility of sex generated tension amongst the single and married male members of the community. The possibility of sex was also available for married men (not all of whom are able to resist). Frequently
their wives lived outside the village and had little involvement in business activities. As businesses remained open until late they could never be sure of what their men were up to. Of course, rumour was malicious and it was unlikely that local women were unaware of the potential infidelity of their husbands. At times men undoubtedly resented their obligations to their wives, especially those who had entered into an arranged marriage. The differential engagement of local men and women in tourism-oriented businesses meant that they had little in common other than their children. Local male entrepreneurs lived in a wider world than that of their women. Their attitudes were changing and some felt suffocated by convention. Late one night not long before the beginning of the 2001 season I witnessed a fight between two brothers from a friend’s house. While we sat drinking beer and chatting, our normal evening routine, my female friend, a restaurateur originally from Ankara, and I heard loud voices in the street from outside one of the bars which sometimes opened in winter. Not wanting to get involved, we remained seated. However, the shouts grew louder and we saw two bodies punching each other and rolling round in the street. At one point one of the men was wedged up against the wall surrounding the ornamental park at the bend in the street before it dropped down a steep incline. At this point, we both rushed over, to try to break the fight up or at least quieten things down. A man from one of the other businesses also rushed over. He managed to break the fight up while we stood by not knowing whether to move away. My friend knew them better than I did and she tried to calm them down. Both were drunk, bloody, and clearly furious about something. Afterwards my friend told me that it was an ongoing battle. The brothers had different ideas about how to run the family business and they continued to fight over it. I was not totally convinced by this explanation. One of the brothers had a reputation as a ladies’ man and I could not help but wonder if part of the conflict arose from either his family’s attitude to his infidelity or his greater success in terms of business capability and sexual conquests.

4.7 Summary: Family and ‘Friends’

In this chapter, I considered the underlying structures used by the collective to integrate the large number of unconnected migrants who arrived in the town each season, be they tourism entrepreneurs or workers in summer or construction professionals or workers in winter. I argued that the social conventions regarding the treatment of strangers were potentially cohesive or divisive. However the requirement for people to live together coupled with the fact that all residents had experienced migration of one form or another, meant that the overarching ideology of the family, relatedness (a desire to place the stranger within a known familial role) prevailed. The collective treated migrants as though they were family, while maintaining the distinction between members who were and were not Kalkanlı, those of the place. Expatriates, whose use of different linguistic referents prevented their
integration as family members, became friends or neighbours. These relationships were of equal, although some might say greater, significance to the stability of a community, which operated based on obligations between its members, albeit in the guise of hospitality, friendship or 'friendliness'.

Members of the family (community) and in-migrant residents knew that they had to become, and more importantly remain, connected if they were to survive in Kalkan, despite the incidents of rivalry and dispute to the contrary. I argued that friends and relations served as a 'savings plan', which provided returns during periods of low income or general instability in the tourism industry. People gave their friends low rents in return for renovation work on the property and proprietors allowed people to pay when they could. Although things were gradually changing, residents worked together to ensure that their friends and relatives were able to stay. One way or another, members of the family (community) found a way to confer locality on strangers and expatriates. To this effect, in the following chapter I consider the ability of property to generate social relations.
Chapter 5  New Kalkan: Property Relations

In this chapter, I aim to establish the implication of residents' varied relationships with the collective for the development of New Kalkan. In the preceding chapters, I presented a community constituted through the integration of unconnected people, whose characteristics rarely conformed to the stereotype expected of locality. Mobility and movement had challenged local identity, köylü (villager), since the settlement of the village in the eighteenth century (S:1.1.3 p41). In 2001, the consequence of cohesive and divisive forces within the community for domestic and commercial property and urbanisation was unclear. Kalkan's tourism-induced identity crisis drew people to live and work in the destination, where the life-style allowed them to escape their social identity (Koray, PTY, 2001). For these migrants employment networks and property relations provided new singular and particular (group) identities. Property negotiations integrated migrants within the local community. Property symbolised social relations (Hann 1998), and generated social networks which embraced the new relatives. Property not only symbolised relations, it also symbolised particular types of relations. Types of property represented the owner's access to capital and their life-style choices. My analysis of residents' domestic and commercial property exposed further aspects of people's relationship to the collective and the community's response to them. The response was a growing division of the town into areas or districts, which included the neighbouring towns and villages. These locations provided the basic provisions, the utilities and the services lacking in Kalkan (S:5.3 p162).

5.1 Neighbourhoods: The Social Relations of Space

In contact zone Kalkan, property rather than wages or labour facilitates the integration of migrants within the community (c.f. White 1994). In this section, I discuss the development of New Kalkan. I argue that the town has developed through the construction of neighbourhoods, groupings of hetero or homogenous styles, built around sub-community alliances. People's ability to negotiate localness, without compromising their individual identity, is significant in the light of rising market values. Given the slow process of land rights registration, the issuing of deeds of ownership (tapu's), my analysis of the relations of property (Hann 1998), illuminates the dual processes of integration and development.

Property relations in New Kalkan were intricate and subject to change with the increase or decline in different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986). The production of logical classes based on assumed
ownership – yerli balk (locals) as owners or landlords and Türk yabanas (strangers) and yabanas (foreigners) as tenants – was no longer accurate. The classes were in transition and as a result Kalkan's property relations were in a state of flux. Consequently, my description of residents' property relations as sub-communities is tentative. I illustrate a series of housing trends.

Kalkan's development as a fully-fledged tourist destination affected the ownership and division of space. Tourism revenues and the sale of property in Old Kalkan at inflated market values allowed yerli balk (locals) to relocate to purpose-built apartments on the perimeter of the old village and away from the shopping mall (S:3.4 p107). The new residence location in effect divided the town into two, local and tourist space. The local space provided the group with privacy away from the centre of tourist activities. They had moved closer to local facilities such as the market, the schools and the petrol station. With the possible exception of the weekly market day (Thursday), strangers did not enter this area. Those yerli balk (locals) who continued to live in the old village were primarily members of the older generation. However as they only lived their in winter they too lived outside the shopping mall.

The younger generation of yerli balk (locals) resided all year round. Better educated and accustomed to tourists' ways, they were unfazed by the seasonal spatial transformations. They tended to live in areas outside the shopping mall and away from the local's space. This provided them with a degree of privacy from both tourists and family. Potentially conflict arose when non-locals became permanent residents. I observed that newcomers were the most respectful of convention, at least at first. Prolonged residence caused grumbles about village mentality. Non-locals resident all year round adjusted to the different social conventions of the village and the destination. However, they had to concede to the overarching Turkish social conventions, despite their affinity or preference for the codes embodied by tourists (Julie, SPY, 2001). Of course, some residents chose not to do so, or lacked adequate knowledge to allow them to do so. Semi-permanent residents often flouted social conventions; it was their reason for being there. Foreigners were unaware of or ignored the conventions of the village, and they remained immersed in those of the destination. Their inability to participate isolated them from the family (community) as expatriates or as alienated individuals.

The built environment both manifested and proffered life-style and life-world choices (Bourdieu 1986). Old houses, indexical of a former identity, were no longer valued for use as domestic spaces. They exchanged houses for capital to reinvest in new property relations. Given the possibility of a place for all seasons, yerli balk (locals) identity modernised. Whilst yerli balk (locals) rejected the symbolic and cultural capital of its old domestic spaces, this capital re-ignited Kalkan's development (Chapter 5 & Chapter 7). As a product, Old Kalkan attracted tourists prepared to pay to consume the place. This attracted non-locals to invest in the place as an income generator or holiday home (c.f. Williams & Hall 2002).
Property acquired for business, domestic or dual-purpose use integrated migrants, non-locals and foreigners, within local socio-economic networks. Property situated in front, behind, above, below or next to other properties provided the newcomer with neighbours (komsus). Komsu (neighbours), the contacts of proximity, forms a fundamental part of Turkish society. They took care to ensure the right kind of neighbours. The acquisition of property represents the recognition of the newcomer as a member of the neighbourhood. The resultant property relations provided a network of security and obligation. Some semi-permanent residents regarded quality domestic accommodation as a reduction in the profit available to improve the neighbourhood back home. They perceived property as a space in which to make money not to live (Ayhan, RTY, 2001). They carried out the repairs and alterations necessary to produce attractive commercial spaces. Old houses were now shops, boutiques, cafes, bars, restaurants and agencies (tour and estate) and Old Kalkan became a tourist shopping mall. After several years as seasonal residents, some non-locals relocated permanently. They used their property relations to acquire land and build designer homes outside the old village and the local’s area. Most built in Kalamar or close to nearby hamlets where property prices were unaffected by tourism. Foreigners acquired old village houses to restore to their original condition (plus modern kitchen and bathroom). Those lacking the capital purchased houses with a similar look and feel in other parts of the village. They aspired to houses, which reflected another’s habitus, conformed to conservation regulations and were adapted for modern living. This momentum ensured a place in history for old style houses no longer valued locally (c.f. Herzfeld 1991).

Table 12 illustrates the location of residents’ property within the districts of Kalkan, areas (A) to (F) on Figure 18 & Figure 19. The data indicated that whilst residents perceived the town as divided into districts, most districts were non-synonymous with sub-communities based on the resident’s place of origin. Rather, they reflected the boundaries of the property relations migrants integrated within, who they came to know. My observations in 2003 and 2005 indicated that high market values and decreased tourism receipts had influenced the atomisation of space. Turks were unable to afford the prices and foreigners as holiday homes or permanent residences acquired apartments in newly developed complexes. The districts were becoming atomised. The data for the Club Patara and Kalkan Hamlets was insufficient to draw conclusions, but my observations and conversations verified the mixed makeup of these areas. The data is presented in detail below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
<th>Residence Type</th>
<th>Old Village (A)</th>
<th>Middle School Area (B)</th>
<th>Kalamar Road (C)</th>
<th>Kalkamar (D)</th>
<th>Club Patara Area (E)</th>
<th>Kalkan Hamlets (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yerli Halk (insider)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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Table 12: Residential Areas

Figure 18: Kalkan City Plan (Author’s Additions)

Key:
- A = Old Village
- B = Middle School Area
- C = Kalamar Road
- D = Kalkamar
- E = Klub Patara Area

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Figure 19: Informant's Cognitive Map of Old Village (Author’s Additions)

The Old Village (A) is an area, primarily of either old-style houses (dilapidated, renovated, conserved) or new property built in a manner consistent with the old style (Figure 8). It is variously occupied by insiders in winter (and some who stay all year round), outsiders in summer (and some who stay all year round) and foreigners (primarily summer tourists). It is largely a ‘trading area’, a bazaar or restaurant area. It is essential to the village’s image of ‘quaint fishing village’ and its prosperity as a tourist resort.

The Middle School Area (B). The focal points of this area are the weekly market place and the middle school (recently combined with the primary school and relocated on the hill behind Area C). Buildings, frequently containing several purpose-built apartments, are more widely spaced and larger
than the old style, village houses. They line either side of a street in a grid system across the hill above the bay. Insiders, as year-round residents, occupy the area. It is perhaps the most private area in the village from the perspective of outsiders and foreigners. This area is more akin to the traditional 'Turkish village' in its lifestyle routine, but it is significantly modernised in relation to Stirling's (1974) account.

The Kalamar Road Area (C) consists of buildings either side of the main road linking Kalkan and Kalamar ending in a 'dead end' at the Bay of Kalamar. Accommodation in this area varies from local cooperative housing in purpose-built apartment blocks to palatial villas and hotels. It is also the site of the area's initial high-status housing complex (site) The Lykia Estate. Some of the newer developments have now overshadowed the luxury of this complex, but given the prohibition of construction in the area between the sea and the estate, protecting the sea views, it remains a comfortable place to live. In my 10-year acquaintance with Kalkan, this road has transformed from a building-peppered mountainside to an almost building-filled tract of land from the village to Kalamar, encroaching further up the mountainside.

Kalamar (D) is the village constructed in the next inlet, although village is somewhat of a misnomer. It consists largely of hotels and villas, the latter occupied variously by outsiders and foreigners. Kalamar had few shops, and all provisions came from shops in Kalkan or the surrounding villages and towns. Kalamar used to be much quieter than Kalkan, lacking a harbour front with open-air bars, restaurants and music. It is where those wishing to experience the quiet life (that was Kalkan) live. Whether this is still the case, following the completion of several large hotels, is uncertain. Land in Kalamar was cheaper than land in Kalkan, and more attractive to all purchasers given soaring market prices. The quiet nature of Kalamar may change if plans to build a Kalkan/Fethiye bypass go ahead, opening up the hamlet to a range of new identities.

The Klub Patara Area (E) is on the opposite side of the bay to Kalkan. Until recently, all building materials had to come down the rugged mountainside by donkey. The area gets its name from the holiday complex constructed there (by an Istanbul architect). The villas, initially a vibrant pink, are finally fading to suit the background, or the trees have grown large enough to hide them from view. Klub Patara consists of hotels and holiday villas, the latter let out on a time-share basis or acquired as holiday homes. It also houses two of the local beach clubs. Under the shade of olive trees, were beach platforms cut into the rock on which people sunbathed. Today this area is the site of increased construction. The land, not completely registered, is cheaper than that in Kalkan. Many who work in the village are buying land with a view to building homes. There was an increased of development in the area, and the vista of an empty mountainside (minus the pink houses) is no more. Given the length of time taken to save money to buy land and then save to build, construction can, and often
does, take several years. Residents seem in less of a rush to build property for personal, as opposed to business, use.

Kalkan Hamlets (F) refers to houses outside or on the boundary, the Kaş-Fethiye road of Kalkan. Some of the hamlets have been 'incorporated' within the service provisioning of Kalkan. This was a matter of local contention as most residents felt Kalkan's money should not go to provide these areas with utilities such as electricity and water supply. However, as many of those living in these hamlets had connections with those in authority, or whose vote was required to maintain power, the provision of utilities went ahead. Given the increasing size of Kalkan, it is most likely that the village and the hamlets will meet and become one town. Land in the hamlets is cheaper than in the Kalkan, Kalamar or Klub Patara areas and many locals build here. It is also the area most likely to undergo further construction if the desire to build Kalkan into a town of 30,000 inhabitants is realised. Whilst this possibility is welcomed by many insiders and outsiders in terms of improved provisioning, entertainment, etc., it has to be balanced with the image behind the marketability, and thus sustainability, of the village's primary industry (tourism), unless increased size leads to the generation of alternate means of income generation.

5.2 Property Investments & Life-style Choices

To understand the nature of property relations I consider the nature of residents' investment in property. By investment, I mean the economic and social costs of property relations to both the property owner and the neighbourhood. Most residents were passionate about their houses, taking great delight in both the property and its social relationships. Thus, acquisition of bricks and mortar represented a financial investment in the village, but it was arguably the process of acquisition or construction, which produced the greater investment. The initial investment required a surplus of economic capital but this type of capital alone was unlikely to close a deal. Economic capital plus the social and cultural capital, borrowed from the mediator in the negotiation process, minimised the extent of compromise between residents' capital quotients and their choice of property. To transform an old village house into an expression of self required the mobilisation of all the property’s social relationships. Both the location of property and the negotiation process entwined migrants within a web of social relations. Whilst the acquisition of property, land and houses, represents a fixed asset it is Kalkan's intangible assets, which were most highly prized and priced. A house with a view required a more substantial investment than one without.

54 Property must be paid for in full and no mortgage facilities were available.
Residents lived engulfed within the physical landscape: the Mediterranean spreads out to the horizon, the Taurus Mountains to the sky. In New Kalkan, residents’ homes incorporated views: doors, windows, private roof terraces and patios internalised the wilderness. The perspective of vistas and sunsets widened frames. Outside the conservation area, small windows were replaced by large windows and doors to bring the outside inside. The desire to live within the landscape motivated investment. As the diversity of investor identities increased so too did the range of lifestyles created for them. This in turn reshaped the rural village as an urban space.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Residence Category</th>
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<th>Housing Style</th>
<th>Old Village House</th>
<th>Modern Apartment</th>
<th>Hotel/Pension/Restaurant</th>
<th>New House/Villa</th>
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Table 13: Residents’ Choice of Housing Style

Life-style choices were of a similar nature to the romantic (old houses) and collective (modern apartments or villas) views of tourists (Urry, 1990 & 1995). It was impossible for all newcomers to invest in old houses, as the available stocks were too small. This fuelled the development of housing stocks, which combined both views. Table 13 illustrates residents’ housing choices. Most residents chose modern accommodation as: ‘property did not last well in the Mediterranean climate’ (Kemal, PTY, 2001). Residents living in apartments built 15 years ago, in the initial phase of development, described their homes as ‘old and beyond their interest to repair’ and ‘they were not modern enough’ (Rachel, PY, 2001)). They wanted to move to ‘new, modern housing with a garden, a private space separate from the neighbours’ (Sevilay, RTY, 2001). Few old houses in Old Kalkan had a garden or an internal courtyard. The development of apartments or villas with gardens, occupied by a nuclear family, couple or person, reflected residents choice to live in a separate unit. When choosing a property, residents chose a house, or design plan, which felt right. Residents’ unable to find a property which felt right to them built one. Even those fortunate enough to find a property, which suited their needs, made their mark through structural alterations and interior design (S:5.5 p169). Yet the object of desire rarely appeased resident’s desire, and as identities developed, they redecorated or sold up
This was the case for Gordon and Enid. They retired to Kalkan to build a dream home only to face delay, frustration and exasperation almost to breaking point. They were tempted to quit but stuck it out. They had friends in the village and did not want to leave.

As I mentioned above, it is social relationships, not economic capital, which integrates newcomers and migrants into the family (community). Relationships required a personal commitment over time, and they formed the basis of a network of obligation between members of the community. In Kalkan, property transactions were rarely solely financial. For yerli halk (locals), Türk yabancı (strangers) and yabancı (foreigners) alike they always required both types of investment. Attention to relationships was vital, to acquire the chosen property. Given the protracted nature of negotiations and short construction season, residents integrated within the family (community) before they moved into their home. Somewhat fortuitously for unconnected in-migrants, the acquisition process generated relations.

Simply hearing about an available property indicated a working network or relationships: family, friends’ friends or local agents’ relationships. All the Turkish people I met tended to ask many personal questions on first meeting. Less than twenty minutes was sufficient to establish the basis for relations. These questions, while they may seem somewhat intrusive, represent a need to understand a person’s existing relations, who they know and how well they know them. I found that people always placed people within networks and then within the community before offering services. The stranger’s response to questions provided the enquirer with the knowledge to understand their relationship and obligations to the stranger. The knowledge concerned their connections to the stranger’s connections. Every landlord, tenant, owner or purchaser embodies a set of social relations. Interaction between two people is not just interaction between two individuals but between two sets of relations. Questions establish a person’s social relations. The relationship between sets of social relations was a good way of ascertaining whether property negotiations were likely to run smoothly or to fail. Even where the vendor knows they will say no to the sale, negotiations always take place. The negotiations are a ploy to save face. Refusal entailed more than a no to the enquirer; it sent a negative response to the relationships, which had brought the parties together in the first place. In fact no was rarely used in any circumstance. Instead of no, they used the word unfortunately (maalesef), leaving it hanging in the air by way of an apology. Concerning property negotiations, where no was the desired outcome, various evasion tactics (baharne) were employed to save face. Social networks remained intact for the next time.
Cash cropping along the coastline between Antalya and Fethiye (Kolars 1963), and the tourism industry have affected land values. Coastal land has become highly sought after. Market values have soared. The increased value of land has changed the status of its owners. The sale or development of coastal land is producing high yields. Demand from foreign buyers has driven up market values. Inflated market values prevented many local people reinvesting in the village. Previously, parents would have built a new house for their children when they got married or built an additional storey on their house. Escalating prices made this difficult to achieve, and they were unable to afford the prices. There was a general trend from ownership through leasehold to ownership. Couples began their married life in rented accommodation and worked towards property acquisition. Seasonal migrants also rented accommodation, some with a view to purchase later. Prices quoted on the open market were considerably higher than those on the grapevine were. The price of a villa ranged from £75,000 to £300,000. One entrepreneur estimated that it would take 10 to 20 years to acquire the amount of money to buy land and build a property from a zero start (Kutlay, RTY, 2001). Rental values were also rising. It was also the tenant’s responsibility to carry out repairs. Repairs represented a significant investment on top of rents. Most tenants had an upper limit for this type of investment. They would patch up rather than repair, unless offered an incentive, such as reduced or waived rents. A deal was the result of a person’s commitment to their social relations. Deals were increasingly rare, as property moved away from social relations and formed a market in its own right.

(Kemal, PTY)  I live in an old apartment in Kalamar. It was one of the first built in Kalkan before Klub Patara or Lykia Houses. It was built as a summerhouse. Saying it is old does not actually make it very old, probably no more than 15 years, but it is not part of the more recent developments. We rent for 62.5m TL per year. We also own land on the Kalamar Road and intend to build there in 2002.'

(Özlen, SPTY)  I live in a modern self-contained house, the same style as the Kalkan old houses. It was built on the site of an old house, which was knocked down and rebuilt in the same way as the old ones. I have rented the house I live in for four years. I rent from a friend who keeps the price low. Before this house I lived in an old house with bath and no kitchen.'

(Marian, SPY)  We have had the use of an apartment for 7 years in return for finishing it off - doors, floors, windows and bathrooms. No money exchanged hands. The hotel where I work is just in front so I do not live on the work premises but close to them.'
I rent an old apartment for 23m TL a month. I have known the guy for about 4 years. Before, I rented the Dren Pension as a business. I had a slack time without money and he said do not worry about it. I am looking to build a prefab place. Can buy the land and put a prefab on it then buy brick when you have the money. I would like to buy in Kalkan but land is too expensive. Maybe over toward Patara Prince with sea view as this is my Paradise.

Unfortunately, I was unable to find out what prices local and non-local Turks paid for either land or houses. Informants were unusually quiet on this subject. I could only assume that they did not want to upset contacts or divulge the extent of their relationships. All were adamant that they would not pay these prices. The prices were equivalent to property in İstanbul or Ankara. With prices continuing to escalate, many residents opted to build over a number of years, first buying the land and then building in later years as finances dictated. The majority of yabancı (foreigners) and Türk yabancı (strangers) who relocated to Kalkan had a source of income. They were entrepreneurs or employees. Those who did not work had pension funds or other financial arrangements. Yabancı (foreigners) who had sold up in the UK had capital to invest immediately. They were less keen to form social relations in advance of property acquisition. The increased development of purpose-built accommodation provided a straight to purchase investment alternative. However, some invested in businesses hoping to acquire homes from the profits, others rented to test out paradise, before they bought.

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<th>Rent (own, rent, let)</th>
<th>Mixed (own, rent, let)</th>
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Table 14: Ownership of Property (including land)

The number of residents owning (16) and renting (14) property in the village was roughly the same (Table 14). Of those interviewed, the number of Turks (7) and non-Turks (8) owning property was also roughly the same. There was one significant difference between the groups’ investments; non-Turks owned property as individuals, whereas Turks owned property individually or had a stake in a
family investment: family member's incomes held by the head of the household. 'My house' might actually belong to the family. Visiting property owners were always sole owners. They were all members of the parent generation, with an increasingly sophisticated knowledge of, and engagement with, Turkish law. They drew up Turkish wills to ensure their investments passed to their chosen beneficiaries and were not re-appropriated by the state were they to die intestate.

When I arrived in Kalkan, in 2000, the majority of property sold through personal connections and face-to-face negotiation. Information spread by word of mouth within existing social networks. There was only one estate agency, Zirve Emlak, in the old village run by Jimmy who also owned Jimmy's (Yakamoz Pizzeria) down by the Marina. Jimmy was responsible for a number of well-organised and executed conservation projects (S:5.4.1 p164). He oversaw the renovation work but left the structural side to Erdol, the architect who worked on most of his projects. His forte was art history and interior design. He would roll up his sleeves and craft mosaic surrounds for original fireplaces and scout the nearby villages and towns for suitable furniture, fixtures and fittings. When his first project was completed, it was open to view. Yerli halk (locals) who had moved out of the old village were intrigued to see how their old houses turned out. In 2000/01, another estate agency, Kaan Estate Agent, opened; owned and run by Hasan. Hasan was one of the first locals to move into property development for the foreign market. His first development project had been to turn the bar/café in which he also lived into a block of apartments. I lived in one of these apartments, situated just off HAC, in the winter of 2000/01 (Figure 17 p123). He was responsible for a number of other development projects in Old and New Kalkan. While I was living in the apartment, he began a development project on the outskirts of the old village (Figure 9 p105). The project which consisted of four modern villas was very unpopular with residents. They felt it was out of keeping with the old village and should not have gone ahead (Fiona, RY, 2001). As I came to know Hasan quite well (he managed both apartments I leased during my stay) I knew he felt badly about the situation. He assured me that he had received permission for the project to go ahead. He believed that some residents were jealous of his success and wanted to make trouble for him (Hasan, YH, 2001). When I returned to the village in 2005, Jimmy was still in business but Hasan had left the village. The number of estate agencies had increased dramatically. Virtually every local tour agency had turned into an estate agency, based around their existing social networks. Clearly, property was now driving the local economy. I was told there was no profit in tourism any more, especially since the foreign tour operators now offered their 'holiday jaunts' as part of the overall package (Kemal, RTY, 2001 & 05).

My friends, who ran Kalamus Travel, had established a separate company, Mavi Estates, to handle their property business (S:5.6.3 p182). This was still in the set up phase when I left Kalkan in October 2001. They were in the process of developing the company web site to advertise properties to the largely foreign market. Property sales, previously conducted based on residents' local networks,
conducted over the Internet. On-line sales prevented residents establishing social relations with new owners in advance of occupation. As the process of urbanisation took hold, social networks were unable to monitor new residents. One Türk Yahana (stranger) who had moved to Kalkan in 1989 from Sinop, and who I had known for ten years, told me he felt isolated from his fellow countrymen, the majority of new residents were British citizens (Mehmet, PTY, 2001). Investment no longer required the purchaser’s presence, as an intermediary could handle negotiations. Estate agencies, like Mavi Estates, handled every aspect of the transaction for their clients. Once a client had acquired a property agents would also manage a property for a fee. Mavi Estates’ services included architectural projects; construction; authorised translation service - legal papers, contracts, conveyancing etc.; assistance with all types of insurance; regular inspection of property; appliance health and safety checks; cleaning, maintenance and repair service; pool inspection and gardening; inventory management; local contact for client needs; and year-round or seasonal service (www.kalkanproperty.com, 2005). The agent’s commission for the sale of a property was 6% of the purchase price; the vendor and the purchaser each pay 3%. As few, if any, properties in Kalkan in 2005 retailed below £30,000 this would produce a minimum per sale income of £1800. In 2001, management services generated a potential annual income of £480 per apartment. My Turkish family members advised me in 2005 that a monthly salary of 500 Euros (£335) was a good income. It was possible for estate agents to earn the equivalent of six months' salary in one commission (prior to overheads and taxes). My friends had at least 30 properties on their list in 2005.

The acquisition of a property in a villa complex required the purchaser to comply with the terms of the property complex, not those of the family (community). The family (community) or Turkish village had become a sub-community within New Kalkan. The local hegemonic force was changing. Investment allowed migrants to integrate within the community. It also reflected the dynamism of social relations. Property ownership did not equate to memleket status. However, it did differentiate strangers and expatriates from tourists; although they did not 'belong', the fact that they lived in the town was recognised locally (Waldren 1997). Residents were included within the realm of gossip rather than alienated as representatives of national stereotypes. The New Kalkan community had of an increasingly high percentage of Türk Yahana (strangers) and Yahana (foreigner) property owners who used their property as holiday homes or holiday lets. It was too early to tell what the impact of so much inward foreign investment would be in the long term. However, in 2001 it was already beginning to produce an atomised society, where individual interests took precedence over those of the collective.
5.3 The Town Boundary: Basic Provisions & Services

In this section, I discuss the ways in which Kalkan's residents compensate for the town's lack of utilitarian items and services. The town's districts provided residents with a place to live and a place to work (S: 5.1 p149). Kalkan's shops had a surfeit of goods but the majority of the items of little use to residents' daily lives. Despite its rapid development, Kalkan did not, yet, have the kind of infrastructure that catered to residents' domestic, commercial or leisure needs. Hamlets, villages, towns and cities outside the town boundary met the majority of these. They included banking, administration, supermarket shopping, healthcare, car repairs, carpentry, cinema, museums and libraries. A different location met each need, mirroring the spatial differentiation of cities into specialist areas. In this manner, Kalkan had also become a specialist area in relation to these places. It focussed on tourism. There was fierce competition between tourism-oriented businesses. However, there was only one mini-market and one bank. Competition for utility and service provisioning had not yet developed. Prices were artificially high, as residents had no choice of where to shop or bank. Residents were accustomed to importing their basic provisions from outside the village; say on weekly or monthly shopping trips to Fethiye or Antalya. Alternatively, they employed specialists from outside the town. The Kalkan life-style was dependent upon the skills and facilities of its neighbours.

Utility and service provisioning trips were organised around work commitments. Entrepreneurs found it difficult to leave their businesses in summer. Whenever possible they carried out these types of activities outside the tourist season. In spring prior to the new season proprietors carried out all their tasks in a short space of time. Some booked workers from Yesilköy, a nearby village, in advance to redecorate their businesses (Ruhsar, SPTY, 2000). This village also supplied carpenters and produced the majority of the wooden furniture used in Kalkan. While workers and specialists came from Yesilköy, authorisation came from Kas, Antalya or sometimes Ankara. The money to pay the workers came from banks in Kas or Fethiye.

When I asked residents about provisioning, they told me that they left the village more frequently during the winter months. For some residents this meant that they left the town completely. For others it meant that they made the most of the 'down time' to visit family or go sightseeing, entertaining themselves in the manner of tourists during the season. During the summer months, residents left the town either once a month or once a week. The frequency and regularity of their trips to Kaş, Fethiye and Antalya, a combination of shopping with financial, bureaucratic or administrative activities, metaphorically brought these places inside the town boundary (Figure 1 p11). People had to deal with their bureaucratic and administrative affairs in person, as documents had to be officially stamped, and residents set-aside time for these tasks.
Residents also visited Yesilköy, Bezirgan and Islamlar on a regular basis. Yesilköy was the town's sanayi (industrial area). This is where people go to get their cars fixed or serviced. It also provided carpenters, wrought iron mongers and butchers. Some of Kalkan’s entrepreneurs or their extended family members lived here. Bezirgan, where 'time stood still' (Crawshaw 2003), was where people went to take advantage of the cooler climate and to stroll around the village. The lay-by on the mountain-road overlooking the village provided an excellent 'photo opportunity', where tours stopped for ten minutes to allow tourists to photograph the 'real Turkey'. Trips to Islamlar were usually for 'eating' or buying fish. The village had a plentiful supply of fresh mountain water, and villagers created trout farms and restaurants with views of the sun setting into the Mediterranean.

In the summer of 2001, the Kalkan town boundary also incorporated a plethora of ancient sites and natural wonders. Links between these places ran on an hourly, daily or weekly basis. Where flourishing local towns made up for Kalkan's shortcomings as a town, the sites made up for its shortcomings as a destination. Patara, the ancient city that took over as capital of the Lycian League after the decline of Xanthus, 30 minutes away by dolmuş (minibus) compensates for the lack of sandy beaches in Kalkan. The beach is 18 km of sheer golden sand. The majority of visitors clustered around the small beach café not far from the car park. It provided the only shade from the glaring heat. Many tourists did not notice the site, despite its recently excavated necropolis at the side of the main road. Ordinarily visitors would take a car to various points along the beach or take a canoe trip down the Xanthus River, stopping for a mud bath at the estuary. Saklikent Gorge provides another activity opportunity. It is a natural gorge traversable without the aid of equipment. The trek up the gorge commences on high wooden platforms built into the side of the valley above the fast flowing and turbulent river below. The platforms petered out at a şah bahcesi (tea garden). This provides a brief respite and plastic sandals to aid wading across the icy torrents of the two rivulets converging around it. Once past this point the path dries out, and 'the explorer' is able to concentrate on the landscape rather than searching for a foothold or testing the depth of the murky water in mini whirlpools. Both Patara Beach and Saklikent Gorge provided 'something to do'.

Xanthus, Patara, Letoon, Pinara, Kekova, Sidyma, Myra (and the Church of St Nicholas) Olympus, Phaselis, Arycanda, Tlos, and Kayaköy (the empty 'Greek' village) provide 'something to see'. The most popular were the 'Sunken City of Kekova', this day trip combined site seeing with swimming, eating and lazing about on boats. You can only reach Kekova by boat, from Kalkan or Kaş or by road from Kalkan to Simena, and then by glass-bottomed boat from there. The trip's popularity is also an

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55 Bezirgan is an example of a working rural village, of the kind tourists had in mind when they thought of Turkish villages. The myth is discusses in Chapter 7.
56 These links did not run in winter.
indicator of tourist patterns. Repeat tourists were happy to do this trip repeatedly. Trips to Pınara and Ancyra, involving lengthy journeys by road, ran rarely, despite the resounding beauty of the high pine forests and the wealth of standing archaeology. Those who ventured out this far were delighted. I participated on several of these trips and there was no doubt that the trip enhanced participants’ knowledge of Turkey. The Tlos trip stopped for lunch at a trout farm under a pine canopy. Here people ate fresh fish, salads and village bread and paddled their feet in the icy cold mountain water channelled in streams around the seating area, or tickled baby trout in the channel flowing around the bar. Day trips fuelled the imagination. Some day-trippers reported strange physical sensations, others felt like they were in a dream, yet others marvelled at the infrastructure of the past. Whilst sightseeing was not to everyone’s cup of tea, for the majority it was worth it, their imaginings of what life was like then captured their attention for days (Collis forthcoming paper).

5.4 Property Relations – Three Case Studies

The following case studies represent the life-style choices of six women from different residence categories. Five of the six lived in Kalkan permanently, the sixth visited twice a year to live in her holiday home in Old Kalkan. The life-style choices expressed through women’s voices also represented their partners’ voices. Men tended to be more involved in decisions about financial investments, architectural design, and physical construction than they were with interior design. The case studies represent data collected during a series of in-depth interviews which took place between October 2000 and November 2001 and which lasted a number of hours or took place over several days. However, I had known some of the residents for years and introduced to others through mutual acquaintances. The comments presented below provide a summary of their life-worlds.

5.4.1 Zeynep & Margaret: Old Houses & Show Homes

Zeynep and Margaret’s houses were in the heart of Old Kalkan. Zeynep’s house was located on the back street (S:3.4 p107) and Margaret’s in a small alleyway running off the lower section of HAC (S:3.6 p118). Both houses were examples of living history. However, each house illustrated a different set of economic and social relations. The difference arose from the two women’s different attitudes towards conservation. The women’s different attitudes arose from their different types of economic investment in their properties. Margaret and her husband owned their house while Zeynep and her partner leased theirs. The type of investment dictated the level of additional investment each woman was prepared or capable of investing in her home. Both women had conducted substantial renovation

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works; repairs were the tenant’s and not the landlord’s responsibility. Margaret’s project was considerably more substantial than Zeynep’s. However, ownership and economic capital were not the only constraints on the women’s attempts to make their houses into homes. All work carried out to property situated within the conservation area came under the scrutiny of the state. Owners or leaseholders had to comply with the area’s building regulations. These were strictly, if somewhat inconsistently, enforced. Despite the constraints, each property succeeded in expressing the occupant’s life-style choices and life-world.

The women’s choice of property reflected their need and preference to live in Old Kalkan: for Zeynep, this meant being close to her business premises and for Margaret it meant being in the ‘authentic’ area of the village. While Zeynep had carefully preserved all the structure’s original features (Figure 11), Margaret had to gut her house completely, due to wood rot, and rebuild the original features.

Zeynep, a 52-year-old divorcee and former tourist rep, had dyed blonde hair, large designer glasses and immaculate dress sense. She was confident with an, at times, astringent manner. She had moved to Kalkan in 1996 to set up a restaurant business, and to put her knowledge of international cuisine, gained on her extensive travels, to work for her. The majority of female entrepreneurs based their businesses around their domestically acquired skills. Born in the Üsküdar region of İstanbul, she had travelled widely both inside and outside Turkey, living in Mersin, Ankara, Antalya, San Diego and Naples, with holidays spent in France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria. Her former husband, two children and extended family remained in İstanbul while she moved to Kalkan. She had visited the village on family holidays since 1978: ‘Yirmi yıl once herkes geldi, bir grup olarak, Erkut (Pasha’s Inn ve Lykia Plaj) ve Korsan’nin Babası’ 57. As a result, she had friends in the village with whom she could establish a network of social relations.

For Zeynep, her home had represented a new start with a new partner (now a relationship of nine years’ standing) and a return to her roots, her Greek ancestry of which she was extremely proud. In her estimation, her house was approximately 60 years old and, like the majority of the old houses left in the village from the 1930s, placing it post-population exchange, indicating that whilst the style might well have been Rum-influenced it was not Rum-built. In 1996, Zeynep restored the inside of her house and restaurant. Restoration of the inside only did not require permission from the authorities, but she had made enquiries about regulations concerning the old houses nonetheless: and she was prohibited from altering any of the original features (“eskî halim bozmamak”58). Alteration to the exterior of the building would require permission from the authorities in the regional capital Antalya,

57 Twenty years ago everyone came here. There was a group of us, Erkut (owner of Pasha’s Inn and the Lykia beach platforms) and owner of the Korsan restaurant’s father.
58 You can’t alter the original features.
or, in some cases, from the authorities in Ankara, which was a lengthy process. The photographs of Zeynep’s house indicate Zeynep’s interpretation of conservation as the maintenance of original external features and additions constructed in her interpretation of the ‘original style’ together with her priorities, her restaurant - Zeyno’s: *Yaz ve kiş, her mevsim aynı seyler seviyorum - BENIM RESTAURANTIM.*

Zeynep’s alterations reflect a compromise between the practical requirements of modern living and the state’s control over construction in the conservation area. In 2001 this compromise was represented by the maintenance of form over actual object: the replacement of original features with replicas (Orientalia, Figure 7, p54) rather than the repair of existing exterior fixtures too rotten or dangerous to warrant the expenditure (c.f. Joan’s House - Appendix B p354). Zeynep had little time for home comforts as she spends the majority of her time at the restaurant. In the winter she would spend more time at home, but also visits her friends, or visits her family in Istanbul or they visit her. In addition to the Kalkan properties, she owns a two-storey, detached house with a garden in Mersin, where she intended to retire. She viewed the Kalkan home as temporary and she wanted to enjoy its originality. Whilst she loved Kalkan, she told me that she felt it would soon be time to move on, as the village had altered beyond recognition. This was also likely to be a reflection of her home-life. I had heard rumours that her long-term partner was having an affair with a foreign woman who owned a property in the village and visited regularly throughout the year. The woman later confirmed these rumours herself who also owned a stake in Zeynep’s restaurant business (Aynur, SPY, 2001).

Margaret’s house, reputedly 150 years old and Rum-built: by dint of its flat roof, was one of the first privately owned, old village houses to be completely renovated for use as domestic space. When Margaret bought the house, to turn into a holiday home, it was derelict, had been unoccupied for 4 years, and therefore required complete remodelling. This type of renovation was extremely costly, and was largely only conducted by foreigners: as they benefited from what seemed to them to be relatively low prices, and they regarded it as an investment. Jimmy, the estate agent who had arranged the sale, oversaw the renovation project, which took a year to complete. Jimmy managed everything in Margaret’s absence. He liaised with Margaret in the United States (born in the United Kingdom, Margaret had moved to the United States when her husband got a job as an eye surgeon), the lawyers in Turkey and the local architect. He also chose all the internal fixtures and fittings. In 2001, I observed the progress of another of Jimmy’s conservation projects. It began with the gutting of the interior leaving only the outer shell, as a testament to the vernacular architecture of the past. They removed the old balconies, ceilings and staircases, and began the rebuild phase using modern building techniques and materials. All that remained of the vernacular was the relationship of the external walls

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59 Every season, summer and winter, I love the same things – my restaurant.
to the courtyard and the street, and the positioning of the key door and window openings, although many were effectively been repositioned to accommodate Margaret's requirements through the redesign of the interior space. The staircase frames went in first to allow workers to reach all part of the house; the upper sections were accessed across the ceiling joist, which ran from wall to wall some were left protruding through the outer wall where they would form a balcony. Slowly as the internal work progressed, the house started to take shape and the decoration could begin. Jimmy started to work on his, signature, fireplace surround. The whole process took about a year. I saw one project, Margaret's house, at the completed and lived in stage and another at the commencement stage. The outcome was a luxury home, a synthesis of Ancient Lycia and Old and New Kalkan life-worlds reflected in the choice of interior fixtures and furnishings, such as the plough-cum-coffee table, the amphorae sitting on specifically crafted wrought iron framework, the local ceramics, the kilims (rugs), the wooden furniture and the various pieces of ottomanobilia (things 'Ottoman') (Figure 20).

In Margaret's absence, Jimmy had to sense which items would be to her taste. Margaret told me: "I could have arrived with a toothbrush as everything was here". However, he did not get everything quite right: "I would never have chosen the sofa. I have convinced him we should redo it and make it traditionally Turkish, make a sofa type area and buy old cupboards with Turkish fabrics everywhere on which we could sleep". Margaret was looking forward to refurnishing the place her way. She read widely about Turkey and as our interview took place not long after the events of September 9/11, she felt sad that there was so much animosity between her adopted compatriots and people of the Muslim faith (Margaret, VPO, 2001). She really loved her home, which she kept for private use, unlike many others who let their house to generate an income or recoup costs. Margaret had also come to love her neighbours and cared about what happened to them. Her house was located in-between two alleyways. On one side, her front door looked out onto the Tailor's Place restaurant. Both Margaret and her husband really enjoyed the company of Sevilay, the owner. Her husband ate his breakfast there every morning before Margaret got up and I usually saw them all, or joined them, having a drink together in the evening after the tourists' had finally left. We discussed village life and complained to each other about how hard the slow times were, or how awfully the tourists behaved. On the other side was a small courtyard from where she could see her local neighbours and chat as they walked by or sit and read a book. It was a private space in which to relax and enjoy the place: "I fell in love with it the first time I came, I felt at peace and at ease and my husband felt the same way, and it is a kinder environment than most western countries". When I returned in 2005, I heard that Margaret still visited her house twice a year and that she had been asking after me (Sevilay, PTY, 2001). I could not help but wonder how the development of HAC had affected her views. Sevilay's restaurant had closed down and several others had been built close by, although Sevilay was still there. The place Margaret had come to know well had definitely changed.
Figure 20: Old Houses and Show Homes (Above: Margaret's renovated home showing a mixture of modern equipment and furnishings and traditional craftwork as well as items made to specification – the plough coffee table and the designer’s fire place. Below: Zeynep’s conserved home, the interior of the lean to kitchen, the original wooden ceiling, picture rails and traditional furnishings collected over a lifetime)
5.5 Bobby & Rebecca: Modern Houses & ‘Changing Rooms’

In these case studies, I present the ways in which the makeover of domestic space reflected two dual nationality (British/Turkish) women’s feelings about living in Kalkan. Both of the women, who had been friends for several years, lived outside the Old Kalkan in new, purpose-built accommodation and they shared an enthusiasm for interior design. While their marriages provided each woman with many Türk yahancı (strangers) and yerli halk (locals) contacts, their husbands’ family and friends, their passion for decorating enabled them to develop personal relationships with a wide range of local entrepreneurs. The female fabric seller at the weekly market had come to know their tastes and held back fabric she thought they would like and they were on good terms with the wrought-iron artisans and carpenters in Yeşilköy about 5km from Kalkan. I argue that the two women’s approach to interior decoration - particularly DIY - and personal choice of every item, identified them as British women living in Turkey (c.f. Ayata’s (2002) discussion of the increased interest in home makeovers by middle class women in urban areas and Kiliçkiran’s (2003) discussion of Kurdish migrants’ creation of domestic space in London).

Bobby lived with her daughter Alicia in a two-bedroom apartment in an apartment block in the Middle School Area (B) (Figure 18). The block was on a wide tree-lined street and provided privacy, in contrast to the narrow streets and close proximity of houses on the corner of HAC where she used to live in a second storey apartment sandwiched between the ground floor café and roof-terrace restaurant businesses she ran with her former husband. Rebecca lived with her husband Fatih in a four-bedroom house located behind the holiday apartment complex she managed for her in-laws, just off the Kalamar Road (C) (Figure 18 p152). The access to the house was via a gravel track and while but the completion of several apartment blocks in the vicinity decreased the couple’s privacy it also made it likely the municipality would surface the road. Bobby’s block and Rebecca’s house were two storeys high, but both women benefited from the new builds’ larger interior spaces and the availability of domestic space for unconventional households (S:4.2, p54).

I first met Bobby, who is 44 and from Lisburn in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, when I was a customer in her restaurant, Steps, in 1996. At the time, she was involved in a long-term relationship with Denis and who she married in 1998 when she was expecting their first child. Booby used Steps as a canvas for her interior design skills, and the overall effect of the restaurant’s décor generated several requests for to make over other commercial and domestic interiors. Bobby had invested heavily in the business both financially and creatively, hoping that despite difficulties in her marriage it would succeed. In 1999, following the birth of her daughter, she decided to divorce. Her former husband relocated to the UK having remarried an English woman, while she remained in Kalkan,
returning to the rep business in 2000 to ensure adequate financial support for her daughter and herself. Those of her husband’s relatives who had businesses in Kalkan provided her with little support and she had to fend for herself. In 2001, she had begun a new relationship with an hotelier – but it was early days.

Bobby leased her apartment from a local family who had known her for a long time for a rent of 85m TL per month (£85 at the time of interview). Her existing social relations with local families encountered via her child’s schooling enabled her to find out about the property and to fix a reasonable rent, as it was not usual for expatriates to live in these blocks. Bobby told me that her landlord had taken pity on her situation, allowing her to make up shortfalls in rent when she could. He posed no restrictions on her decorating zeal other than to ask her not to paint the wooden doors and window frames. Bobby told me: ‘I am always thinking about doing something to the flat and buying material from the local market to do things with.’ Bobby reaffirmed her identity through her home, regularly inviting her landlord round to see the alterations, which she told me, seemed strange to him: bright painted walls, gilded mirrors, and draped fabric everywhere. The interior was Bobby’s solace, a private space where she reigned, away from what she referred to as her “gullibility and blinkered attitude to the reality of local life”. Her home provided her with an escape during difficult times and a refuge when income was low. She felt extremely lucky that she had managed to find a safe home for her daughter, had wonderful neighbours and that the views from her windows remained unobstructed, and she could spend a lot of time looking out over Kalkan.

Bobby introduced me to her friend Rebecca, 29, a former advertising executive from London (well educated and well travelled) who, whilst sharing an interest in interior design, was in a different social, economic and ‘political’ position to her friend. After a long and traumatic courtship, Rebecca had married into one of the three main local families, and was now officially a part of the family (community). Utilising her previously acquired skill set, she was becoming increasingly involved in the family’s businesses, the Merkez Café and Merkez Aparts. Her advertising experience and shared nationality with the majority of the businesses clientele made her an asset to the family, although they had not always seen it that way. Despite playing an increasingly active role in the businesses, she had no say regarding the management of the finances. Her only control of this was through comments or suggestions to her husband, which he would then put to the family or, as the youngest son; he would bite his tongue whilst his older brothers oversaw the family’s finances. The inability to control the income from her work was difficult for Rebecca, who was used to controlling her future and her financial position.

When I observed Rebecca in her lounge, her desire and enthusiasm to define herself and her husband through the decoration of interior space was clear from the attention and pride taken to every detail of
the room. The layout and design of the house were modern, with fully fitted kitchen and bathrooms; however, the décor incorporated other aspects of Turkish culture: ceramics, *kilims* (rugs) and brazier. The lounge was a mixture of the British attitude to decorating, with the exception of her choice of strong colours, blue and yellow, to paint the main walls in the lounge and hall areas (which worked well in the Kalkan light but would have created a dark closed-in space in the UK) and Turkish/Ottoman furnishings and ornaments. Her new home environment brought a fresh colour palette and new knick-knacks to Rebecca’s decorating skills, allowing her to experiment with the look and feel of the place. Whilst Rebecca’s decorating zeal was attributable to her recent marriage and new status, it became apparent that decorating enabled her to work through conflict caused by her displacement: her singular identity integrated within a new and different social identity. Having completed ‘the project’, Rebecca told me that it was highly likely that they would be moving in the near future. The family were in the process of building four apartments on land they owned around Kalkan, to be let as living accommodation (as opposed to holiday lets) and she thought they might use one of these, but this was not, yet, confirmed. I present Rebecca’s life-world in greater depth in sub-section 6.5 (p202).

![Figure 21: Rebecca's Life-Style](image)

**5.5.1 Joan & Fiona: Inside & On Site**

In these case studies, I illustrate the different ways in which two British nationals relate to the community through the social relations of their property. Joan (with her husband Peter) and Fiona
both leased property from Turks living in Istanbul, yet they had different relationships with Kalkan reflected in their housing choices.

Joan, aged 51, a former school principal from Renfrew in Scotland, did voluntary work in the village Atatürk Foundation helping local children to improve their English. She had first visited Turkey in 1989 and Kalkan in 1992, after which she had returned to the village each year prior to her relocation in September 2000, having taken up early retirement in Scotland. Her choice of Kalkan was personal and pragmatic. Kalkan was cheaper than where her husband had lived before in Spain, making their relocation a financially viable option and familiar. However, most of all Joan said, “After 10 years on holiday we found it similar to Spain 20-30 years ago and it was the people and lifestyle that attracted us.” Their knowledge of Kalkan encouraged them to emigrate, but it did not prevent them from experiencing problems and conflict over property.

Joan’s house, a two-storey house with two bedrooms and a study, which they had leased for £150 per month on a twelve-month lease, reflected the power and frailty of the Kalkan myth - ‘there is something magical about Kalkan’ - to blind people to the realities of Kalkan. They acquired the house in the heart of the ‘idyllic village’ sight unseen based on an advertisement placed in a British broadsheet newspaper. Despite two years of preparation in the UK for emigration, learning the language and getting the requisite permissions, the couple found themselves with an uninhabitable property on their hands. The house displayed the remnants of a former identity, as a holiday let: dirty sheets on the beds, ropes as banisters, and wood rot. Their first house in their new home was far from safe, let alone homely, and it was down to them, financially, to make it habitable. Relations had not got off to a good start but the landlord in Istanbul was unconcerned.

The couple had assumed that they were moving into a house they could ‘pretify with rugs and furnishings, spending about £1000,’ to make it into a home. However, they faced major reconstruction work. In their desperation to make the property habitable, the couple chose not to seek permission for their repairs. Like many old houses, it had fallen into disrepair and at this late stage, the lease represented a more solid investment for the owner, who knew it would be down to his tenants to repair, than for Joan and Peter who just wanted a house ready to live in. The couple were furious but they came to love living in the home they created (Figure 22, left). However, they chose not to continue their relationship with the landlord at the end of the contract, quitting the house and Old Kalkan in preference for a new apartment in a block owned by friends (Figure 22; right). The new house, opposite the petrol station on the road out of Kalkan, was modern, but reflected the vernacular style through its external living spaces or balcony, larger, 3 bedrooms, and was less expensive. ‘I shall miss being in the Old Village, but will like the new space better, as this house is dark, and I like light.’ The move provided the couple with open views from their windows which the style of the old village had
precluded. The couple’s experience had led them to rethink the kind of relations they wanted to establish in the village. Friendship and trust had become more important than views. They preferred to live outside the tourist’s perspective, engaging with the structures of the habitus rather than with the village’s past.

Figure 22: Joan’s Accommodation (Left: the Old Village house the couple restored. Right the new apartment in the New Village to which they relocated after a year)

Fiona, 41, from Huddersfield, first visited Kalkan on a Tapestry holiday in 1993 and she told me that she ‘immediately fell in love with it,’ although it took her several years to relocate. Equipped with a Masters in Archaeology, a Tourism Diploma and fluent Turkish, she was ideally qualified to work in the tourism industry and, in 1993, she worked in the Hisaronu office of Tapestry Holidays. Fiona’s marriage to a Turk gave her dual national status but she identified more with her Turkish nationality, and did not want to return to the UK. She told me that: ‘marriage was separate to my feelings about Turkey.’ She had relocated to Old Kalkan in 2000, following several tourism-related jobs, to run Pasha’s Inn, a pension/restaurant/bar business, following the break-up of her marriage.

The property consisted of two storeys and a roof terrace. The rooms on both storeys provided accommodation for guests; the roof terrace was the site of the restaurant/bar in summer. In winter, she converted one of the rooms on the first floor into a sitting room for the use of herself, her friends or guests. The pension accommodated 10 guests, and was a similar size to several other pensions located in Old Kalkan. The location of buildings on small plots of land, and the restriction prohibiting building above two storeys, meant that where homes had been converted into holiday accommodation they are not large. There were larger hotel complexes outside Old Kalkan, in all of the other residence districts (Figure 18). Fiona’s was very much a ‘family hotel’; however, Fiona did most of the work herself, cooking, cleaning and managing the business. In the summer months, her ex-husband helped her to run the bar, but she spent the majority of her time by herself or with her new ‘boyfriend’, from
a neighbouring village. Pasha's Inn was one of the few businesses which stayed open all year round, although the level of custom in the winter months is low.

Fiona felt passionately about the village, to the extent of becoming involved in setting up an association (dernek) to promote planned rather than organic development. She said that she wanted to think beyond the 'quick bucks' and fast development approach taken by many, focusing on infrastructure: water, electricity and roads (concerns shared privately by many). However, whilst she was keen to become involved, the local polity was not so keen to accept her involvement. Her attempts to get a group together met with resistance for several reasons. Firstly, she was foreign, and locals thought that she wanted to get something out of it for herself; secondly, the initial twelve members required to set up an organisation had to provide documents to send to Ankara, and few were prepared to do this. Her efforts came to nothing, but I heard that, subsequent to my departure, a group of architects, mainly Türk Yahana (strangers), working locally, had established an organisation with a similar aim (Kemal, PTY, 2003).

Fiona had permission to work, and pre-retirement age, she had no state benefit or other form of private income. Her business provided dwelling, income and status; it generated respect, which her single status would not ordinarily have commanded. Fiona managed to shrug off the undercurrents of disrespect stating: 'I love it here. I feel totally comfortable. There are issues that crop up, but I could not imagine living anywhere else. I have been welcomed, on the whole.' Fiona's social relations were ambivalent. Her ability to communicate in Turkish excluded her from certain expatriate sub-groups, and left her to all intents and purposes group-less, as, with the exception of Christine (S:4.6.1 p54) and myself, she was alone. Some people found it difficult to place her, mirrored in the relationships of the building she leased. The property belonged to Erkut Tackin, a well-known Turkish rock star, who, whilst he had visited the village frequently 20 years previously, demanded she travel to Istanbul should business matters arise. When I returned to Kalkan in 2005, I heard that her unfriendly manner meant that she was unpopular in the village and that she had left some time ago (Sevilay, PTY, 2005). This was somewhat surprising given her protestations but not necessarily that surprising given the level of business in the Old Kalkan and her position in the community. Her case provides an example of the attention required towards every type of property investment, and that business survival was not simply a matter of hard work and language proficiency, but required an awareness of the neighbourhood gossip.

5.6 Product Relations — Four Case Studies
In this section, I illustrate the ability of entrepreneurs to integrate within the Kalkan community through their property and product relations. The acquisition of commercial property establishes local social networks whereas the import of consumer goods from other parts of Turkey extends social relations beyond the town boundary. A successful business represented a set of working property and product relations. Old Kalkan reflected the nature of entrepreneurs' relations, as shaped by tourists' consumption practices and demands. Entrepreneurs fostered relationships, which produced the type of consumer goods and services desired by tourists. The following case studies illustrate the ways in which four migrants from different residence categories, two male and two female, established their businesses. They represent data collected during a number of in-depth interviews which took place between October 2000 and November 2001 and which lasted a number of hours. However, I had known some of the entrepreneurs for years and others I met while conducting my survey of Kalkan's businesses. The comments presented below provide a summary of their social relations.

5.6.1 Christine: Yüksel Carpets, Yüksel Gallery & Kalamaki Pension

Christine was one of the few foreign women living in Kalkan — if not the only one — to be described by the expatriate sub-community as 'having gone native', following her marriage to a local who owned the above businesses. Her sense of 'otherness' came across during the interview, as she perceived me as being representative of the expatriate group and the activities she was missing. Christine spoke about participating in expatriate circles, but equally, as she considered the possibility, she realised how reliant she had become on members of her husband's family for support with childcare and day-to-day activities. Her integration with her Turkish family placed her in a different position to foreign women who, whilst they ran businesses, had no kin ties to the village (Fiona, S:5.5.1 p171). Christine immersed herself in her family relations: she lived in the village all year round after the birth of her two children, spoke fluent Turkish and lived at a tangent to the sub-community of native English speakers.

Christine was involved in one way or another in all of the family-owned businesses in Old Kalkan: Yüksel Carpets and Gallery faced each other towards the lower end of HAC, whereas the Kalamaki Pension was located on the 'back street' parallel to Christine's house, and slightly higher up HAC than the businesses. The couple had purchased the property in which they now lived, not long after their marriage in 1994. The acquisition of the property placed Christine and her husband, Durmuş, in the heart of the Old Village, and was indicative of Durmuş' relationship with members of the family (community). Durmuş was raised in a family of 5 brothers, 1 sister and 1 half sister, some of whom 'still practice the Migration between the two villages [Beşirgan/Kalkan], but the teenagers don't want to go as there are tourists to look at, bars, swimming, etc.'
The couple’s domestic accommodation recreated the original division of space within Rum vernacular architecture, they lived above commercial property, but it also indicated a reinterpretation of space. The living area, or domestic space, (re)combined the upper sections of two or three houses to create sufficiently large accommodation for a nuclear family. The larger-sized living area illustrated Christine’s influence on her husband’s property expectations as well as a change in local tastes. Christine, an architect by training, grew up in Scotland with plenty of space. Christine and Durmuş had refurbished the ground floor to produce three business units which they rented out to other entrepreneurs, separating the family’s commercial and private space.

Christine and Durmuş’s separation of the domestic and commercial increased their potential social relations, which in turn impacted on their status within the family (community): as owner/occupiers, landlords, leaseholders. Prior to their acquisition of the property, Christine used to return to the UK each year to work as an architect and to make ends meet. Rental income from the commercial units reduced the couple’s reliance on tourism-generated receipts. The letting of property enhanced the couple’s symbolic capital: as owners and landlords, they were patrons to their tenants (clients). However, the couple leased their commercial units from other yerli balk (locals), maintaining their involvement in local social networks. This sheds some light on the ways in which property circulates, both its use and exchange value, as rents represented a stable income and expanded ‘kin’ networks.

The lease of the carpet shop from one of the old Bezirgan/Kalkan families integrated the couple into the old family (community) reaffirming Durmuş’s roots in Kalkan. The house (business unit) was 80 years old. The shop, established in 1990, had undergone refurbishment; the exterior wall was plastered in accordance with conservation requirements to keep the appearance the same, the inside wall was removed, altering the structure. The centre of the interior space, where carpets were dramatically unfurled for customers, was empty and there were carpets piled high against the walls. The gallery opposite the carpet shop further strengthened the couple’s social relations, as they leased it from another Kalkan family. It was significant that the couple leased their commercial units from yerli balk (locals) and leased the units they owned to Türk yabancı (strangers). They were able to charge Türk yabancı (strangers) higher rents, as there were no prior relationships between landlord and tenant. There was also relatively less demand from yerli balk (locals) for commercial lets, as they either already owned property or had out-migrated to larger cities where they lived and worked. However, given the diversity of the resident population, the couple were keen to establish relations with other groups, maximising their social investments: Durmuş had at one point considered entering into local politics.

The Kalamaki Pension represented a new build (13 years ago), in the ‘old style’, blending into the back street. They leased it from his father’s ‘milk brother’ who came from yet another old Kalkan/Bezirgan family. The same woman suckled the two men when they were young: the connection enabled
Durmuş to rent the property. The couple's property relations enabled the distribution of tourism-based income to non-participants in the industry, with the benefit that property receipts were considerably more stable. This begged the question: why did not yerli halk (locals) become entrepreneurs? In her evaluation of small business enterprises Özcan (1995) highlights the role of displacement as a motivating factor in entrepreneurship. As these residents were not displaced they lacked this type of incentive, and one informant described insiders as incapable of running businesses, adding that whenever they have tried they have failed (Kartel, SPTY, 2001). In Christine and Durmuş' case they had acquired their property subsequent to the expansion of tourism, also Durmuş's marriage to a foreigner effectively displaced him: he had travelled widely and lived in Scotland with Christine for a while, until unable to find a job for him the couple had returned to engage in tourism. There were some local families owning and running successful businesses in the village. Akin Pension, based in the refurbished family home, got started in the first stages of tourism, and the family still ran it in 2001.

Whilst property relations solidified the social relations of the family (community), the choice of products sold by the businesses reflected the tastes of another audience. The acquisition of items/objects, embodying 'traditional Turkish life or styles', for tourist consumption expanded social relations beyond the family (community). Few of the items came from the village; the carpets both old and new originated from all over Anatolia and beyond. Intermediaries bring in the majority of products on sale to the couple's businesses, but Durmuş also goes out to acquire them direct. Carpets had come to symbolise Turkey in the minds of tourists – they were the high status, 'memory jogger' (MacCannell, 1999). The British tourist's favourite from Mila, retails at £1-2,000, depending on size, and makes the souvenir more expensive than the holiday. Christine mentioned that some people sold carpets at, what she considered, rip-off prices, e.g. a £300 carpet sold for £1,000 with 65% of the revenue going to the intermediary. Tourists unable to afford carpets bought items which reminded them of carpets, such as a kilim (rugs), made using a different technique for weaving (on a loom as opposed to knotting) which retailed at a lower price, although still at the high end of the market. Alternatively, they bought items made from carpets or kilims (rugs), such as slippers or bags. These were available in the couple's Gallery just across from the carpet shop along with ceramics (with similar motifs), jewellery or cotton clothing. The majority of carpet retailers offered a shipping and customs clearance service, opening up a further layer of relationships and access to new knowledge, tying Kalkan entrepreneurs into a global network of handlers, shippers and delivery services.
Transported outside the place, products extended entrepreneur's reputations to the tourists' connections through their motifs, colours and 'flavours', the stories of acquisition within the story of time spent elsewhere. The carpet's fabric had holiday memories metaphorically woven into it, forming an integral part of its meaning, changing the code from the shared symbolic references of the producer to an appreciation of surface, sensuality made deep, by the experience of the consumer. The product disseminates a Turkey, arguably more 'Ottoman' than 'Modern', consistent with the image of Turkey re-presented by tour operators in the tourist's home country. Their products integrate Christine and Durmuş within wider worlds than the relations of the property leased to display and sell them in. The out-migration of yerli halk (locals) landlords is beginning to achieve the same result. However, while external links, particularly to city-dwellers, enhanced status, property relations also perpetuate reputation and respectability in the family/community. The couple's property expresses their singular, particular and social identities and replicates the Rum and Turk vernacular use of interior spaces. Their embodied social relations enabled them to purchase and lease highly sought after property in Old Kalkan relatively easily; the family (community) already knew them and was obliged to trust them.

Figure 23: Yükseel Gallery: above: pashminas (very popular at two for £15), ceramics, slippers and bags made from kilims (rugs) and camel bags.
5.6.2 Demet: Gallery Sarpendon

Demet, a 55 year-old retired producer of ‘The Voice of Turkey’ radio programme for TRT (Turkish Radio and Television), came from Ankara. She ran Gallery Sarpendon, from a commercial unit located in a row of purpose-built units located underneath the breakfast terrace of the Pirat Hotel along the harbour front. She occasionally received assistance minding the shop from her husband, a retired environmental engineer, and her son, who ran an adventure sports business located next door but one, and his English partner, a former rep for Tapestry Holidays. The gallery, unlike Christine and Durmuş’ gallery which sold Turkish handicrafts, sold artwork produced for the Kalkan market, which combined symbols recognisable as Turkish with tourists’ tastes. They reflected Demet’s cultural and symbolic capital: her knowledge of her country, her personal acquaintance with many artists and her customers.

Demet and her family, Türkyabancı (strangers), first visited Kalkan in the 1980s, when they fell ‘in love’ with the local landscape, so much so that they built a holiday villa just off the Kalamar Road close to the Lykia Estate (a luxury villa complex) (S:5.1 p149). Demet told me that it was difficult to control the building programme from Ankara and to explain the ‘Ankara rules’ to local construction workers; the site lacked infrastructure and ran at the local pace. As a result, the four-roomed holiday home and separate studio flat did not meet her specifications. While the building fell short of their expectations, the construction process enabled Demet to develop relationships with yerli halk (locals) that would be impossible now, as the local lifestyle altered dramatically pursuant to tourism-oriented development of the village. Demet’s villa was built by yerli halk (locals) from the hamlets around Kalkan who became curious and eager visitors. Demet particularly valued her friendships with local women, working hard not to be branded a snob. They invited her to their houses in neighbouring villages, where she talked freely in a relaxed environment. She reflected on how this aspect of life in the village had changed: local women no longer, invited ‘strange women’ to their homes; she says that she sees very few local women in the village these days and, whilst the village had taken on an urban, sophisticated ambience, she missed the old days.

Demet’s direct investment in the village provided her family with access to local social relations prior to her involvement in the business community. In 1993, at age 47, and because of her husband’s failing health, she took early retirement to live out her dream of running a gallery in Kalkan. Many of her city friends advised her not to do it, but Demet went ahead, and eight years later, she had not lost

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60 Many Turkish families from Istanbul and Ankara visited Kalkan in the 1980’s.
her attachment to Kalkan or her enthusiasm for her business enterprise: based on her love of art as a product, medium and social circle. She explained her attitude towards her business:

'It is a hobby, but of course you must earn money to continue as you have to pay the artist and this is not cheap, and there is also rent. We do not make enough money to live year round but we have another income. There is some profit and we are happy with the level, happiness is more important after 50 years than wanting a very big business. It is nice for us as we have made friends with people from all over the world.'

The area in front of the gallery served as the family’s living room, and this was where they entertained friends, and watched the world pass by from one of the plastic outdoor chairs around a cloth-covered table under a large umbrella - always alert to customers while sipping tea and chatting. Demet would jump up to serve customers or to answer the telephone, otherwise she left customers to browse inside, ask questions or join the group at the table. Demet knew they were unlikely to buy on their first visit, but would return later in the holiday when Demet would share her knowledge of Turkish art, the area, the village with tourists who knew very little about all three.

Demet had built up a detailed knowledge of her clientele, she was aware of consumption preferences by nationality, and she spread this knowledge to artists wanting to sell their work through her gallery. Her desire to spread knowledge about the artworks came across through the detailed descriptions she wrote to accompany a piece. Demet believed she was adding to Kalkan’s knowledge base. She gained knowledge of her clientele’s tastes initially by sharing experiences with other entrepreneurs, some of whom had little idea of how to relate to tourists, and subsequently through her personal observations. The development of a successful business was a slow process of trial and error on a daily/season basis, and Demet continues to try out new products each season.

'I watch what they want and which colours they like. English people prefer watercolours, German like graphic design, Americans like watercolours or calligraphy. In time, you become aware, and this gives me direction for the gallery. Every year I choose my pictures on the basis of these directions and sometimes I try new things. Generally I want to bring stuff produced by famous, not ordinary, people, as this has an added value and it seems more special when you read the biography.'

Demet’s property and product relations have involved her in a series of relationships she would not have encountered in Ankara. Her relocation in the destination’s early years meant that she had watched it grow and change, losing many of her former allies, while the development of her business has provided her with new relations locally and from all over the world. Her identity has also shifted
as she moves between Ankara and the coast incorporating a series of identity stereotypes that she
would otherwise have eschewed, and thus Demet mixed freely with the locals.

Figure 24: Gallery Sarpendon top left: gallery exterior; top right: the owner at work amongst the artwork; all
other images show a sample of the artwork on display utilising modern and traditional images and symbols – the
moon and crescent and the evil eye.
5.6.3 Kemal: Kalamus Travel & Mavi Real Estate

Kemal, his American wife and other members of his family from Adana owned, managed and staffed Kalamus Travel and Mavi Estates. Kemal and his wife were permanent residents but other members of the family migrated to Kalkan in summer to help. Kemal, aged 35, the oldest son, whose father had worked on the US base in Adana, had grown up around the English language. He studied tourism at university and then went to work in an agency based in Fethiye. In 1992, he accepted a job as a tour guide, based in Kalkan, for the UK based operator Tapestry Holidays: 'I wanted to work somewhere that was not discovered yet.' After three years showing tourists around the local sights/sites he decided to set up his own agency and leased a commercial unit at the Kalkan end of the Kalamar Road (Figure 19).

I met Kemal in 1996 when I went on one of his company's tours (recommended by my friends at the Lizo Pension). I had walked passed his office everyday on my way to the beach club on the Klub Patara side of the bay. His knowledge of the area and enthusiasm for walking formed the basis of a long lasting friendship with him and his American wife. The length of the acquaintance provided a privileged insight into the dynamics of his and his family's business enterprises as they began, developed, failed, and changed. In 1997, the agency relocated to No.2 HAC. The spot was ideal, virtually everyone walking into Old Kalkan walked past their office at least twice a day, enquiring about tours or taking a leaflet on the way to dinner, and booking them on the way back to their accommodation in New Kalkan. Kemal had a good reputation as a guide, based on his knowledge of the area, the result of extensive research, walking the landscape to find new vistas to sell.

To run the agency he required additional staff, his younger brother would help out before he set up first a restaurant opposite the agency, which lasted a single season, and then Reflections Glassware. As the eldest son, Kemal felt responsible for his family back in Adana. Kemal conducted tours while his wife staffed the office and built the company's website. His young cousin, also from Adana, helped in the office, but as his English improved became a second tour guide, allowing the business to offer more than one tour a day. The cousin's girlfriend, from Adana, also helped in the office. Kemal's brother-in-law in-migrated for the tourist season to drive the tour bus; his wife and daughter joined him in the school holidays. In the 2001 season, foreign tour operators' including tours within the holiday package affected the level of business. The number of tourists booking tours was down; although two trips to Saklikent Gorge and Kekova remained popular. The reduced level of interest in sightseeing tours was indicative of a change in tourist type (S:7.2 p231), interested in sun and not sites, and the high percentage of repeat tourists, many of whom had already done the tours, and had the confidence to explore the countryside by rental car or moped.
Due to the reduction in tour sales, Kemal, as his former business partner before him (now an extremely successful local developer), moved into the property business, leasing a property off the Kalamar Road to sell as holiday lets via the company's existing website. He also started selling property, owned by his friends and existing social relations, to foreign buyers. Kemal's un-married sister in-migrated from Adana, and lived in one of the apartments, to clean and maintain the holiday lets. She spent the rest of her day in the agency, trying to improve her English or sitting outside watching the world go by. Mavi Estates took off the year after I left Kalkan (but I was able to follow its progress on the Internet), from an office located next door to the kilim (rug) shop run by Swiss friend of mine, and her Turkish husband. Unlike the property in HAC, this unit was new and built to a sophisticated standard, with large air-conditioned interiors suited to commercial use. The estate agency was manned by Kemal's cousin's wife, who had moved to Kalkan to live with her fiancé (now husband). When I returned in 2005, this couple had divorced and Marion who had previously run the Islands Hotel ran the agency. Kemal's cousin ran the Tour agency, and I believe they employ another guide, leaving Kemal's wife to concentrate all her resources on the website, which generated most of their business.

In 2001, Kalamus Travel had to relocate, as the landlord wanted to set up a business. The agency moved to the property across the road in which Kemal's brother had tried to set up a restaurant and he set up a new business in a property further down HAC. When I returned in 2002, the interior of the new property resembled the old office. The downside was that it was opposite another agency selling similar services, run by a British woman and her Turkish business partner with whom Kemal had had disagreements in the past. To what extent the change in location affected business, was unclear as the market for such services was already in decline whereas the market for property was on the increase. It was an opportune time to move into the property business, the commission from one property sale financed the other family enterprises.

Kemal integrated his family into the family (community) through the property and service relations. He imported his labour force from Adana and leased commercial and domestic space from the local community. However, Kemal's closest friends came from an area close to Adana, and shared the same religion (Alevi), but he never mentioned this, their friendship resulted from their equal status as trained professionals, his friend was an architect, and friendship between their wives. Kemal's business enterprises enabled him to move from being the son invested in by the family, he went to university at his family's expense, to the son who provided an income for a large number of his family members. He had become the de facto head of the family, taking the financial responsibility for his ageing parents, where his father, now retired, is increasingly unable to take care of the agricultural land they owned.
Kemal’s initial enthusiasm for Kalkan had begun to wear off. For many years, he had actively campaigned for some form of urban planning and adequate service provisioning. Like many Türk yabancı (strangers), the lack of interest in his suggestions had left him increasingly apathetic, and with a sense of decreased ‘romance’, seeing architectural ugliness due to negligence and a lack of appreciation for the local heritage. From an active engagement with Kalkan’s future, Kemal had become disengaged, focusing on his business enterprises, this had enabled him to buy land and build a house off the Kalamar Road with a Scottish couple he met through the tour agency business. Property ownership, after so long a period of residence, firmly integrated Kemal within the family (community) and as his network of relations grew it became more difficult to leave, despite his wife’s dislike of the place. When I returned in 2005, Kemal’s property business was well established. Like the tour agency before it had a reputation for quality and reliable service. Kemal had reengaged with local politics and expected to become a Director of the new Institute based in the old school building. The government had allocated it for use by Akdeniz (Mediterranean) University to house either the tourism or the archaeology department. His overall investment in Kalkan would certainly make him a suitably qualified choice.

Figure 25: Kalamus Travel (left: the agency exterior showing illuminated wall signs and stand-alone board in English and right: company leaflet)
5.6.4 Kutlay: K&S Jewellery

I met Kutlay in 1996 when I bought a necklace from his jewellery shop. K&S Jewellery was located in No. 10 HAC, an old style house, with low ceilings, uneven floors and planks providing walkways to the rear of the shop. Entering the shop was like entering a treasure trove: walls, shelves, display cabinets and windows were laden with silver jewellery arranged according to the type and colour of its semi-precious stones. To find the special piece involved instinct or hard work. The sense of opulence was a familiar one, and replicated in the majority of Kalkan's jewellery shops (Figure 26). However, in 2000, No. 10 HAC was demolished and rebuilt as a replica of the old house. The interior was modern, with air conditioning and level polished marbled floors. Kutlay moved his business to No. 30, a building of around 60-70 years old, just up from Christine and Durmuş' carpet shop, for a rent set in a Deutsche Mark equivalent of £2,800 per annum from a yerli halk (local) who lived in Kalkan in the winter and Gömbe in summer (further inland from Bezirgan). No. 30 maintained Kutlay's social relations with the family (community) albeit from a less intriguing property. He made up for the lost ambience by hanging monochrome images of Old Kalkan, amongst his jewellery displays (Figure 26).

Kutlay now aged 37, had in-migrated to Kalkan in 1987, following four years training to be an accountant, stints selling fish and running a bar in Bodrum, two years living in Hamburg, six months living in Milan and travelling to Amsterdam and Vienna. He could have settled in Germany, based on his marriage to a German woman, but returned to Turkey: he loved his country and felt his opportunities were greater. Kutlay had thought long and hard about Kalkan, during his seventeen-year residence, and his singular and particular (group) identity.

When he arrived in Kalkan, Kutlay opened a bar with his brother, but after a year, his brother left to manage a hotel in Alanya. Kutlay decided that he was tired of living a reverse life: eating late at night and sleeping through breakfast. He decided to get into the 'tourist silver business', selling silver and semi-precious stones. Eventually he designed the jewellery himself, utilising skills from his hobby working with leather to make belts, bags and masks. Whilst he loved his business, it had brought some disappointing encounters with the local youths he employed in the shop. Three of the young men who had worked for him, had all stolen from him. The shop was full to bursting with objects that glittered and gleamed, but Kutlay remembered every piece of his stock.

'They think I can't feel it (the loss) because there is much jewellery here, but I know my silver dust, everything has passed through my hands and maybe not now but in two weeks' time I will need it and then I will know. I am sad not for me but for them - what is 35 million is not important, but…’

his sentence trailed off
Whilst displaying empathy, the remark highlighted the power/capital differential between yerli halk (local) employees and Türk yabancı (strangers) entrepreneurs. The young men would not have stolen from family members, and I suggest the act of stealing was an attempt to regain dominance, not dissimilarly to Bowman’s (1996) discussion of sex as a means of power retrieval. Kutlay’s proprietorship elevated his status and made him vulnerable in a way, which Kemal, who made use of family labour, was not. Kutlay’s comments illuminated identity stereotypes:

"Kalkan has become bigger and ugly and more busy, but we have lost the nice rich tourist from when I started here, and now we have the package tourist. Everything has changed, the local people think about money before tourism, but that is just village culture, but the money from tourism has changed the people. It is as if they have jumped a class, but I cannot give a name to this class - nouveau riche like. They think they have jumped a class, but in my view, they have not made it. In addition, there is a very interesting thing for me now here, those who came here from the city are becoming like village people. Normally local people want to be like city people, but those who came from the city are going to the local mind. There are changes in mentality – maybe they have a nice house and car, but they do not think differently from the local people now; they think about money and they make gossip. Normally, where you come from to here is not important – you can keep your mentality. If I prefer to live close to myself and if I want somebody I can pull them to my life."

Kutlay’s explanation of changes in village life and residents’ mentality highlights a contrary-flow of migrants from urban to rural areas. The altered perception of the village as ‘nouveau riche’ equates it with urban suburbs. Kalkan’s urban in-migrants did not see themselves escaping to a köy (village) lifestyle rather as moving a sophisticated destination frequented by wealthy urbanites and wealthy foreigners. High local property prices did nothing to dispel the notion. Movement facilitated the expansion of Kalkan into a town in the manner proposed by Shankland (1999). What was most significant about Kutlay’s statement was Turks’ self-perception within the global context. In Germany Kutlay had little access to well-paid, high-status employment. In Turkey, he tended to elevate the status of foreigners’ above that of Turkish citizens. When the ‘nice rich’ visited Kalkan, Kutlay knew where he was in the world; but the arrival of the mass tourist affected Kutlay’s perception of self. Where he had experienced inferiority he began to feel superiority, and he expressed shock, as his stereotypes were broken down:

"Normally I like the multi-cultural tourist. However, here there is mainly English so there are not too many comments, as there is always the same conversation. They always talk about shops and restaurants. With Italians or Germans, there is a different conversation. I did not make nice conversations with the English people here. They are not very open. I want to talk about many things. If I am talking about some book I cannot as they read soap opera books."

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Kutlay's comments reflected the opinions of many. The lack of 'interesting conversation' partially resulted from the repetitive nature of the tourism industry: the need to provide 'service with a smile' (Urry 1999), and the type of item on sale. The purchase of a piece of jewellery takes less time than a carpet or tailor-made outfit. The price of silver reflected the international silver price, which reduced the opportunity to *paşartık* (haggling) (S:4.4 p137). The person who would wear it who would make their choice from the selection on display usually bought jewellery (c.f. carpet sales S:4.5 p140). I think Kutlay was just enjoying the opportunity to express his feelings like many of my informants who told me that no one asked them what they felt about Kalkan (all *yerli halk* (local) and *Türk yabancı* (strangers) interviewees).

Figure 26: K&S Jewellery above: the shop exterior and interior; centre: Kutlay at work; below: samples of his work.
5.7 Summary: Relatives & Non-Relatives

In this chapter I considered the impact of the continued growth and development of the town on the resident community. I explained that as the demand for property grows, the town divided into a number of residence areas. I argued that the increasing number of residence areas represented developments in technology, which had enabled residents to build on previously uninhabitable terrain, and the investment of in-migrant Türk yanana (strangers) and expatriates in property. I argued that yerli halk (locals) and non-locals related to the town in different ways and that the motivations behind their life-style choices were different. Yerli halk (locals) tended to live in Old Kalkan or the Middle School Area whereas the other two groups lived in all other areas. Türk Yananasi (strangers) were less motivated to live in Old Kalkan than expatriates, for two reasons: it was where they worked and it was expensive. Expatriates were motivated to live in the Old Town because of its approximation to the idyllic village myth. I argued that residents’ life-style choices reflected their capital and status and I identified logical classes within the village. I suggested that these classes were beginning to form sub-communities within particular residence areas. However, I noted that this movement was a tendency and that it was too early to conclude that these sub-communities would become solid groups. I suggested that while the community comprised several separate groups, defined as relatives and others, the community was not self-sustaining and that it was necessary for its members to move outside the town boundary to obtain certain basic provisions and services. I argued that this requirement expanded Kalkan’s boundaries to include several towns and cities and that relocation was not the end of local movement and that community stability required old and new in-migrants to contend with migration.

I made use of case studies to illustrate my central tenet that in the absence of family or friends or hemşeris (fellow townsman), migrants form social relations through their investment in property and product. My analysis of residents’ homes and businesses enabled me to conclude that not only do the visible trappings of individual’s life-styles provide access to their subjective experiences of place, they also provide windows into their social networks: landlords, tenants, agents, neighbours, lawyers, architects, builders, family members, and friends. I found that just asking people who they rented or bought their house or business from started to weave a web of interconnectivity between complete strangers. I argued that this web was one of obligation: it bound those it incorporated as relatives and defined those it did not as others. However if the connections were followed there was always a point at which a tenuous link could be found to connect everyone within the community. Otherness or individualism was thus a matter of choice, but it did not tend to last long in Kalkan.
Chapter 6  People’s Places

What is in a tree? Is it: a tree common to the region, the local landscape, the colour of its leaves, the taste of its fruits and oils, the Mediterranean cuisine, the quality of the light as it bounces off its leaves and dapples the ground below, the feeling of homecoming, the action of chopping back branches to hang the sacrificial sheep, or is it memories of evenings spent dining beneath its canopy?61

In this chapter, I aim to represent residents’ experience of Kalkan through a selection of the drawings produced by my informants. The reason for my collection of visual material was to access residents’ subconscious feelings about their life-worlds, and to corroborate, or refute, their oral accounts of Kalkan. I hoped that the drawing process would enable residents to reflect before answering the question: ‘What does Kalkan mean to you?’. I observed that residents spent a lot more time thinking about what they were going to draw than they did about what they were going to say. I watched them look up, or out of the window, at the landscape around them, as if seeking inspiration. I anticipated that the drawings would reflect these observations. I was wrong, as the majority of the forty drawings represented a stilled life - a frozen moment of dynamic experience: the resident’s resolution of contradictory social relations (Chapter 4). I perceived the drawings as indexical of residents’ inner worlds, their singular identity (c.f. Downs & Stea 1977; Gell 1985; Pandolfo 1989). The drawings indicated that residents’ identities were neither wholly socially constructed nor entirely experiential (c.f. Cresswell 2004).

Each drawing forms the basis of a case study, presented below. The case studies represent residents’ responses to questions during a structured interview (of which the drawing was a part) (Appendix 2). Following Pandolfo’s (1989) analysis of images of a Moroccan village, I argue that the drawings (and case studies) reflected residents’ experience of space and the particular ways in which it has been humanised (S:1.1.3 p41). The images used by residents were clear and concise; however, the images were interpretable on a number of levels - the tree of the anecdotal puzzle recalled above. My interpretation of what Gell (1985) describes as the sensory form of the image involved informed interpretation, through an analysis of the resident’s choice of image and overall use of the creative space. While drawing facilitated residents’ expression of their perceptions, the time constraints I had imposed on the task (twenty minutes) meant they had to select what they were going to reproduce. I suggest that the drawings reflected conflict between individual experience and the habitus. This type of conflict was prominent due to the recent arrival of residents in Kalkan. The drawings illustrated worlds in (re)formulation as newcomers integrated

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61 The author’s puzzle. Reproduced here to illustrate the varied sensory forms of an image c.f. Gell 1985.
within the local community. The majority of drawings reflect residents’ concerns regarding social relations, transformation and change.

I argue that the drawings direct the viewer, through written labels, right into the heart of residents’ concerns, the sensory form of the image. Some images were drawn and placed as they surfaced, while others used word images. Most of the pictures represented multiple and oftentimes contradictory views of Kalkan. While the drawings were clearly represented the producer’s ‘step[s] in making sense out of the world’ (Downs & Stea 1977), I contend that they are far more complex than the cognitive maps, the first attempts to navigate the environment, reproduced in their text. I claim that the drawings expressed what Gell (1995) referred to as practical space, ‘intrinsically linked to the activities, perceptions and bodily attitude of the subject’ (ibid) – the subjective experience of place, and as such I use the term representation in preference to cognitive map, picture or drawing. The representations were secondary agents, and as such provided access into residents’ inner and life-worlds.

Resident’s representations illustrated a level of conflict between the individual, the particular and the social experiences of place. In the latter part of the interview, residents expressed their struggle between their personal desires and the values of the collective. Common images used to express resident’s opinions were landscape, roads, houses and businesses. Verbal accounts re-defined the images as metaphors of social relations within the context of migration. As demonstrated by Özcan (1994) and Bezman (1996) networks, in this instance based on property and product relations, facilitated integration and community stability, but at a cost to the individual. Where prior accounts have focused on networks as social constructs, in analysing residents’ drawings I aim to provide insight into resident’s subjective experience of social relations. Interpreted individually, the drawings represent the resident’s voices, their particular opinion about the local community and the overarching ideological contexts. As a collection, they represent the particularity of residents’ identities and the certain dynamism of a contact zone. The representations are located after the case studies, and referenced in the text.

6.1 Kartel: First Impressions

Friends of mine who ran Kalamus Travel across the street from his textile shop introduced me to Kartel when the season was in full swing. He had a warm but not overly friendly manner (S:4.5 p 140). He appeared keen to talk about Kalkan; however, his connection to my friends obliged him to accept, and protected my reputation, when we were seen together alone in his shop. He was bright, attractive, and
serious and experienced beyond his years, easily able to talk about life with me, a middle-aged anthropologist from London, as well as to assess life in Old Kalkan from his excellent vantage point No.1 HAC. Any expectations of naivety I might have had based on his youth and recent arrival were removed by his obvious professionalism: his knowledge of his product and clientele, particularly the different consumption practices of German and English tourists. He was an experienced entrepreneur with an intense desire to make something of himself and to provide for his family.

He arrived in Kalkan, in 2000, to set up a textile business, from Antalya where he had worked in his brother’s textiles business, and prior to that, he had worked for a textiles company in Marmaris. He was born, raised, and went to school in Diyarbakir where his parents still lived. The property he leased for dual domestic and commercial space had been a restaurant/café the previous year. His primary product was locally produced, fake-branded, cotton: shirts, T-shirts, trousers, swimwear, underwear etc. The Kalkan shop, unlike his brother’s in Antalya, was a summer-only venture. When I interviewed Kartel, he was unsure whether it would be a one-off or multiple-season concern. He was alone in the village, but he had established a friendship with his neighbours who ran the business opposite his. The two helped each other out, minding the shops or just chatting in slow times.

Whilst we talked clients explored the merchandise inside the shop, and perused the cheaper items displayed outside on tables carefully positioned under the shade of umbrellas. Kartel’s days were long, often 13 or 15 hours; he spent much of his time on the alert in case a customer stepped in and in arranging and rearranging merchandise. Kartel kept jumping up to deal with customers who were keen to try out their newly acquired bargaining skills. After making a show of his expertise, he left his assistants to deal with the customers, to tell me about his upbringing and his feelings about Kalkan. We established a rapport almost immediately by a surprise moment of sharing. I asked him about his nationality, a big smile appeared on his face, and he became extremely agitated. He turned to me with, great joy and pride and explained, ‘this is the very first time I have said this legally: I’m Kurdish!’ I congratulated him on his new status. Kartel had experienced prejudice because of his ethnicity but he made me promise not to write about this. Permission to express his identity was a landmark.

Kartel told me that he had wanted to go to the university, but despite doing well in the university entrance exam, and working on construction sites during the school holidays since the age of fourteen, sleeping in

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62 The Kurdish Question is a matter I choose not to go into suffice it to say that the official status of Kurds changed during my fieldwork period.

63 In 1992, I worked for the Turkey Section of Amnesty International, during some of the worst clashes between the Turkish Army and the Kurdish insurgents. So I had a fair idea of what he might have experienced.
dormitories with other construction workers in Istanbul and İzmir, his family could not afford to send him. He was still disappointed. He expressed a desire to be someone who helps others, a teacher, doctor or engineer. He dreamt of maybe one day returning to university to train, but deep down he knew that, aged 22, it was already too late for him. He had established his path in tourism.

Kartel enjoyed living alone in Kalkan, he appreciated the freedom, particularly the potential for pre-marital relationships, arising from being away from his family’s scrutiny, but he also had mixed feelings about the type of relationship he wanted and also about Kalkan. One moment he said, ‘For a holiday it is great, but not for living; in winter everything is closed and you cannot see your friends; life is very strange for me,’ and another time, ‘I would like to live here if I have good friends or a girlfriend but I do not think I could do it forever.’ Thus while he enjoyed the prospect of, ‘being with a girlfriend, which is possible here but not back home in Diyarbakir,’ in Diyarbakir, he explained, ‘you cannot kiss on the lips in the street, as they will make trouble for you, well not exactly, but you never see it happening.’ However, he was not sure this was enough to make him stay. Kalkan felt incomplete, perhaps an absence of familiar connections and constraints made it feel like living against ‘life’, a sort of non-life outside all he believed in inside, but wanted to experience. He explained that it would have to be ‘something very important’ to keep him in Kalkan, for example a long-term relationship, with a foreigner, and unlike other residents, who said they would only leave for ‘something very important’.

Kartel’s mixed feelings arose from the displacement caused by seasonal residence, and the need to relocate between two ‘homes’ in a year. It also arose from the different seasonal identities of Old Kalkan (Chapter 3). He experienced the shopping mall as new, exciting and flirting with danger, whereas the village felt closed, lonely, and very much like life back home: in which case he preferred Antalya, where his life-style was more constant, if constrained by his brother’s presence. His mixed feelings were also the result of his problems with yerli halk (local); he had had a couple of fights. He put this down to jealousy and lack of business acumen: ‘This shop has a son, but he can not do it,’ meaning the owner of the building, an old house clearly perceived as a commercial unit, has a son but he is incapable of running a business. Yerli halk (locals) did not treat him as a stranger in a new place, but perceived him as a rival. He explained: ‘but they do not know me or us, how we think; we did not come here to fight, just to work and earn money.’ At the time of interview the fighting had stopped. ‘Everything is alright now because they know we aren’t afraid of anything.’

Whilst things have settled down, Kartel’s comments explain his social network: ‘is very difficult to trust people here,’ and, ‘my friends have come from other places as well’. He felt an affinity for those in his position, other Türk yabancı (strangers) and foreigners. He particularly liked having ‘access to new ways of thinking and talking about things,’ which tourists offered, also ‘comparing of my ideas with theirs.’ For Kartel, the potential to learn about the world in Kalkan was far more attractive than getting to know the locals.
His representation expressed these feelings, drawn late at night after a long day’s work (p214). It shows a simultaneously lively and still village, surrounded by mountains and the sea (far right). The drawing gives an impression of shopping mall life (‘Cartesian space’ hinting at the dialectics of ‘practical space’ but not quite there yet (Gell 1995)): reflective of the fact that Kartel’s status within the collective was unclear and that he lived at a distance from the tourists. He does not place himself in the drawing, rather it represents the life he watches going on around him, but has no time to participate. The dual perspectives illustrate the views from his rented property: ‘I live upstairs; it is much easier for me.’ One perspective shows the view from the shop, as he looked down HAC, the other shows the view from his balcony, overlooking the harbour front below in the foreground, with its stick people and umbrellas: the stick people could be tourists, eating and drinking, or entrepreneurs unwinding after a tiring day. From both vantage points he could see the roundabout in New Kalkan, the circle in the middle of the ‘village design’, where the roads, which linked the town’s districts, met; and the town expands spatially and temporally. Kartel represents a town divided into four areas: Old Kalkan (lower right), the houses outside Old Kalkan and below the main road (upper right), the ‘locals’ area’ (upper left) and development along the Kalamar Road (lower left). However, it could also be an attempt to situate Old Kalkan within the surrounding landscape: the mountains were Kartel’s favourite place, though he has little time to visit. Kartel shows the town boundary: the Antalya-Fethiye highway. The landscape and the road contain his world; and reflect Kartel’s total immersion within the space of his business enterprise and domestic space.

The spatial organisation of the village is inaccurate, but this could be a product of Kartel’s trying to capture the two outlooks or lifestyles coexisting in place. No road ends in the sea, but they do peter out along the coast. To get to Kalkan, unlike other towns en route that have engulfed the road, required a choice to leave the Antalya-Fethiye highway. The representation shows both Kartel’s choice and uncertainty about the future; as the cars speed by on the highway Kartel was deciding whether to join them. The traces of his earlier attempts underneath the final image reflect his uncertainty. He was not yet sure who or where he was in Kalkan, feelings that arose from the duality of Kalkan and the diversity of its residents’ life-worlds. As an unconnected migrant, he lacked anything to attach his identity to other than his business. As Kartel established social relations, he felt more at home and at ease. This is the representation of a young man, away from his home and family, looking for life, and possibly a ‘relationship’ in a ‘strange’ place. In Old Kalkan, he felt different: he could explore his inner world and look to the future.
6.2 Tekin: Family, Transition and Change

Despite having visited Kalkan for several holidays, I had never met Tekin, the manager of one of the village's most popular bars. As a woman travelling alone, I spent my time visiting archaeological sites, swimming, dining at one of the same three restaurants or talking with the women who ran the pension in which I stayed – friends after the first visit. However, residing in Kalkan through the winter months presented me with a different social scene. I became friendly with a couple of Englishwomen who walked their or friends' dogs every afternoon. Walking was one of the few entertainments available to us, and doing it with a dog was even better. It was through one of the women, Fiona (S:5.5.1 p171), that I met Tekin. They had been friends for some time, and one evening she suggested we all go to Tekin's bar. In winter, Tekin occasionally opened the bar for his friends, much to the chagrin of his wife and his parents: the former spent many winter evenings wondering when he would come home, and the latter, who lived above the bar in winter, had to deal with her phone calls regarding his whereabouts. However, it was of immeasurable benefit to three isolated female residents. We danced the night away while the wind and rain pelted down outside, a small piece of freedom from local constraints (Chapter 4).

Tekin clearly enjoyed his evenings spent with three very different women, speaking English, selecting music to suit our varied tastes and providing a variety of liquid sustenance. Sometimes the four of us were 'alone', but more often than not friends would drop by to watch the football or the 'strange' women. He was good at his job. He knew how to please, although I for one was never too comfortable if left alone with him for too long. I preferred the 'safety' of numbers and less attentiveness, a 'talent' that clearly got him into trouble at times (the fight scene in S:4.6 p143).

Tekin, yerli halk (local), aged 33, had lived in Kalkan/Bezirgan (latterly just Kalkan) all his life, apart from three years spent studying in Antalya, which he experienced as more 'rushed' and less 'free and simple' than Kalkan, and 15 months doing his compulsory military service in Cyprus. He had watched Kalkan change over the years and he had strong views about what he saw as its deterioration. He discussed the conflict that arose from tourism-oriented development and the residence of groups of people with different values.

'The people living here have changed; when they start thinking about business they are different people to those who lived here because it was warm.' 'When business started, they began to hurt each other because of competition.' He told me that local greed had changed the nature of friendships, placing specific demands on it rather than it being an innate sociability (S:4.1 p129). He was also against the way his fellow locals thought about conservation: he felt it was essential, and was keen to maintain water-borne tourism rather than just focusing on package tourists. He felt that the arrival of entrepreneurs had changed the make up of Old Kalkan, as many yerli
balk (locals) sold their land to make money: ‘Kalkan has changed about 80%, most of the things, i.e. its buildings and people have changed; it is the people that change the buildings. However, like Kartel, he valued the access to ‘new ways of thinking’ and the opportunity to learn languages that the newcomers provided.

Tekin’s representation (p215) illustrated his relationship to the increasingly fluid collective through vignettes, labels and texts, producing a personal view of family, transition and social change. His use of labels meant that less interpretation was necessary, however some of the opinions required translation from Turkish to English. However, not all of the opinions required translations, as he expressed some in English, illustrative of residents’ use of multiple languages during the summer months. He had chosen English signs to demarcate places or areas: Hourbour (harbour); Kaş Road, House, Restaurant, Café, Bar; Tekin House; Custom House, and Turkish signs for general use: Cami (mosque) and antik ev (old house); the elements of the place were Turkish but they were marked up for the British tourist. Tekin had produced the representation outside the season, which suggests that for Tekin, at least, the use of dual linguistic referents had become the norm. Tekin’s use of English referents is indicative of his attempts to break down barriers between himself and ‘the other’, a growing, year-round presence and increasingly represented amongst his ‘friends’. Indeed, his position in the community had changed from ‘a villager’ to ‘other’ or ‘entrepreneur’. His entrepreneurship took him out of his earlier life-world into the worlds of Tiirkyabanci (strangers) and expatriates. However, as the village changed, the ‘villager’ identity was lost to all but a few members of the older generation. Tekin oscillated between the structures of the two identities: ‘I want to change my job because I am sometimes tired of it. Maybe because of my age... I would like a job with no late nights and no alcohol. I would like people to come together and work together and talk together about things to make Kalkan life better instead of pulling apart.’

The representation reflected his dilemma. Tekin used Turkish to express his opinions about what was required to fix the Old Town. He wanted to maintain Turkish traditions, which for him this meant the old buildings and natural environment. For example, in relation to the noisy harbour front area, he recalls the villagers debt to the travellers of a different era. ‘I think the marina should be made into a quiet, sympathetic environment for the people who come by boat, where they can stay peacefully and comfortably, because these visitors are important to Kalkan.’ He was keen to preserve the local heritage. ‘The old buildings which are the most important feature of Kalkan should be protected and kept as they are for the future to ensure Kalkan remains an interesting place for visitors in accordance with the Council of Monuments’ specifications.’ Therefore, Turkish, with one exception, represented his sense of Turkishness, as a local, and his desire to modernise, as an entrepreneur; without unduly compromising each set of values.
Tekin had married a local woman and the couple and two children lived outside Kalkan on the Kaş Road. The house with a man and woman joined (underlined) within the built structure (evi, with house, symbolic of marriage) and his son walking home from school to join them shows his family life. Interestingly, his daughter was absent from the picture, and whilst he frequently expressed his love of his son I sensed an alienation from his daughter and his wife for that matter. The daughter was too young to have generated this herself. I suggest the absence reflects relations between him and his wife that he compared to companionate relations, i.e. those experienced or represented by foreign women. He had placed the vignette at a distance from the central image, the Yahi Bar, but on the same side as most of his opinions concerning the village life-style. Thus the family and ‘the past’ are placed together but viewed differently, the former constraining the latter as liberating, a way to preserve business and thus his heart. (Figure 27)

Figure 27: Aspects of the Yahi Bar (Exterior and Interior)

Tekin included himself: he is astride his bike in front of the bar ready to ‘storm off’, between the ways of family and the freedom of the open road, indicated by an arrow into the empty side of the representation. While the arrow was readable as leading home to the family, the Kaş Road started on the other side of the picture, and the road in fact leads nowhere other than to a statement: ‘I can’t live without my bike (Su),’ an extension of self which allowed him to move to, from and beyond the place. The bike ride to freedom passes symbols of his old life-style: an old house, the Merkez (centre) Café, the Kösk (corner, this is a restaurant) and the cami (mosque) a converted church in the distance. The ride was a metaphor for freedom: ‘When I get bored I take off and I forget everything. I am in contact with the wind; afterwards I feel more powerful,’ which returns him reinvigorated to the family (community). The bike ride is a ‘two fingers’ to social convention, an entry into an individuated spiritual space of rest, where he can escape social conventions and the added weight of living between two worlds, marriage and ‘free love’. Tekin’s depiction of the village illustrates an underlying desire to live aspects of Kartel’s life, but also the experience of constraint from his internalisation of local social conventions (Chapter 4).
6.3 'Aynur': The Sense of Scape

The forms of entertainment open to bored, under-occupied expatriates during the winter months were walks and tours of the area, organised by Linda, owner and manager of ABI Travel on HAC. In the winter she used her minibus for outings with friends. We appreciated the diversions from the monotony of village life, particularly those of us without television, radio or acquaintances. I sensed disapproval from my Turkish friends when I mentioned the expatriate group; as if they knew something I did not, but did not want to tell me. They indirectly asked me to choose between 'them or us'. It was much harder to be an unattached observer. They were watching to see where and to whom I would turn for human contact. I was eager to meet some expatriates, to speak English and to enjoy Lycia on foot. I was ignorant of local factions and gossip, some aspects of which did not become clear until much later, and some remain a mystery.

The day went well; we walked around the ancient city of Simena. It was only in the minibus on the way back that the gossip started. It was difficult to hear all the details from my front seat, but I remember being shocked at the comments. I had naively expected the British expatriates to stick together, but clearly, this was not the case. I asked someone I had known for several years if it was always like that, a mistake, as my question highlighted the tension and alienated me from the group. It would have been better not to ask. They had mentioned Aynur's name, but I had no idea who she was. She sounded a fearsome character; her reputation was most likely the result of some inter-personal wrangling. I was particularly keen to meet Aynur (the name given her by the local community, meaning halo around the moon or first light, in recognition of her white blonde hair) as I had heard she was among the first visitors to Kalkan 15 years previously. I hoped to hear from her about changes in the local life-style. When we met, Aynur had plenty of time to talk, and appreciated the company: having broken her ankle falling down the steps to her apartment. She usually spent winter in the UK, while her husband visited in spring. Due to their commitments in the UK, the couple seldom visited together. He did not visit to help her during her recovery, and she relied heavily on the assistance of friends and neighbours. She felt bitter about her husband's refusal to visit, but she could not speak warmly enough about the help she received from her Turkish friends, which caused local gossip amongst the local and expatriate communities. She assured me that there was nothing between them. She felt abandoned by former friends and relations, and had more time to engage with conventions of the life-world in which she found herself: the Turkish village.

Aynur felt increasingly attached to the local community: the wild cats that she fed from her patio, and the children from the poor family on the outskirts of the village, who popped by to ask for a few million lira
to bolster the family coffers. Due to her confinement, landscape featured prominently in her representation (p216). Aynur, 59, a retired company director from Glasgow, had bought her apartment, 'Bu Benim', six years previously, but had spent each summer in the village for the four years prior to that. She felt respected by the Turkish community. She was in a way living between two worlds – married life in Britain and single life in Kalkan. She wanted to get away from expatriates and experience the local lifestyle. 'I try to be empathetic with what is going on in the village and the Muslim calendar.' In response to the kindness she had received during the winter, she had decided to sacrifice a sheep at Kurban Bayrami, something she had thought about long and hard but just felt she had to do. Aynur told me, 'they think of me as half English and half Turkish, whereas before as 100% English, now I am almost part of the family.' To what extent this was true, it was hard to ascertain, but it moved her away from her logical class into the sub-community of those without a 'logical' class (Bourdieu 1986).

Her representation of Kalkan represented her emotional state following her accident. There were no people, 'What is important to me seems to be geological, I am an Earth sign,' yet she was astutely aware of changes in the village life, women's dress, their increased presence on the streets, differences between older and younger generation women. She was also acutely aware of the damage tourism had caused. 'There has been a vast increase in hotels and building for tourism, 85% of which has been without regard to the intrinsic nature of Kalkan.' This was a common complaint (S:3.1 p94), which Aynur felt extremely strongly about; 'I dislike the development on the Kalamar Road so I ignore it,' – it is absent from her representation.

Aynur's representation considers history and archaeology. The only mention of Kalkan is the bay and public beach, Old Kalkan is absent, it was too young to qualify. The representation showed her awareness of the migration patterns of those living in the village, the oval shape containing houses and BEZIRGAN, coupled with the text 'rural living farming two villages intermixing architecture'. She expressed her intention to 'belong to the land', indicated by the small square marked by an asterix in the bottom left hand corner just above the Bezirgan vignette. This square represented 'Benim Yerim' (my place). The realisation of the investment is illusory. She had purchased 'My place', a plot of land in the area designated for 'the highest level of conservation possible, only 26 houses, all stone-built, only where a house previously existed, with max 2 floors high, flat roofed and walled gardens' but was unable to work on it. The area was unsafe due to the risk of landslides; Aynur waited to become 'part of the local environment'.

Her representation of the archaeological past and the physical environment reproduced a sense of continuity, endurance and anticipation. Aynur lived in a purpose-built apartment from where she could hear the 'marvellous sound of water' flowing through the 'ancient tunnel for water (Ottoman)' along the dere (stream) and out to the sea at the beach, to which she had contribute part of the cost of construction. For Aynur,
water identified her home, signified by 'the eyes' vignette looking out from the hinterland towards the coastline, this is one of several watercourses or land/water inter-relationships to dominate the representation.

The others are The Esen Çayı’s (Esen River) 'shifting alluvial flood plain' used by tourists for mud baths, next to Patara Beach, a natural as opposed to constructed, 12 km white sand beach, and the ancient cities of Patara, and Xanthus, reflected in her marker 'Xanthus mosaics', semi-covered remnants of the Byzantine cathedral’s flooring. Also the Ottoman water works, and a 'v. old aqueduct' constructed to carry water from the mountains, signified by the modern village of 'Akbel', to the ancient city of Patara. This is where the timeline again 'shifts' in a somewhat odd fashion. The tunnel referred to as Ottoman is 'ancient', yet the aqueduct constructed in antiquity 'v.old'. I would have expected it to be the other way round. Once again, this could relate to the perception of 'living history' as old in the sense of amazing – it still functions – rather than old as in obsolete but interesting to look at. The role of the past in the landscape and life of the region fascinated Aynur.

The picture beautifully illustrated the stages and variety of scape(s) from 'Yedi Burunlar', seven rocky outcrops into the sea to just beyond the 'dere' and Aynur’s home-to-be. Its temporal scape spans millennia, its spatial range beyond the frame of all but the highest viewpoint, and an attachment to the pace of the land expressed by those brought up in an agricultural community (Aynur had a small farm in the UK). Aynur’s representation was about dreams of happier times, and about a home constructed from the rubble of another’s past in its likeness, surrounded by the older memories of the Ottomans and the workings of antiquity. Whilst it was a navigable map, her representation was an emotional territory. Transition and change were explicit in the move from antiquity to the Ottomans and to the village of Bezirgan, where according to a recent newspaper article, ‘time stands still’. However, in reality it does not, Aynur separated from her husband just before I left Kalkan when he had a relationship with an expatriate woman who also had an apartment in the village and who visited at the same time as him, and I do not know whether she continued to treasure the place.
6.4 Pat: Retirement & New Beginnings

When I first met Pat, a retired civil service director from Pembroke Dock, she had just moved into the apartment next door to mine. Pat had bought the place, a converted bar, from Hasan, the bar's former owner, an entrepreneur who was rapidly becoming one of the village's most successful developers. She bought her apartment after 12 years of holidaying in Turkey, and a life spent living in countries wherever her husband was stationed including Hong Kong and Germany. Pat purchased her apartment following her husband's death from a long-term illness. 'I thought it is much better than holidaying. I can come on my own and my friends can come, it offered a new future.' However brave a face she tried to put on her situation, she was still extremely lonely, often drank too much and found it hard to cover up her grief.

Pat's representation (p217) reflects her process of self re-discovery and the element of surprise, as she was 'always discovering' something new, a little street or new friends, an almost childlike zeal to explore indicative of her adjustment to loss. The representation illustrates the intricacy of her inner world, each thought bubble leads to more 'thoughts' until they filled the frame. The flow diagram has two main axes. A central line connects places of increasing scale: 'Pat'in Evi' (Pat's House), 'The setting' – KALKAN' and 'Turkey'. It was surprised that nothing comes out of 'Pat's Place', as if it were an island away from everything; a private space closed to scrutiny, a place reform. The medium-sized site, Kalkan, was 'where it all happens', an identification of the site with 'self'. Here 'Turkey' is the place of happy memories, from the past whereas Kalkan is the place of now. However, 'Turkey' lacks any association other than personal memories, a factor not too far from the truth. Whilst there was an awareness of Turkish politics, expatriates were, overall, disinterested in politics: they did not want their life-style disturbed, and the majority lacked the language skills to enable them to participate. Most were attentive to their Turkish 'friends', although they relied on others to translate. There were some well-informed expatriates who worked in Ankara and used Kalkan as a holiday home.

The themes represented around 'the setting', illuminated what Kalkan meant to Pat. Her main concerns were 'Sea, Sun Shine, Mountains, People', and 'Patina Evi' (Pat's House) and 'Turkey'. Pat provided a key to explain her diagram. The key shows that 'feelings of continuity, beauty of setting, kindness of the people, new/different experience and a different life/future' were critical. These are very much the sentiments expected from someone whose life had changed dramatically and their identity fallen apart. Her fractured self found comfort in the setting and solace in the kindness of strangers. Kalkan reminded her of her childhood; 'I grew up by the sea, missed it, wonderful to watch and listen to.' At the end of the year she found a new companion and reintroduced herself into society by throwing parties for her expatriate and Turkish friends in the manner of the 'army
wife' she had been. Her old life-style was visible through her choice of home furnishings (bought or made locally) and ornaments (which she had collected over time), a mixture of past and present, home (family photographs) and 'home' (kilims, ceramics, local wrought iron, ottomanobilia and fabric prints.)

Pat's acceptance within village life was easier than for other 'single' women because of her age, attitude to life and property ownership. She was keen to meet and be friendly with everyone. She regularly took tea with her yerli halk (local) neighbours and was always introducing me to people or telling me about people I 'should meet'. After a lonely winter, Pat returned in April, Pat's affable friendship was welcome. It also generated some unkind remarks amongst the expatriate community, but overall they were not too critical, even after she took up with Aynur's husband (soon to be ex) and Aynur threatened her in public in front of her daughter. While she had her own troubles, Pat was aware of the minutiae of village geography and the comings and goings of village life. The 'new village is different separate, brash and modern' whereas the 'old village, home/traditional, secure/safe haven'. The irony was that locals lived in the 'brash modernity' of the new village, and that the old village, with its 'traditional architecture' was anything but a 'safe haven' for most single foreign women I knew. Pat was happy there and she intended to learn Turkish to get by on her own.

'Even in the short time I have been coming here Kalkan has changed. The shops have changed, there is tremendous turnover in shops and shopkeepers. Two little bric-a-brac shops have disappeared. Claire and Hasan are going to change the shoe shop to a café and the leather shop at the top is becoming a café. There are people who I have known for several years. They have rented properties for which they pay high rents. Therefore, if you have a bad season you cannot afford it. Many of the traders come here specifically to run a business in the tourist season. I have become quite proprietorial about it - it is important that you live here and that you feel part of it. Ownership gives you a sense of identification with the village and the people and you worry about them and their businesses. I feel happy to say my home is Kalkan.'

Pat was keen to explore the culture; 'I am fascinated by the culture and the different levels of culture.' Kalkan was not just a small village on the Mediterranean but a place located at a pivotal point in time and space. Pat's Kalkan represented a vast yet equally limited understanding of place, but in particular, it symbolised a new beginning for her within a new collective experience.

'This place is like Egypt used to be, so much has not even been touched, so little has been done it is incredible. I loved Tlos and Kekova with the crusader castle and the sunken city - when you go down the peninsula you feel like you have gone back to Biblical times; there you could be back 2000 years - so many civilisations that have been through this area. Turkey is such a crossroads'
6.5 Rebecca: Women – Then & Now

A group of young and middle-aged foreign women had relocated to Kalkan to live with their Turkish partners. Members of this group found it particularly difficult to integrate into the family (community) (Chapter 4). Yerli halk (local) and Tiirkyabanci (strangers) referred to some of these women as ‘European whores’ and although most of them did not understand the Turkish language they felt uncomfortable and ostracised from local life. Most of the women would not have considered involvement with a Turkish man prior to their holiday, and many still were not sure they had made the right decision; many had ended up staying knowing that boyfriends, partners or husbands would find it difficult to obtain a settlement visa or a job were they to emigrate. In addition, most of the men wanted to stay in their homeland, and so the women spent at least eight months a year in Turkey. There were couples who divided their time equally between the two countries, but they were usually the better educated and better off, and capable of integrating their partner into the local society.

It was through one of these women, Bobbie, that I met Rebecca (S:5.5 p169). I was looking forward to meeting Rebecca for several reasons. Rebecca had worked in London like myself, and was married to a local man (I was married to a man from Ankara). I expected we would have much to talk about, I had already heard about her difficult transition from ‘foreigner’ to daughter and hoped she would be able to shed light on the lives of yerli halk (local) women and the way they were treated. Her representation illustrated her difficult transition from ‘person’ to ‘local woman’. She told me that she had married the previous year after a lengthy courtship with several breaks when things got too hard, or it seemed unlikely that the couple would receive permission to marry from his parents. She explained that her husband’s parents did not speak to her for the three years when they were going out together. In the interim, she built a successful career as an account executive for an advertising agency. Her London life was enjoyable, but in the end, she returned to Kalkan. When the parents found out about the couple’s engagement, they struck up a truce. When they married they were happy that ‘at least we were not living in sin, from this day his mother said hello and how are you whereas the previous year they would look through me; since we married they are really nice to me and I am their daughter and I feel care from them.’ Rebecca observed that from the moment of her marriage, not only did her in-laws’ attitude towards her change, but so did the local men. ‘Marriage completely changed the way I was related to.’ Men had stopped catcalling after her a long time before, something ‘blondes’ seemed to have to deal with more often than ‘brunettes’. Now they addressed her with respect, as yenge (aunt) (S:4.1 p129). She added that given the position of her husband’s family within the local family (community), men had to be particularly respectful. Prior to their marriage, both Rebecca and her husband had been stuck between multiple sets of conventions, polarised as the Turkish village and the
foreign metropolis. They wanted to be together, but there seemed to be no way to resolve the issue other than by separation for several years. However, they persevered, were happily married and Rebecca was expecting her first child. Rebecca was involved in the family businesses in Old Kalkan and the Kalamar Road area.

Rebecca’s marriage to Fatih meant she was more involved in ‘local politics’ than many male Türk Yahancı (strangers). However, it was clear to her that she had to follow convention and despite her being an astute businessperson had to take second place to the men in the family – including keeping quiet while the elder brother gambled away the family fortunes. There was nothing to do; it had to be accepted, and left to the men deal with. In 2001, she was writing a book about life in Kalkan, using herself as a vehicle, and no doubt, she had plenty to express. She described the community as a ‘bunch of oddballs’. She explained, ‘Turks here are very different to other Turks,’ many people grew up in a similar way to 3000 years ago. Her mother-in-law was unable to read or write, and Rebecca felt ‘her world is tiny’. To her surprise, Rebecca enjoyed the relations proximity brought, always able to drop in, unlike the isolation of London living. This was the opposite of many yerli halk (local) women, who just wanted to get away from the family.

Rebecca shows her integration into the family (community) in her representation (p218). It shows practical space divided into three perspectives, each with a separate vignette. Most prominent on initial reading, is the square ‘FATIH’S BOX’ in the middle of the drawing: ‘why I’m here, parallel universe’. Rebecca explained that the space inside the box was separate to Kalkan. She was clear that she lived in Kalkan for him and not the place itself. Without him, she would not be here at all. Several foreign women living in the village shared this type of drawing, a box in the middle marking a relationship. Towards the right of ‘her man’ are other symbols of masculinity, their businesses a box called ‘Tourism, Money, Income,’ which is regarded as functional, something she gets involved in to help out and keep busy, but had no previous interest in. There is also the mosque, described as a fascinating symbol of religion, then an arrow pointing to a woman and a discussion of ‘headscarf and not turban’. The circle of control over women closes and moves on to discuss how women treat other women, love/hate and kind/mean. Whilst the Fatih vignette is solidly defined, that with his family is contained within a wavy line, as something in transition causing problems both with them and in terms of her generating a ‘space to learn about myself, about being female.’ Many women expatriates felt this way about their gender, as if they had something to learn they did not know about being a woman – in Turkey.

Rebecca’s position in the village took up the majority of the right side of the representation; her position with herself occupied the left. This side was uncluttered, as if she savoured the space. It contained two vignettes through which she expressed her singular identity without the interference of men. The top
vignette, on a level with 'husband', was a house-shaped box labelled 'My house = Privacy (which in this culture is hard to make people understand one needs), Piece of Europe!' Here she exercised her creative skills by decorating, making her house familiar, like back home. Her house was indeed beautifully done up, reminiscent of one of those 'make over shows' so popular in the UK. At first her husband, who grew up in one room with six siblings, could not understand that walls did not have to be white, or that two people could find four bedrooms too few (S:5.5 p169). Underneath the house and contained within it is 'PC/Internet', her 'private life' maintained through the aid of a machine. It had the pretext of a 'work tool' but was also where she expressed herself to her friends back home, most probably sharing some of the stranger parts of her life and, when all 'fail to understand', communicating with herself through her writing – getting it out to make it comprehensible, to be subsequently re-internalised and less confused. When it all got too much her, there was always the 'landscape', represented at the bottom. Looking out onto the physical helped her to 'organise' her thoughts. 'Looking out to sea, the physical is extremely important generating a feeling of freedom and (conversely) of being 'determined by the elements' – being humbled by them (heat, rain, sea, mountains – all greater than me). The wilderness helps clarify conflict between her social conventions and those of her environment. The vignettes show a life where the elements ensure 'completion', a sense that what is 'missing' is known and worked towards or adjusted to. Life was manageable with a strong relationship, Internet links and spectacular surroundings.

'Socially it has changed, locals are getting more bewildered as they go on, they let tourists come here and behave as they want to, have sex with who they want and as a result are surprised when tourists who come and live in the village scream and shout and become abusive. The foreigners have come and acted in ways that are not OK, but when a Turk is being very Turkish, it is not OK for them. I feel embarrassed to be English sometimes.'

6.6 Sevilay, Özlen, Pınar: Independence

Whilst Rebecca had entered into 'local life', three women Türk yabancı (strangers) from Ankara and İstanbul experienced a different way of life. They all ran their own businesses - a restaurant, a boutique and a jewellery shop. Two lived alone, and one lived with her ex-husband. I had known Sevilay and Özlen for several years. They had remembered me each year I turned up on holiday, and we kept a running tally of one another's lives. I met Pınar in 2001: she was younger than the other two and had just moved to Kalkan after a relationship break-up. All the women's businesses were in Old Kalkan. Sevilay and Özlen lived in the old village: Sevilay lived above her restaurant premises and Özlen in a house she rented for the
summer for several years, built on the plot of an old house with the same style and layout, just round the corner from her boutique. Whilst she rented from a yerli halk (local), Sevilay rented from a woman who lived in Germany. Pınar rented her shop from Durmuş and Christine (S:5.6.1 p175). All three businesses were within viewing distance of one another on HAC. Pınar and Özlen would go to Sevilay's restaurant for dinner. They sat at the table closest to the street to keep an eye on their shops in case a customer stopped by. The three women looked after each other in this way throughout the season.

Several years previously, Özlen had been my first point of contact in Old Kalkan. She was a friend of the women who ran the pension where I stayed, and they asked me to pop in and see her to meet someone who spoke good English and to pass on their regards, as they rarely left the pension themselves. She was keen to help me learn Turkish and offered to teach me when I came to live in the village. However, as in several instances, whilst we remained acquaintances our friendship did not develop: the people I got to know best when living in the village were different to those when holidaying. In addition, Pınar took my position as 'confidante'. I often saw them chatting together in Özlen’s shop when things were quiet; their shops were opposite each other and they could talk freely. I did not take this as a personal slight, rather an indication of our different activities and groups. My work required knowledge of a wider group of people, theirs to be in one place. Özlen and Pınar were living in Kalkan because they felt it allowed them to be independent; however, both only lived there during the summer months. In winter they returned to the big cities from whence they came, where experienced independence could be ‘matched’, as opposed to stifled by the lifestyle of the village.

‘I am living here to be independent. I believe that the people living in Kalkan are here for the same reason and we can build new types of relations with each other.’ (Özlen’s Representation - SPTY, 2001)

I had known Özlen as a single woman for nearly ten years, but in 2001, our mutual friends had introduced her to a photographer friend of theirs in Istanbul and he visited regularly during the summer. This was new for her, sharing her independence with another, and it was not always easy; she could not take him staying for too long at any one time, even though they got along well and were good friends.

Pınar’s representation was all about ‘escape’, a boat sailing out to sea, and she stressed how important it was to ‘get away from the strictures of life’. She told me that she had experienced a difficult relationship prior to opening the shop in Kalkan, for which she made the silver jewellery herself having trained as a geologist. She had had several relationships with other men living in the village, and seemed to experience no restriction from doing so. However, most of the men were Türk yabancı (strangers) like herself, from Ankara or Adana; they were all away from home and did not concern themselves about the impact of their
(unseen) behaviour on their families. When asked about her recent relationship, she denied any sexual involvement, but it was widely known that they met frequently and it was unlikely to be a platonic affair.

Both women led the lives they chose to lead. Their behaviour in the village had no knock-on impact to family or local relationships. They either had established relations over time or interacted with other ‘like minded’ outsiders who thought nothing of their behaviour, were similar to the foreigner women living in the village, only as well-educated Turkish businesswomen, they were shown more respect. It is hard to talk about someone behind their back when you know they will understand. Most men refrained from outright insults, the majority were too involved in their businesses or in making ‘conquests’ themselves to care.

Sevilay’s position was slightly different. She had come to the village from Ankara via Istanbul. She immigrated with her husband, and he initially worked as a tailor and she in a local tour agency. She spoke excellent English and German, and had a warm, friendly personality although somewhat closed to personal scrutiny or ‘hugging’ – she hated this kind of thing, very unusual in the Turkish context. She was extremely pragmatic and strong willed. She knew what she wanted, and how she would like to go about getting it but knew how to do it subtly and with diplomacy. She was a rock of strength during the research period, and many an acquaintance exclaimed that, ‘if Sevilay is one of your friends, you will be alright!’ Despite her at times rocky marriage and eventual divorce, she was highly regarded and few dared to mess with her and her two dogs, although at times they excluded her from the mainstream of village social life. They saw her smoking and drinking late at night as unconventional and even excessive.

Unlike many living or working in the village, she seemed to ‘get into the minds’ of her guests, knowing about them in a way that was less business-focused and more as friends. Coming from a good Ankara family, she had lots of friends and acquaintances in the city, but, in Kalkan as a married woman, it was harder for her to ‘get out’ than for Özlen or Pınar. She had to follow rules of behaviour not applicable to them, as there was always her and her husband’s reputation to consider. He was not always as helpful as he might have been in this regard, often drinking too much and getting into fights. Sevilay explained that they got on much better since their divorce. I did not know him very well, but he was always extremely polite and appreciated my attempts to speak to him in Turkish for, unlike his wife, he spoke virtually no English or other foreign language. Sevilay’s business allowed her to meet the world at her doorstep without having to incur the expense of doing so. Her restaurant was a laid-back affair consisting of a kitchen equipped by the German owner, which, though extremely serviceable, she often wanted to change, and tables and chairs placed in the alleyway outside. She did the cooking herself, serving a selection of delicious dishes each day. We often laughed together at her being a cook; her family could not believe it,
as she had shown no interest, desire or talent for this kind of activity as a child or teenager. However, there she was, providing meals for tourists and entrepreneurs.

Sevilay’s representation (p219) again marks her position. Unlike other women, she focused on self as opposed to her relationships. Sevilay described her relationship through her animals or direct. She was one of the few "Türk yabanca" (strangers) women to remain in the village all year. However, she highlights her position through her written opinions. ‘It is important to relax in business, not to be too pushy. 70% of my friends are from businesses.’ This means that most of her friends left in the winter, and she often found winter lonely and depressing (as did the majority in her position). To her the businesses are friendly, illustrating her relationships with the man who runs the ceramic shop below the room she hires for a winter/spring dining room, as well as Özlen and Pınar. From the bend in HAC down to the harbour was like a family, everyone knew one another and looked out for one another – her ‘friendly businesses’. However, it is important to remember that her business was not in direct competition with her friend’s merchandise-based businesses, nor did she have to deal with the bargaining of tourists. She therefore established relationships based on service provision, necessary to both tourists and shopkeepers. Using the restaurant was convenient, the board clearly displayed prices – no negotiation. Thus she experienced ‘tourist people’ as: ‘every year different people come, does not matter which nationality, now more English, I like them they are polite and friendly’, a different story to that presented by Kartel, who felt they were rude and out for all they could get. Then sitting, relaxing and dining under the stars, people have more time to be nice and charming. As the food in Kalkan is rarely poor, there is no reason to ‘lose it’ or become abusive, as Rebecca described. These people are out to have a good time and usually they do. She particularly likes the fact that the Old Kalkan was car-free, and that people could walk around. Sevilay had an astute understanding of business trends in the village. She had seen many, both friends and strangers, fail to make it in business. She explains that they all arrive expecting to make a fortune, and leave disappointed. In her opinion, anyone who had not been in business for seven years or more in 2001 was unlikely to make it. Competition had increased and the recent economic crisis and international political situation affected all. Those without a ‘client base’ and the experience to weather reduced tourist numbers and tourists use of in-hotel facilities, were unlikely to survive. So far so good for her, but as development increased, the garden plot next to her restaurant was due for development, no one knew what would appear in its place, maybe another restaurant; it was a matter of wait and see. Sevilay often gave the impression that at some point she would be gone, only to contradict it by being there each year. She did not know what else to do, and she had grown used to her lifestyle on her own away from family.
6.7 Koray: Sexual Freedom & Fun

Whilst the above group of women regarded their lives as ‘independent’, men in a similar position highlighted a particularly aspect of ‘independence’: sexual freedom as the motivation for their move to Kalkan. They were clear that they wanted to experience a period of uncommitted sexual activity, prior to marriage or settling down. Whilst this type of lifestyle had been available to some of those living in the big cities – Istanbul or Ankara – from which they originated, there was always the issue of reputation to consider. From my encounters with Turkish couples in the capital, not subject to arranged marriages (although many knew each other’s families), it never ceased to surprise me how quickly they got engaged, or moved to discussions of marriage. Although the change, described by Rebecca, in her in-laws attitude towards her following her engagement, explains much about local attitudes towards casual sex and explains the legitimisation of relationships and equally how soon after marriage several of them divorced. The majority of young Turks moved from the family home to the marital home, although increasing numbers were spending time away from home at universities, but in such cases, they frequently boarded with relatives or family friends.

For the majority of young Turks, marriage remains the only socially sanctioned context in which sexual relations can take place. Thus life in Kalkan, with its ‘tolerance’, as described by Rebecca, initially proffered to ‘foreign ways’ and extended to Türk yabanca (strangers), offered a unique opportunity, and resulted in some interesting relationships. Kalkan had become a place where ‘casual sex’ was believed to be readily and freely available during the season with a certain group of women, foreigners or female Türk yabanca (strangers) many of whom resented this aspersion as they sought an independent lifestyle away from such prejudices. Kalkan attracted many single female tourists, given its quiet, ‘child unfriendly’ and ‘sophisticated’ image, many returned regularly at the same time of year, each year creating a pool of ‘available’ women, expecting to take up where they left off the year before with their attentive young men. Furthermore, the majority of those employed by foreign operators as tour reps were women. Thus, another group of young, frequently attractive, usually blonde women arrived in Kalkan. These women, resident for lengthy periods, unlike the tourists they chaperoned, often established longer-term relationships with Turkish men they met through tourism-related businesses. Many stayed, married and now raise families either in the village or between Turkey and the UK. This environment, coupled with the well-established nature of tourism and frequent visits of city Turks to the area, encouraged young Turkish women, both professionals and entrepreneurs, primarily from the big cities and frequently well-travelled, to set up business in the village and increasingly employing local girls/women to work in these or other businesses. Many of these women travelled alone to the village, living the independent lifestyles
discussed above, and in turn having relationships with hemşeri (fellow townsman) finding solace in each other’s broader, worldviews. The women faced the problem that these young men were not interested in settling down, and though the relationship might move to engagement, it seldom ended in marriage. Neither were the young yerli halk (locals) likely to be given the permission to marry a foreigner or Türk yahancı (strangers), and their relationships had a finite lifespan. At which point some ended when the young man married a local girl, or the young woman returned home, or as in Koray’s case, he returned to the city to take up better-paid employment.

What I enjoyed about Koray’s representation was its unequivocal statement of sexual desire and intent to conquest (p220). He was in Kalkan for the sex, which he added was available for both genders, and the fun. Fun was found in the neighbouring town of Kaş (and not Kalkan, associated with work) where he has a group of Turkish friends from Ankara who run a larger rock bar on the Marina, or the coffee shop in the next street serving great cappuccino and looking like a throwback to the ’60s or ’70s when rock was young. However, Koray’s motives for moving to Kalkan were entrepreneurial. He saw it as a place where he could run a bar in the summer, playing guitar, listening to rock music and meeting foreign tourists. He had applied for and been accepted to study for a PhD in Edinburgh, but in the end could not finance the studies. His level of education also explains the use of English to express himself – many of the major universities in Turkey taught in English, it was quite normal for him to use this language. In the winter when the bar was closed, he practised his profession as a geological engineer for which, given the ongoing development and the requirement to conduct a survey prior to construction, there was sufficient demand to keep him going through the winter, although receipt of payment was slow, often arriving at the beginning of the following season.

I had known him for several years, and had spent many an evening in his bar, talking with friends who ran businesses in the destination. Koray frequently got into trouble for playing loud music late at night with the pension next door to the bar, but as he had a friend who had connections with the Jandarma, entertainment continued albeit at a somewhat reduced volume. During his time in the village, he had several relationships with Türk yahancı (strangers), substantiating his claim that this was the place for sex – he was quite a ‘ladies man’. Whether the women experienced sexual freedom in quite the same way was unlikely. One evening the previous year, I had been sitting with a fellow English tourist at one of the tables outside the bar when a Turkish woman roughly the same age as us arrived. Koray introduced us in a jovial manner, but then the atmosphere became extremely frosty. I had no idea what had occurred; as neither of us spoke each other’s language we were unable to converse in anything other than French. Despite efforts to drag my lost fluency to the fore, the atmosphere remained cold. I mentioned the situation to Özlen, who explained that this woman was Koray’s fiancée and she had thought I was Koray’s
latest lover, and was extremely upset (understandably so if it were true). The situation struck me as both amusing and sad, as she had moved from İzmir to be with him, and clearly, he was playing the field. Thus whilst he felt free to act in this manner, her attitude to the situation was different: she was looking for marriage and commitment, he for ‘free love’. Whilst she had moved from home alone and was now in the same position as him, she wanted respect as well as independence. For Turkish women, sexual relationships rarely occurred in a ‘free’ environment. Koray was right in one sense: they could achieve sexual relationships, but the way they viewed it differed significantly. He had nothing to lose, and in fact gained in status by his numerous conquests. He did not intend to marry village girl and as such was no threat to local women, or men for that matter. His worldview for marriage, if at all, was broader, and whilst ‘Kalkan was for living’ in a ‘private detached house with balconies in the Greek style’ it was not a place to live alone. At the time I knew him, he had probably conducted relationships with most of the woman from his group. Fortunately, I managed to get past the initial difficulties with his ex-fiancée, and we became good friends and I used space in her office (she was an architect) to set up a desk and conduct interviews. Unfortunately, she was not quite so genial towards Koray, maintaining that he had behaved despicably, and wanted nothing more to do with him. He, however, sailed through it unscathed. His ex-fiancée became increasingly detached from a place to which she had relocated to marry and was now ‘stuck in’. Her representation stated simply that Kalkan was a pause in life, a place to recharge before moving on. However, like many women, she found that a place which had nourished her during a vacation became destructive for long-term living. She started a relationship with Kutlay (S:5.6.4 p185) Koray also felt this way before leaving. His bar had not been as successful as he would have liked, due to reduced tourist numbers following various ‘international’ and national economic crises. His dream had proved unproductive; although he had achieved a fulfilment of the sexual element, it was not enough to keep him in place and he moved on.

6.8 ‘Rachel’: Out of Place & Looking In

‘Rachel’, who preferred to be known by a pseudonym, was a young woman from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, her husband a Türk yabancı (strangers) from Adana. She and her husband lived in the village all year round with his family visiting for the season. ‘Rachel’s’ representation (p214) was drawn at the end of the long winter months. Whilst ‘Rachel’s’ picture was intricate and instructive, to the extent that I used it to represent the areas of Kalkan, her feelings about Kalkan were absent. ‘Rachel’ completed the task I set her, she produced a picture of the place – few would read the detail as the forced reproduction of a place she avoided. The drawing takes the form of a map where the subject is largely absent: Cartesian space, unlike
the subject centred, practical space, represented in the other pictures (Gell 1995). The picture represents an intellectualisation of space – the completion of a task ameliorated by a desire to do justice to the place and a commitment to me, which masked the inner difficulty of engaging with her in-laws and the family (community). This could have been the result of her preference for words as a means of expression, clear from her extensive use of labels or markers. However, after a year of knowing her, I realised she hated the place, and she was not the only one: most of the foreign women I interviewed were ambivalent about Kalkan (Julie, SPY, 2001; Kerry SPY 2001; Vicky SPY 2001).

The 'map' contained numerous markers of topographical and social significance. The map had two halves, each with a different theme. The right, represented summer and her work in Old Kalkan, which had exposed the old villages' intricate, little backstreets, its nooks and crannies while the left, showed winter, her home and the journey to her home in Kalamar. She designated the 'locals' area' amazingly empty in comparison with the Old Kalkan area, it was a space bounded off from the rest of Kalkan suggesting Rachel's infrequent exposure to the area as she had no need or felt it was inappropriate, to go there. There was also a small mountain and a larger mountain divided into 'Fire Burnt Area' and 'Sheep Area', telling us about the climate and land use around the village. The former is particularly pertinent, as the fire occurred on Rachel's wedding day the previous year almost calling it to a halt when the fire came close to her home.

In producing the drawing, 'Rachel' has reduced the scale of the left half to enable inclusion of her important markers. It is possible to walk Old Kalkan in approximately 15 minutes, but it normally takes several hours, pausing for refreshments and window-shopping or chatting with friends. The walk from the right half to 'My House' or the 'Kalamar Beach Club' takes approximately 45 minutes. Thus scale has been compromised around the central organising theme of 'most important places for me: my house, office, Fener Cafe, Yacht Point Bar, lokanta, Ali & Gülściım's house, Tespa (now Sevgile) Belgin's kitchen, roads out'. Interestingly, this list contains names of bars and restaurants, which were not open at the time of the sketch. They closed in winter, and so the map represents her memory of her past through the places she knew: 'bar where Kemal and I met', 'Our first flat that got robbed', 'My favourite mountain cliff' and 'my favourite part of the mountain'. Rachel's representation represents a cognitive journey through her inner Kalkan. It is adorned with the landmarks of friendship: 'Where Lisa & Cathy live', 'Ali's Office', 'Gülściım's parents' house' as well as key civic buildings: Jandarma, School, Nursery, Petrol Station, Bus Station, Cemetery, Market place, and Mosques.

The drawing is full of life, but certain features tell a different story. The distance of 'My house' from the 'Office' in the centre of Old Kalkan indicates a preference to be away from Old Kalkan – to escape the claustrophobia of the business district in summer, to be away from work and 'the eyes'. Everything is within the frame, nothing from outside is represented. The feeling is of imprisonment through choice,
This exposes a place experience against desire and forced interaction or, in ‘Rachel’s’ case, development of her web design skills and isolation within the house or office. The map is about endurance, a loss of the romantic through the conclusion of romance in marriage, the ability to put up with it to know it is out there but not to want to participate in the world of the family (community) brought home by her husband in tales of events, encounters and gossip. She lived her life inside the house like many Turkish women, a statement of protest when her husband could have used her help with the business. ‘I am here but do not expect me to love it; loving you is enough to deal with right now.’ It was a representation of her anger and confusion. She had cut her education short to relocate to Turkey from America and the Lycian archaeology was a constant reminder that she wanted to work in museums (just not this kind). Her sense of anomie was highlighted by the strong arrows on the roads out and the crossing out after ‘roads’ and before ‘out’ in her list of important places suggested her restraint from commenting further. She missed the wider world, where relationships were less important and ‘her known lifestyle’ was available. ‘There is a big world out there and I am part of it, even if I have to be here, physically here, most of the time.’

6.9 Summary: The Everyday World

“The fact remains that whenever the adjustment between structures and dispositions is broken, the transformation of the generative schemes is doubtless reinforced and accelerated by the dialectic between the schemes immanent in practice and the norms produced by reflections on practices, which impose new meanings on them by reference to alien structures’ (Bourdieu 1977:20).

In Kalkan, the process of social change, practices produced by reflection upon the norms of alien structures, began in the 1800s with the settlement of Rum trader (S:1.1.3 p41). Hence, tourism-motivated in-migrants arrived into a habitus, which symbolised this dialectical relationship between local and alien structures, beyond today’s faces of the place: Turkish village’ and tourist resort. The subtle irony is that foreigners relocated to Kalkan for ‘the schemes immanent in practice’ and outsiders ‘for the norms produced by reflection on these practices’ (Bourdieu 1977) (Chapter 4). Kalkan’s norms imposed new meanings on all in-migrants and their adjustments produced multiple interpretations of social conventions. What was common to all was desire; it fuelled the process of reflection and generated new norms. Kartel’s first impressions highlighted the dispositions of society through his integration into the community. However, his position like many was unclear because Kalkan changed throughout the year; he liked the habitus in summer but preferred Antalya in winter (p190). Tekin represents the struggle caused by reflection; he desires and abhors the breakdown between structures and dispositions. His need for private
space is one example of adjustment between local practices and foreign ways (p194). Sevilay, Pinar and Özlen, as former city dwellers, were predisposed to Kalkan’s norms but benefited from greater independence as local entrepreneurs. Foreign women like Rebecca or ‘Rachel’ were largely ignorant of Kalkan’s norms prior to in-migration, leading to adjustment, in Rebecca’s case, and anomie in ‘Rachel’s’. ‘Rachel’s’ ‘reflection’ enhanced her ‘knowledge’ but she was unable to adjust i.e. leave (p202). In Koray’s case, Kalkan’s norms motivated him to in-migrate, but were insufficient to make him stay, particularly when the prospect of well-paid professional work in an international company came his way (p208). The greatest reflection occurs where things are not working out for the resident: Pat’s grief and Aynur’s accident, Kartel, Tekin, Koray and Sevilay’s concern about their businesses futures. The case studies based on residents’ representation of Kalkan showed that residents, whatever their residence category, related differently to the habitus, and that residence was the only thing they shared. They had a stake in Kalkan represented by their property and product relations and family and friendship networks.

Residents’ representations of Kalkan indicated a fractured relationship between the structures and dispositions of a habitus, through which new meanings of Kalkan became apparent ‘by reference to alien structures’. It would be easy to assume that ‘alien structures’ equated to tourists. However many of the ‘alien structures’ causing reflection upon the meaning of Kalkan were locally generated, as migrants from all over Turkey moved to Kalkan. The dynamism of Kalkan as a contact zone, the shifting makeup of its sub-communities, produced considerable discussion of local conventions. Whilst residence categories described people’s relationship to Kalkan, they only hinted at their knowledge of the global context and the alternative social conventions through which they understood Kalkan. The group identity masked the particular differences within the group which themselves explained residents’ diverse meanings of Kalkan. Residents’ representations illustrated these, particular, life-worlds, as the compromise between personal preferences (the product of their social conventions) and the constraints imposed by the new collective (the product of multiple life-worlds and social conventions). In-migrants from Ürfa or Diyarbakır İstanbul, Ankara, London or Sydney each adjusted in a different ways.
Representation 2: Tekin, 13.4.2001
Representation 3: Aynur, Sunday 11th March '01
Representation 4: Pat, 22 April '01
Looking out to sea - the physical extremely important. Of the elements - land, sea and wind. The mountains - all greater than we.

Representation 5: Rebecca, 23rd March 2001
This is my dream house now there is no houses like this.

Representation 6: Sevilay, 12.03.2001
Representation 7: Koray, March 17, 2004
Chapter 7  Destination Kalkan: Myth Management


In the April of 2001, I witnessed the transformation of Kalkan, the village, into Kalkan, the destination. The last few days of the month marked a frenzied period of regenerative activity, as the place of the everyday became the myth portrayed in locally produced guidebooks (Kalkan Vakfi, S:1.1.3 p41) and holiday brochures (Tapestry Holidays, S:7.1 p223). The myth is the tourists' destination, it is constructed by local others, Turk yabanci (strangers), to fulfil the desires of its foreign consumers. Kalkan, a sleepy hamlet comprised of empty properties throughout the long winter months (S:3.4 p107), took on its summer form, a bustling town (S:3.6 p118) filled with expectant returnees in trepidation of what the summer months would bring. The overall experience was like the preparation for a grand reopening (S:3.5 p117), advertised in the tourist brochures as 5th May 2001, and signified by the arrival in the town of the first of many 56-seater Mercedes transfer buses from Dalaman airport to offload their packaged holidaymakers for 7- or 14-night stays (S:7.2 p231).

In this chapter, I aim to use knowledge contained in all of the preceding chapters to consider Kalkan, the destination, from the perspectives of the international tour operators who (re)present Kalkan in their brochures, and who represent their clients in the town, and of the tourists who consume the products they offer for sale. In 'The Idyllic Village: A (Re)Presentation of Place', I look at the ways in which Kalkan's major tour operator has made use of the municipality's account of local history to create a desirable product, evaluating the ability of foreign tour operators to control the shape of place and to place, and fix, their product in the consumer's mind. I also consider the contradictory images contained within the brochures following a closer analysis of the company's marketing materials and their candid comments about their marketing spend. In 'Who are the Tourists?', I consider the accuracy of the tourist profile, obtained from Tapestry Holidays, through the observation of tourists' behaviour in the destination and conversations and interviews with many tourists. I consider the distinction Kalkaners made between tourists and repeat tourists or 'friends' (S:4.5 p140) and the likelihood that tourists would become 'friends', through return. I assess the implications of changing travel trends in the tourists' home country (Britain) for Kalkan's tourist industry. In 2001, the outcome was unknown, but clues were available in the types of property advertised as holiday accommodation (Table 15 p237), the type of construction in Kalkan, and confirmed by personal
observation in 2005. I present the tourist's take on place, through tourist's representation of Kalkan, in, 'The Tourists' Place: *Five Case Studies* (p239).

### 7.1 The Idyllic Village: A (Re)Presentation of Place

In this section, I consider the role of tour operators in creating what Odermatt (1996) refers to as a '(re)presentable past' for Kalkan, based on earlier examples of what Graburn (1983) termed 'public representation' put forward in Kalkan's case, not by the industry, but by the local mayor, Karabağ, and the municipality (S:1.1.3 p41). I focus on the (re)presentation of Kalkan by Kalkan's main operator, Tapestry Holidays (Tapestry). Tapestry, an award-winning holiday provider of 13 seasons standing based in South London offered their customer, 'the very best of uncommercial Turkey'\(^64\) at a time when high-street travel agents in the UK were full of brochures, covered with images of bikini-clad women, crowded beaches and shorelines decked out in modern, purpose-built hotel complexes - 'the beaten track'. The municipality's public representation of Kalkan was ideally suited for (re)presentation within their portfolio, as an example of the 'idyllic village' dear to the hearts of their 'guests',\(^65\) confident holidaymakers or business travellers who wanted to get 'off the beaten track' and get to know Turkey (Tapestry Holidays, 1999).

Kalkan's lack of sandy beaches, its location within Lycia's rich archaeological past and its reputation as sophisticated resort frequented by the Istanbul elite with numerous restaurants, bars and gift shops, provided Tapestry Holidays with a myth to sell to their guests (Selwyn 1996). Their marketing of this image was targeted to incite potential tourists to experience this 'romantic gaze' (Urry 1990) for themselves facilitated by one of the company's 'exclusive' packages. As a result of the strategy's success, Tapestry became Kalkan's major operator, reproducing the scene (re)presented in their brochures through the provision of dedicated properties, flights and 'jaunts' (activity-based day trips including the local sites/sights), reminiscent of an earlier tradition of 'protected access'\(^66\). However, fortnight holidays were not 'the grand tour', but the participation in a product, the destination. The key to the success of such 'un-commercial' yet packaged holidays was Tapestry's knowledge of their market, its guests. Tapestry recognised that their guests wanted to experience something different but they were not looking for the 'extraordinary' (MacCannell, 1999 [1976]) within a Kalkan holiday (they

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\(^{64}\) In 2005, the slogan did not appear on the brochure's cover.  
\(^{65}\) The operator acts as host in the destination and Kalkaners provide services for the company. However, Kalkaners were hosts to independent travellers, but the purchase of services from Kalkaners altered the 'strangers' relationship from guests to paying guest or consumers; however, it is not without 'friendliness' (S:4.5 p140).  
\(^{66}\) c.f. Cook's Tours.
obtained this from their primary, usually long haul annual holiday). From Kalkan (their second annual holiday), their guests wanted exclusivity; a distance from mass tourists, and convenience.

Tapestry’s marketing strategy for Kalkan revolved around the representation of the town (formerly a village) as the idyllic village, and this attractive image appeared across its entire range of marketing media, print–based and electronic. In this manner, the image was (pre)consumed by the potential tourist and firmly planted in the imagination of the guest prior to departure. The company’s emotive entreaty, ‘to close your eyes and imagine…’ cited at the beginning of the chapter formed part of the double-page introduction to the destination since 1996 and most likely the entire time-span of Tapestry’s operation (Figure 28 p226). A number of colour photographs, which had appeared re­cropped, regrouped and effected each year of the five-year period since I first encountered the company’s product, accompanied the text. The company’s repeated use of textual and visual images fit well with the myth at the heart of the destination’s success, a ‘Mediterranean village’ where time stood still (Figure 29–Figure 31 p227–229). Through their representation of Kalkan, Tapestry, with the complicity of Kalkaners, produced a particular place experience, namely that (pre)consumable from the brochure images. The content of the brochures suggested that the guest was more interested in checking out the accommodation than hearing about the destination.

An analysis of the content of Tapestry’s brochures and website uncovered increasing inconsistencies between the media (print and electronic). In 2004, Tapestry’s print-based marketing materials were beautifully designed but factually inaccurate. On the other hand, the newly generated, award-winning website was up-to-date, and overly informative with its 360° videos. Whereas the brochures continued to represent the ‘idyllic village’, the website represented the town in so much detail that the only thing left to experience was authentification (Berleant 2003). The look and feel of brochures, up-market chic, and the information about accommodation matched the standard of the website. The covers were designed with high wow factor. An obscure image redolent with mystery, the seductive temptress of the Orient (Said 1978) or the belly dancer cum mermaid central to the Turkish Tourism Ministry’s 2004 advertising campaign invited the curious into another world (Figure 32 p230). However, the mystery stopped at the cover. Inside, the potential guest found beautifully taken photographs and detailed information about hotels, flights, transfers, insurance, climate, room size, shape, location and facilities, biographies of ‘your hosts’ and itinerary for a plethora of activities. They also contained detailed plans of accommodation, and guests could choose their room number in advance. It was also possible to view the room, down to the minutiae of the bathroom suite, on the corporate website.

However, in 2001 tourists, previously satisfied and regular visitors were beginning to notice discrepancies between the product they bought and the destination they experienced. The ‘idyllic
village' had become lost within the everyday realities of a growing town (Chapter 5) and Tapestry's marketing materials were in grave danger of misrepresenting the facts. There are few vistas left in the village as empty as those represented in its brochures (Figure 31 p229) (Dann 1996). To be fair to the company, first time visitors, experienced an 'idyllic village', but I heard that repeat tourists exclaimed in horror as their transfer bus came over the mountain into Kalkan (Transfer Rep. 2001). Such disingenuous practice was entirely inconsistent with Tapestry's reputation, and therefore the factual inaccuracy of the brochures' (re)presentation of Kalkan indicated that, something was amiss at the corporate level in the UK or that the marketing team had not yet decided how to acknowledge the loss of the village and still maintain the company's client base. Thus, while Tapestry's cover designs became 'artworks', the content told a tale of commercialisation and served as a record of tourist expansion, some guests would say devastation, throughout South West Turkey. As each of its chosen destinations such as Ölü Deniz became commercial, Tapestry dropped them and added new uncommercial villages like Akyaka, Islamlar and The Bozburun Peninsula in their place. In 2001, Kalkan was Tapestry's largest resort. Kalkaners were aware of this, and wondered whether the company would stay. In 2003, Andrew Lees, one of the founder members of the company, and former Marketing Director, left to set up his own business taking some Kalkaners with him. In addition, an increasing number of international tour operators, such as JMC, who were less squeamish about mass tourism were making inroads in the destination. The greater number of operators protected Kalkaners against the possible withdrawal of its main operator. However, the burgeoning property market was becoming the local tourist industry's greatest threat (S:5.2 p155).

In 2004, I returned to Tapestry to re-interview its Marketing Director. Justin Stanton indicated that what I had assumed to be the marketing strategy behind the corporate materials - to represent an un-idyllic village - was the indirect result of decreased company profits and not a concrete business decision. A serious of poor years led Tapestry to concentrate marketing resources on new media, the award-winning website (www.tapestryholidays.com). Thus whilst the desire to appear un-commercial remained key to Tapestry's philosophy, the company were aware that, to maintain guest loyalty, they would have to address growing discrepancies between the brochure image and the destination. A programme was underway to re-write the Kalkan section of the brochure in advance of the 2005 season. In 2004, Kalkan was still a small place nestling on the Mediterranean coastline according to the brochure (Figure 30 p228); only Tapestry had been using this picture since 1999 and it was not as small as the brochures portrayed. In 2005, it was unrecognisable (personal observation). Tapestry promoted the destination through direct mailing to 'loyal customers', such as 'two for the price of one' or 'no single supplement', in advance of every season. Some were tempted but increasing numbers bought property or went elsewhere, remaining loyal to Tapestry as the company expands its operation into other countries to counteract 'commercialisation'. Their departure, more than anything else
confirmed the destination as a Phase IV destination (Williams & Hall 2002) (S:1.2 p48) and a town occupied by the British (Mehmet, PTY, 2005).
Figure 29: Kalkan: (Tapestry Holidays Brochure 99/00 (Images from top left: Image 1: Kalkan Harbour taken from the far harbour wall visible in images 2 & 3, Image 2: Kalkan at night from the top road above the village, Image 3: Kalkan at dusk, picture taken from similar position to 2 and most likely cropped to show harbour only, Image 4: poppies visible in spring only in the fields around Kalkan, Image 5: Hasan Altin Caddesi at night – the main shopping time, shown as 'empty', Image 6: view of Patara beach from the dunes behind – witness that there are sandy beaches in the area, Image 7: blurred version of (2) possibly to enhance romance/imagination and 'guest' placement)
Figure 30: Kalkan, Tapestry Holidays Brochure 2004: (Images from top: Image 1: Figure 27, Image 1 enlarged – the Old Village; Image 2: entitled Islamlar (the village in the hills above Kalkan is represented as its surroundings), Image 3: Figure 27, Image 3 enlarged and recropped, Image 4: Patara beach at dusk.
Figure 31: Kalkan, Tapestry Holidays 2004: (Image of Kalkan from the main road taken towards the right hand side of the bay. This representation is perhaps the most controversial in 2004 as it shows an empty place with little development.)
**Figure 32: Tapestry Holidays' Cover Designs**: From top left 99/00, 2002, 2003, 2004 (excluding 2001 as 'sold out')
7.2 Who are the Tourists?

Up to 70% of our guests have been with Tapestry before, maybe not to the same resort. For many this holiday may not be their main holiday but one of many holidays during the year. As a result, they want something familiar, the routine where they know everyone. More of our clients are buying accommodation in resort it makes more sense economically. If they are older or close to retirement, they have less responsibilities and subsequently more money. (Justin Stanton, Tapestry Holidays’ Marketing Director, 2004)

In ‘Present Identities: The Residents (p70)’, I described tourists as anyone living in Kalkan for less than one month in any given year. In this sub-section, I consider the identity of Kalkan’s tourists in detail prior to the presentation of what Graburn (1983) describes as the private representation of Kalkan. The discussion incorporates information collected in the summer of 2001. My conclusions regarding tourist type and trends followed an entire season spent living in the resort and prior experience as a Tapestry guest together with information gathered from: twenty-seven in-depth interviews with tourists; hundreds of casual conversations at the Lizo Pension bar; and ongoing discussions with local tour agents (Kalamus Travel; ABI Travel; Baha Travel, Adda Tours). In addition, I interviewed residents who had been tourists (Pat, Aynur, Margaret, Bobby, Joan, Fiona & Rachel) and representatives of the international tour operators working in-resort (Lisa, Head Rep. Tapestry Holidays; Bobby, Head Rep. Simply Turkey; Vicky, Rep Simply Turkey; Vicky, Rep Saville Holidays) and their management teams in the UK (Tapestry Holidays).

Since the 1950s, the type of visitor to Kalkan evolved through a series of: types, categories, stages or phases (c.f. Figure 4 p50). Scholars have placed considerable emphasis on the definition of tourists into types, possibly in the hope that categorisation might enable them to control the impact of tourists on their destinations. Cohen (1979 & 1984), Graburn (1983), Smith (1989), Urry (1990 & 1995) and many others have discussed the likely impact of tourism on local communities around the world. It is not my intention to make use of their categories however, to evaluate the Kalkan tourist into particular identities. Primarily because there were many locally specific positions, from which to make the distinction including guidebooks, marketing statistics, Kalkaners observations, expatriates opinions, and tourist’s own remarks.

67 A questionnaire (Appendix 2) formed the basis of the interviews, which lasted between three to four hours. The majority were face-to-face interviews, but some tourists chose to complete the questionnaire by e-mail following lengthy conversations in the destination.

68 I ran the bar for three months in 2001 as a pretext to obtain research data.
As a Phase IV destination, Kalkan received many types of in-migrants, of which tourists were just one, all of whom were ‘tourists’ for a while before they became integrated within local networks (Chapter 5). In 2001, during the earlier stages of the Phase IV destination, visitors to Kalkan were independent travellers, and package tourists. Both groups were engaged in recreational tourism, although some were engaged in ‘visiting friends and relatives tourism’ (Williams & Hall 2002). Prior to the Phase IV stage, using Williams & Halls (2002) model of destination development, Kalkan evolved through three earlier stages each of which generated different tourism-migration flows (S:1.2 p48).

Phase I Waterborne travellers. This group stayed in local peoples homes which were refurbished as pensions as numbers increased. Locals and travellers interacted as ‘hosts/guests’ (c.f. Smith et al 1989).

Phase II ‘Istanbul elites’. In the 1980s, this group visited Kalkan for their summer holidays. They made use of local pensions or built holiday homes. Turkish tourists interacted with the local community through sociability and ‘kinship’ (Chapter 4).

Phase III Package tourism. Package tourism developed in the 1990s. The tour operator mediated the relationship between locals and tourists. Local ‘friendliness’ and the tendency of tourists to return led Kalkaners to see tourists as potential ‘friends’ (S:4.5 p140).

In 2001, the destination was an aggregate of all prior phases. The evolution of the village into a fully-fledged tourist destination (Phase IV) increased tourism-migration flows and altered the position of the local in relation to the global; Kalkan recaptured its identity as a centre of global action, a contact zone (Appadurai 1997). The tourist profile changed from Turkish to foreign package tourists, and the operator mediated their relationship to the local community. As numbers increased, tourists became representatives of national stereotypes. ‘Friendliness’ ensured that tourists saw Kalkan as a ‘special place’, to which they returned repeatedly to see their ‘friends’, protecting Kalkan’s industry from some of the vagaries of tourism flows (S:4.5 p140). However, tourists’ controlled perception of Turkey and its position in relation to national and international events (people only knew what they read or heard in news reports and government advice unless they had personal experience to the contrary) influenced the flow of potential tourists to the destination. Factors which influenced the flow of tourists to Kalkan and Turkey in 2001, were:

i.) The national economic crisis of 2001. Many Turks lost their entire savings.

ii.) National holidays fell outside the season.

iii.) Turks preference for holiday homes close to airports, open year-round such as Bodrum and Marmaris to enable them to maximise on use.
iv.) The German government's decision not to underwrite operator's insurance contracts following the arrest of the PKK\(^6\) leader Ocalan based on a fear of renewed hostilities.

v.) The events of September 9/11.

vi.) The nationality of other tourists. The Turkish coastline was becoming increasingly 'localised'; the British favoured Kalkan, Germans liked Kemer and Russians and Israelis went to Antalya.

In 2001, the majority of tourists were British. Tapestry, one of five UK operators\(^7\) in operation in Kalkan, brought in approximately 310 'guests' each week throughout the 26-week season making an estimated total of 8,060 'guests' per season\(^8\). The figure is higher than the summer population (6,500) and significantly higher than the winter population (2,500). In terms of personal place history, the world contains more people who know Kalkan than does Kalkan. I interviewed twenty of these tourists, who had made 75 visits between them, and spoke at length with their partners and friends and many more unconnected visitors. Kalkaners, from their knowledge of Tapestry's guests expected tourists to be one of four types: middle-aged couples; older retired couples; younger couples (in their 30's) without children; or single women (they did not expect families or single men). They assumed tourists, of all types, had capital to spend on non-utility items or leisure activities. Above all, they expected them to return to repeat the experience. The following sections consider the accuracy of Kalkaners assumptions.

7.2.1 Gender and Social Status: Couples and Solo Women Tourists?

In this sub-section, I consider Kalkaners' conclusion that the majority of tourists were couples or single women. Of the twenty interviewees, fourteen (six men and eight women) were travelling as part of a couple (six with their spouse, six with their partner and two with a friend). However, one couple were intending to bring their teenage children out to join them at some point during their extended six-week stay. The remaining six interviewees were women travelling alone. However, two were visiting British friends who lived in the destination, another two were visiting their Turkish 'friends', leaving only two 'single' women on first visits. These women did not feel that they were doing something unusual by travelling alone. However, Kalkaners' attitude to women travelling alone was coloured by their social conventions. Unmarried Turkish women did not holiday alone or with 'boyfriends', unless they had been previously married, when families were less protective of their reputation. The two cultures' (Turkish and

\(^6\) Kurdish Workers' Party

\(^7\) Other UK operators included Anatolian Sky, Simply Turkey, Saville and JMC.

\(^8\)Figures provided by Tapestry Holidays Marketing Department. They advised that figures had remained relatively constant across the years, due to aircraft capacity.
different social conventions regarding solo women tourists meant that these women unintentionally flouted local convention, heightened by the absence of single male tourists. Solo women tourists had to interact with male service providers as hoteliers, waiters, taxi drivers, tour guides and shopkeepers. In fact, their only non-male interactions were likely to be with the operators’ in-resort representatives or other tourists. Interaction inevitably led to romance and or sexual relationships, which in turn reproduced the locally held assumption that all foreign women were ‘available’ (S:4.3 p135). Some young female tourists found this difficult, feeling uncomfortable as they walked down HAC (Rachel, Tourist, p241); older female tourists took it as a ‘compliment’ but had no intention to turn a dinner order into a one-night stand or a repeat liaison72 (Julie, Tourist, p247).

Tapestry’s marketing statistics, compiled on a regular basis, confirmed that the majority of their guests were couples or single woman, with slight seasonal variations. British families visited during the UK school holidays. However, high August temperatures, coupled with a lack of sandy beaches and child-focused entertainment, kept the number down. Also the higher percentage of families at this point in the season is more likely a reflection of older couples preference for the cooler shoulder seasons (this is coincidental with VPO residence periods) and couples without children’s’ preference to travel outside the UK school holidays when they know they would not meet families abroad. Despite heavy discounting, a Kalkan holiday with Tapestry was still relatively expensive in comparison to other operators and destinations and without a market for child-friendly services, Kalkan remained ideally suited to couples (and solo women tourists).

7.2.2 Age & Financial Status: High Surplus Income?

In this sub-section, I consider Kalkaners assumptions regarding the age and employment status of tourists, as middle-aged and either coming up to retirement or having retired early. Interviewees’ age conformed to the assumption (although I am not entirely certain when middle-aged begins these days). Most of the interviewees were over 36 years of age. Interviewees under 30 years of age were visiting friends and ‘friends’ (S:7.3.1 p241). What was most surprising was the age difference between tourists and repeat tourists. Tourists on their first visit were under 5573 and overall younger than the repeat tourists. This was a result of the point of capture. Obviously, all repeat tourists had been tourists, but to interview them as such, the interview would have occurred 15 years previously, when clearly they would have been younger

72 A number of female repeat tourists took up with the same man each time they visited Kalkan.
73 This age is skewed by the age of solo women tourists, who were on average older than couples on their first visit.
and roughly the same age as tourist in 2001. Whilst Kalkan was many tourists' main holiday, it was also part of older couples' annual routine (Morris & Marjorie, RP, p249; Barry & Sue, RT p251).

The majority of interviewees' did not have overly high surplus capital. However, their status as retired couples or employed couples without children meant that when compared to other types of tourists they had relatively high surplus capital, thus partially conforming to the assumption. Tapestry’s Marketing Director clarified that their older guests had a greater surplus income because of fewer responsibilities at home, i.e. their children had left home and or they had no outstanding mortgage payments, putting them in a position to purchase a second holiday. However, while these tourists had higher surplus capital to spend, interviewees told me that they saved most of it for their primary holiday (Morris & Marjorie, RT, 2001). The number of early-retired couples was lower than expected possibly due to their entry into the local property market (Tapestry Holidays, Marketing Director, 2004). Kalkaners' assumption that tourists had capital to spend, while accurate in the past was beginning to change. However, price discounting by the operator coupled with the development of the town introduced a new type of visitor, altering local perceptions of tourists and Europeans in general. Kalkaners were beginning to see tourists as having little or no capital (of all types) (Kutlay, Resident 2001), whereas they saw repeat tourists as in the market for property, and a change in their relationship to Kalkan based on the place their ‘friends’ created for them (Barry & Sue, RT, 2001).

7.2.3 Tourist or Traveller: Travel Trends & Industry Contracts

In an early evening news bulletin on the state of the travel industry in Britain, a representative of a high-street travel agent stated that increased numbers of British holidaymakers were travelling independently. Knowledge gained through business travel or vacationing, coupled with advances in web technology bringing information into the living room, study, bedroom and workplace, had reduced the perceived risk of booking direct, and broadened the identity of the independent traveller74. The assumption that Kalkan's repeat tourists would follow this trend albeit logical was inaccurate. A few repeat tourists did start to make their own arrangements (Jo S:7.3.1 p241; Barry & Sue S:7.3.5 p251). However, my observations and interviewees responses showed a different trend based on the type of holiday tourists expected from Kalkan: completely hassle free.

74 Previously polarised as the ‘filthy rich’, ‘hippies’ or ‘students on a gap year’.
I consider the motivation behind repeat tourists continued preference for packaged travel. I suggest that this trend is tangential rather than contrary to the overall trend amongst British consumers. The explanation lies in the particular destination/tourist mix. Kalkan's (re)presentation as an exclusive couples-oriented destination (with a price, which reflected its image) attracted tourists with higher surplus income able to travel outside the school holidays. The majority had stressful jobs and wanted a holiday, which took them away from decision-making. *Ipso facto*, this tourist does not want to engage in anything other than destination (accommodation) choice. Tourists wanted to be 'left alone', while appreciating the discrete presence of their representatives. Many were so familiar with the destination that they skipped introduction meetings and bypassed operator 'jaunts' in favour of hiring cars, mopeds or using local transportation, efficient and frequent throughout the season. To the majority, the place feels like 'home', a feeling, manifested by the frequency of return and the stability of the industry in difficult years. Having proved it works, the tourists returns each year to receive the known benefits of Kalkan holiday (Dianne S:7.3.2 p243).

Whilst the tourist profile explains why so many repeat tourists chose to continue travelling 'package', it is less clear why anyone would choose Kalkan as a destination for independent travel (unless they had been before). In fact only one interviewee matched the confident traveller profile referred to by the industry spokesman, an Australian woman, living in the UK and travelling (with her partner) on the basis of her research. All the others had other motives for independent travel. Lisa and Richard wanted to buy land to set up a retreat where they would offer yoga and personal development courses, hence they contacted a local agent and flew out to view and potentially purchase land if 'the feel' was right (Richard & Lisa, Tourists, 2001). Beverley met a woman in the UK who owned an apartment in Kalkan and decided to try it out. It was unlikely she would have visited without the additional motivation (S:7.3.2 p243). The remaining tourists travelling independently were visiting friends and as such were part of the destination's tourism-migration flow (Williams & Hall 2002).

A consideration of the contractual arrangements between tour operators and local property owners and the type of property contracted provided a better evaluation of travel trends vis-à-vis the destination. The destination contains both contracted (to foreign operators) and independently run hotels, pensions, apartments and villas. In the 2001 season, there was a balance of contracted and independently run properties. Kalkaners acknowledged that the contracted properties were more successful than those run independently in terms of bed occupancy throughout the season, and as a result, many property owners worked hard to obtain a contract with an operator. However, there was an other side, whilst the contract ensured occupancy, operator rates to the contracted hotelier (as opposed to prices to the consumer) were often low, and several had opted out of contracts to enable them to charge their own rates. Hotels
contracted to Tapestry were for the use of its guests only. The hotelier was unable to offer accommodation to non-Tapestry guests.

In 2001, it was becoming increasingly difficult to predict what would happen next. Tourist numbers were falling, while the development of hotel and apartment complexes was relentless. Most interviewees stayed on a bed and breakfast basis (Tapestry contracted accommodation all operated on a breakfast included basis). This gave tourists the opportunity to explore the local restaurants without feeling that they had paid for their meals. However, after a certain number of visits, repeat tourists sought out self-contained accommodation, which gave them greater flexibility, and more independence. The indication was that repeat tourists were seeking 'second homes', rather than hotel accommodation, in which to live a familiar holiday lifestyle. Tapestry's take up of 'boutique' hotels and 'villas with pools' completed after the 2001 season (Table 15); confirmed the repeat tourists' preference for this type of accommodation as did the number of empty hotel beds. Tapestry contracted some developments but they tended to be apartments and villas, a marked shift into self-contained accommodation. One reason for the reduction in the number of the company's contracted hotels in 2004 was that two hotels contracted to another company, another that tourists no longer wanted to stay in hotel accommodation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation Type/Year</th>
<th>Pension</th>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Apartments</th>
<th>Villas*</th>
<th>Total Properties</th>
<th>Roll Over Properties</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Tapestry Holidays' Accommodation by Season

Conversations with (formerly) local tour agents confirmed that it was becoming increasingly difficult for independently run hotels to achieve bed occupancy, some resorted to the erection of signs along the main road, a marketing tool employed elsewhere along the Turkish coastline but until now absent from the Kalkan section of the highway. They also let me know that they could not make any money in tourism any more and that they were moving into the property market (Kemal, PTY, 2003). Their comments pointed towards a new tourism-migration trend: property acquisition. In 2005, one hotel contracted to Tapestry for many years, the Yelkin Hotel, redeveloped as apartments, for sale on the burgeoning property market. Whereas in 2001, there was a balance between tourist and independent traveller, post 2001 it is reasonable to assume that the majority of visitors to Kalkan were repeat tourists on a package holidays, visiting property owners, visiting friends and relatives or tourist clients of the British property owner.
Moreover, that repeat tourists were increasingly in the market for a local property to maximise their investment, through the reduction of holiday costs and the creation of a potential income stream.

7.2.4 ‘Friends’: The Frequency of Return

The most significant characteristic of the Kalkan tourist is their frequency of return. Table 16 shows the number of visits made by each interviewee. The data demonstrates that 10 interviewees had returned to Kalkan for 66 visits, an average 6.6 visits each. Each interviewee visited once a year with one exception, an interviewee who made nine visits visited twice a year. This means that on average these repeat tourists had visited Kalkan each year for the past seven years (from the earliest stages of the Phase IV destination). The figures conform to Tapestry’s statement that 70% of its guests repeat visit. Whilst they clarify that this may be a repeat experience with the company rather than the destination, I observed high numbers of repeat tourists in Kalkan. Were the percentage as high as 70% then there would be 5,656 familiar faces returning to Kalkan each year, producing a virtual community the size of Kalkan’s population, in the UK comprised of those who repeatedly visit Kalkan empathetically linked by their connections in the destination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Visits</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4-9</th>
<th>9+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourists</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Tourists & Visitors, Repeat Visits per Individual

The high rate of return is attributable to a number of factors. First, Tapestry’s ability to identify a niche market, its ability to recognise destinations that would appeal to their target audience and its careful marketing of destinations through (re)presentations (images) which hook into the target audience’s demands. Second, Kalkaners ability to reproduce the (re)presentation, and their appropriate us of ‘friendliness’ as an interactive tool (S:4.5 p140). Throughout 2001, Tapestry’s guests made positive comments about the company, and there is no doubt that Tapestry was highly regarded by its guests. However, residents were not so happy about Tapestry’s position in the community; while the company’s influence remained indirect, it wielded considerable power over residents’ lives. Residents had no control over the company’s corporate activities, all they could do was ensure that they reproduced the product and then wait for guests to arrive. There was no doubt that Kalkan was experienced quite differently by tourists (optical), and residents (habit), the former experience a ‘special place’, where they could rest (S:7.3 p239) the latter a ‘strange place’, with a different identity in summer and winter (Chapter 3). Animosity
between the two groups, operator and Kalkaners did not extend to the tourists on whom they both depended.

Whilst the number of repeat tourists is unlikely to be quite so high, the presence of a large number of repeat tourists is observable through the daily interaction between Kalkaners and tourists. Few tourists were unconnected, they had either been before or arrived on the recommendations of friends or stayed in accommodation owned by visiting property owners (former repeat tourists). Anyone seated with a view of the main street could witness the constant passing of ‘known’ individuals. The greetings were those between Kalkaner and tourist, entrepreneur and client, and ‘friends’ Kalkaners and tourists who had known each other for so many years that they can not remember what they bought when, but have exchanged friendliness ever since. For ‘friends’ connected in this way, it would be unpardonable not to follow the custom of one’s first task on arrival and last task prior to departure being a stroll around the village to acknowledge old acquaintances.

Whilst such ‘friendliness’ owes much to the ice-breaking requirements of economic exchange, supply and demand or rather demand and supply, the financial capital elements of social interaction are replaced by other forms of capital as time passes. This is essential, given the high visit frequency, reducing the likelihood of purchase of the type of goods on sale. These souvenir-type goods accommodate tourists’ needs for memory joggers, but they have little value for those who repeat visit. Friendly greetings the result of tourists’ increased social connectivity, indicate the gradual incorporation of the transitory ‘other’ within the auspices of the family (community). This transition finds its basis in local social conventions (Chapter 4). Kalkaners expected tourists to have a better understanding of local life after a number of visits. As a result of their local connections repeat tourists experience the destination as ‘home’, at times more overtly friendly than the one back home, as they are welcomed by a sea of friendly faces each and every time (amazingly, given the number of transitional bodies, no-one is forgotten). Repeat tourists’ sense of belonging to a community drives their return – to see their friends (Morris & Marjorie p7.3.4249; Barry & Sue p251).

7.3 The Tourists’ Place: Five Case Studies

Buildings are appropriated in a twofold manner: by use and by perception – or rather, by touch and sight.
Such appropriation cannot be understood in terms of the attentive concentration of a tourist before a famous
In this section, I present tourists' private representations of Kalkan, the outcome of what Benjamin (1999) refers to as 'attentive concentration', following their consumption of the public representation produced by the tourist industry, the Kalkan municipality, and Kalkaners themselves. Where residents' habits, or use, revealed their tactile appropriation of buildings (Benjamin 1999), the tourists' gaze, or optical observation, placed them at a distance from the residents' everyday worlds. From this distance, they participated in the enigma surrounding the habits they observed. The enigma provides the destination's attractiveness; it draws tourists to the place. To assess the attractiveness of the destination to its visitors, I consider tourists' representations of Kalkan in a similar manner to the consideration of residents' representations presented in Chapter 6. The case studies, based on the representations, provide a privileged access into tourists' experience of the 2001 tourist season. Representations are located at the end of the discussion and their location annotated in the text.

In selecting the case studies for presentation, I aimed to present the range of tourists' experience. Given the variety of experience, it was impossible to represent all the tourists' opinions. The first three case studies, present the elements highlighted by tourists such as the landscape, holidaymaking, 'tradition' and 'the sacred' through the juxtaposition of tourist's (first impressions) and repeat tourists' (lasting impressions) representations. The last two case studies reflect the different experience of Kalkan as 'the second holiday' and 'the second home'. Whilst residents referred to the views around them when drawing their impression of Kalkan, tourists produced their images from within the internalised framework of the holiday. Common to all representations was the organising force of 'holiday time' over 'place time', reflecting the need to make choices, and the choices tourists made from 'staying around the pool' to going out into the village to eat, swim, take a boat cruise, or visit the local sites/sights. Consequently, their representations portrayed these activities. The place portrayed is inevitably subjective, time-limited, and at a tangent to the everyday. Whereas residents' highlighted the social conventions of the habitus, tourists' representations emphasised the elements of place (Unwin 2003; Speed 2003).
7.3.1 Rachel & Joanne: Time & Place

An observer viewing Rachel (p256) and Joanne’s (p257) representations of Kalkan would most likely read them as representative of two different locations, and to a certain extent, this was true. This is partially a product of their different drawing styles. However, I suggest that the style reflects not just the person visiting Kalkan but the time of year in which each of the two women visited. Rachel’s drawing depicts the village in April prior to its full transformation into the destination. Rachel represents the coastline, visible from all vantages points in the village, from which the human element is marginalized, visible only at the edges, a solitary lighthouse and equally solitary hotel. It captures Kalkan’s transitional stage when the village is being prepared and decorated to form the destination, and the place is not quite ready for tourists. However, her comments chart the increasing activity and dynamism of the destination. Conversely, the physical landscape is absent from Joanne’s representation. She represents the destination in full swing, the place where she regularly finds pleasure relaxing and watching, or spending time with ‘friends’, ‘I love people-watching and I spend hours doing this in Kalkan — or interacting’.

A number of factors specific to Rachel explained the emptiness expressed in her image: her age and status, her pre-expectations of the destination and her emotional state at the time of the holiday. At 24, Rachel was younger than the usual Kalkan tourist, more noticeable as she visited outside the season. She was travelling alone, to visit a friend from England who lived in the village with her Turkish partner. She found herself in a place designed for couples at a time when she had just broken up from a long-term relationship. The winter storms mirrored her emotional state. On arrival she felt tense and at one with the weather, ‘windy, rainy and stormy’, compounded by the attention from local men keeping her inside her jacket, quite the opposite experience of what she had been told to expect: sunny, full of people enjoying themselves in a quaint, friendly village. Towards the end of her holiday, following a number of overnight trips to more ‘colourful’ places — ‘less real Turkey’ (Olympus and Öli Deniz), she warmed to Kalkan. This coincided with the opening up of the destination, her later comments were full of the wonderful things she had learnt from being away, and the impact this would have on her future choices, quite different to her colourless first impressions trapped in the representation. During her holiday, Kalkan shaped up into the place of her expectations, and she left happy to have seen it and be able to share her experience with her friend’s friends in England.
'At the beginning it was windy, rainy and stormy, which made me feel that I had brought my unsettlement with me. The sun came out and the sea got calmer and it is much more peaceful. This made me feel like it was much safer. I felt a part of the weather, like when the lights kept going on and off I would think to myself, oh no I have got to think positively or those lights are going to stay off.

Now Kalkan is warm, friendly and charming, intriguing and mysterious. I will take away the impression of the bay and the light and the winding roads. The same as I saw at the beginning, only now I add all the little pots, the rugs and the engraved metal and the man engraving things outside his shop.'

Joanne's representation (p257) could have been drawn in advance of her trip or our interview. Joanne, aged 29, was also travelling solo. When I interviewed her in August 2001, she was on her eighth visit to Kalkan. Initially she had travelled with her family for a two-week holiday, then this changed to two weeks with them and two to four alone, and latterly the entire holiday was spent on her own and in the company of her local friends. Jo (as we called her) liked routine. She liked knowing exactly where she was going and what she would do during the day. Her representation reflects both her daily routine and the long-term connectivity with place; with one slight innovation: the 'Yali Beach Club', a new discovery. I sometimes saw her there and we would walk back to the village together, have a cold drink and gossip about the previous night or what she would wear. Kalkan was part of her annual routine, familiar and friendly.

Jo was a teacher with long annual holidays. Each year she chose to spend almost the entire school holiday in Kalkan. After so many visits, she travelled schedule, avoiding charters and packages. To get to Kalkan she takes a flight to Istanbul and then a connecting flight to Dalaman, where she is collected by Borhan the ‘taxi man’ and driven to the Çelik Pension, on the back street of Old Kalkan, 'I always stay here for 4-6 weeks', she has stayed in 6 of the 8 rooms. On arrival, Borhan always refuses to accept payment, saying, ‘pay me later,’ Jo insists, but eventually capitulates, and pays him halfway through the holiday. During the first week of her stay, she has to wake the owner to get into the pension every night, but at the end of the first week, they give her a key so she can come and go as she pleases without disturbing the family. Jo had established a daily (annual) routine: she got up just prior to the end of breakfast to eat some fruit and drink water before preparing her bag to walk down to the Yali Beach Club on the outskirts of the village, she spends the whole day tanning and reading (something she doesn’t do at home). At sun down, she packed her things and returned to the village, stopping at the Merkez Café, for a couple of drinks before returning ‘home’ to shower and change. Her sojourn at the Merkez ensured she dined late, usually at one of two restaurants, to coincide with her friend finishing business for the day, when the two of them would go to a bar or disco. She returned ‘home’ in the early hours to sleep.
Jo's Kalkan is a place of limited interaction, her 'friends'. However, in 2001, she did accept an invitation to visit the home of one of her local friends, a rare honour to a single woman, and a result of her long-standing connection with the village. After eight years, Jo gained a glimpse of everyday life. She told me her mum would love it, but she was not into food, and found it quite intimidating. Thus whilst Jo's representation of place is all about her holiday routine and 'friends', it is not the entirety of her engagement with local people and the surrounding area – she saw the sites long ago. However, Jo's image is more consistent with Tapestry's construct of the destination, despite the fact that she arranged it herself.

7.3.2 Beverley & Dianne: “Poverty” & “The Sacred”

Beverley (p258) and Dianne's (p259) representations, illustrate Kalkan viewed through the eyes of two older women, travelling with their partners, but were interviewed alone. Beverley was on her first visit, Dianne her twelfth, the two women stayed in different types of accommodation and different areas of Kalkan. The location of their accommodation framed their view of Kalkan and generated different opinions of the scene.

Beverley, aged 47, an area manager for the Designers Guild, travelled independently to stay in an apartment owned by an acquaintance in Scotland. Stories she had heard about wonderful times spent in Kalkan persuaded her to visit. Both she and her acquaintance shared a love of art, the latter a well-known artist, had produced a lot of work whilst staying with the owner of the apartment, another Scottish artist. However, Beverley intended to take a break from her work, and did not see the village as vistas to reproduce in 'landscape' form. Her holiday apartment was located on the edge of the Old Kalkan, next to the dere (stream) that separated the old village from 'landslide area' (c.f. Aynur, p197).

The location and her naivety, produced some unusually mixed 'views', due to the varied condition of buildings on either side of the dere (stream). The contrast led her to distinguish the part in which the apartment was located as 'the tourist part'. In this part of the old village, she saw the buildings as well looked after. On the landslide side, she noted properties in a state of 'decay'. She was unaware of the building restriction imposed on the area, or that those who owned land were waiting for permission to build their 'dream home'. In Beverley's mind, the difference was associated with the poor local and rich tourist. The visible lifestyle of the one local family who still lived in the landslide area, unfortunately confirmed this opinion. The family were reputed to be poor; there were rumours of the father's alcoholism, and that the extended family no longer helped them. The children, an attractive young girl and
her younger brother, would ring the doorbell of the apartment block and either ‘Aynur’ or I, depending on who was around at the time (both of us lived in apartments located below Beverley’s), would give small donations to pay for schoolbooks or incidentals. In daily sight of this family, Beverley felt great concern for the well-being of the villagers.

However, her assumption that villagers were poor could not have been further from the truth. Many villagers were relatively well off. Beverley had fallen into the trap of extending one example to all. In the early days of fieldwork I was warned not to make assumptions based on appearances, particularly dress; villagers who looked ‘poor’ to European eyes, usually equated with ‘traditional apparel’, were amongst the wealthiest in the village, having sold or leased out property at tourism-inflated prices. Beverley’s discomfort led her to think about the stories reflected in the buildings, in a manner quite different to that of other tourists who saw them as ‘charming’, without concern for issues of devastation and local survival. Beverley began to appropriate the tactile of the past, highlighting the multiple modernities triggered by the view from windows on different sides of the apartment, her thoughts focused around time and place, but unlike Rachel it was not seasonal (summer and winter) but historical time (past and present) that concentrated her mind.

What will happen to all the buildings that look like they’re about to fall down? And what happened to the people who lived here say 50 years ago/100 years ago? The restoration of the buildings and the surrounding areas, paths, walkways etc. how will they pay for it?

Through her mixed views, Beverley, despite being a first-time visitor, was getting to grips with the multiplicities of place. Intrigued by material fragments, she was questioning why some buildings ‘live’ and others ‘die’ and what it all means to be capable of feeling the past in the present through the daily sight of its past sites. She faced the non-physical dimension of buildings, the enigma, the habit represented in the remaining fragments of collapsed structures. Her views made for a different holiday (place) than that expected, or experienced if the apartment were on the Kalamar Road. From this perspective, the landslide area would have been a part of the ‘otherness’, and not the larger part of her place. It would have confirmed the opinions behind her initial naivety, that Turkey was a backward country incapable of looking after its heritage; however, they counterbalanced by her observation of local issues. Few tourists photographed the fragments in the landslide area; they preferred the monumental history of the Lycia cities. Most of their photographs (views) represented images of living history – the buildings lining the winding streets with their myriad temptations – as (re)presented in Tapestry’s brochures. Beverley’s experience had much in common with Rachel’s; they both witnessed a different point of view. Whilst Beverly engaged in the kind of activities mentioned by Joanne, the internal review provoked by the duality
of place was uncomfortable and unexpected. Conversely, this was what Dianne came to Kalkan for, reproducing the ethereal place within her representation (p259).

Dianne, aged 50, a practice manager for a group medical practice, was travelling with Tapestry on this occasion (previously Saville, Turkish Delights and Delights of Turkey). She was staying in the Asfiya Hotel, one of the larger Kalkan hotels situated on the Kalamar Road, the hotels location prohibited a view of Old Kalkan. What was visible was the land/sea juncture, producing glorious sunrise and sunset scenes. Dianne, currently on her 12th visit, was a Kalkan veteran. She had visited the surrounding area, and the majority of its sites: Patara, Xanthos, Letoon, Tlos, Myra, Pinara, Kekova, Arycanda, Phaselis and Perge. Her view of place expands the historical time-line presented by Beverley into antiquity, illustrated by her attempts to understand living history and envisage the life-worlds of antiquity. Her attachment to and belief in the restorative powers of the place was so strong that, following her last trip, she quit her job to start something new.

Yet Dianne's repeat visits and strong attachment, whilst they restored her health, had not enabled her to access local life. A difficult encounter with a former Turkish 'friend' had almost deterred her from returning. She realised that, despite spending time with local people, she just did not understand where they were coming from. The incident made her aware of her limited access to her 'friends' worlds. It had restated her otherness from a place she considered to be her 'sanctuary', where she could get away from people politics and revel in its 'mystical,' 'childlike' qualities. She clarified, 'the people help - but there is an aura of nurturing and healing from the surrounding 'nature'. However, what is actually being reflected in her representation are the power differentials of tourism, the ability to subsume the activities of local producers within the landscape to look through them at the elements, integration with which is essential to Dianne's experience of 'sacredness' (Unwin 2003). Her optical perception is heightened and everything reverberates with the 'organic pace of human life, the forgotten dimension of man-made environments of the past' (Kuban 1995, S:3.1 p94). 'Kalkan reaches into one's soul... if you let it - if you reach out and grasp it.'

Thus for Dianne, 'the sea seems even more serene here, the sky even more translucent' reflecting he altered perception. However, there is a conflict between the passive and the active. At first Dianne suggests that you have to allow the place in and then this is transformed into grasping, an almost desperate need to connect. Clearly, for Dianne the holiday is more than sun, sea and sand. Kalkan is both 'a retreat' and 'a teacher'; the first reflects engagement with the innermost self, 'the soul' mentioned above, the latter the village as instructor, utilising its habits as pedagogic forms. Dianne's account of past times provides perhaps the closest exposé of the sacred (Speed 2003) experience of place resultant from the point of human integration with the elements inducing a sensation absent within the tactile perceptions of residents' modern life-worlds.
Yet Dianne is aware of the habit or *habitus*; indeed, she presents it as something she respects deeply, even when unsuccessful in her attempts to interact. Diane uses the word ‘the aura’ to describe what she feels and represents. Dianne uses the word in the sense of a series of energy fields integral to an object. They are visible to the untrained eye at elemental junctures, such as the horizon or the tree line, as a narrow line of light, and to the trained eye, Dianne, at all times. In the following quotation, Dianne uses another analogy, that of a ‘ghost’, to describe something seen but not visible to all.

> ‘Each cobblestone, each ‘tumble-down’ building holds the ‘ghosts’ of those who have lived and loved here, I feel they are still here, part of the intrinsic richness of this special place.’

Beverley’s representation provides access to the historicity of place and *ipso facto* its modernities, Dianne’s reveals the multiple dimensions through which the material forms experienced by Beverley, dilapidated buildings, examples of the cultural process of landscape, can also be perceived, as examples of the metaphysical world. She also reveals the ways in which the ability to perceive the ‘invisible’ affects the experience of the destination and the terminology and motifs through which these perceptions are communicated. The expression of which relies almost entirely on referents from within her own cultural constructs (the cross to symbolise spirituality and the ‘gem’ triggering images of Arabian Knights and Sultans’ Palaces). Thus whilst Dianne’s ‘sacred’ produces a more comfortable holiday than Beverley’s ‘poverty’ both women remain constrained within their referents and assumptions about the place. Whilst seeing a little further than the average holidaymaker, both women went to the place of (pre)representation, and found the image placed in their minds by friends or past experience. Beverley and Dianne appeared contented, if confused, by their holiday experience.

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**Figure 33: Dianne’s Views**

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Photographs supplied by Dianne following her return to the UK.
7.3.3 Julie & Jackie: The Holiday (Place)

Having presented the views of those tourists who see outside the frame of the brochure’s image, this section explores the varying degrees to which tourists choose to remain in their own worlds on holiday. Again, the two representations reflect the tourist (Julie p260) and repeat tourist (Jackie p261) perspectives. However, it should be noted that Julie, the tourist, was on her 31st visit to Turkey, whilst Jackie, the visitor, was on her 3rd visit to Kalkan. What is particularly interesting about these two representations, is the personality-related drawing styles, and the consistency of the holiday experience throughout the season, the representations were drawn either end of the season - Jackie on 8th June, or Julie on 4th October. Both women appear to have had a similar holiday experience, largely based around eating and drinking with a small amount of ‘culture’.

Jackie, aged 51, a retired insurance manager now working as a house sitter, initially visited Kalkan on an ‘el cheapo’ with girlfriends who did not have much money. She liked the place instantly and decided to return solo, on a package holiday. Her representation is organised around themes illustrated through complex motifs, given the 20-minute time allotted to the activity. The consistent themes throughout all the motifs are nature and history, or more accurately the past. Her optical perception is of stepping into past times, both monumental (Xanthus and the image of a house tomb) and living (‘old doors, windows, textures, and colours’) and the feelings conjured up by the phrase ‘the past’ in her inner world. She captured her emotions beautifully in the vignette ‘traditional dress persisting’, which illustrates her recognition that not all Turkish people are the same. However, while the drawn image reflects village-dress, it also represents the opposite, ‘western dress’, worn by the managers of her pension, from Istanbul and other Turkish women in Kalkan. It also suggests that in her mind she assumes such markers to be vestigial, and that they will eventually disappear. There is no reason to believe this to be true. In Kalkan, both styles were very much part of the town’s identity.

Whilst the majority of the motifs represented things observed from a distance, the strolls of this solitary traveller, the motif in the top left corner represents the destination’s activities: ‘harbour bars/restaurants. There is a feeling, however, about the motif that Jackie did not use these facilities as often as she might have liked, that they are being included as representative of available micro-places for entertainment. In fact, Jackie, less self-assured than Julie, returned to Kalkan because she feels safe alone here. She expressed this in friendship towards her hosts and ‘dare not go anywhere else’, especially after their kindness following the loss of her passport. She spent most of her time within the pension boundaries unless she went out on a trip or ate out, on nights when the pension’s restaurant, open only three nights a week,
stayed closed. She described the decision about where to eat, only half in jest, as ‘the big decision of the day’, there was nothing else to think about, other than her needs.

Julie, aged 45, an assistant buyer for Caterpillar Engineering, was the only interviewee to place herself squarely in the frame; she was clear about her motives for travel and her requirements of Kalkan. She felt no compunction to cover up her consumption. There was a sense that while she participated in the (re)presentation, the control was hers and she was not caught up in the dynamics of the image. A woman, used to working in a male-dominated industry she was not easily intimidated or attracted by local men’s overtures towards her. She held strong opinions of about the women who succumbed to this brand of local charm as ‘rough women’. This group of women were between forty and sixty, many were overweight, with peroxide hair roots showing through, lots of gold jewellery loud and brazen, lacking any concern for what people thought about the way they behaved or the impact it had on those living in the village. Julie, although travelling ‘solo’, had no desire to mix with this group. She kept herself to herself. Her holiday passed in much the same way as Jackie’s, but her attitude was significantly different – she was confident in herself and moved easily through the village when she chose to. Her confidence comes across in her motifs reflecting personal choices, no need to related or network. In place of bars and restaurants we have the local staples: ‘bread, tomatoes, cheese’ and her choice ‘wine and beer’, ‘Efes Pilsen’, particularly refreshing after a hard day’s sunbathing or ‘day out at sea on [a] gullet’.

Whereas Jackie’s representation was land-focused, Julie has included sea-based activities. She loved sailing, and the sea was an important part of her holiday. Julie represents her distance from everyday life through the market next to the mosque motif, ‘the wailing man’ that marks her optical position, despite her frequency of return to the Turkey. Julie referred to the sound and did not mean to deride the significance of the ezan, the call to prayer. However, the fact that she noticed the sound illustrates her tourist status, residents do not notice it in the same way, it was part of the background; and they noticed when it was not there. It is a part of the everyday registered, but unnoticed. The call is an intrinsic part of the scene; it locates the British tourist in a certain part of the world, through a different sound to that of home. It defines the world into which tourists place themselves, as part of the Muslim world, in a way in which the omnipresent mosque does not. The call to prayer, part of the residents’ habit, intrudes into the tourist’s optical perception of life. It is redolent with meaning (and contradiction in this secular state) beyond the concentration of the tourist. It is a sound that, like Dianne’s gem, triggers all kinds of images of the ‘imaginary’ or ‘background potentialities’ of the landscape (Hirsch 1995), from orientalist to empathy, to Islamophobia. In drawing the vignette, Julie has noted the difference but it is not something that caused her concern, it is an integral part of the experience, but tangential to her overall evaluation of Kalkan as a ‘quaint, beautiful, scenic and friendly’ place for sun and self.
7.3.4 Morris & Marjorie: The Second Holiday & the Politics of Place

Morris aged 66, a retired factory manager in the clothing industry, and Marjorie, aged 60, who described herself as a ‘housewife’, a well-travelled couple, were on their third visit to Kalkan. On each of the three visits, they travelled ‘package’ with Tapestry Holidays, staying in the same accommodation, The Lizo Pension, taking advantage of the ‘best food in town’. As ‘valued guests’ of Tapestry they made use of the company’s special offers to take a second holiday each year. Return being the result of a combination of affordability and familiarity or ‘knowledge’; ‘I like the atmosphere and the ambience, we know you can get good food and we enjoy that’.

The Kalkan holiday formed a part of Morris and Marjorie’s ‘holiday’, a combination of several city breaks, a relaxing, sun holiday (Kalkan) and a long-haul trip, usually to visit one of the places where Morris used to work, or to meet up with friends met in numerous locations around the world. Morris and Marjorie’s views of the place interrelate with their views of numerous other destinations: Thailand, Brazil, America, and Greece. They have their own map noting their findings, expensive, cheap, old or historic dependent upon the particular place under comparison. Kalkan is their no-fuss/no-frills summer holiday spent in simple, spotlessly clean accommodation, a compromise with which they are clearly satisfied; ‘It’s not a five-star hotel but we are not paying for that, but here we feel like a part of the family and keep coming back to visit ‘relatives’. Whether they would be quite so satisfied, or whether the destination choice would have made it into the annual repertoire were the other types of holiday absent, is unclear. Their comments suggest that a ‘summer/sun holiday’ (Kalkan) alone would be insufficient to satisfy their requirements. For Marjorie, this means connecting with ‘friends’, old acquaintances who they run into purely by chance in far-flung parts of the globe. In the destination, their ‘friends’ are the pension’s hosts Rhusar and Nüket, two women who inspire such loyalty that a whole group of former customers came out especially to celebrate her 50th birthday.

Outside the pension, they keep pretty much to themselves, watching rather than interacting, and exchanging remarks with each other about how they could solve the local problems, the taxi drivers’ dispute or the newly constructed and somewhat dangerous pavement along the Kalamar Road, reflecting their exclusion, otherness and presumed power differential. Ironically, their self-professed exclusivity and ability to be entertained by everyday life, have made them better informed than the majority of tourists enhanced by Marjorie’s affable nature. They follow the political aspects of everyday life, its duality
(village/destination) and the impact of migration on all residents. Their suggestion for sorting things out outside the season, as they note, is impossible due to the absence of the feuding factions at this time.

We feel comfortable walking around the village, we laugh about the pavement that is now a death trap as it is so high that if you fall off one side you will be dead. Not only because of the height but because of all the rubbish that is by the side of it. We heard that it is not finished yet. We enjoy watching the taxi drivers and the dolmus people fighting with each other. We think we can sort the problem for them, and they are blind to the fact that they are hurting themselves and that they would be better if they had the politics outside the holiday season. You think they could spend some of the time sorting things out, but they are from all parts of Turkey.'

However, whilst Morris and Marjorie noticed and shared their thoughts on these issues with me, reflecting their awareness of a more politicised place than that represented elsewhere as 'empty wilderness' or 'sophisticated', they were careful not to intervene. Expressing their frustrations about waiting for the dolmus (minibus) to be full before leaving for the beach to the itinerant anthropologist, their inability to effect change and therefore their relative disempowerment, restrained them from communicating with the dolmus (minibus) cooperative. Ultimately, whilst enjoying their holiday, they are alienated from the discourse of everyday life, indicated by the Cartesian space(s) of their representations (p262), very much the 'British tourist', communicating through Pidgin English and enthralled by journeys through the 'real Turkey'. However, despite a clear affection for the place, the departure of their 'relatives' from Kalkan after 10 years in business leads them to question their continued return.

'We are a bit nervous that the little gem could be losing its glitter, we are being very selfish but that is what it's all about at the end of the day, it is surprising how many English people say they are going to buy. They do not always spoil a place, but we have not been round the old town this time.'

This comment above all suggests an emotional preparation for departure and the possible removal of Kalkan from the holiday repertoire, a moving on to other 'uncommercial' places like those that Kalkan used to be, and of which Morris and Marjorie are well aware or will hear about from friends. They were already talking about their next long-haul trip during this trip, and as such, they were partly in Kalkan and partly in their expectations of other destinations. In this respect, Morris and Marjorie's representations of their second holiday place not only represent their views of Kalkan but also are indicative of the fact that for the well travelled, otherness is a matter of degree. For example, Kalkan feels more familiar than Thailand, perhaps a familiarity achieved by disengagement from local life and or through its relative closeness to home, suggesting that the further the tourist travels to get to his or her destination, the more
different it is expected to be, with difference the reward for the tourist's endurance. It is also indicative of
the meta-polities of travel wrapped up in relative power and economic wealth; the British passport holder
has no difficulty securing the necessary permissions to travel globally, while the Turkish passport holder
takes on the burden of proving his motives for tourism, and meets with suspicion at the majority of
embassies and consulates.

For the majority of British holidaymakers, entering into the global flows of media and migration is easy,
bolstering their sense of their right to global access, and latterly ownership. As such it is perhaps
unsurprising that the attitude to being in 'otherness' has not changed that greatly, with many keen to use
the elements on offer without regard to the habits, habitus and habitats in which they find themselves
emplaced. However, where the destination differs is that through its 'friendships', repeat tourists do care,
about the livelihoods of their 'friends', forming allegiances they dare not break, as in the case of Morris
and Marjorie, who, although not getting any younger, happily forego creature comforts to be with their
'friends' in a family environment. Whilst Morris and Marjorie enjoyed observing the destination, they said,
'we have not come to follow the history but to have a relaxing holiday in the sun'. When they had sufficient sun to
allow them to sit outside all day, they took the dolmus (minibus) to Patara Beach, 12km of sand, 30 minutes
from the destination. Marjorie said, 'I do not like the concrete platforms, it is all they can do but it is not natural';
until their ticket, valid for a week, runs out. The rest of the day was spent 'looking round rather than actually
shopping;' (they regarded many items as pricey in comparison to Thailand where they would visit later in the
year), followed by a meal and a wander round. They had no desire for a hectic nightlife, enjoying peaceful
evenings al fresco.

7.3.5 Barry & Sue: A Second Home

Unlike Morris and Marjorie, whose experience of place remained firmly located within a series of global
otherness, Barry and Sue's experience of place, as indicated by their representations (p263), is one of
specific otherness of enthusiasm and immersion, as opposed to affection. The difference between the two
couples' representations is the degree of distance or perspective. Morris and Marjorie took the wide angle
shot whereas Barry and Sue chose the close-up. Barry and Sue's points of reference ('the school, the
market and the dolmus (minibus) and taxi area') or favourite places (the Fener Cafe, Akin's, Belgin's
Kitchen, Merkez Cafe, Just Silver), were marked by their engagement with the everyday. Like Morris and
Marjorie, they take several holidays a year, but unlike the former couple, they have established a personal
relationship with the destination. Perhaps due to their relatively late entry into the delights of foreign
travel, coupled with visits going back to a time when the destination was a more personal place, the
brochures' idyllic village. For Barry and Sue, the destination was a second home rather than a second holiday, indicated by their preferred method of travel and accommodation-type which, despite their stated intention to remain outside local politics, has placed them firmly within the power politics of the location (S:4.6 p143).

Barry, aged 54, an early-retired personnel manager, and Sue, aged 53, a former part-time worker, were on their ninth visit to Kalkan when interviewed. Following a disastrous flight on their honeymoon, they had not travelled abroad for 25 years, choosing to holiday with their family in the UK. On their silver wedding anniversary, they flew again to Paris, prior to 1995; they had not had a Mediterranean holiday. At this point they thought this was 'ludicrous — we have to get on a plane and go somewhere'. It was so easy there was no holding them back; they had recently visited Paris, New York and Barcelona. They chose Kalkan based on their 'not liking crowds, so we never considered the big Spanish resorts. We came to Kalkan on the basis of a review in Lonely Planet — small village with lots of restaurants on a hillside'. Whilst elements of the review proved inaccurate in their view, they keep coming back to see their friends, 'like the young guy from Istanbul who we met and had tea with'. Their stories indicate their level of involvement in their second home two of which, the acquisition of their holiday home and their relationship with the local lads, are quoted at length.

We rented the single-storey house up by the Kaputas restaurant outside of Kalkan near Kuru restaurant [local landmarks] and have the most stunning views of Meis and Pigeon Island. We were looking for somewhere in the village and asked Kemal, who was working at Jimmy's, the restaurant not the estate agency, if he knew of something cheap. But he was unable to find something at the rate we had in mind. Rami, also working with Kemal, said we could have the use of his house for the amount we had in mind but it was a little way out. We asked to see it and it was so lovely inside, we said we would think about it. Jimmy showed us a beautiful one on the Kalamar Road, but it was so expensive, saying we could let to others but we did not want the responsibility. We got a taxi and nipped up and had another look and Rami's place had stunning views and we thought we could take a house in Kalkan but the views would be nowhere near as good. We took it for £1000 for the whole year, and we can use it whenever we want to. At the moment we will use it for 10 weeks, but it will be accommodating quite a few people, 13 in total. When we are not there he uses it for himself. We are having the holiday on the strength of an inheritance from Sue's mother, and wanted total flexibility. It is wonderful as it is like being at home.'

What Barry and Sue have found most interesting over the years reflects their access to local men and women. All the stories pertaining to their current visit involve negotiations with local men, on everything from accommodation to taxis. Despite visiting for 9 years, all the women they know (named below) are either English or engaged in tourism. Zeynep is a divorcee from Mersin, running a restaurant in the Old 252
Village, Bahanur is a local girl educated in the capital, running a travel agency and Nuris (her mother) owns and runs a gulet (yacht). Access to these women revolves around tourist activities, but access to those women engaged in the process of everyday life is restricted, although a few local girls are starting to work in tourism-related businesses.

"We enjoy seeing the young lads growing up and going into the army and coming back again. The young lad from the Simera used to wear a West Brom shirt the first year, doing the oranges at breakfast. He had no English and was very shy and we watched him grow. He progressed on to a different hotel now, but he recognised us and his English is better. We found this with several of them, seeing the change in people over the years and getting their army stories. We do not see any of the girls. The only women I know are Bobbie, Rebecca, Zeynep, Bahanur and Nuris and Vicky. We know the Turkish ladies in shops but that that well."

In effect, Barry and Sue’s Kalkan lives are full of old friends, both locals and other visitors; ‘We know more people here than back home, and we feel ‘at home’. At first, they were nervous, but had branched out and overcome their lack of confidence. Now they walk round the village greeting acquaintances, always careful to do the rounds on arrival and before departure. They have slotted into the pace of local life; ‘If we could not get out of Kalkan for weeks it would not worry us. It is incredible value for what we want — not meaning the price — you cannot put a price on views, etc. It fits us like a glove.’ For Barry and Sue, Kalkan ‘gets better every time’. They ‘are not upset about leaving, as they know they will be back again’. Their encounters with everyday life have enhanced their understanding and enjoyment of place, albeit providing some interesting entertainment – the number of men required to dig a hole or confusions, as in the taxi driver incident. If indeed places choose people instead of people places, then Kalkan could not have made a happier choice.

### 7.4 Summary: The Product: Did they get it Right?

In this chapter, I have described the ways in which Tapestry captured and (re)presented the Kalkan municipality’s public representation of their town, to its niche market within the tourism sector. Tapestry had identified a hole in the UK tourism market, couples wanting to travel without the burden of organising it themselves, to places where they could get away from it all, enjoy the local environment if they chose to, and be free of the fear that they would meet hoards of other British tourists. Having
identified Kalkan as a location ideally suited to this group. Tapestry were looking for, the idyllic village, with sophisticated amenities of the kind they would use (S:1.1.3 p41; S:7.1 p223).

Tapestry then entered into contractual arrangements with Kalkaners to supply its guests with the type of facilities the municipality's accounts purported to be available in the village. I suggested that Kalkaners were already familiar with this image. Istanbul elites had taken it up in the 1980s and they had the knowledge to reproduce it for this new group of strangers. I then went on to consider who the tourists were, and confirmed that tourists conformed to Kalkaners assumptions of the type of people they would be, namely older couples with relatively high surplus income, who were likely to return (S:7.2 p231).

The growing success of the Tapestry product led to the rapid development, in the destination, of accommodation to cater to growing demands. In the 1990s, Tapestry was extremely successful but through several years when instability in the region caused instability in the tourism sector. The bubble had burst, many Kalkaners experienced difficult years and only just managed to keep their businesses going; others went bankrupt and left. The turnover in businesses continued to be high.

The 2001 season marked a turning point after which the destination would not be the same again. The level and type of development, private villas and apartment complexes, completed I the winter of 2001, offered a new form of being in the destination, ownership and self-catering (Table 15). This type of property was a particularly attractive option to tourist who already felt the destination was their second home. Local friendliness had made tourists feel like friends. As friends, tourists felt at home and had no desire to lead extraordinary lived (S:4.4 p137; S:4.5 p140). The decline in tourist numbers was a direct product of tourisms' success, both at the operator and the local levels. The product had worked too well, and a property became available tourists moved to buy. Alternatively, they bought land and built a house for themselves. However, this was several years ahead in 2001.

Interviews with tourists and repeat tourist in 2001 illustrated that Kalkan, the destination was a resound success. The frequency of return had ensured the destination's longevity up until this point. Whatever was going on in the world, tourists returned to see their friends. They overcame their fear generated by the content of news reports to ensure their friends' economic survival. Tourists were extremely loyal to their 'friends', a factor I am not sure their Turkish hosts fully appreciated. Tourists, despite their frequency of return, rarely seemed to understand their hosts' life-worlds. I suggest that while tourists liked the sense of family (community), they were ill equipped for the everyday life of Kalkan, more specifically Kalkan, the village, and the social conventions of Turkish life (Chapter 4). It is the intense observation of life, rather than participation within in, that invigorated and maintained the destination. Getting too close
reduced its attractiveness (Dianne, RT, 2001). It disappeared within the habits of the town and British ‘friends’ experienced the **habitus** and the constant struggle of their Turkish ‘friends’ to survive within a fickle industry. Moreover, they saw themselves in those tourists oblivious to the everyday, and this was the most disturbing image of all to those whose sole purpose was to relax within the destination. Tourists became confused, caught between the sight and the habit. They resolved the confusion by a return to a safe distance or a different destination, or leased or bought property and began their relationship to the town, the long slow process of making relations, aided by their long-term ‘friends’ (Chapter 5).
Representation 9: Rachel, 30th April 2001
Representation 10: Joanne, 5 August 2001
Representation 11: Beverley, 27 Aug '01

Thoughts of what will happen to are the buildings, where will life be, they are about to fall down. And what happened to the people who lived here say 200 years ago. The restoration at the buildings, the surrounding areas, paths, walkways etc. How will they pay for it?

Possibly rather than having part. V. friendly & warm people working hard to settle it down. Lots of jobs of course.

Old Buildings.

Very steep hill.

Nearby beaches.
Representation 12: Dianne, 7th October 2001

Dianne Corry (TS)

Kalkan is special to me because -

I feel it is a 'spiritual' place -

'vey indescribable feeling here -

Calmness. (Maybe it’s the sun &

The atmosphere created by the people)

It’s my sanctuary. I have never

felt this way about a holiday resort

before.

Turkey itself holds something

Mystical & 'Child-like' -

Kalkan is almost 'work like' -

and draws one in - the people

help - but there is an aura of

'Nurture' & 'Healing' from the surrounding

nature. 'The Sea as seems

even more serene here. The

Sky even more transient

than anywhere else.

Kalkan' reaches into one’s soul -

if you let it - if you reach out

and grasp it -

There is 'energy' here of a

meaningful & purposeful kind.

- It’s almost as if Kalkan is a

teacher.

After each 'retreat' here - I am

recharged, I have 'topped up' to

the 'heavens' that await me here.

Each cobblestone, each tumble-down

building holds the 'ghost' of

those who have lived & loved

here - I feel they are still here,

part of the intrinsic richness of

this special place.

- I am fearful also that this could

change - if the wrong kind of

people try to change it for the

sake of tourism & 'progress'.
ME ON SUNBED

DAY OUT AT SEA ON GULET

MOSQUE & MIN.
TURKISH OR TURKEY & THE WAVING MAN!

BEER

BREAD

CHICKEN

TOMATOES

WINE

KALKAN
QUAINT
BEAUTIFUL
SCENIC
FRIENDLY
Representation 14: Jackie 8/6/01
Representation 17: Barry, 30/4/01

Representation 18: Sue, 30/4/01
Conclusions: The Worlds in the Village

My intention for carrying out research in Kalkan was to study a village in the world. Unlike Just (2000) I was not seeking to study the village way of life but to study the worlds within the village. Through preliminary research, I identified three sub-communities based on individuals’ relationship to the town. The groups were identifiable from their members’ residence status and residents’ comments about each other. The relationship of each group involved its members’ claims to belong to Kalkan: their memleket (place of origin). The three groups were: ‘insiders’, who I assumed were locals; ‘outsiders’, Turks who in-migrated from other Turkish villages, towns and cities (who made no claim to belong); and ‘foreigners’ British tourists and expatriates (who had no claim to the memleket but frequently felt so attached to the place that they insisted they belonged). While these shared identities seemed logical, lengthy field research established that an already complicated intra community dynamic was significantly more complex and that residents’ identities were particularly diverse. In my research and analysis of this dynamic or fluid community, I aimed to establish the basis of the collective individual relationship and the structures, which held a contact zone intact.

The aspects of Turkish history discussed in chapter one provided some likely explanations for diversity of sentiment expressed by members of Kalkan’s resident community, particularly the reforms behind the formation of Turkish Republic and the role of the Turkish history thesis, in creating an identity for the Turks, within the process of nation building. My evaluation of the complex migratory patterns carried out by different resident groups further clarified the rotating of Kalkan’s resident communities with the seasons and explained its fractured identity. The duality resulted from the local agricultural economy based on the migration of locals between Kalkan and Bezirgan. The settlement of the site by Rum (Orthodox Christians) settlers in the 1800s meant that the duality became a factor in the town and the community’s identity: Rum/Turk replaced the summer/winter distinction. The expulsion of this group in c.1923 returned the duality to the summer/winter distinction. I explained how, in the 1950s, tourism began to develop in the area and Kalkan became an increasingly attractive destination for summer travellers and latterly tourists. In 2001 Kalkan’s and its residents’ identities reflected tangential dualities: the summer/winter of the agricultural economy and the town/destination of the tourist economy. The duality of the place’s identity held clues to the identity of the resident population and answers as to who were the people living in this micro-world and did they get along together.

In chapter two I presented evidence in the form of place trees and local government statistics which indicated that while a minority of the Kalkan resident population (yerli halk) had an intimate connection with the land, having husbanded it for centuries, the majority of residents were non-local
Turks (*Türk yabanca*) or British tourists and expatriates. The majority of residents knew little about Kalkan's history neither had they participated in the local way of life: transhumance agriculture. *Türk yabanca* (strangers), like the tourists they hosted, obtained their knowledge of Kalkan and the Teke Peninsula (Lycia) from guidebooks, casual conversations and exploration when time allowed. The account of Kalkan's history produced by the Kalkan Vakfi (Kalkan Foundation) under the instruction of Karabag (a former mayor) explained the town's appearance and past as well as the absence of a *Kalkanlı* (native) community. I explained that Kalkaners (local residents) came from diverse locations and that they did not conform to the *köylü* (villager) stereotype. The town's schools meant that villagers had access to more than the compulsory five years education legislated for by the state and that villagers were potentially well educated compared to the general population. The development of the tourist economy meant that villagers were, potentially, better off, as they were able to sell or maximise proceeds from their lands. The owners of some of the most unproductive land along the coast became some of the wealthiest in the village. Investment, in the context of tourism, enabled villagers to make a profit from unprofitable lands and to move to the cities. Development of the village into a destination visited by foreign, predominantly British, tourists generated tourism-informed migration. Villagers continued to practise their seasonal (summer) migration to Bezirgan but also engaged in the tourist economy through the rental of property, previously closed up in summer, to in-migrants.

As foreign tour operators became involved in Kalkan's tourist economy, the number of tourists in the destination grew and became relatively consistent; a product of aircraft capacity and the total number of chartered flights into Dalaman airport. The dependability of the market led to the expansion of the local economy. The village rapidly developed into a town to accommodate tourism entrepreneurs, workers and tourists. In 2001 eleven per cent of the summer population were *yerli halk* (local) and eighty-nine per cent *Türk yabanca* (strangers) or expatriates. In winter, the figures adjusted following the return of *yerli halk* and the out-migration of *Türk yabanca* and expatriates to thirty-four per cent and sixty-six per cent respectively. This meant that, at best, the percentage of the population with any claim to *memleket* (place of origin) status was eleven per cent and declining, given that Kalkan was continuing to grow.

Assuming land ownership defined belonging it had decreased further by villagers' sale of their lands and permanent settlement outside the *memleket*. I explained that the development of the village into a town (destination) changed its identity and ranking within the *memleket* schema. Its reputation as a sophisticated place visited by the Istanbul elite drew many Turks to work in the village. A number of this group were well-educated city dwellers looking for a different life-style post retirement. This group formed and engaged in the town's tourist-oriented business community and increasingly, through property ownership and tax payments, its politics. Expatriates, former tourists who loved the
place so much they had moved to it, were engaged in a similar manner. Their arrival in the village meant that many repeat tourists saw it was possible and relatively straightforward to move to Turkey and so followed suit. In 2001 I was advised that 450 properties were owned by British expatriates. The size of the expatriate community was influencing the identity of the place, the community and the people.

I obtained much of my understanding of Kalkan and the Kalkaner community from a detailed survey of the organisation and style of the local architecture, civic buildings, homes and commercial property: the visible metaphors of community structures and residents’ life-worlds. I argued that buildings showed the particular humanisation of the physical environment and in turn residents’ life-styles: their particular, group and social identities. My description of Old Kalkan’s built structures in chapter three provides evidence of community rotation and seasonal identities. The observation of buildings enabled me to represent the town’s dynamism and fluidity as it rotated between its winter (Turkish town) and summer (tourist destination) guises and where spring and autumn were periods of transition: as one type of community replaced another.

Having confirmed that Kalkan had several identities and that Kalkaners were a diverse group, I considered the ways in which the community structures the collective. In particular, I considered the claim that members of the community connected to each other through friendship and family ties. I argued that while this was true for members of the Kalkan communities, the majority of residents, Türk yabancı (strangers) and expatriates, did not have these ties and had to formulate them. I suggested that the requirement for people to live together coupled with the fact that all residents had experienced migration of one form or another meant that the overarching ideology of the family, ‘relatedness’ (a desire to place the stranger within a known familial role), prevailed. I suggested that conventions regarding the treatment of strangers were potentially cohesive or divisive. I noted that whenever possible, the collective treated migrants as though they were family, while maintaining the distinction between residents who were and were not Kalkanlı, native to the place. I argued that expatriates use of different linguistic referents, the basis of their grouped identity, prevented their integration as family members. I argued that the initial contact between non-local residents and tourists based on friendliness transformed into friendship and that expatriates became friends or neighbours. Both relationships were of significance to the stability of a community, as community stability relied on obligations between members of the collective, or in the case of women their male contacts. I argued that yerli halk and in-migrant residents were obliged to become, and remain, connected if they were to survive in Kalkan, despite incidents of inter- and intra-group rivalry to the contrary. I argued that friends and relations served as a ‘savings plan’, accumulated investment and a source of means during periods of low income or general instability in the tourism industry. Evidence of this was provided by people who obtained low rents from friends in return for renovation work on
the rented property and proprietors who allowed friends to pay when they could. Although things were gradually changing, residents worked together to ensure that their friends and relatives were able to stay. I argued that members of the family (community) found a way to confer locality on strangers and expatriates without materially damaging the structuring structure of the community: the collective as family.

In chapter four I explored some of the ways in which stability, that is relatedness, was achieved. My consideration of New Kalkan concentrated on the ways in which residents' capital quotients and the available building stock affected the town's identity. I examined people's property investments from both a financial and social perspective. I explained that as the demand for property grew, the town divided into a number of residence areas. I argued that the increasing number of residence areas represented developments in technology and the investment of in-migrant Türkjabancos and expatriates in property. I indicated that yerli halk and non-locals related to the town in different ways and that the motivations behind their life-style choices were different. Yerli halk tended to live in Old Kalkan or the Middle School Area, whereas the other two groups lived in all areas. Türkjabancos were less motivated to live in Old Kalkan than expatriates did, for two reasons: it was where they worked and it was expensive. Expatriates were motivated to live in the Old Kalkan because of its approximation to the 'idyllic village' myth. I argued that resident's life-style choices reflected their capital and status and that differentials between residents indicated logical classes within the village. I suggested that these classes were beginning to form sub-communities within particular residence areas. However, I noted that this movement be regarded as a tendency as it was too early to conclude whether sub-communities would become solid groups. I suggested that while the community comprised several separate groups, defined as relatives and non-relatives, or others, the community was not self-sustaining and that it was necessary for its members to move outside the town boundary to obtain certain basic provisions and services. I argued that this provisioning requirement expanded Kalkan's boundaries to include several towns and cities and that permanent settlement, was not the end of local movement. Old and new in-migrants had to contend with continued movement and migration.

I presented several case studies as evidence of my central tenet that in the absence of family or friends or hemşeri, migrants formed social relations through their investment in property and product. My analysis of residents' homes and businesses enabled me to conclude that not only do the visible trappings of individual's life-styles provide access to their subjective experiences of place they also provide windows into their social networks: landlords, tenants, agents, neighbours, lawyers, architects, builders, family members, and friends. I found that by just asking people who they rented or bought their house or business from reproduced local networks of obligation, which crossed community divides. I concluded that community stability was the result of property and product relations and that
professional ties were as important if not increasingly more important than *bémperis* (fellow townsmen) or friends and family. However, such connections became friends and family through the usual social conventions.

In chapter six I used Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* to explore in-migrants' understanding of Kalkan and their adjustments to the new town. I showed that there was no single way of adapting to local convention and that migration produced multiple interpretations of the place and that these interpretations in turn produced multiple particular identities. What was common to all residents was desire; it fuelled the process of reflection and adaptation and thereby generated new norms. I made use of residents' representations of Kalkan, in case study form, to illustrate aspects of the Kalkan life-world. I evaluated residents' relation to the collective through their individual experiences of the town, obtained from the interpretation of their drawings of Kalkan. I discussed first impressions, changes in family dynamics and sexual practices, the centrality of the landscape, new beginnings post retirement, becoming a woman in the village, the possibilities for independence, freedom and fun and lastly the anomie of those who felt out of place. Residents 'takes' on Kalkan showed that whatever their group or particular identity, they all related differently, and that residence itself was one of the few things they shared. However, the fact that they owned a stake in Kalkan ensured their participation in the collective as relatives, friends and 'friends'.

In the final chapter I considered the role of external factors, tour operators' representations of place and tourist types in driving the particular brand of Kalkan's tourism-informed development and Kalkaners' identity. I described the ways in which Tapestry Holidays, the main in-destination operator, captured and (re)presented local representations of the town, to its market in the UK. My observation of the tourist population coupled with Tapestry's marketing data confirmed that tourists were couples travelling on 'exclusive packages'. Tapestry were looking for the idyllic village and Kalkan fitted the image. The company then acquired accommodation to suit its remit and thereby ensured the local reproduction of the destination matched its corporate requirements. I argued that the success of Kalkan as the Tapestry product generated the town's rapid development to cater to tourists' and residents' growing demands. However, I believed that the 2001 season marked a turning point at which the bubble burst and the destination changed. The development of private villas and apartment complexes facilitated repeat tourists' acquisition of holiday homes or second homes and tourists' move into self-catering accommodation; particularly attractive to those of Kalkan's tourists who felt at home in the destination. I argued that the decline in tourist numbers and the profits obtained from tourist-oriented businesses was a direct product of tourism's success. Many entrepreneurs displayed their ingenuity, once again, and moved into the property business. When I returned in 2005 virtually every local tour agency now sold property instead of tours. Many repeat tourists became expatriates, bought property and made use of its social relations to form relations, aided by their long-term 'friends'.
In choosing to study Kalkan, what I aimed to represent was the complex dynamism and multiple meanings the resident community or Kalkaners attributed to the place. Most of all I wanted to highlight the fact that while Kalkan was a place, it was not a place in the usual sense of the anthropological field site. There were no natives and those with the closest claim to local identity were moving out or changing within the multiple new life-worlds Kalkan has come to represent. While multi-sided fieldwork is inherently difficult for a solo researcher to carry out well, I believe that the thesis manages to indicate the breadth, depth and above all the variety of Kalkaners’ experience of their place of residence. In addition, it illustrates Kalkan’s dynamism and continual development as a place summarised by Tapestry Holidays in their most recent and appropriately updated (re)presentation of Kalkan.

For those who choose to return to Kalkan year after year (and so many do), a question always arises on the journey from Dalaman airport. Will Kalkan have changed? Is it spoilt now?

The answer to the first question is yes. In the years since we first visited, the village has turned into a small town, with private villas springing up on the outskirts. Many of these have been bought by British couples as a second home, so they can spend several months a year in this special place (Tapestry Holidays 2005:17)
Glossary

abi — older brother
abla — older sister
aile — family
amsa — father’s brother
dayı — mother’s brother
teyze — mother’s sister
hala — father’s sister
yenke — uncle’s wife, sister-in-law, also used by men when addressing their friend’s wives
ayran — a drink made from yoghurt, salt and water
babane — pretext or excuse
bakkal — grocer
bayram — (religious) holidays — honoured by the state
belediye — municipality
bey — equivalent to Mr
banım — equivalent to Mrs
beyaz peynir — white cheese, like feta
büyük şehir — large cities
çay — tea
çore — area
didıkodu — gossip
der — stream
dernek — society or association
dolmuş — minibus
donüm — a measure of land the equivalent of ¼ acre (old) and ½ acre (new) — the amount of land a man could plough in a day
elma çayı — apple tea
ev — house
evi — married (with house)
nazar boncuk — evil eye beads
gelin — bride
görüntü — view, in the sense of image
gözlemi — pancakes
gözlemi evi — place where pancakes are sold, usually a small house on the roadside
hemşeri — fellow townsman
hemşerilik — fellow townsmanship
Ingliz — an English person
iskele — port, quay, or jetty
izin — permission
kaçan — runaways
Kalkanlı — Kalkaner
kaymakamlık — office of the governor of a sub-province, or district
kilims — rugs
köfte — meatballs
komşu — neighbours
kontors — credits for mobile phones
köyli — villager or village
köy — village
kumpir — baked potato
kurban — sacrifice
maalesef — unfortunately
maballe — districts
manav — green grocer
mangal — brazier for cooking meat
manzara — view
memleket neresi? — where are your origins?
memleket — place of origin
merhaba — hello
nifus — population
ocakbaşı — open grill restaurant
otogar — bus station
pansiyon — pension or guesthouse
pazarlık — haggling
pide — Turkish pizza
Ramazan — month of the Islamic calendar during which believers are called to fast during the hours of daylight
Ram — Anatolian Orthodox Christians
salon — lounge
salvar — baggy trousers
saygı — respect
seker — sugar
site — housing complex, made up of several apartment blocks
tapu — deeds of ownership
tost — toasted sandwich
Türk — the ethnic majority of modern Turkey, also used to imply allegiance to modern Turkey and the Republic
turist — tourist
valilik — office of the governor of a province
valana — stranger or foreigner
halk — folk
yenge — ‘aunt’ or in-marrying woman — in Kalkan the term indicated the removal of a woman from the marriage pool
yerli — local or native
yufka — flat bread
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary of Turkish Words
Appendix 2: Structured Questionnaires

**Resident Questionnaire** *(for electronic completion only)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalkan and its Surroundings Locals and Residents Questionnaire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Name?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Surname?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nationality?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Residence Status?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Date of Birth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Place of Birth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Where did you grow up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Educational level?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Civic Role/Organisation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Job (if different or in addition)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Have you lived in another country?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. (Why did you choose to live in Turkey?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. When did you move to Kalkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Why did you move to Kalkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Did members of your family move with you (which)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Where do you live in Kalkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Do you own or rent land or property in Kalkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. What type of house do you live in?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Did you build your own house?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. What design or building restrictions did you encounter?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Do you have any business involvement or interests in Kalkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Do you have a vision for Kalkan in the future?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. How do you intend (did you intend) to contribute to or achieve this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Are any of your ideas currently underway or due to start soon?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. In what ways do you think Kalkan could improve its planning for the future?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. How important do you feel the surrounding landscape is to Kalkan's future stability as a tourist resort?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Are history, archaeology and the environment important aspects of Kalkan's future?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. In your view do the major Tour Operators and or the Ex-patriot communities have a role to play in the future development of Kalkan - what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. What do you think of Kalkan old town?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. In what ways has living in Kalkan affected the way you feel about yourself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. What is your current prognosis for Kalkan's the future?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. How would you describe Kalkan as a place?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do I have your permission to use information provided in the above questionnaire for my research?

Would you prefer to be known by a pseudonym?
Tourist Questionnaire (for electronic completion only)

Kalkan and its Surroundings - Tourist Questionnaire

Your views are important in assisting Kalkan and Turkey plan for future tourism.

Information provided below forms part of a research programme being carried out by Eli Collis, PhD Student, University College London designed to understand tourism in Kalkan and its surrounding area. The programme is conducted with the permission of the Turkish Government and the Kalkan Belediye.

Thank you for taking time out from your holiday to help.

1. Name (if willing)
2. Date of birth
3. Country of Origin
4. Job in Country of Origin

5. How did you hear about Kalkan?
   Travel Agent  Recommendation  Guide Books
   Internet  Television  Other

6. Is this your first visit to Turkey?  Yes  No
7. Why did you choose Turkey?
8. Is this your first visit to Kalkan?  Yes  No
9. If No, how many times have you visited?
   1-2  3-4  5-10  10+
10. Why did you choose Kalkan?
11. How did you get to Kalkan?
    Tour Operator  Independent Traveller

12. Which Tour Operator?
    Anatolian Sky  JMC
    Saville  Simply Turkey
    Tapestry  Other

14. What type of accommodation are you staying in?
   Hotel  Pension  Apartment  Other

15. What do you think of the overall standard of your accommodation?
   Excellent  Very Good  Good  Adequate  Poor

16. Is your accommodation with walking distance of the town centre and beach and did this affect the quality of your holiday?
   Yes  No

17. How do you feel when walking around Kalkan?

18. Did you feel you needed to adapt your usual holiday dress?

19. Were people genuinely friendly or was there too much 'sales pitch'?

20. Do you have any people stories - did you visit any homes or see people making things?

21. Did you experience or notice any social constraints - for example different does and don'ts from home?

22. Did you experience communication difficulties? How did you overcome them?

23. How do you spend your day? Is there a general pattern?

24. Have you taken any tours during your stay in Kalkan? Yes  No
   Was this with:
   Your UK travel agent  a Local Agent  Local Taxi Service
   Independent Car Hire  Local Buses  Other

25. Did you visit any of the archaeological sites in the area? Yes  No
   If Yes, which sites?
   Patara  Xanthos
   Letoon  Tlos
   Sydima  Myra (Church of St Nicholas)
   Pinara  Kekova
   Arycanda  Other

26. How would you rate your tours for the following: (add comments at the end)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Tour</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journey time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itinerary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time spent at the site</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir availability</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and Interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value for money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall standard of the trip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. What was your impression of the site? (a description of feelings is particularly useful to me here)

29. Did the tour add to your holiday experience? Yes No

30. Would you visit the same place again? Yes No

31. Did you gain a sense of the past from your visit to the ancient sites? How did it feel?

32. In your view, is a visit to Turkey like a trip into the past?

33. Which beach clubs did you visit?
   - Local Beach
   - Lykia Beach Club
   - Yacht Club Beach Club
   - Kalamar Beach Club
   - Mahal Beach Club
   - Hotel or Pension private platforms

34. Gifts and souvenirs are an essential part of the holiday experience - What did you buy?
   - Carpet
   - Turkish Delight
   - Glass
   - Spices
   - ‘designer labels’
   - Kilim
   - Antiques
   - Jewellery
   - Leather goods
   - Apple Tea
   - Other

35. Did you have anything specially made for you?

36. Did you buy postcards? Yes No
   - What designs:
     - Traditional patterns from tiles or carpets
     - Sites
     - Humorous
     - Other

37. What did you photograph? (the most memorable shots!)
38. Please rate the following amenities in Kalkan: (again any particular comments at the end if you like)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Tour</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beach and Beach Platforms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Post Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank and Exchange Facilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medical Facilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dental Facilities</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Taxi Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Buses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Cleanliness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Cleanliness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and Water Supply</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39. What did you like about Kalkan?

40. What improvements would you like to see made in Kalkan?

41. Would you recommend Kalkan to your friends? Yes No

42. Would you return to Kalkan for a future visit? Yes No

Why?

43. Did your holiday live up to your expectations?

44. Did your impression of Kalkan change during your holiday?

45. Did your visit to Turkey change your ideas about yourself and your home country?

46. Did your visit to Kalkan, Turkey change your ideas about Turkey?

47. How would you describe Kalkan briefly?

48. Do you have any anecdotes from your time in Turkey that you either participated in or heard about? Please share.

Which newspapers do you read?

Do I have your permission to use the information provided above – and if yes would you prefer to be known by a pseudonym?
**Entrepreneur Questionnaire** (*for electronic completion only*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalkan and its Surroundings Business Questionnaire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Property Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web site or email address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Construction (if known)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also any renovations or alterations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner's Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of origin and residence location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager's Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of origin and residence location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Usage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of beds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchandise sold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Destinations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Operator Links</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality of Customers and guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Turnover per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental or purchase value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other property or businesses owned or rented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments and anecdotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In depth interview - when and where?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: Suggestions for Future Work

Given the constraints on the overall size of the doctoral thesis, I found it necessary to take a view on the data. Thus whilst the perspective formulated a coherent body of knowledge adding to and expanding upon scholars understanding of Place and Tourism it makes only minor reference to certain areas: archaeological sites and micro materiality (products available for purchase) collected by the practical methodologies. A thicker description of which, would deepen the reader’s understanding of Tourist Destinations in general and Kalkan per se.

Additional papers are proposed around these themes:


Having represented Kalkan as centre, it is proposed that subsequent research might explore further the place experience of Kalkan residents in the periphery through:

1. Seasonal residence in Bezirgan for 6 months during the summer understanding the other locus of The Migration;
2. Following a small number of seasonal migrants back home to various locations throughout Turkey;
3. Visiting tourists, visitors and expatriates in the UK – to ascertain their views on Kalkan from back home. – paying particular attention to the display of items purchased in resort;
4. Conducting two follow-up studies each of two months duration in the village and the town.