

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF TOURISM: THE CASE OF MARMARIS TOWN  
IN TURKEY

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF TOURISM: THE CASE OF MARMARIS TOWN IN TURKEY**

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This thesis is concerned with the conceptual analysis of tourism and its evaluation from various perspectives in a tourist town. Tourism in this study is addressed as a space-based phenomenon compromising the activities supplying the cultural sphere to the international market. In this respect, tourism is evaluated as the integrity of social, cultural and material interventions germane to the construction, production and consumption of difference on the basis of the relationships of global and local processes. On this account tourism leads to social and cultural transitions on destination communities. In this process, nature, history, cultural assets and way of life become the subject to the production and consumption of tourism system through the interventions including representational, material and even the performance of actors. Because of its multidimensional characteristics, this thesis also evaluates tourism as a contested and controversial process stemming from the differences among various sections of local community. The findings of this study show that the metaphors of 'nature', 'tradition', 'cosmopolitanism' and 'bridge' are remarkable in constructing Marmaris and environs. The spatial regulation in which tourist and local relationships are actualized have been emphasized as the distinctive characteristics of Marmaris, which brings about the consequence that local community participates in the tourism process via their performance. Besides, it has been put forward that because the distinctions between tourism and non-tourism is blurred and because various issues regarding tourism are evaluated in relation with identity, locality, tradition and culture, Marmaris has become a contested space.

**Keywords:** Tourism, Space, Representation, Liminality, Performance, Turkey.

## ÖZ

### TURİZMİN KAVRAMSAL ANALİZİ: TÜRKİYE’DE MARMARİS KASABASI ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez turizmin kavramsal analizleri ve bunun bir turist kasabasında çeşitli açılardan değerlendirilmesi ile ilgilidir. Bu çalışmada turizm, kültürel alanın uluslararası pazarlara sunulmasına ilişkin faaliyetleri kapsayan mekân-temelli bir olgu olarak ele alınmıştır. Buna göre turizm küresel ve yerel süreçlerin ilişkisi temelinde farklılığın inşasına, üretim ve tüketimine ilişkin toplumsal, kültürel ve maddi müdahalelerin bütünlüğü olarak değerlendirir. Bu nedenle, turizm, turist alan ülkelerde toplumsal ve kültürel dönüşümlere neden olur. Bu süreçte, doğa, tarih, kültürel varlıklar ve ‘yaşam biçimi’, turizmin üretim ve tüketim sistemine gösterimsel, maddi ve hatta aktörlerin başarımlarını içeren müdahaleler ile konu olur. Bu tezde turizm, çok yönlü niteliği nedeniyle, yerel topluluğun çeşitli kesimleri arasındaki farklardan kaynaklanan çekişmeli ve çelişmeli bir süreç olarak da değerlendirilir. Bu araştırmanın bulguları, Marmaris ve çevresinin inşasında ‘doğa’, ‘gelenek’, ‘kozmopolitizm’ ve ‘köprü eğretilmelerinin’ belirgin olduğunu gösterir. Bu çalışmada turist ve yerli ilişkilerinin gerçekleştiği mekânsal düzenlemenin Marmaris’in özgün yanını oluşturduğu, bu tip bir düzeneğin yerel topluluğun özellikle performansları aracılığıyla turizm sürecine katılması sonucunu doğurduğu vurgulanmıştır. Ayrıca, turizm ve turizm dışı arasındaki ayrımların bulanık olması nedeniyle, turizm ile ilişkili çeşitli konular, kimlik, yerellik, gelenek, kültür ile de ilişkilendirilerek ele alındığından ve değerlendirildiğinden Marmaris’in çekişmeli bir mekân haline geldiği ileri sürülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Turizm, Mekân, Temsil, Eşik, Gösteri, Türkiye.

*To My Daughters Nehir and Nil*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ix
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. CONCEPTUALISATION OF TOURISM IN SOCIAL THEORY .....	9
2.1. Introduction .....	9
2.2. Boundaries Between Leisure, Recreation and Tourism .....	9
2.2.1. The Term Tourism and Travel .....	12
2.2.2. The Technical and Conceptual Definations of Tourism .....	13
2.2.3. The Matters of The Study of Tourism .....	18
2.2.4. The History and The Main Prerequisites of Tourism .....	19
2.3. Tourism in Social Theory .....	22
2.3.1. Tourism and Modernity .....	22
2.3.1.1. Defining Modern Experience .....	23
2.3.1.2. The Experience of Flaneour .....	25
2.3.1.3. The Institutionalization of Travel and Tourism.....	26
2.3.1.4. Eros Modernity & Logos Modernity and Tourism .....	29
2.3.2. The Main Perspectives on Sociology of Tourism .....	31
2.3.2.1. Boorsteen and Touristic ‘Pseudo-Events’ .....	31
2.3.2.2. The Authenticity Perspective and ‘Staged Authenticity’ .....	32
2.3.2.3. The Phenomology of Tourist Experience and Typologies Staged Authenticity .....	36
2.3.2.4. The Touristic Gaze and Visualization .....	42

2.3.2.5. Post-Modern Critiques of Authenticity .....	44
2.3.2.6. Traveler, Tourist and Post-Tourist Conceptualizations .....	46
2.3.2.7. Action Oriented Conceptualizations .....	49
2.3.2.8. Tourism As A Diversion From Ordinary or Mundane .....	51
2.3.2.9. The Concept of Liminality, Carnavalesque, Play .....	53
2.3.2.10. Carnavalesque .....	56
2.3.2.11. From <i>Homo Faber</i> to <i>Homo Luden</i> and Tourism .....	56
2.3.2.12. The Application of Liminoid on Tourism Phenomena .....	58
2.3.2.13. The Blurring Boundaries of Everyday and Tourism .....	60
2.4. Conclusion .....	63
3. GLOBAL TOURISM AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES .....	65
3.1. Introduction .....	65
3.2. The Scale of International Tourism .....	65
3.3. The Emergence of Tourism As An Agent of Development .....	70
3.3.1. Stage-Based Models .....	72
3.3.1.1. Butler's Destination Life Cycle Model .....	72
3.3.1.2. Doxey's Social Impact Irridex .....	74
3.3.1.3. Smith's Tourist Types and Impacts on Community .....	75
3.3.1.4. Critiques of Stage-Based Models .....	77
3.4. Dependency and Political Economy of Tourism .....	79
3.5. Tourism Impacts and Socio-Cultural Changes .....	80
3.6. Globalisation and Tourism .....	83
3.6.1. Global-Local Nexus Approach .....	86
3.6.1.1. The Production and Consumption Circuit .....	88
3.6.1.2. The Invention of Difference and Practiced Space .....	90
3.7. Destination Making and the Process of Touristification .....	93
3.8. The Regulation of Tourist Space .....	97
3.8.1. Formal or Enclave Space .....	98

3.8.2. Informal or Heterogenous Space .....	101
3.9. Conclusion .....	102
4. THE METHODOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE RESEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN MARMARIS REGION .....	104
4.1. Introduction .....	104
4.2. Methodological Features of the Research .....	104
4.3. The Emergence of Tourism in Marmaris .....	114
4.3.1. The History of Accomodation in Marmaris .....	118
4.3.1.1. The Vanishing of Home-Pension and The Transition to Apart Otel .....	120
4.4. Tourist Traffic in Marmaris .....	123
4.5. The Tourism Business in Marmaris .....	124
4.5.1. The Accomodation .....	125
4.5.2. The Characteristic of Apart System and Its Difference From Otels .....	128
4.5.3. Travel Agencies .....	132
4.6. Conclusion .....	137
5. THE REPRESENTATION AND THE IMAGES OF MARMARIS IN TRAVEL TEXTS .....	139
5.1. Introduction .....	139
5.2. Representations of Place/Destination .....	139
5.3. The Construction of Marmaris Region in Travel Texts .....	143
5.3.1. The Discourse of Nature in Contemporarly Tourism and Marmaris .....	146
5.3.2. The Metaphor of Bridge .....	149
5.3.3. Cosmopolitan Versus Traditional .....	150
5.4. Conservation the Landscapes .....	154
5.5. Conclusion .....	157
6. LIMINALITY, PERFORMANCE AND SENSUAL TOURISMS .....	159
6.1. Introduction .....	159
6.2. The Overview of the Distinctive Characteristics of Marmaris .....	159
6.2.1 Describing Marmaris Through Tourists' Perceptions .....	160
6.3. Enclave Heterogeneous Tourist Space Distinction in Marmaris .....	165

6.4. Liminalities of Marmaris .....	168
6.4.1. The Seaside of Marmaris: Blurred Boundaries Between Everyday and Touristfy .....	172
6.4.2. Intimacy and Friendliness As The Experience of Communitas .....	175
6.5. Performative Labour: Tourism Employees As ‘Performers’ .....	176
6.5.1. The Consuming Skills.....	179
6.5.2. Touting Vendors in The Open Market: A Way of Encountering Otherness .....	182
6.6. From Village Tour to Jeep Safaries or From Gaze to Performance .....	185
6.7. The Search for Authenticity in Nature and Village: The Experience of Slow Time or Solitariness .....	191
6.7.1. The Discourse of Solitariness Versus Communitas .....	194
6.8. Conclusion .....	196
7. CONTESTED SPACE .....	198
7.1. Introduction .....	198
7.2. Marmaris: Does It Reflect The ‘Real Turkey or Is It ‘A Contrived Area’? .....	198
7.2.1. Liminality Versus Order .....	201
7.3. Multivocalities of Marmaris .....	204
7.4. Tradition Versus Tourism .....	206
7.5. Culture Versus Tourism .....	209
7.6. The Negotiation of Locality in Belly Dancing .....	211
7.7. Conclusion .....	212
8. CONCLUSION .....	214
REFERENCES .....	224
APPENDICES	
Appendix A. Interview Guide .....	236
Appendix B. Turkish Summary.....	238
VITA .....	247

## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLES

Table 1. The relationship between touristic mode of experience, alienation, authenticity and holiday type .....	40
Table 2. Cohen's tourist typology .....	41
Table 3. Types of tourist gaze .....	43
Table 4. The difference between the taste of travel and the taste of tourism.....	47
Table 5. The tourist paradise represented in paradisiac images .....	60
Table 6. International tourist arrivals .....	68
Table 7. Top 10 tourist destinations .....	68
Table 8. Top tourist sending countries .....	69
Table 9. Tourism expenditure by country: Top six tourism markets .....	69
Table 10. Travel and tourism employment .....	70
Table 11. Smith's typology of tourist types linked to community impact .....	76
Table 12. A rough estimate of the number of tourists coming to Marmaris district .....	123
Table13. The number and type of accommodation facilities .....	125
Table 14. The number of travel agencies .....	134

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURES

Figure 1. The relationship between leisure and recreation .....	12
Figure 2. The relationship between leisure, recreation and tourism .....	15
Figure 3. Extent of temporary mobility in space and time .....	16
Figure 4. Life-cycle of destinations .....	74
Figure 5. Doxey's irridex .....	75
Figure 6. Touristic impact upon culture (triangle) and local perceptions of visitors (inverse triangle) expressed in types of tourism .....	77

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

It has been continuously announced that tourism has become the largest industry in the world compromising the most widespread activities and relationships between different societies. By the end of the 1980's, it became a massive and truly global industry, and tourists, in one form or another, now penetrate even the most remote places and communities.

This phenomenon, wherein a significant part of the globe affected by tourism relationships, has compelled social scientists increasingly to investigate the nature of tourism, its impacts, and the relationships between various societies in a variety of perspectives.

As it is disseminated to even the farthest destinations, tourism has become a global phenomenon and is considered in relation with the process of globalization. It is declared that tourism is like an engine and example of patterns of globalization. In this context, because the sociological studies regarding globalization, consumption, space, social and cultural mobilities, culture and multiculturalism have intensively applied and referred to tourism in their empirical and theoretical examinations, it is mentioned that tourism has been the most important subject, in which social scientists develop an increasing interest (Franklin & Crang, 2001).

Modernity transformed travel as a mass phenomenon which is as expressed by Urry, the '*democratization of travel*'. MacCannel (1976) in his study 'The Tourist', which has been accepted as the first study of sociological analysis of

tourism, characterized tourism in relation with modernity and as an example of the consequence of late-modernity. Parallel to this, it has been argued that acting as a tourist is one of the defining characteristics of being 'modern'. Moreover, participation rate of countries in travel and tourism has become one of the criteria used to define individuals and countries as modern or not. Accordingly, traveling has been accepted as a citizenship right and those countries whose citizens are granted this right has been declared relatively as a more modern or contemporary societies.

Regarded as an essential part of contemporary life and often presented as necessary to mental and physical well-being, travel and tourism have become emblematic of modern life. Indeed, tourists are a 'metaphor of contemporary life' (Bauman, 1997). As it has been considered as a serious individual engagement with the changing conditions of modernity, it also plays a significant role in identity formation. Therefore, the relationship between tourism and modernity is acknowledged as one of the basic categories of the sociology of tourism. However, this relationship comprises multi-dimensional and complex aspects. Since modernity is defined as a new type of experience and a structural transformation in various spheres, leisure and tourism are considered both in terms of changes in the attitude to spending free time and its regulation in a structural framework. Therefore, tourism in modernity may be described as a regulated and structured experience.

The sociological explanations do not consider tourism simply as a free-time activity. On the contrary, they argue that tourism cannot be separated from the economic, social, cultural and political conditions in which it has emerged and changed. It is recognized as a complex set of social and cultural phenomena woven into the fabric of daily lives, the constitution of communities and the functioning of social and cultural systems (Show & Williams, 2004).

Since the emergence of the sociological insights into the tourism phenomenon, the departure from everyday experience has been generally acknowledged as the basic prerequisite of travel and tourism, and this is actualized in a variety of



conceptualizations such as the search for authenticity, experience of pseudo events and pursuit of something new and different. As the very essence of tourism calls for temporary departure from everyday life, from home and work, its indispensable feature lies in change of physical and social space. That is, all tourism sites depend on the demarcation processes that help distinguish them from everyday experience (Rojek, 1997).

This differentiation, or the separation from everyday life, has been generally defined and conceptualized in terms of the dichotomies of 'play versus work' (Lett, 1983; Dann, 1996) 'sacred versus profane' (Maccannel, 1976; Graburn, 1989), 'strangeness versus familiarity' (Cohen, 1972). Tourism has also been regarded as the result of the division between the ordinary and the extraordinary (Urry, 1990). In other words, the desire to have a break off the monotony and routine of domestic and work space, and to escape from the rationalization and abstraction of space have been indicated as the most common motive behind tourism (Rojek, 1997b).

Therefore, the basic precondition of travel is the construction of various spaces that are differentiated from mundane, everyday, ordinary (Wang, 2000: 117-118), which are associated with sacred, play, extraordinariness, strangeness, ludic and so on. That is, tourism is the major form of leisure activity that cannot be indulged or realized within one's own home or home community, but within a process of separation removing people to a place which is less familiar to them.

It may be inferred from the aforementioned explanations and descriptions that the basic characteristics of tourism stem from spatial differences among various life spheres. Accordingly, it has been regarded as one of the most significant forms of mobility encompassing many forms including people, information, goods and services, which are inevitably interrelated. However, these mobilities find their social and cultural implications mainly in the process of destination determination and *touristification*, which are regarded as integral parts of tourism industry. Therefore, investigating and interrogating the process of destination making

emerges as an important issue in order to understand the social, cultural and economic procedures behind tourism mobilities.

The social theory conceptualizes tourist destinations as a social and cultural construction and calls them as tourist spaces or sites. In order to make them attractive, seductive and preferable, this construction and regulation involves the necessary symbolic, social and cultural interventions. Therefore, destination making has social, economic and cultural implications and can be interpreted in a variety of ways. The first and the clearest way of destination making can be understood by focusing on their construction in representational frameworks. Their visual and textual implications play an important and active role in spatialization of a place. As an integral part of tourism industry, their content is also vital for tourist imagination and for the process of myth-making. In other words, symbols, images, signs, phrases and narratives basically provide the ideas that fuel the commoditization and consumption of tourist sites.

Because tourism is essentially a place-based phenomenon, it involves the production and consumption of destinations and proves effective in constituting a distinctive local identity at different scales.

As an industry, international tourism basically compromises various activities by which cultural spheres are supplied to the international tourism market. It has been argued that the growth of tourism has often led cultures and places to rethink, re-evaluate, recapture, redefine and reinvent their uniqueness, identity and products, by which governments package local, regional or national assets for tourist consumption. In order to attract increasing numbers of visitors, destinations need to offer various assets sometimes in a magical, fantastic and enhanced setting (Shaw & Williams, 2004). Therefore, actors involved in making destinations attractive, preferable and seductive try to engage in various social, cultural and spatial strategies. In this context, it has been pointed out that tourists' search of something different from ordinary reinforces local awareness of difference in communities.

Therefore, their place in different circumstances requires necessary social, cultural and political regulations in order to maintain stability in tourism relationships. This regulation is the consequence of tourists' interactive positions in toured communities. That is, they interact with local communities and these interactions include various types of tourist and local performances. It has been argued that whilst tourists experience local community and difference, communities develop several socio-spatial practices via producing various forms of cultural actions. That is, tourism is a dynamic interactive process between the tourist and the toured or guest and host, which encapsulates adaptive, productive and inventive processes. While tourists consume destinations and a way of life by sunbathing, photographing, dancing, strolling, climbing, eating and driving, local communities develop appropriate organizations, institutions and transform their way of life into a turistified fashion.

This study is basically concerned with which features of Marmaris had brought about this town as a tourist destination for tourist consumption, what discursive or representational elements involve symbolic and cultural processes on the way to Marmaris being converted to an attractive and seductive place by the tourism industry, how Marmaris has been structured, as a tourist destination and a part of the international tourism market, how the relationship between the global and local is mediated, the roles of the main actors in the structuring of these features, and how Marmaris has become contested quality when social and cultural features are discussed within the concepts of identity, locality and 'us' and 'them'.

This study is basically concerned with which features of Marmaris had brought about this town as a main destination for tourist consumption, what discursive or representational elements involve symbolic and cultural processes on the way to Marmaris being converted to an attractive and seductive place by the tourism industry, how Marmaris has been structured, as a natural consequence of global cultural economy, to be a part of the international tourism market as a tourist destination, how the relationship between the global and local is mediated, what

kind of roles the main actors play in the structuring of these features, what role the nature of the accommodation sector, travel agencies and other tourism-related businesses have in experiential and spatial differentiation, what kind of a life style tourism brings about, and how the tourist places have been helped adopt a contested quality when social and cultural features are discussed within the concepts of identity, locality and ‘us’ and ‘them’.

In the second chapter, the terminology of tourism is examined in relation to leisure and recreation. It then expresses the conceptual, technical and holistic approaches to travel and tourism. The place of tourism in social theory is also argued by focusing on the relationships between tourism and modernity. In this context, tourism is regarded as a modern phenomenon, a cultural experience of modernity connected with structural and existential transformations emerged by the advent of industrial capitalism. The sociological approaches to tourism are evaluated in a historical perspective starting from the studies carried out in 1970. It is argued that the distinctive characteristics of tourism among other types of consumption activities lie in its place-based occurrence. Depending on the discourse of ‘other’ and ‘different’, which determine the main ‘push’ factors of contemporary tourism mobilities, it is argued that as long as the attributed differences or uniqueness of certain places or objects continue, the tourism mobilities will continue to maintain to affect and shape even the farthest parts of globe.

In Chapter 3, the main perspectives in conceptualizing the relationships between tourist-generating/western/developed countries and tourist receiving/developing countries are concentrated on. In this context, the emergence of tourism in developing countries is examined in relation to the main arguments of modernization approaches, political economy approaches and global-local nexus approaches. There, the increasing scale of tourism is associated with the processes of globalization and vice versa. Globalization is considered as both homogenization and localization in various spheres. These opposite dynamics of globalization occur in the area of tourism in quite different ways. It is argued that

tourism accelerates the local distinctiveness and plays a vital role in identity formation by exposing the significance of a place and local way of lives. In this context, various sides of place making, which is also called, touristification are examined. The way the tourist spaces are regulated is considered as the reflections of the opposite ends of globalization and tourism on space and social relationships. There, enclave space is defined as homogenous space where local uniqueness disappears, whereas heterogeneous space is formulated as a fluid and dynamic place which caters to difference seeking tourist.

Chapter 4 focuses on the development of tourism in Marmaris. Marmaris is a coastal town of Muğla. The emergence of tourism in Marmaris dates back to 1960's. Since that time, tourism has become the main economic activity and made drastic transformations in almost all spheres of town. This chapter elaborates on the institutionalization of tourism by evaluating the type of accommodation, travel agents and other branches of business. It is argued that the distinctive characteristics of Marmaris may be found in its apart-hotel type of accommodation which mainly maintains the informalities of pensions. Because of apart-hotel type of accommodation, Marmaris has become a place which provides more interaction between tourists and local community. Likewise, connected with the regular increase in the number of travel agents, a variety of local tours is realized to spread tourism relationships to its inner villages and environs. Owing to the apart-hotel type of development, it is argued that the boundaries of tourism business in Marmaris are blurred.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the appearance of destination making in representational framework and the depiction of Marmaris in travel texts. It begins with the main conceptual issues of the relationships between representation, place and destination. It is argued that Marmaris is labeled in travel texts as a cosmopolite and developed town. However, the modern and developed characteristics are intermingled with traditional, and so well is it put in the metaphor of 'bridge', which indicates the opportunity to taste both of them at the same time. Nature also appears as a vital characteristic of Marmaris in texts,

and it is indicated as ‘a world apart from modern society’, ‘genuine unspoiled landscape’, ‘the chance to rediscover old world values’, ‘a romantic landscape, ‘warm-hearted people’ and so on. It is argued that the representational framework of Marmaris is considered in relation to the modern-tradition and nature-culture dualities.

However, destinations are made not only symbolically but also by means of concrete actions of individuals who get involved in it. That is, tourist destinations are constructed and created by performance, and transformed by means of embodied practices of various actors. This idea constitutes the basic subject of chapter 6.

In Chapter 6, tourism phenomenon is examined from a variety of perspectives. Marmaris is defined as a liminal, heterogeneous tourist space in which many encounters between tourists and locals may be realized. Its heterogeneous characteristics lead to many forms of interaction in a variety of touristic settings. In general, Marmaris is a place not only gazed but also performed through several bodily practices reinforced mainly by local entrepreneurship and performative labor. It is argued that Marmaris has become a tourist town in which many of the experiences and tastes are developed through participating, strengthening, and directing the many discourses of contemporary tourism. It is also added that tourism phenomenon is an issue of identity, which leads to several types of approaches. That is, there is no one type of tourism and the interpretation of each type of tourism differ from the social and cultural contexts in which it emerges and develops. At the end of the study these arguments are analyzed as to the conceptualization of contested space.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **CONCEPTUALISATION OF TOURISM IN SOCIAL THEORY**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter begins with describing the concept of tourism in relation to leisure and recreation. It then expresses the conceptual, technical and holistic approaches to travel and tourism. The place of tourism in social theory is argued by focusing on the relationships between tourism and modernity. In this context, tourism is regarded as a modern phenomenon, a cultural experience of modernity connected with structural transformations emerged by the advent of industrial capitalism. The sociological approaches to tourism are evaluated in a historical perspective and investigated in a conceptual framework namely ‘tourism as authenticity seeking’, ‘tourist gaze’, ‘tourism as liminality’, ‘tourism as performance’ and so on.

#### **2.2. Boundaries Between Leisure, Recreation and Tourism**

The term leisure comes from the Latin ‘licere’- to be allowed or permitted. According to Mieczkowski (1990) leisure had more privileged position than work in Greco-Roman thought. Likewise, he argues the semantic similarities between the word of ‘skhole’ which means leisure in antiquity and school. Therefore, leisure was considered as a serious activity without pressure of necessity. It is indicated that in Greco-Roman thought life was essentially considered in connection with leisure rather than work and believed that life is for leisure not for work (Mieczkowski, 1990) .

According to de Grazia (1984), the antonym of work is free-time, not of leisure, and free time is not the synonym of leisure. Free time includes discretionary time, a time available to the individual after necessarily work and other survival activities and duties are accomplished (Mieczkowski, 1990). However, leisure time is the part of free time devoted to leisure pursuits. That is, it is a part of free time devoted to the activities undertaken in pursuit of leisure, which may, through recreative processes and playful activities.

Therefore, leisure is a time which individuals control without external compulsion, compromising pleasure, happiness and enjoyment; that is, it is mainly non-compensated activity, characterized by the elements of play which is an antithesis to work as an economic function (Mieczkowski, 1990).

Rojek (1985), states that the concept of free-time has no intrinsic meaning with respect to leisure. In other words, leisure is the perception of activities by individuals, which is important. Whereas free-time is quantitative concept (such as minute and hours), leisure is a qualitative concept (Mieczkowski, 1990). Anybody can have free time, not everybody can have leisure. That is, leisure is a state of being free of everyday necessity. It is an attitude of mind, perception of activities by individuals. Leisure is characterized by the use of time, not the time itself and distinguished by the meaning of the activity not its form (Shaw & Williams, 1994: 5). Therefore, leisure may be defined as the time during which leisure activities are undertaken (Shaw & Williams, 1994: 5). Then, leisure time is a part of free time. Whilst free time may be defined as 'empty-time', leisure is characterized as a time filled with specific kind of activities. Since leisure refers to the activity, quality, personality and subjectivity, the boundaries between leisure and work become blurred. It is suggested that what for some is work, for others may be leisure (Mieczkowski, 1990). However, it mainly belongs to the sphere of free-time.

On the other hand, recreation may be defined as a pleasurable, socially sanctioned activity that restores the individual (Encyclopedia of Tourism, 1998). The origin



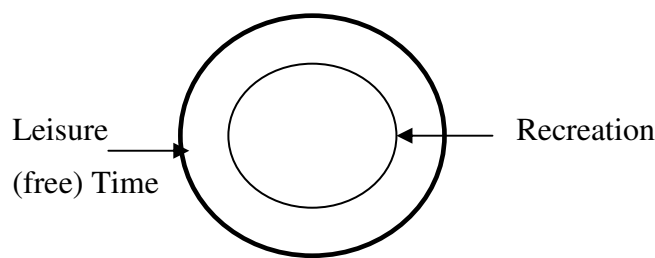
of the term comes from the Latin *recrea*, to *restore*, *refresh* (Mieczkowski, 1990) *renew* or to be *re-created* (Encyclopedia of Tourism, 1998). It has been considered as the purpose of 're-creating' human physical and mental resources depleted by working activity. That is, it is an 'experience' (an activity or inactivity) aiming at renewal of body, mind and spirit in order to prepare the individual for better performance of work. Hence, it may be expressed as a non-work activity engaged in for pleasure.

Whereas leisure is a part of free time devoted to or filled with specific kind of *activities*, recreation is characterized in terms of *individual's preferences* (Mieczkowski, 1990). Because of the role of subjective elements in distinguishing work and recreation - e.g. what may be recreation for someone may be work for another, recreation is also conceptualized in terms of intentionality (Mieczkowski, 1990). Recreation has a voluntary character or an activity indulged in without external compulsion. Thus, it is associated with free will of individuals or groupings. While leisure is concerned with time, recreation is activity. In other words, recreation is purposeful, constructive and positive (Mieczkowski, 1990). That is to say whereas leisure is mainly concerned with time element, recreation refers to the *content*, to the way the leisure time is spent. It is primarily about any activities during leisure time including play, games, sports, relaxation, and hobbies and so on.

Recreation may be distinguished into two categories according to its location (Mieczkowski, 1990). The first is 'indoor recreation' which is mainly home-based occurred in a building. The second is called as 'outdoor recreation' which is realized under a free sky: It is associated with activities taking place in rural and non-urban areas.

Generally, the term recreation and leisure are used synonymously and interchangeable. However, recreation is defined as any activity pursued during leisure (Abercrombie, et. al., 2000). If leisure is time available for choosing, recreation is one major activity chosen for such available time (Mieczkowski,

1990). Therefore, recreation takes place during leisure but not all leisure is accepted as recreation. Since the term recreation means re-make, re-create, pleasurable and purposeful, some activities such as worship, visiting relatives and friends, drug using even occur in leisure time are not regarded as recreational activities (Mieczkowski, 1990). The relationship between leisure and recreation may be illustrated as follows:



**Figure 1. The relationship between leisure and recreation**  
*Source: Mieczkowski (1990).*

### 2.2.1. The Term Tourism and Travel

The linguistic root of the word tourism comes from Latin *touree* –to turn, to round off and *turnus* wheel, circular movement pertaining to change of residence (Mieczkowski, 1990). On the other hand, the term travel implies in ‘journey’ and the etymology of the term travel has very little connected to the pleasure (Mieczkowski, 1990: 31). Travel means any spatial displacements of people for whatever reasons. Therefore, the nomads, vagabonds, soldiers, migrants, refugees, explorers all are travelers but not tourists. It is also argued that travel is associated with vacation while tourism is pleasure. Hence the term travel has wider meaning than tourism. Travel is also old as mankind but tourism is peculiar to the industrial age (Mieczkowski, 1990: 31).

The definition of tourism is highly problematic. It remains a term that is subject to diverse interpretation, with a wide variety of definitions and descriptions proposed in the literature. It is argued that there is no commonly accepted definition of tourism/tourist and different definitions are proposed to serve

different underlying purposes (Wang, 2000: 3). Tourism has been defined by various criterium and concepts. For instance, according to residence of visitors domestic or international; according to organizational pattern individual or group/package; according to financial status of tourist mass or elite; in relation to religion religious or secular and so on (Mieczkowski, 1990: 38).

The cause of the lack of commonly accepted definitions of tourism is essentially due to the complexity of tourist activities and their different interests which are connected with these activities. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of tourism is generally defined in two ways: *statistical or/technical and conceptual definitions*.

### **2.2.2. The Technical and Conceptual Definitions of Tourism**

The statistical or technical definition attempts to identify different types of tourist and different tourism activities, normally for statistical or legislative purposes. In this context, tourist is defined as someone who travels for 24 hours or more outside their normal country of residence. It includes those traveling for business in addition to pleasure, health or other purposes (Burkart & Medlik, 1981).

The widely accepted definition was produced by the United Nations Conference on Travel and Tourism in 1963, which was adopted in 1968 by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (the predecessor of the World Tourism Organization-WTO). It was stated that the term should be divided into two categories:

... a visitor is 'any person visiting a country other than that in which he [sic] has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited', a visitor being either a tourist staying overnight or an excursionist on a day visit (cited in Wang, 2000: 4).

This statement has been used as the basis of tourism and adopted by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) and is used for the quantitative measurement of

tourist traffic. That is, a tourist is defined as a person who made an overnight stay and an excursionist as one who was on a day visit.

Those who stay less than 24 hour are defined as excursionist and maximum stay for tourism is accepted as one year in International Seminar on Tourism Development, in 1968. Those who change their residence for more than one year are classified as immigrants (Mieczkowski, 1990). Lieper (1995) summarizes the statistical/technical definitions as follows:

For statistical purposes the term 'visitor' describes any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited. This definition covers:

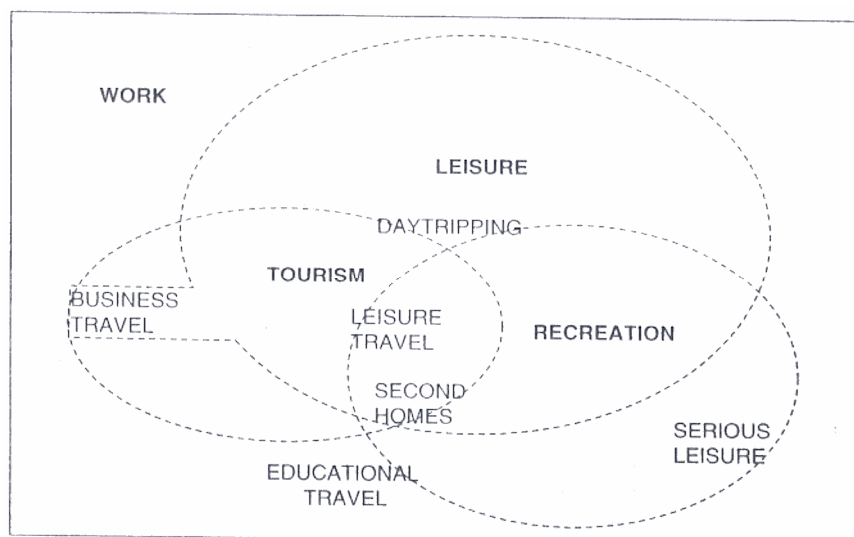
- *tourists*, i.e. temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: (a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport), (b) business, family mission, meeting.

- *excursionists*, i.e. temporary visitors staying less than 24 hours in the country visited (including travelers on cruise ships) (cited in Wang, 2000: p. 4).

These technical and statistical definitions are characterized by behavioral and situational features including *temporal* (over 24 hours), *spatial* (away from place of residence) and *situational* (immune from work) elements.

It is appeared that business activities which are not conceptually considered as leisure are accepted as a tourism activity in statistical/technical definitions. Since technical definitions compromise lots of activities, the boundaries between leisure, recreation and tourism have been blurred. The leisure time may be spent with different and various types, connected with tourism or not. On the other hand, some kinds of leisure time in (e.g. at home or close to residents) is beyond the tourism.

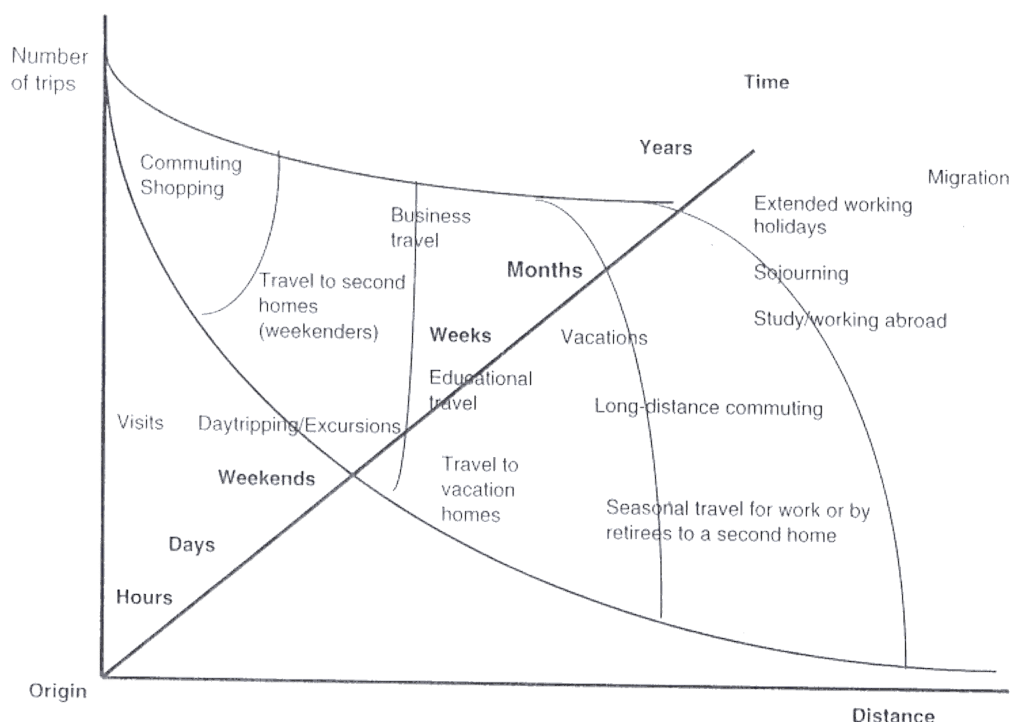
There are also confusing situations concerning the relationships between recreation and tourism. Whereas recreation occurs totally during the leisure time, tourism is associated with both free/leisure time and working time (business tourism). That is, business, educational, religious, health (visit to doctor) visit to friends and relatives is belong to the tourism but hardly be associated with recreation (Mieczkowski, 1990: 36). On the other hand, most recreation occurs at home. However, basic characteristics of tourism arise from temporally change of residence. Recreation in home is called as 'indoor recreation'. Recreation out of home is called as outdoor recreation which is similar to tourism. But there are important overlaps between tourism and recreation, and the recreational tourism is accepted as the most significant part of tourism. The relationship between leisure, recreation and tourism may be illustrated as follows:



**Figure 2. The relationship between leisure, recreation and tourism**

*Source:* Hall, et. al. (2003).

It is concluded from the technical definitions that one of the most important characteristics of tourism is its spatiality. That is, since being essentially spatial including away from place of residence, tourism has been widely evaluated in relation to the various type of mobilities in time and space (Hall, et. al., 2003). The place of tourism among various types of mobilities may be illustrated as follows.



**Figure 3. Extent of temporary mobility in space and time**

*Source:* Hall, et. al. (2004)

The conceptual definitions of tourism are proposed and developed as a response to the broad view of technical definitions, by trying to express tourism phenomenon in relation to the concepts which make it a social activity and a social process. Whereas the technical and statistical definitions treat instrumental purposes such as business, conference, political affairs, the conceptual definitions consider tourism in terms of non-instrumental purposes mainly recreation and pleasure (Wang, 2000: 6).

From this perspective, Nash (1996) argues that tourism is simply the activity undertaken by 'a person at leisure, who also travels'. Smith (1989) combines tourism phenomenon with reference to motivation and defines tourist as 'temporally leisured person who voluntarily visits a place for the purpose of experiencing a change'. According to Cohen (1974), the tourist is temporal traveler, not a permanent traveler such as a nomad; a voluntary traveler, not an exile, refugee, or prisoner; a traveler on a round trip, not an emigrant on a one-

way trip; on a relatively long journey, not an excursion; on a non-recurrent trip i.e., he or she is not a commuter or a holiday-house owner; and a traveler, the purpose of whose trip is non-instrumental, i.e., unlike businessmen or those whose trips serve a primarily instrumental (economic, political or religious) purpose.

Anthropologically, tourism has been considered in terms of the analogies between 'tourist' and 'pilgrim'. For instance, Graburn (1989) emphasizes tourism's functional role and defines it as 'a separation from normal life and the business of making a living and an entry into another kind of moral state in which mental, expressive and cultural needs come to be fore'. Graburn (1989) also intertwined the concepts like 'sacred' and 'profane' in the discussion of tourism. The sacred is outside time and space and forms a reality separated from what we live. Graburn (1983: 10) notices a complete identity between tourism and pilgrimage because of three elements 'leisure ritual', 'outside of everyday life' and 'travel'.

Various scholars have also tried to consider the institution of tourism itself in analogical terms. For instance the tourism phenomenon has been described by Lanfant (1995a) as an '*international social fact*' that on a world scale makes itself at the level of economic, political, geographical-as well as in symbolic and cultural process. In other words, tourism is a total phenomenon that sets in motion all society and its institutions, a vector of political and cultural integration on a world scale.

Tourism has also been described as *play* (Lett, 1983) occurred and based on 'holiday atmosphere' generated by ideas, fantasies, and social relationships. That is, like play tourism is tied with free activity, standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life, connected with no material interest, proceeded within own proper boundaries of time and space and promotes the formation of social groupings. Because of the play elements in tourism, the tourist has also been called by Dann (1996) as 'child'.

### 2.2.3. The Matters of The Study of Tourism

According to Jafari (1977), due to various type of activities which compromises tourism processes and tourism mobilities, full definition of tourism should take into consideration of various spheres of tourism phenomenon ranging from tourist to the destinations which receive them. Jafari concerns the study of tourism as the study of individuals away from their usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both tourist and the industry have on the host's socio-cultural, economic and physical environments.

Jafari's definition consists of there key elements: *The study of tourist*, which is related to the motivational or functional causes that make man as tourist, which may be defined as the demand side of tourism. The second is *tourism industry*, which is related to the organization of industry that caters tourist's needs. And the third consists of the socio-economic and socio-cultural impacts of *tourism industry* on host populations. Therefore, the issue or the matters of tourism is generally considered in a broader perspective. A similar holistic approach is put forward by Mattiesson & Wall (1982):

Tourism is the temporary movement of people destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs. The study of tourism is the study of people away from their usual habitat, of the establishments which respond to the requirements of travelers, and of the impacts that they have on the economic, physical and social well-being of their hosts (Mattiesson & Wall, 1982).

Lieper (1995) connects tourism with tourist behavior and interaction and argues that tourism comprises the ideas and opinions people hold, which shape their decisions about going on trips, and where to go and what to do or not do, about how to relate to other tourists, locals and service personnel. And, it is all the behavioral manifestations of these ideas and opinions.



Ryan (1991), on the other hand, holds the experiential view of tourism and asserts that it is essentially about experience of place. For Ryan, the tourism product is not the tourist destination, but the experience of that place and what happens there, which is a series of internal and external conditions.

According to Mawlana (1986), the travel and tourism industry is shaped by four major actors *including tourist, host or local, travel and tour agencies and governments/states*. Similarly, Burns (1999) defines primarily element of tourism in four headings: *travel demand*, which is related to the economic, political, social, cultural factors that enable more travel; *tourism intermediaries*, which supply travel opportunities such as hotels, travel agent and transport organizations; *destination influences* which is related to the historic connections, accessibility, political and economic stability of destination regions and a *range of impacts* which may be considered as socio-economic and socio-cultural. Burns (1999) argues that the process of international tourism may not be evaluated isolated from its economic, natural or social environment in which it takes place.

From the definitions and explanations cited above, it may be argued that tourism is mainly an *encounter* that occurs between several things ranging from people and space to expectations, experiences, desires (Crouch, 1999). It is mainly a social activity which individuals involve and interact with other people and places. To summarize, tourism is mainly a leisure-based activity, socially patterned, supported by a diverse, fragmented and multi-sectoral industry, largely depended on the physical, social and cultural attributes of the destination, and a sector of the broader leisure market reflecting trends and changes in tourism generating countries (Sharpley, 1999: 31).

#### **2.2.4. The History and The Main Prerequisites of Tourism**

The history of tourism and travel has been generally evaluated and considered in terms of the distinctions or dichotomies such as pre-industrial/pre-modern and industrial/modern. It has been indicated that pre-industrial age is characterized by

pre-capitalistic, non-recreational travelers such as migrants, explorers, wandering merchants, craftsmen, sailors and pilgrims whose spatial displacement was motivated by mainly economic necessities like trading, hunting, grazing and so on (Mieczkowski, 1990). Since, different societies have favored different types of work, leisure and recreation, the social and cultural meanings of work, leisure and recreation and the relationships among them are generally considered and connected with the historical period in which they took place.

As mentioned earlier, leisure was regarded by the Ancient Greeks not as a time to relax but as a means of self-development through education, sport and music (Sharpley, 1999). However, it is indicated that whilst in antiquate the main goal of life was connected to the sphere of leisure, in middle ages because of Christianity, work had a privileged and precedence position (Mieczkowski, 1990). In other words, while the antique Greece and Roman were marked by more leisure and recreation, in the Middle Ages a negative attitude to recreation and leisure were raised. Moreover, some recreational activities peculiar to antique such as circus and Roman arenas were banned in Middle ages as a result of criticisms which mark them as inhuman and cruel (Mieczkowski, 1990: 48). In this context, Christianity hold 'idleness' and 'recreation' as 'devil' workshop (Mieczkowski, 1990: 48). The most extreme example of this attitude may be found in the thesis of puritan ethic which was production-oriented. For Puritans, whilst success in business was the sign of God's blessing, poverty was an indication of weak character (Mieczkowski, 1990: 64). The puritan was also supposed not only not to waste money but also not to misspend his leisure time for recreation.

To summarize, in Middle ages in connection with the negative attitudes towards leisure, recreational travel was considered as a useless activity and because of the these attitudes it was believed that who travels changes the skies only but not the soul (Mieczkowski, 1990).

Before enlightenment and romanticism, travel had little to do with pleasure or recreation (Mieczkowski, 1990: 53) and attitudes to natural environment and foreign was generally negative. While travel was regarded as savage, alien and dangerous before 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was admitted then that nature was to be 'discovered' and 'enjoyed' (Aitchison et. al, 2000).

However, the emergence of the institutionalization of modern tourism was the direct outcome of the industrial revolution. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of capitalism which brought urbanization, congestion in cities and lack of open space for urban recreation brought about a movement of people traveling for recreational purposes (Mieczkowski, 1990). In fact, by the advent of new philosophical, cultural, and literary ideas rooted in Renaissance and Humanism, the old negative attitudes to travel and recreations, which Puritanical ethic hold, evolved in positive direction (Mieczkowski, 1990: 54).

As a result of the economic development incessant work were questioned and the social and health values of recreation were recognized. Summer vacation in the mountains in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and a number of summer resorts and spas were developed (Urry, 1990). According to Lash & Urry (1994 ), not only reduction in working hours of workers but also the pursuit of instant happiness rather than in the savings for future security associated with the work ethic prompted individuals to travel from their usual habitat beyond other places. In this context, Cook saw travel as a crucial part of the 'rational recreation' movement to provide wholesome and enjoyable activities as an alternative to drink and the pub (Lash & Urry, 1994). It was believed that "travel provides food for the mind, promotes universal brotherhood and ... the broad distinctions of classes are removed" (Lash & Urry, 1994: 262). In other words, there was a giant acceptance of the view that going on holiday was good and necessary for personal enhancement.

Owing to the social, cultural and economical changes, the movements of people for recreational purposes become the mass phenomenon by the advent of

industrial capitalism. Whereas before the 19<sup>th</sup> century travel was available for relatively limited elite and was a marker of social status, in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century there was an extensive development of mass travel by train (Urry, 1990: 16). Urry explain the growth of such tourism as the *democratization* of travel (Lash & Urry, 1994).

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in connection with the spread of industrial revolution and the victory of the railroads over the coach, improvement in transportation opportunities become one of the most important factor making the institutionalization of modern tourism. The first organized trip was conducted by Thomas Cook founder of the first travel agency in 1845. Cook become the first tour operator and expanded his services all the continents in the form of Grand Tour which is accepted as the nucleus of modern package tours. To sum up, as Lash an& Urry (1994) argued, the growth of mass tourism is mainly connected with rising real incomes, rapid urbanization, improvement in transportation techniques, new methods of organizing travel, the systematization of work and increased regulation of hours and conditions of labor.

### **2.3. Tourism in Social Theory**

This section is concerned with the place of tourism in social theory. Given that, the tourism phenomenon has been considered in social theory in relation to the process of modernity, its position in contemporary life will be investigated in combined with the social, cultural and structural aspects of modernity. Afterwards, main sociological approaches to tourism will be examined in terms of the conceptualizations of authenticity, gaze, liminality and performance.

#### **2.3.1. Tourism and Modernity**

Tourism has been generally regarded by most of the scholars as a modern phenomenon (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990; Cohen, 1972) and inherently peculiar to the modern societies, and considered often as a motivational response

of the 'existential conditions of modernity' (Wang, 2000) connected with the structural and existential transformations of modern societies. Moreover, it is also treated as the industry which serves to organize modern experience (Lash & Urry, 1994: 253), a cultural icon and an increasingly important constituent of cultural capital (Shaw and Williams, 2004), or a sign which express 'being a modern' in contemporary life and a marker or indicator to define not only individuals but also countries as modern or developed and pre-modern or undeveloped. Therefore, it has become one of the most important parts of contemporary culture (Urry, 2002).

Under modernity, especially late modernity, tourism has widely accepted as the necessary part of life. It has been socially and culturally constructed as a lifestyle and argued that the history of tourism coincides with the history of modernity (Wang, 2000). Moreover, to be a tourist or consuming different cultures and places have been considered a right of citizenship by the western tourist. It has been essential part of one's life, a fundamental human right, regarded always 'necessary' for life, leisure and friendship. For this issue, Urry (1990) asserts that;

The right to travel has become a marker of citizenship ... people are citizens by virtue of their ability to purchase goods and services. (...) Citizenship rights increasingly involve claim to consume other cultures and places through the world (Urry 1990).

#### **2.3.1.1. Defining Modern Experience**

The relationship between modernity, late modernity and tourism is in fact an incomplete and hot issue in travel and tourism literature. However, in order to understand the distinctive characteristics of modernity, scholars have generally considered and indicated the specific characteristics of *experiences* peculiar to or emerged in modernity.

In this context, Berman (1994) defines modernity as a mode of cultural experience, based on the idea of movement and the transformation of self and the world. He contends;

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, joy growth, transfer motion of ourselves and the world- and at the same time, that threaten to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense , modernity can be said to unite all mankind (Berman, 1994: 11).

On the other hand, drawing from the works of Baudelaire, Rojek (1995: 5) defines modern life in terms of flux, motion and ceaseless motion. In other words, movement underpins the idea of modernity (Lash & Urry, 1994) and the modern subject is a subject of move. Besides, Urry (2000) argues that due to the diverse mobilities of people, image, object and information the social as 'society' has transformed into the 'social as mobility' in contemporary life. Mobilities have become responsible for transforming sedentary type of formations into more dynamic and less place-based formations (Urry, 2000).

Whereas traditional notions of civilization or pre-modernity is presumably defined as sedentary and excludes mobility (Wang, 2000), modern subject is considered in relation to the processes of mobility. It is this mobility also led to the disruption of traditional place-based norms (Berman, 1994). The modern experience is that of mobility directly affected individuals' experience of the world changed both their subjectivity and their aesthetic appreciation of nature, landscape and societies (Lash & Urry, 1994: 256). By traveling, people reveal the limits of their personal and cultural world views, and travel gives an idea about a new way of organizing personality and life space (Rojek, 1998).

Hence, tourism has been generally considered in terms of the changes in man's attitude to the world beyond the boundaries of his native habitat (Cohen, 1972).

It is supposed that pre-modern man remains ignorant of the existence of other societies, cultures, and places and not interested in things, sights and costumes and cultures different from his own. Modern men' cultural curiosity to other cultures and societies has been indicated as the basic motive behind tourism and travel (Rojek, 1992), and regarded as one of the most important factor to express the socio cultural prerequisites of the emergence of modern tourism and travel (Wang, 2000). Besides, movements to other cultures and places in the name of 'discovery' and 'exploration' which are considered as the basic ideas behind the project of modernity (Berman, 1994) have also been the main themes of the process of international tourism and travel

Moreover, it is also pointed out that the idea of pleasure-based travel was not to be located in pre-modern modern mentality. Aitchison et. al. (2000) argues that before modernity most of the people spent their lives within the limits of a day's walk from home. Before the eighteenth century, walkers were generally considered to be the dangerous 'other' (Urry, 2000) in Europe. They were perceived as a marginal figure, a potential thief, a social parasite or to be considered as to sin towards social order (Game, 1998). Hence, strolling and wandering has been considered and evaluated in connection with the life in metropolis or the experiences in urban life emerged after modernity (Game, 1998).

#### **2.3.1.2. The Experience of Flaneour**

Various scholars have considered and explained the basic characteristics of modern subjectivity or the modern experience in terms of the metaphor of *flaneour* who has also been indicated as the hero of modernity. In this context, Benjamin (1992) expressed and explained the modern industrial life in term of the experience of wandering and walking and thought that the *flaneour* was a new kind of public person with the leisure to wonder, watch and browse. The *flaneour* spends most of his time looking at the urban spectacle; he observes new inventions and passes the hours by shopping, or window-shopping, looking at

books, new fashions, hats, combs, jewelers and novelties of all kinds. He is a gentlemen and stands outside the productive process (Wilson, 1995: 61-62). He is also away from home and in search of the unfamiliar (Lechte, 1995: 97-111); a man of pleasure who takes visual possession of the city. *Flaneour* become a key figure of solitude and anonymity in the labyrinth of cities rising in 19<sup>th</sup> century. The *flaneur* was an ambivalent consumer of images, a man of leisure who once alienated by and drawn to the urban maelstrom (Oakes & Minca, 2004).

For Baudelaire, the transitory, the fugitive, and the contingent are the essence of modernity (cited in Rojek, 1995: 4), indicating the manner of the experience of *flaneour*. The *flaneour* was an ambivalent consumer of signs (Oakes & Minka, 2004), whose experiences are to be considered as peculiar and emblem to modern life. He is the metaphor of modern subjectivity (Game, 1998) and *the forerunner of 20 th century tourist* (Urry, 1990).

#### **2.3.1.3. The Institutionalization of Travel and Tourism**

Modernity has been commonly expressed through fundamental dualisms such as subject-object, mind-body, culture-society, progress-tradition and reason-experience (Oakes & Minca, 2004).

Combined with these dualisms, modernity has been declared and explained as the structural and institutional differences between the space of work and space of leisure. This is called as *differentiation* (Rojek, 1992) Not only is the space of work and leisure separated, but also the time schedule between work and leisure is distinguished in modernity (Giddens, 1990). That is, there are legitimate spaces and times in modernity where leisure occurs. For this issue, Urry (1990) argues that in modernity, work came to be organized as a relatively time-bound and space-bound activity, separated off from play, religion and festivity. In addition to this, in modernity certain forms of identity, association and practice are appropriated in leisure time and space while others are not (Rojek, 1995: 39).



That is, while in pre-modern there were no sharply drawn lines between work and leisure - e.g. hunting meant work and recreation at the same time and games, fun and art were spontaneous and associated with everyday activities (Mieczkowski, 1990), in modernity these activities become time-and space-bounded. Therefore, differentiation between various spheres such as 'work-leisure', 'body-mind', 'men-women', 'past-present' are inherently peculiar to modernity (Rojek, 1993). From this perspective, modern tourism may be conceptualized as the structural organization of the leisure time and an expression that display how work and leisure are regulated as separate and different spheres of social practice. (Rojek, 1993; Wang, 2000).

However, leisure in modernity is not an uncontrolled area. That is, since modernity is based on the commoditization and homogenization of experiences (Rojek, 1995: 4), the emergence and the development of tourism has been determined and reinforced by the process of structuring, ordering, regulating, controlling, standardizing, and normalizing and so on. In this context, the process of the construction of the structure of tourism and travel has been considered in relation to the elimination of unsuitable conditions which travel destinations have. These unsuitable conditions were mainly connected with the lack of technological, social and cultural infrastructures. Traveling in pre-modern times was considered extremely dangerous connected with attacks by robbers or xenophobic local populations (Mieczkowski, 1990: 53). It is also pointed out that in pre-modernity mountains which today they are accepted as the one of the main touristic place, were considered 'ugly' and 'forbidden', sea coasts 'inaccessible' and 'dangerous' before the 18th century (Judd, 2003) Only then 18<sup>th</sup> and especially 19<sup>th</sup> centuries brought significant improvement in security on the worlds travel roads (Mieczkowski, 1990: 53). Therefore, the most important preconditions of the institutionalization of travel experience is characterized as necessarily regulations in maintaining travel on safety, unrisky and undangerous conditions (Wang, 2000). It may also be expressed as the construction of required structures to ensure 'trust' (Giddens, 1990).

In other words, in order to realize international travel or stimulate to move to foreign, other countries or place, not only are the social and cultural changes required in home country but also the necessary social and cultural inconveniences or domestic standards such as road, hotel, shop, hospital, churches must be constructed (Rojek, 1993: 120). This is also described as the domestication of 'unspoilt' and 'natural'. Likewise, Rojek (1998) argued that in Victorian culture, whilst home were considered as 'private space' and a refuge from the amorphous and turbulent 'exterior' of society, foreign or other were connected with 'danger' and 'strangeness'. This led to the making of necessarily social and cultural regulations which eliminate the danger, strangeness in destinations. For this reason, Lash & Urry (1994) argued that the institutionalization of leisure and tourism was a prerequisite for the development of travel as a mass activity. In this connection, the democratization of travel or the emergence of tourism as a mass activity caused and required the regulation of institutional arrangements. In this context, the first tour operator Thomas Cook produced the administrative principles of where to go, what to see, what to eat etc. By eliminating the idea viewing foreign as danger or threat, Cook also employed guide who mediate the relationships between touring and toured (Rojek, 1998).

However, with the institutionalization of travel – by using guide in tours and the emergence of administrative principles which determine where to stay what to see and eat and so on- tourism/travel become reduced to a series of supervised appointments and controlled experiences (Rojek, 1993) which is based on 'controlled risk' (Rojek, 1998). Therefore, in the process of differentiation leisure is not an uncontrolled, unregulated area but time/space allocated for leisure is rationally ordered, managed and structured in modernity (Rojek, 1995).

In this context, by focusing on the dualisms inherently peculiar to modernity or the dialectics between these dualisms Wang (2000) considers modernity in terms of the intercourses or tensions between the process of rationalization, hierarchisation and counter forces against these process. According to Wang

(2000), modernity can be conceptualized as logos/Apollonian type of modernity and Eros/Dionysian type of modernity.

#### **2.3.1.4. Eros Modernity & Logos Modernity and Tourism**

Drawing from the work of Lefebvre, Wang (2000) has considered modernity in terms of the logos-Eros conceptualization or Logos–Eros dialectic. According to Wang, logos resembles reason and rationality. Logos version of modernity is the modernity which Enlightenment thinkers have been argued. This version considers modernity as an example of rationalization in which logos has established its hegemonies. Logos version of modernity displays the manner of control of non-rational factors through the process of rational agency and mechanism. Wang argues that modernity may also be characterized in terms of Eros which is described as irrational or non-rational desires or demands. Eros is the origin of life satisfaction, which confronts and resists logos, since it is the dynamic part of human existence. Accordingly, the struggle between logos and Eros constitutes the great dialectic which explains a substantial part of the civilization - e.g. the contradiction between technology and poetry and music. For Wang, logos version of modernity fails to recognize eros dimension of human being and fails to pay sufficient attention to the play, romantic or Dionysius features of modernity, consequently little attention to the entertainment, play, pleasure leisure and tourism.

According to Wang (2000: 41), logos-eros polarization is a universal phenomenon and demonstrates the dichotomies between work and leisure, business and play, rationality and emotion, truth and beauty, system and culture.

Logos modernity characterizes abstract space, the utilitarian rather than poetic, the instrumental rather than substantial. The dominance of capitalism in the modern West has paralleled the production of 'abstract space' characterized by social fragmentation, homogenization, and hierarchization. For Wang (2000), logos version of modernity tells the story of increasing powers of rational agency

and mechanisms, privacy of instrumental reason and decreasing play elements of life. On the other hand, Eros modernity is characterized by a differential space, which may be a 'poetic space', a 'space of desire', a 'space of pleasure' and a 'space of play'. In modernity, Eros has been realized only in legitimate areas. Hence, the differential space emerged as a resistance *to the forces of homogenization* present in abstract space. Following Lefebvre, Wang (2000) argues that the contemporary moment shows abstract space and differential space in a dialectical conflict.

Logos modernity represents the social order and system in which irrational and non-rational factors (instincts, impulses, emotions) have been controlled by a rational agency. Conversely, Eros modernity is carnivalesque/enclave; Eros can gratify itself non-distorted way only in allowed spaces in modernity. Wang (2000) argues that Eros have been licensed and channeled to approved, safe, structurally separated zones, to be realized and celebrated. In other words, non-rational forms are realized, satisfied or consumed only in free areas or escape routes constituted by logos version of modernity. For instance, playing on a beach while on a holiday, the Eros subject is allowed to return to the natural state of humanity.

In modernity, the differentiation between work and leisure means that both Logos and Eros have been institutionalized as two demarcated and separate domains. From this perspective, tourism has been conceptualized as one example of Eros-modernity or a way of satisfaction of eros modernity. By tourism people are removed from the space of work which is dominated by rational agencies. In tourism settings people are removed from the space of factories, offices or other places of work where logos constraints and controls the spontaneity and irrational impulses or Eros. To sum up, according to Wang (2000), modern tourism is both an '*experience directed by Eros*' and an '*institution regulated by logos*'.

### **2.3.2. The Main Perspectives on Sociology of Tourism**

The tourism phenomenon has been described by various scholars in a wider context. The sociological explanations of travel and tourism, the emergence of it as a theoretical and empirical issue, the evaluation of tourism as a socio-cultural issue and conceptual descriptions of the travel and tourism phenomenon appeared mainly in late 1960's. The sociological insight to tourism has been differentiated in terms of the changes in paradigm since the emergence of tourism as an academic discipline. In this section, main approaches to tourism and tourist will be considered and evaluated by focusing on the various type of conceptualizations in a historical perspective.

#### **2.3.2.1. Boorsteen and Touristic 'Pseudo-Events'**

Boorsteen (1964) who tries to express the modern life argues that contemporary Americans are unable to experience 'reality' directly but instead thrive on what he terms '*pseudo events*'. He argues that this kind of pleasure become a system of illusions – an *environmental bubble*. Hence, tourist attractions and experience are all inauthentic attractions.

Boorsteen (1964) views the tourist as being involved in a search for illusions and willing to accept the inauthenticity of tourist attractions. In Boorsteens conceptualization, tourists are in 'an environmental bubble' in their travel. This bubble is constituted of various parts which provide tourists with a sense of the familiar as well as same sort of accommodation, food, and beverage as become in home country. The bubble also limits the contact with the local people.

Boorsteens's conceptualization is similar to Eco's hyperreality<sup>1</sup> and Baudrillard's Simulacra which is stated minimum of real sociality and a maximum of simulation (Baudrillard, 1990). The environmental bubble works to isolate

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<sup>1</sup> Hyperreality is employed to describe the growth of advertising culture especially in the United States, where images and signs begin to replace or stand in for reality. Hyperreality involves 'the generation by models of a real without origin or reality (Abercrombie, et. al. 2000).

tourists from the host environment and the local people. It is best suited with the experience of mass tourist who travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic contrived attractions. Via advertising and the media tourism come to constitute a closed self –perpetuating system of illusions which provide the tourist with the basis for selecting and evaluating potential places to visit. As a result, all experience of tourists is made within the ‘environmental bubble’ of the familiar American–style hotel which insulates the tourist from the strangeness of the host environment.

#### **2.3.2.2 The Authenticity Perspective and ‘Staged Authenticity’**

Whereas Boorsteen argued that tourism is an illusion and tourist attractions and experience are all inauthentic, MacCannell (1976) centered resolve the idea of authenticity in his formulation and asserted that tourism is a quest for authenticity. According to MacCannell, the quest for authenticity is a modern secular substitute for the pre-modern religious quest. He views tourism as the modern form of religious quest for authenticity and considers that the concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their everyday experiences parallels concern for the sacred in primitive society.

MacCannell (1976) views that people feel disillusioned by and unsatisfied with the modern world and the modern lifestyle, so they travel in search of a different way of life. He argues that in ‘pretension and tackiness generate the belief that somewhere, only not right here, not right now, perhaps just over there someplace, in another country, in another life-style, in another social class perhaps there is *genuine* society’ (MacCannell, 1976: 159). In modernity, man lose his attachments to the work, the neighborhood, the town, the family, which he once called ‘his own’ but at the same time, he develops an interest in the ‘*real life*’ of others (Urry, 1990: 107). In other cultures, they hope to find a genuine lifestyle that is somehow more *pure* and *complete* than their own. In their quest, tourists are constantly seeking entrance into the "real" or "authentic" culture. They want to see everyday life as it is really lived. MacCannell (1976) argues that

modernity had smashed the structures of society and tourists by looking the pre-modern other is in fact seeking wholeness and structure elsewhere. In other words, for MacCannell the object of tourist is the *society* (Dann, 1996).

MacCannell (1976) views tourism as a phenomenon of post industrial society and a mechanism to neutralize the alienation in contemporary society. Tourism provides individuals to escape the alienation of their working lives by descending upon the authentic world of indigenous peoples. That is, to cope with alienation in everyday life, people seek for authenticity and mythical structures as tourists on their holidays. MacCannell (1976) argues that in contemporary societies, because of routinization, bureaucratization and rationalization, the real and the sense of authenticity in people's life has been disappeared. In this formulation, all the essence of tourism is based on the assumption that the authenticity may be found in other places or societies. That is, western peoples believe that they find this authenticity in the non-Western other. In this context, 'unspoiled nature', 'untouched environments' and 'primitive culture' themes are used and being used by travel promoters and marketers as an indicator of authenticity (Silver, 1993).

The quest for authenticity, MacCannell (1976) argues, is rooted modern, ontological anxiety 'about' the reality of life. Therefore, the tourist is a modern pilgrim, seeking authentic existence and meaning to modern life's artifice. Hence, tourism and the tourist represent the insufficiencies and contradictions of the modern world. Here, he argues;

The dialectic of authenticity is at the heart of the development of all modern social structure. It is manifested in concern for ecology and front, in attaches on what is phony, pseudo, tacky, in bad taste, more show, tawdry and goudy. These concerns conserve solidarity at the level of the total society, a collective agreement that reality and truth exist somewhere in society and that we ought to be trying to find them and redefine them (MacCannell, 1976: 155).

MacCannell also contends that tourism is a structure which interrelated to the contradictions of modern societies. For this issue, he asserts;

Genuine structure is composed of the values and material culture manifest in the 'true' sights: these true sights, real French country homes, actual Dutch towns, the Temple of the Moon at Teotihuacan. The Swiss Alps, are also the source of the spurious elements which are detached from and mere copies or reminders of the genuine. The dividing line between structure genuine and spurious is the *realm of the commercial* (original emphasis, MacCannell, 1976: 155).

And, he defines spurious society as

is one that must be left behind the order to see a true sight . From the standpoint of the tourist his own everyday life in the modern world is spurious-it begins to take on some of the negative attributes culture critics have claimed for it (MacCannell, 1976: 154).

As indicated above tourists' search of meaning is a contemporarily version of the pre-modern quest for the sacred. Hence, the tourist is a contemporary pilgrim feeling the superficiality, instability and inauthenticity of modern society Tourists are somebody who search authentic experience lack in their own society and *the tourist of today is to be understood as a pilgrim of the secular world*. In other words, tourism is a functional substitute for religion. Like religion, tourism gives people the hope of happiness elsewhere and makes another world as a source of happiness and enjoyment. In other words, tourism is a metaphor of the general inauthenticity of modern life, the malaise of modern society that drives individuals away from home in search of the authentic.

However, since touristic consciousness is motivated by the desire for authentic experience rather than trivial ones, the chief problem facing the tourist if the experience is authentic or not (MacCannell, 1976). As against Boorsteen who maintains that the tourist is content with contrived experiences, MacCannell tries to prove that the *tourist is in fact a serious victim of the sophisticated tourist establishments* which stages authenticity. Hence, the problem is not the shallowness of the tourist as claimed by Boorsteen (1964) but the sophisticated



mechanisms of the tourist establishments, which may be called as the tourism industry, the structure of tourism, or the culture industry.

Therefore, MacCannell (1976) argues that since touristic experience is structured, the authenticity of tourists' experience is problematic. That is, sightseers/tourists are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives. However, authenticity is staged for tourist consumption *by the tourism industry* or *local people*. For this issue, he points out;

Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is very difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic. It was always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation (MacCannell, 1976: 101).

Hence, drawing from Erwin Goffman's work, MacCannell argues that tourist spaces may be divided into '*front*' and '*back*' spaces or stages. The front is the meeting place of hosts and guests or costumers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home team or local community retire between performances to relax and to prepare. This division is primarily *social* based on the type of social performance that is staged in a place, and on the social roles found there.

In MacCannellian conceptualization, front and back is a structural arrangement. A back region is closed to audiences and outsiders, allows concealment of props and activities that might discredit the performance out front. What is being shown to tourists is not the institutional back stage or a 'true', 'authentic' rather it is a staged back region or a kind of living museum.<sup>2</sup> The notion of 'staged

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<sup>2</sup> From the perspective of local staged, authenticity may be observed in the following forms: Shortened and abbreviated versions of the cultural performance, highlighting the parts/types of cultural performance and crafts which suit tourists' tastes, re-creation of the stage in a more westernized and modern environment, re-arranging or changing some parts of the host's culture so that it makes sense/is acceptable to tourists (Sharpley: 1997: 221-222).

authenticity' refers to manufactured, calculated, distorted presentations of 'reality' which are offered as real. Staged authenticity also means logos modernity or cognitive reflexivity (Oakes, 2004).

#### **2.3.2.3. The Phenomology of Tourist Experience and Typologies**

It is pointed out that MacCannell's major error was his assumption that all tourists were motivated by a quest for authenticity, that they *all* somehow traveled in the pilgrim mode (Dann, 1996). Cohen (1979) agrees with MacCannell in quest of authenticity but disagree with that the quest for authenticity is not the motivating factor of all tourists. That is, Cohen argues that the nature of tourist experience is neither superficial, contrived or pseudo-event as defined by Boorsteen, nor based on the pilgrimage of men earnest quest for the authentic. Cohen proposes that different kinds of people may desire different mode of touristic experiences. Thus, 'the tourist' does not exist on a type. On the other hand, he argues that tourism spans the range of motivations between the desire for more pleasure characteristic of the sphere of '*leisure*' and the quest for meaning and authenticity, characteristic of the sphere of '*religion*' (Cohen, 1979).

Cohen (1974) defines tourist as "a voluntary temporally traveler, traveling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip". Cohen's definition is based on *novelty* and *change*. He maintains that modern man is interested in things, sights and customs and cultures which are different from its own. For Cohen, the appreciation of the experience of strangeness and novelty has been evolved in modernity as the pushing instrument that makes man as tourist. Strangeness is the basic manner that transforms modern man from his usual habitat since it offers adventure, pleasure, surprise and so on.

Following Schultz, Cohen argues that strangeness and familiarity are the basic categories for ordering the world. Here, he argues that authentic experience is the purposeful factor just for the limited number of tourists. For him, the type of the

experience or pushing factors that lead to travel may be categorized and explained in terms of the interactions between 'familiarity' and 'strangerhood'. In other words, tourists could be classified in terms of the scale of difference between their experience or expectation in destinations and their usual life habitat.

In this context, Cohen (1979) proposes that there is no single tourist but a variety of tourist types or modes of tourism experience and argues that there are five types of tourist experience which corresponds to the various types of tourists. The experience of tourists may be divided into five types such as recreational, diversionary, and experiential, experimental and existential. For Cohen, the differences or the modes of experiences are based on the degree of rejection or exception the structure of tourism industry.

In the *recreational* mode of experience, the trip is a recreational experience based on the entertainment akin to other forms of entertainment such as the cinema, theatre, or TV. The tourists restore their physical and mental powers and endow with a general sense of well-being. For Cohen (1979), since the recreational tourist seeks recreation, s/he is not to question authenticity. The recreation-seeking tourist is similar to Boorsteen's conceptualization. Authenticity is largely irrelevant for this type of tourist. For the recreational seeking tourist, the people and landscapes and experiences are not part of her/his 'real' world: Recreational tourism is caused by the 'push' of the tourist's own society, not by the pull of any place beyond its boundaries. For Cohen, recreational tourism is a movement away from the center, which serves eventually to reinforce the adherence to the centre<sup>3</sup>.

In the *diversionary* mode of tourist experience, Cohen uses the concept of alienation. He thinks that some people are often alienated from the centre of their society or culture. Their life may be 'meaningless' but they are not looking for

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<sup>3</sup> By relating the recreation mode of experience with Parsons's structuralist-functional approach Cohen (1979) asserts that such a tourist experience augments the dependency of center.

meaning, whether in their own society or elsewhere. Traveling for this people is not a recreational significance but becomes diversionary -an escape from the boredom and meaningless of routine, everyday existence and so on.

The diversionary mode of experience is similar to the recreational except that it is not meaningful. It is the meaningless pleasure of a centreless person. The difference between recreational mode of tourist experience and diversionary mode of tourist experience lays their engagement to the centre. Whereas in recreational mode of tourist experience entering or participating to the center is meaningful, in diversionary mode of tourist experience is not meaningful.

The recreational and diversionary modes of tourist experiences are characteristics of most mass tourists in modern societies, which Boorsteen defined and described. For Cohen, the difference between two is depend on relationships with the centre. If individuals want to become close to centre by means of travel, their experience is called as recreational mode of experience. However, if they are alienated from center and want to become centerless, their experience is diversionary mode of experiences.

The *experiential* mode of tourist experience is concerned with the individuals who aware of their state of alienation, and the meaninglessness of their daily life. Individuals pursue and search new meanings to make own life's as meaningful. Search of meaning takes place to sight other lives. In the experiential mode of tourist experience, men lost his own centre and unable to experience at home society. This kind of tourist experience is similar to the Maccanelian type of tourist. It is based on a view of modern men who, alienated from the spiritual centre of his own society. That is, the shallowness of their lives engenders a desire for authenticity. However, this authenticity may be found not at home society but elsewhere. In the experiential mode of tourist experience, there is a re-integration into home society by reinforcing social solidarity.

In *experimental* mode of tourist experience, the people do not adhere any more to the spiritual centre of their own society, but engage in a quest for an alternative in many directions. For Cohen, this mode of experience is the drifters experience who lacks defined priorities and commitments, are pre-disposed to try out alternative life-ways in their quest for meaning. For them, travel is not the only possible form of the quest, mysticism, drugs etc. may serve as alternative paths to the same goal. For Cohen, the experimental tourist is in 'search of himself'; he seeks to discover that form of life which elicits a resonance in him. Examples are who taste life farming communities, in Indian ashrams, remote villages and hippies.

The *existential* mode of tourist experience is the extreme form of the characteristics of the traveler who is fully committed to an '*elective*' spiritual centre. In this mode, those committed to a new 'spiritual' centre may attack themselves to it and start a new life: S/he becomes a native, Hindu, etc. For Cohen, the existential mode is analogous to a pilgrimage. Visits to great artistic centers of the past or any visit to the sites of classic antiquity are the forms of 'cultural' pilgrimages and the existential mode of experience.

The electiveness is the basic features of existential tourist experience. Hence, the desire for a visit to centre derives from a desire to find one's spiritual roots. For Cohen, authenticity or the alternative way or lives is the matter of experimental and experiential tourists. He argues that alienation may be a motivating factor for some groups of tourists, but not for others. In other words, *strangeness is just for a number of individuals, but for not others.*

The relationships between various type of tourist experiences, holiday type, alienation and authenticity may be illustrated as follows:

**Table 1. The relationship between touristic mode of experience, alienation, authenticity and holiday type**

<b>Tourist Type</b>	<b>Alienation</b>	<b>Authenticity</b>	<b>Holiday Type</b>
Existential Experiential	high	central	Elitist, independent
Recreational Diversionary	low	unimportant	Mass package

*Source:* Meethan (2001: 93).

To sum up, in Cohen's classification, tourists are defined and expressed in terms of whether they are motivated by the goal of '*change*' or by the goal of '*novelty*'. According to Wang (2000), the concept of change should be considered in relation to the rhythm of life that exists in work place and home place. Here, he points out;

Routinized work in industry or a bureaucracy imposes a constraining, compelling, and rigid tempo and rhythm, a situation in which individuals become automated, robot-like, de-individualized, repetitively doing Sisyphus-like wearing tasks. Toiling under such a working rhythm, employees' acts, pace, and speed is set by machines and manager's scientific calculations. ... Under such conditions workers experience temporal alienation (Wang, 2000: 105).

Here by motivated to change usual life individuals just want to change their rhythm of life. However those motivated by '*novelty*' is in fact the searcher of *difference*. Because of the differences in the experience of tourists, Cohen (1972) proposed four type tourists.

**Table 2. Cohen's tourist typology**

<b>Organized mass tourist</b>	Highly dependent on an 'environmental bubble' created, supplied and maintained by the international tourism industry: Characterized by all-inclusive, fully packaged holidays. <i>Familiarity dominates, novelty non-existent or highly controlled</i>
<b>Individual mass tourist</b>	These will use the institutional facilities of the tourism system to arrange as much as possible before leaving home; perhaps visiting the same sights as the mass tourist, but going under their own system.
<b>Explorer</b>	The key phrase here is 'off the beaten track' perhaps following a destination lead given by a travel article rather than simply choosing from a brochure. This type will move into the bubble of comfort and familiarity if the going gets too tough
<b>Drifter</b>	This type of tourists will seek novelty at all costs: even discomfort and danger. They will try to avoid all contact with tourists. Novelty and their goal; spending patterns tend to benefit immediate locale rather than larger companies.

Adapted from Cohen (1972)

Cohen was mainly concerned with the differences between 'individual traveler' and the 'mass society tourist' or categorization of various tourist types. The distinction between individual traveler and the mass tourist is based on the institutional arrangements of tourists. If tourist is placed at the center of a strictly circumscribed institutional tourism world s/he is called as mass tourist. It is argued that in mass tourism travel agents, tour operators, hotel managers relieve the responsibility of tourist and protect them from unfamiliar host environment in any case that individuals are identified with center or 'familiarity'.

Cohen's drifter is similar to MacCannell's pilgrim type of tourist. The basic motivation of drifter is novelty and difference. Drifter is the searcher of authentic experience. Here, instead of identification with the center of home society there is an alienation (strangeness) from it. From the perspective of drifter, tourism represents an escape from the boredom and routine of everyday. Drifters are those who do not find meaning in the home society.

#### **2.3.2.4. The Touristic Gaze and Visualization**

Since visualization or visual signs have become important in the process of consumption, Urry (1990) have tried to explain tourism phenomenon in terms of 'gaze'<sup>4</sup>. He explained and defined tourist behavior in terms of the Foucault's metaphor of 'gaze' and asserted that tourist behavior is regulated by 'gaze' which controls and determines the appropriate way of behaving in a given situation. The tourist gaze is socially organized and systemized as is the gaze of the medic. Hence, it may be argued that the tourist gaze is the plural mix of socially organized way of seeing (Hollinshead, 1999). Much of the tourist gaze is concerned with the consumption of the goods and services which are unnecessary. They are consumed because they supposedly generate pleasurable experiences which are different from those encountered in everyday life. Thus the plurality of gazes is constructed through those assumptions about or perspectives on 'difference'.

According to Hollinshead (1999), the concept of tourist gaze has structural, individualistic and historical implications and. The gaze constitutes, construct, form and transform both individuals and tourist place. According to Hollinshead, (1999) the tourist gaze set the institutional ways-of-seeing in tourism, helps tourists more indulgently self actualize, makes the world seem that much more ideal, romantic or illusory and universalizes, and internationalize traits and tastes, and so on.

Urry (1990) argued that among the senses vision has become the main in tourist experience, which is his constructed especially by the institutions of culture

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<sup>4</sup> The concept of sightseeing which is described by MacCannell (1976) as contemporary ritual has been redefined by Urry as of 'gaze' and placed the center of touristic experiences. For Urry (1990), gaze constitutes the base of modern tourism. Both MacCannell and Urry considered and used the sense of vision to explain the touristic experience. In fact, visualisation has dominated the sensing of world and nature since the Enlightenment (Franklin, 2003: 83). Enlightenment has also been evaluated and viewed by some scholars as the hegemony of vision among the senses (Rojek & Urry, (1997). Scholars have indicated the close relationships among scientific explanation, observation, discovery and visualism. The main characteristics of travel experiences were also affected by this philosophical tradition and argued that the consumption of nature, other places and cultures is sensed mainly by visual (Urry, 1999).



industry and varies by society, by class and by historical period. Hence there is no single gaze. It is socially organized, systemized and constructed in relation to its opposite that is non-tourist forms of social experience those based on the *home* and *work*. That is, the gaze provides people to differentiate leisure time and leisure space from non-leisure time and non leisure space (Rojek, 1995: 61) or the non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness. Thus, the tourist gaze is a kind of ‘way of seeing’ and has its own characteristics as distinct from those become in non-touristic social practice. A particular type of tourist gaze will therefore depend on what is contrasted to. According to Wang (2000: 161), what distinguish tourist gaze or ways of seeing to other types of way of seeing is that it is apolitizing that shows little concern for polity. For Urry (2002), the tourist gaze is not individual and depend on various discourses and practices including photography. They are discursively organized by professionals, photographers, travel books, travel agents, hotel owners and designers, tour operators, travel programmers, tourism development officials and so on. Moreover, different gazes are authorized by different discourses such as education, health, group solidarity and play (Urry, 2002). The visual consumption or the type of tourist gaze may have different appearances and characteristics (Urry, 1999). These may be figured as follows:

**Table 3. Types of tourist gaze**

<b>Romantic</b>	Solitary Sustained immersion and sense of awe Gaze involving the sense of the auratic landscape
<b>Collective</b>	Communal activity Series of shared encounters Gazing at the familiar with people who are also familiar
<b>Spectator</b>	Communal activity Series of brief encounters Glancing at the collecting of many different signs of the Environments
<b>Environmental</b>	Collective organization Sustained and didactic Scanning to survey and inspect nature
<b>Anthropological</b>	Solitary Sustained immersion Scanning and active interpretation of the culture

Urry (1990) argues that the types of gazes should be seen as an ideal types because most of the touristic condition compromises the complex combination of different tourist gazes. The most common type of gazes which structure the nature of tourism experience are 'collective' and '*romantic gazes*'. The 'romantic gaze' sees places as objects of beauty to be enjoyed solitude, and giving pleasure because of their scenic qualities. It requires semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze. The tourist looks at the object privately and other visitors intrude upon his/her consumption of the object. The romantic gaze lead to an endless quest for new objects.

The 'collective gaze' implies a way of viewing places which is more hedonistic, communal, and social (Urry, 1990). Urry notes that tourism in theme parks, seaside resorts are the areas of collective gaze, which requires large numbers of people to provide sense of excitement, festival sprit and fun. It is similar to like the Bahtinian sense of carnivalesque. For Urry, collective gaze involves conviviality, other people are necessary to give atmosphere or a sense of carnival to the place. Since other people are necessary for the collective consumption, it is depend on the discourse of play as in the case of liminal tourism (Urry, 2002)

These two gazes have also class and social identity overtones (Pearce, et. al. 1996) The romantic gaze has middle-class, educated tones in contrast the collective gaze which is often evaluated in connection with the mass tourism based on consumerism, entertainment, recreation, pleasure, hedonism and so on.

#### **2.3.2.5. Postmodern Critiques of Authenticity**

Whereas a guest for authenticity is crucial for MacCannell's tourist and underpins Cohen's typology of familiarity-strangerhood, for Urry authenticity does not reside in reality, but in an interpreted representation of reality. That is, it is a *sign*<sup>5</sup>. Urry (1990) argues that since the sign consumption have become dominant

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<sup>5</sup> For post-moderns, *spactecle*, *simulation*, *hyperreality* are the key concepts in considering contemporary life. By *hyperreality* Eco (1986), defines leisure forms similar to imitation and

in post modern turn, a search for authenticity can not be the basis for the organization of tourism. Rojek (1993: 133) also expresses that whilst it is considered an activity based on self-realization and self-making, leisure in post-modernity is regarded primarily as 'sign'<sup>6</sup>. That is leisure and tourism are equivalent to mere consumption activity and the tourist consumes the signs or representations rather than the actual sight. Urry (1990) admits authenticity may be an important component of tourism if only because of there is sense of a contrast with '*everyday experience*'. He calls the tourist who delights in authenticity as post-tourist.

Urry's post-tourist prefers multiplicity of signs rather than the quest of authenticity or genuine experience. Since post-tourists delight in the inauthenticity of the normal tourist experience, they find pleasure in the multiplicity of tourist games. They know that there is no authentic tourist experience, that there are merely a series of games or texts that can be played. They just seek experience that contrasts with the ordinary (Boissevain, 1995: 3).

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spectacle in which absolute unreality is offered as 'real'. The aim of these forms is to supply a 'sign' which will be accepted as reality. Then, authenticity is to be considered as visual. If something looks real, it is real. Eco also notes that some tourists perceive reproductions of an object as being more real – and therefore better than original. Thus, post-modern critique of contemporary society is based on the idea of 'spectacle' (Debord, 1994). From this perspective, contemporary society is dominated by organized spectacles in which modernist distinction between the 'real' and the 'imaginary' are no longer exist. Tourism sights, whether natural or man-made, are spectacular. They may be unique scenic attractions (i.e. Alps, Niagara fall, blacksee forests) or cultural attractions (i.e. İstanbul, Rome, Paris). The post-modern age has also been marked by the spread of images and symbols in which the circulation of objects produces many more cultural signs. It is indicated that in contemporary life what is increasingly produced are not material objects but signs which have aesthetic value.

<sup>6</sup> According to Rojek (1993: 133), modernist approach view tourism as '*self-realisation*' in a way that creativity and satisfaction which is denied in the work sphere is said to be liberated in the leisure sphere. It was believed and considered that traveling to other countries and place were beneficial for sentimental education and holly feelings. In this context, tourism is considered and explained as an *activity* improving individuals and as an experience of spare time which is a part of the project of self-realization. In other words, in modernity travel and tourism is to be considered as a part of *self-making*, the development of one's self as a capable, complete person (Rojek, 1993: 120). In this context, Wang (2000) deems that education and healthy were the basic discourses in the emergence of modern tourism. The climate of other countries, especially Mediterranean countries, was regarded as a cure for the men who live in cold northern metropolitan centre. However, whereas foreign travel for 'pleasure' is the part of self-improvement (Rojek, 1993: 121) in modernity, post-modern turn does not consider or problematise the relationships between self-realization, self-making and travel. Travel and tourism is considered mainly as a visual process and a consumption of sign in post-modern conceptualizations.

#### **2.3.2.6. Traveler, Tourist and Post-tourist Conceptualizations**

The history of the sociology of tourism may be also evaluated as the history of the efforts to conceptualize the individual tourist. Before considering and evaluating the ongoing discussions about the nature of tourist and its relationships with toured community the traveler, tourist and post-tourist conceptualizations will be examined below. Traveler-tourist and post-tourist distinction summarizes the thin explanations which are carried out in understanding and theorizing the nature of phenomena.

The distinction between 'tourist' and 'traveler' is in fact an 'incomplete' and 'hot' issue within the travel and tourism literature. They have been conceptualized as distinct and unfamiliar types who arrange different expectations, types of movement, behaviors, and attitudes. As a term traveler have been used in a commendatory sense and 'tourist' being a derogatory term (Wang, 2000: 178) which is associated with the gross values of welfare state, presented as lacking initiative and discrimination. They are unadventurous, and unimaginative (Wang, 2000: 175). They consume whatever the tour operator feeds them.

However *traveler* associated with values of discernment, respect and taste (Wang, 2000: 175). Travel is seen as a tool of broadening the mind. Travel experience is regarded as a resource in the task of self-making. By means of travel one can reach maturity, and become a complete person. As Fussell pointed out, "the travel is mysterious, miraculous an often lonely and frightening, tourism is commercial, utilitarian and safe" (Rojek, 1993: 175). According to Rojek (1993) the tourists are associated with their own cultures. They represent the host national values as superior and unsurpassable (Rojek, 1993: 176). In other words, whereas the tourist is commonly considered and presented as unadventurous and lacking initiative and discrimination, the traveler is seen as a source in the endeavor of self-realization (Galani-Moutafi, 2000). As Rojek (1993) pointed out tourism actually confirm one's view of the world rather than transforming it. However,

through travel people encounter and have to adopt more different situations, cultures and places (Hartvigsen, 2000). Therefore, those who travel are *curious* individuals who want to find the new experience, exciting and thrilling. Travel/traveler is about the experiences, attitude and state of mind, which may be expressed as a challenging process both mentally and physically (Hartvigsen, 2000). Tourism as a commodity indicates the loss of art of travel (Wang, 2000). Travel involves hardship, adventure, real experience and discovery by contrast tourism is characterized by comfort, lack of risk, contrived tourist sights and insulated adventure, (Wang, 2000: 181).

Drawing from the work of Bourdeau, Wang (2000) distinguishes high taste of travel from low taste of travel. The distinction between the tastes of tourist and traveler involves different type of holiday preferences, forms, experience, and also state of mind. The difference between the taste of travel and the taste of tourism may be summarized as follows.

**Table 4. The difference between the taste of travel and the taste of tourism**

	<b>High Taste of Travel</b>	<b>Low Taste of Tourism</b>
Transport Type	Simply	Advanced transport
Experience	Hardship	Comfort and ease
	Risk and adventure	Lack of Risk
	Active quest and discovery	Guided sight seeing and gullibility
	Self reliance	Passivity
	Contact with local people and culture	Insulation from local people and culture
	Genuine experience	Contrived experience
	Exploration-related	Consumption-related
Attractions	Original-authentic	Contrived and inauthentic
Form	Independent travel	Package and organized tour

Source: Wang (2000).

Whilst the motive of tourist relies on the desire of changing the mundane rhythm and tempo, traveler searches *novelty* and *difference* which exist not at home or work but elsewhere. Novelty seeking of traveler is associated with '*curiosity*' (Wang, 2000: 117) which is one of the strongest motives behind travel for pleasure (ibid: 127) and a drive to explore diversity. In this context, high taste of travel is depend on going genuine experience, discovery, guest and not having something but being in a 'real' manner in the world which may be considered a state of mind similar to the existentialist position towards the world.

The emergence of the concept of *post-tourist* is mainly connected with the outcome of new styles and developments in the area of consumption. Rojek (1993) emphasizes the reflexivity of individuals and argues that they are not considered as the passive consumers of staged experiences. They have, in fact, irony consciousness to consider and evaluate the differences between authentic and inauthentic sights (Rojek, 1993). Post-tourist is aware of the commodification of tourist experience. As Urry (1990: 100) pointed out, the post-tourist knows that they are a tourist and that tourism is a game or rather a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience

On the other hand, post-tourist denies progress or self-realization in tourism experience (Rojek, 1993: 177). Post-tourist is not associated with 'wisdom', 'taste' and 'insight' as in being in traveler. In fact, post-tourist is attracted by *experience* as an end in itself. In other words, post-tourist is not interested in real or authentic experience or its effect to the self-improvement.

Another feature of post-tourist is the positive identification with intertextuality (Rojek, 1993: 177). Post-tourist is not directed to the only sights, rather the sight and other accessories such as gift shops, other tourists, the eating places constitute his or her experience. For this reason, search for solitary is not a characteristic of post-tourist.

For Rojek (1993), the types of traveler, tourist and post-tourist are not historically successive. Post-tourists have not taken the place of travelers and tourists. But, in contemporary societies, main tendency is the increase in post-tourist sensibilities and mentalities. '*New experiences*', '*fantasies*', '*plays*' differentiated from ordinary are the main discourses indicating the consumption manners of post-tourist. That is, since post-tourist sensibilities are relied on new experiences, it is not easy to define and describe them according to certain experiences. For this issue, Urry argued that in contemporary societies, people seek holidays to cater their desires for learning, nostalgia, heritage action and a closer look the Other; not sun, sand and sea, but culture, nature and 'traditional rural life' have become the objects of the post-modern tourist (Urry, 1990) .

Post-tourist searches a new sign or game. Since search for new experience defines the consumption manner of post-tourist, many of them reject standard mass package tours. Although post-tourist rejects standard package tour, s/he is not a drifter of Cohen or authenticity seeker of MacCannell. That is, post-tourist does not define herself/himself as tourist; rather s/he perceive and define herself/himself as traveler, guest, visitor, adventurer, even explorer (Harrison, 2003). Unlike ordinary tourists, post-tourists do not wish to gaze upon officially sanctioned tourist sites because they are infected 'the idea of travel' projected by television, film, magazines and other media and they seek out a multitude of experiences, as an antidote of boredom (Feifer, 1985: 269).

#### **2.3.2.7. Action Oriented Conceptualizations**

Since the emergence of the idea of new and different experiences and the widespread of new tourism types or experience such as nature-tourism, eco-tourism, adventure-tourism, the place of vision or gaze have been widely interrogated in the last years. Generally, the visualization or visual explanations of tourism such as gaze or sightseeing is declining and more emphasis is being given embodied perspectives on tourism (Franklin & Crang, 2001; Perkins & Thorns, 2001). The concept of gaze has been criticized especially by the

approaches considering tourism as social practice. For instance, Game (1998), in her investigating of place meaning and myths in Bondi, expressed the limitations of the gaze metaphor, indicating taste and the eating of foods representing local cultures and places. On the other hand, Markwell (2001) argues that in most of the nature tourism forms, tourists experience nature, not only through their gaze but also their senses of touch, smell, taste, and hearing. It is also pointed out that focusing on the visual aspects of the tourist experience has rendered the *tourist body* invisible or irrelevant and been ignored (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994).

Besides, Edensor (1998) proposed that the analytical usefulness of the tourist gaze in explaining the tourist experience varies in terms of the social, cultural and geographical aspects in which tourism emerges and occurs. In this context, he argues that not only gazing but also walking, remembering, photographing constructs tourist experience and space (Edensor, 1998).

The efforts on the typification of tourists have also been intensively criticized and argued that the tourist experience is determined by both gazing and other performative practices such as bodily involvement-physical, intellectual and cognitive activities (Perkins & Thorns, 2001). As Franklin suggested, tourism is not consumed solely through vision, rather its consumption emerges with touch, smell, taste, cognitive and mental practices as well (Franklin, 2003: 83).

These approaches consider tourists embodied subjects (Franklin, 2003; Crouch 2004). Hence, the concept of *performance* and *practice* are emerged a new and critical way of considering the nature of tourists. Considering tourism as an activity rather than as a 'sign', Tucker (2003) criticizes the visual explanations of tourism. Accordingly, tourism is not evaluated as simply consumption but also a dynamic force creating space. In this context, Crouch (1999) defines tourism and leisure as a social practice or socio-spatial action and argues that tourists are not consumers but human beings and their activities are social practice as work. Tourists may want to experience not sights but action and tasting foreign food, experiencing bodily movements, contacting nature may become an attractive



factor in their search for difference. That is, they do not just look at but swim, climb, stroll, ski, relax, taste, smell, listen, dance, get drunk, have sex and so on. Hence, tourism is a process and tourists are the subjects in '*action*' (Crouch, 2004) including, performance, tactility, taste and smell, excitement, shopping, dance, drug, sex, music and so on (Franklin, 2003: 86).

From the perspective of practice, tourism is considered as an encounter between people and space, amongst people, bodily and in a way that engages expectations, desires, contexts and representations, imagination and feeling (Crouch, 2004). That is to say as, human beings tourists are not on a visual condition but also interaction with host and other tourists. In this context, Wearing & Wearing (1996) argue that tourists are not *flâneur* who look, stroll and wander at the edge of toured place but "*choraster*" who constitute tourist space with other tourists and host.

The explanations of tourist experiences in terms of performance and action has increased the attentions to the ideas of escape from mundane or every day life, escape to a place and tensions between ordinary and extraordinary.

#### **2.3.2.8. Tourism As A Diversion From Ordinary or Mundane**

The physical removal from the original home is the essence of tourism. That is, tourism is the major form of leisure activity that cannot be indulged or realized in one's own *home* or home community (Urry, 1990). Hence there is a contrast with everyday experiences (Urry, 1990: 11). The separation remove people to a place which are less familiar to them and where they are less familiar to their hosts. That is to say international tourism allows tourists to enter a geographically, socially and culturally distinct space, which is called by Lefebvre (1991) as 'differential spaces'. These spaces have been generally detached from the social controls and norms that exist mundane. For Lefebvre, differential spaces are the spaces that exist at the margins of rationally ordered modernity and those in which life satisfaction has been realized (Lefebvre, 1991). These are the space of

desires, pleasure, play in which irrational or non-rational side of human being may be realized, a space of Dionysian type of experience may be satisfied (Wang, 2000). According to Lefebvre (1991), whereas abstract spaces which is dominated, managed or controlled by instrumental reason and the logic of rationalization, differential spaces are outside the domain of rational control and peripheries on the space of reason and logos.

It is clear that all tourists, whatever their individual motives, seek some form of contrast with their everyday existence, a break, however short, with their familiar surroundings and routines (Boissevain, 1996: 3). Tourism is a kind of separation of men from usual habitat both physically and mentally. Therefore, not only the demarcation of places or sites as distinct and different from mundane but also the experience carried out on these spaces should be differentiated for the realization of tourism. As Rojek (1995: 97) indicated, in contemporary societies, leisure space is the antithesis of work and living space and demarcated from everyday life, isolated from the mundane which is dominated by the world of routine and constraint. That is, holiday time ensures freedom from the regulatory constraints of time, associated with the rhythms not imposed by daily work patterns (Ryan, 1991).

Travel may also be regarded and evaluated as an escape from the space of home society (Rojek, 1993) or from the tempos and rhythms of home (Wang, 2000: 111) which is connected with the men' separation from their usual habitat and experiencing a new aura in a new space. For this issue, Graburn (1983) express holiday as

.....limited in duration and in contrast with the longer periods of ordinary life. Thus it has a beginning, a period of separation characterized by 'travel away from home' a middle period of limited duration, to experience a 'change' in the non-ordinary place, and an end, a return to the home and workaday (Graburn, 1983: 11-12).

Therefore, it may be concluded that tourism provides an opportunity to individuals to satisfy a need for variation from routine experience, namely spaces untied from the social controls and norms that exist in the home. These ideas have been interrogated in terms of the concept of liminality, carnivalesque and play.

#### **2.3.2.9. The Concept of Liminality, Carnivalesque, and Play**

Liminality, from the Latin word *limen*, means threshold. The liminal condition is described by anthropologists as a threshold state, an extraordinary condition that sets individuals free from conventions and rules of social behavior, and includes new possibilities for individuals. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between, the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun and the moon (Turner, 1969: 95).

Rojek, in his latest studies argues that leisure and tourism is all about *liminality* (Brahman, 2002). Turner addresses 'liminality' as being:

Potentially and in principle a free and experimental region of culture, a region where not only new elements but also new combinatory rules may be introduced' (...). In liminality, new ways of acting, new combinations of symbols are tried out, to be discarded or accepted (...) in liminality people 'play' with the elements of the familiar and defamiliarize them' (Turner, 1974; 1979).

Turner's analysis of ritual comprises three stages of movement or state (Turner, 1969). The first stage includes social and spatial separation from the normal place of residence and conventional social ties or previous structural conditions. It is defined as structure, "a more or less distinctive arrangement of specialized

mutually dependent institutions and the institutional organization of positions and/or of actors which they imply" (Turner, 1969: 166–167).

The second stage is called by Turner as 'liminality', where the individual finds him/herself in an *anti-structure* out of time and place in which conventional social ties are suspended, an intensive bonding *communitas* is experienced, and there is direct experience of the sacred or supernatural. Hence, the liminal, is anti-structural, where the ritual subject redefines her/his identity under conditions that have "few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state"<sup>7</sup> (Turner, 1969: 94).

The final stage of aggregation marks the subject's settling back into the social structure including reintegration, where the individual is reintegrated with the previous social group, usually at a higher social status due to the gaining of liminal experience.

In liminality, individual finds him/herself in an 'anti-structure' in which conventional social ties are suspended. Turner defines the bonds of *communitas* as *undifferentiated, egalitarian, direct and non-rational*. Although Turner develops the concept of liminality through analyses of pre-industrial societies, he clearly intends to use it to capture general social processes. He suggests that there are two major models for social relationships. One is of society "as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of political-legal-economic positions"; the other, which emerges in the *liminal* period, is of society as "an

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<sup>7</sup> Turner distinguishes liminality from liminoid and argues that given the increased significance of play relative to ritual in modern societies ritual reversals have come to take on more of a liminoid and less of a liminal character (Turner, 1977). The liminality is tied to the festival divisions of calendar and more scheduled which may be divided into two existence: ritual and ludic. Ritual is the obligatory nature of liminality and lacks the voluntaries which characterize the societies with mechanical solidarity. These are not associated with leisure activities. However the ludic phenomenon is based on 'play' and for Turner in Western societies voluntarily play has gained ascendancy over obligatory rituals. Liminoid experiences are associated with the 'organic solidarity'. Whereas liminality is occurred in agricultural societies and realized in festivals, carnivals or parties liminoid is connected with the leisure activities. For this reason, tourism is a liminoid phenomenon because of its spontaneity, individuality and inseparable link with leisure (Lett, 1983).

unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated communitas, community" (Turner, 1969: 96).

As an anti-structure, a *liminal* condition entails the suspension of normal/structural constraints. In this sense, liminality can be seen as in an inverse relationship with bureaucracy, rationality, which based hierarchy, system of super- and subordination abstract rules that govern its operation, the spirit of formalistic impersonality, devoid of any emotional element and by implication, strict adherence to the above principles instead of human creativity for achieving the highest degree of bureaucratic efficiency. In contrast, a *liminal* situation is characterized by freedom, egalitarianism, communion, and creativity. Hence, liminal/liminoid situation is the situation of *play*. Freedom results from a rejection of those rules and norms that have structured social action prior to the *liminal* situation. Egalitarianism is characterized by a weakening, unsettling, or reversal of the structural relations organized in terms of caste, class, ranks, or other institutionalized forms. That is, it refers to a sense of *communion*, or *communitas*, as Turner calls it. Communion represents a rejection of alienation from the generic bond of humanity. In fostering emotions and glorifying personal ordeals, communion helps refashion the self. Liminality also fosters human creativity. Turner notes that myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems, and works of art are frequently generated under liminal conditions. They amount to "reclassifications of reality and man's relationship to society, nature, and culture" (Turner, 1969: 128-129).

Social life is a dialectical process involving structure and community, differentiation and homogeneity. According to Bauman (1998), Turner's model is based on the idea that the form of structure (societies) and anti-structure (communitas) exist not in a successive historical period but coexist alongside in a given formation. Whereas societies/structure expresses the heterogeneity and status, communitas/anti-structure refers to the homogeneity and egalitarianism.

### **2.3.2.10. Carnavalesque**

The liminal situation that is undifferentiated, unstructured or unhierarchical setting is similar to the *carnival*. The carnivalesque embraces,

Temporary suspension both ideal and real, of hierarchical rank which is created during carnival time, a special type of communication impossible in everyday life. This led to the creation of a special form of marketplace speech and gesture, frank and free, permitting no distance between those who come in contact with each other and liberating them from norms of etiquette and decency imposed at other times. A special carnivalesque, marketplace style of expression (Bakhtin, 1984: 10).

The metaphor of carnivalesque has been used to describe various practices and actions in liminal, marginal or ludic space.

The meaning of carnival and feast is the inversion of normal and established norms and the legitimization and creation of certain spaces and behaviors which become taboo in everyday order (Rojek, 1997: 16). Carnival celebrates temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order, and marks the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions (Rojek, 1995). It also emphasizes the body and bodily-related behavior and actions. In carnivals, dresses behaviors, the manner of body using are transformed and changed temporally.

### **2.3.2.11. From *Homo Faber* to *Homo Luden* and Tourism**

As indicated above the notion of play and its relations with travel and tourism are originated from and relied on the differentiation of work and play. This division between the world of play and the world of work is the basic characteristic of modernity. This division is structural, implying different types of relationships, prerequisites, mentalities, sensual, emotional and material arrangements. Whereas work is rational, play is irrational (Rojek, 1995). In modernity, play has been

subordinated by the needs of work and order. That is, reason subdues the irrational content of life and play is confined to the margins of society in modernity (Wang, 2000).

Playfulness is the basic characteristics of liminal space and carnivalesque conditions. Likewise Turner views 'play' as the essence of liminality. Play, conceptually, is connected with games such as sports, fights and battles. It is also action, motion, activity especially when it is free, rapid or light against the heaviness of work. Play is free, work is necessary or obligatory. Play is associated with freedom of motion, amusement, recreation, fun joking, non-serious games. In liminal phases and stages, in tribal and agrarian cultures, work and play in ritual are in many cases hardly distinguishable (Turner, 1982: 34).

Play represents free subjectivity. It is a free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious', but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly (Huizinga, 1950: 13). Play,

...proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space....promotes the formation of social groupings in sharing something important and mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual forms. (Lett, 1983: 43-45)

The notion of play and its place in contemporary life have also been emphasized and used by Rojek and Bauman as one of the most evident characteristic of the post-modern condition. Rojek (1995) considers contemporary life as the playground of 'homo ludens'. On the other hand, Bauman (1998) considers *flaneur* is a typical player of modern life and argues that *flaneur* was the quintessential representative of *homo ludens*. He discusses *homo-ludens* in terms of the play needs and play forms of individuals under post modernity. The notion of play or ludic has also been widely used to conceptualize the embodied experiences and performative practices of tourists in last years (Franklin, 2004).

### **2.3.2.12. The Application of Liminoid on Tourism Phenomena**

It is clear that travel means to move from a state of involvement in ordinary life through emancipation and animation in the realm of 'non-ordinary' 'base and back again to the ordinary. People engage tourism through a process of separation in which they are distanced and freed from ordinary social life. Next, they enter to a situation what Turner called 'liminality' in which the structured necessities of ordinary life dissolve into a destructured, non-ordinary state.

The extraordinary condition is any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life which is not concerned with the obligatory tasks, or rules of everyday life, peculiar to especially 'work' and 'home'. Whereas the structural organization of work and home has own rules that is dominated by instrumental reason or scientific management the extra-ordinaries -liminal zones, carnival- are the free or escape spaces which outside or in the boundaries of mundane experience (Wang, 2000). Liminal zones resist the order, logic and ethic of everyday reality and offer a kind of experience different and oppose to mundane (Wang, 2000). In this context, relaxation, rehabilitation, recreation, entertainment, refreshment, excitement, sensual pleasures are all characterize the characteristics of liminal zones. They represent the "free spaces beyond the control of civilized order" (Shields, 1991). For instance, the beach, which is expressed by Lefebvre as the place of enjoyment that has been discovered in nature, declares contest to the dominant social norms that reign in ordinary (Lefebvre, 1991). The beach, on the other hand, represents the body feeling and may be considered as the space of resistance to the logic of body-control (Wang, 2000). In the beach, the social acceptability of undress and physical intimacy that is laxity in behaviors makes it what we may call as 'liminal zones' (Shields, 1991) or 'differential space' (Lefebvre, 1991).

According to Shields (1991), liminality is the moment of discontinuity in the social fabric, in social space and history. These moments of '*in-betweenness*' are



associated with new experience (Shields, 1991) in which everyday obligations are suspended or inverted. In other words, there is license for permissive and playful 'non-serious' behavior and the encouragement of are relatively unconstrained 'communitas' or social togetherness. It is in a sense routinised of non-routine, the playful or 'ludic' (Lefebvre, 1991).

In this context, touristic realm mostly interrelates with the liminal conditions. Tourists in most case search a kind of liminal zone in which everyday obligations are suspended and in experiencing liminality, the codes of normal social experience are reserved. From this perspective, it may be argued that tourist destinations places, towns and attractions have become a 'signifier' (Urry, 1990) to realize liminal experiences. Thus, the world realized by tourism, in a sense, represents an anti-structure to the ordinary world (Wang, 2000). That is, while work and home are structure, touristic realm may be called as anti-structure. Likewise Cohen's distinction between '*center*' and '*center-out-there*' shows and explain the contradictions between societies and communitas, structure and anti-structure, ordinary and extra ordinary and so on.

According to Wang (2000), the concept of liminality constitutes a dialectic relationship between mundane experience and touristic experience referring to the differences between everyday and touristic realm. From these perspective, it may be argued that there are two realm called as 'everyday' and 'touristic'. Both have own their features and their distinctiveness that are produced socially and culturally. In other words, what is absent in everyday is presented by tourism markers as gratifiable assets. Wang (2000: 170) summarizes the basic characteristics of tourist realm by considering the oppositions between daily reality and what he sign as 'tourist paradise'.

**Table 5. The tourist paradise nepresented in paradisiac images**

<b>Daily Reality</b>	<b>Tourist Paradise</b>
Ordinary world	Extraordinary world
Metropolitan	Pastoral
Industrial	Aesthetic
Work ethic	Fun ethic
Obligations	Escape
Home	Away
Routines	Change
Familiarity	Novelty
Utility	Beauty
Instrumental	Ludic
Reason	Sensation
Rationality	Feelings
Order	Carnavalesque
Self-constraint	Spontaneity
Bread-winning	Consumption
Logos	Eros

*Source:* Wang (2000)

### **2.3.2.13. The Blurring Boundaries of Everyday and Tourism**

Whereas modernity is characterized by various differentiations, dualisms or opposite categories such as work and leisure, male and female, public sphere and private sphere, the implications of post-modernity is generally described as *de-differentiation* which refers to the evaporated distinctions between these categories (Rojek, 1993:4). In post-modernity, the modernist separated categories such as work leisure, past, present, body mind have been evaporated and blurred. It is argued that the penetration of leisure into the workplace has become common in contemporary society and corporations provide their employees with extensive recreational facilities and sponsor recreational events.

According to Lash & Urry (1994: 272), whereas, the modern period was the epoch of vertical and horizontal differentiation; separated institutional, normative and aesthetic spheres and hierarchies; high and low culture, science and life art and popular pleasures, in post modernity, there is a breakdown of the distinctiveness of each sphere and a problematical relationship between

representations and reality. In this context, simulation is widely accepted as an important characteristic of post-modernity, which is defined by Baudrillard as the generation of the models of real without origin or reality, referring to the processes and objects which are designed to duplicate, imitate original objects (Rojek, 1995). Simulation has been seen for instance in heritage sites, contrived towns or villages which may be called as for instance 'Real Mediterranean village'. Since simulated attractions are articulated with past, they are seen as the best example of the process of *de-differentiation*. For postmodern, by means of the *de-differentiation*, the past burst into the present through stage representation and heritages, nostalgia industries keep the past 'alive' in the present (Rojek, 1993).

In addition, in post modernity there has always an emphasis on spectacle (Debord, 1994) -a combination of the visual, the aesthetic and the popular. That is to say, since attractions are constructions and representational signs, their actual location in a post-modern framework become less and land less important (Dann, 1996). Place thus surrenders placelessness and physical boundaries evaporate. Multiple attractions from around the world can be brought together in one area, thereby obviating the necessity for travel to separate destinations.

However, scholars has expressed that the significant characteristics of de-differentiation may be found in the patterns of everyday in which the discourses of holiday are penetrated (Franklin, 2003; Bauman, 1998). In this context, Bauman (1998) argues that tourists have been turned into molds which shape everyday; determine the standards pertaining to good and successful life. Now that, in postmodernity, tourism is not practiced solely in holidays; rather it intermingles in everyday through its discourses in a way where tourists are suggested as an 'ideal type' that represent normal and good life (Bauman, 1998: 292).

As a consequence, it is difficult to separate tourist practices from everyday life. Since tourism industry has become design-intensive and proliferate signs and

images, traveling on holiday has become a much less significant event among other consumer preferences such as shopping, eating, drinking, sport, leisure education and culture (Lash & Urry, 1994: 270). "Tourism has lost its specificity as an activity and that people are tourists most of the time whether they are traveling or not" (Urry, 1990). In other words, because of the blurring boundaries between the touristic experience and everyday, there may be an "end of tourism" (Lash & Urry, 1994). That is, the distinction between the world of work, home life and the world of tourism became blurred. Both the spaces and times of work, home and holiday penetrated into one another.

However, this also means that much of contemporary life is organized in a touristic manner. That is, tourism has significantly become effective in the organization of everyday and may not be confined to the resorts and other space of tourist destinations (Franklin, 2003: 10). Since everyday life is getting more and more molded by the symbols belongs to the travel and tourism, the basic concepts such as 'get away' and 'escape' have been discussed and criticized on a vast scale. (Franklin, 2003). That is, it is argued that because of the improvements in visual technologies such as TV and internet, individuals have found various opportunities to gaze at other places and to wander in the rooms of a museum without leaving their living rooms. Therefore, in connection with these tendencies, it is suggested that the basic categories of tourism such as 'escape' and 'get away', 'relaxation out there' have become controversial concepts which describe tourism as a distinct and specific kind of consumption activity.

However, since the visual explanations of tourism such as gaze and sightseeing has been widely criticized in recent years and the emergence of the approaches considering tourist practices in terms of performative and embodied practices, the problem of the definition of tourist experiences has been elaborated in a wider perspective. In this context, Rojek (1998) suggests that tourism may not be reduced to the visual elements because the quality of escape experience offered by virtual reality of cyber tourism is not equivalent to the tourist experience of physical movement through space. Moreover, the experience in cyber tourism

takes place inside the *head*. That is, in internet and virtual technologies, the experience remains confined to the head rather than body. Moreover, Rojek (1998) argues that cybertourism does not provide a genuine world of escape since the desires, worries and fears originated from everyday are not left behind when people enter cyberspace.

Although there is a trend of blurring the boundaries between tourism and other consumption practices and a tendency of penetrating the symbols of tourism into everyday, the concepts such as get away, escape, other people and place, difference and out there still keep their importance in people's decision-making process about going somewhere or not. That is, the desire to have a break for the monotony and routine of domestic and work space still remains a common motive behind tourism (Rojek, 1998).

## **2.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the terminology of tourism and its conceptualizations on social theory. Within this context, the relationships between tourism and modernity are explored, especially with reference to the experience-based and structural explanations. Then, main concepts of sociology of tourism have examined in a broader perspective. The conceptualizations such as authenticity, gaze, performance and liminality have been investigated in relation to the modernist and post-modernist explanations of travel and tourism.

Mainly, in this chapter tourism is acknowledged as a modern phenomenon, an outcome of the process of differentiation. However, this differentiation manifests itself in a variety of conditions including social, cultural and spatial. Being a departure from everyday or ordinary, tourism is explained as to various conceptualizations such as 'search for authenticity, search for something new and different, pseudo-event and so on. Therefore, tourism emerges as an example of the contradictions or ambivalence of modernity implying play, joy, excitement and happiness with fantasy, illusion, day-dreaming simultaneously.

It has been argued that tourism is an element of free-time consumption which is realized in outdoor. However, this occurs in a relatively distant place separated from home conditions. Diversion from everyday conditions, social ties and obligations leads to temporary transition in a different situation. In fact, the institutionalizing of this transition is the name of travel and tourism in modernity.

Connected with this transition, tourism may also be described as the name of creating a variety of situations and different type of socialities i.e. communitas and carnivalesque. These positions emerges in different spaces and manifest themselves at the margins of everyday - i.e. 'work' and 'home'. Therefore, tourism appears as a place-based phenomenon, and occurs in various places demarcated from immediate conditions of everyday. In fact, it may be concluded that what makes different tourism from other types of recreation and leisure activities lies on its close connections with the imagination and materialization of places called as sacred, authentic, contrived, liminal and so on. Therefore, space has become a main category, site or arena in which various type of socio-cultural processes of tourism are processed.

This chapter ends with focusing on some ongoing discussions whether tourism, among other type of consumption, is a distinct type of activity or not. It has been widely acknowledged that as long as the attributed differences or uniqueness of certain places and objects which become subject to tourism relationships continue, tourism mobilities have power to maintain, affect and shape even the farthest parts of globe.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **GLOBAL TOURISM AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the main perspectives in conceptualizing the relationships between tourist-generating/western/developed countries and tourist receiving/developing countries. Since the beginning of the theoretical and empirical studies that began in the second half of 1970's, the conceptual approaches concerning tourist-local or host-guest relationships have been differentiated, diversified and varied because of the changes in paradigm. This chapter deals with the main paradigms; the basic approaches to theoritise the relationships between tourist generating countries and tourist receiving/developing countries with reference to the relationships between tourism, globalization and cultural change. It then examines the process of destination making and focus on the manner of regulation of tourist spaces in developing countries.

#### **3.2. The Scale of International Tourism**

Global tourism dramatically increased in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. It may be seen that the boom of international tourism around the globe is a

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<sup>1</sup> According to World Tourism Organization statistics, domestic tourism (people going on holiday in their own country) is generally thought to be 4-5 times greater than international arrivals. Tourism accounts for roughly 35 per cent of exports of services and over 8 per cent of exports of goods (WTO). For 83 per cent of countries in the world, tourism is one of the top five sources of foreign exchange (World Tourism Statistics 2000-2002).

relatively new occurrence. In 1950, 25 million people crossed an international border; in 1960 almost 70 million international arrivals were recorded. By

1970, this figure had grown to 160 million. In 1980, international arrivals totaled over 280 million. By 1995 international tourist arrivals in all destinations were over 563 million. The WTO projects that worldwide tourism will grow over 1 billion in 2010 and to 1.56 billion by 2020 (WTO, 1997).

Since the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, tourism has been encouraged by main international organizations such as OECD, United Nations and its various agencies including UNESCO, UNCTAD, IMF, World Bank and ILO (Lanfant,1995a: 29).

The boom of international tourism after the Second World War has been considered in terms of various criteria. However, their subsequent developments have been explained by mainly discretionary income emerged by the increase in real wages and discretionary leisure time occurred by the decrease in working times (Mieczkowski 1990).

It is estimated that the average real incomes of British workers increased by some 50% between 1955 and 1977. Between 1950 and 1962 the real wages of industrial workers in Germany increased 100 percent (Mieczkowski 1990).. In Germany, the discretionary income increased from 8% in 1952 to 32% of the total net income in 1970 and a growing proportion of discretionary income spent of tourism and recreation. Spending on leisure in the UK has risen from 9 per cent of household income in 1978 to 17 per cent in 1998 (Tearfund, 2000). In 1998-99, the UK Family Expenditure Survey found that UK households spent £936 a year on holidays: 4.5 times more in real terms than 30 years previously (WTO, 2002).

In addition to discretionary income, there has been also discretionary leisure time in order to engage in tourism and recreation. In fact, in the course of the history



of industrialization, the working time has decreased slowly and gradually. For instance, while average weekly working hours in North America 60 hours in 1900, it was become 89.66 in 1985 (Mieczkowski 1990). On the other hand, whilst the International Labor Organization convention provided for one week's leave per year for workers in developed countries in 1936, this was expanded to three weeks in 1970, and to four weeks in 1999 (WTO 2002).

Connected with the development of transportation technologies, the real cost of travel has also been falling. Between 1978 and 1998, the real cost of air travel fell by 35 per cent. A thousand miles of air travel now requires 61 hours less work than it did a generation ago (WTO 2002).

The worldwide explosion of communication and transportation technologies especially after the Second World War has led to a corresponding increase in the movement of peoples of different nations. The development in transportations provided rapid mobility at an affordable price; communication technology also increased the acquired knowledge and images of different places, societies and cultures.

According to World Travel and Tourism Council, the tourist industry is providing one in nine jobs and eighty per cent of travelers come from just twenty countries (Tittley, 2000) and leisure is estimated to account for 75 per cent of all international travel (WTO 2002).<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that international tourism has had a significant volume especially at the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, when we look at the distribution of international tourism on a world scale, we may see that the large number of tourist flows has occurred among developing countries. As showed below tables, more than half of the tourists' visits developed countries which are also the most

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<sup>2</sup> World Tourism Statistics 2000-2002. WTO gathers figures for arrivals by purpose of visit into three categories: leisure, recreation and holidays; business and professional; and other which includes visiting friends and relatives, health treatment, religion, and pilgrimages.

tourist sending and spending countries. Europe is the main destination area, receiving 57.8 per cent of visitors.

**Table 6. International tourist arrivals, millions (WTO 1997)**

<b>International tourist arrivals, millions (WTO)</b>	<b>Africa</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>East Asia and the Pacific</b>	<b>Europe</b>	<b>MiddleEast</b>	<b>South Asia</b>	<b>World</b>
1999	6.5	130.2	97.6	379.8	18.1	5.8	649.9
2000	26.9	122.3	111.7	403.3	20.0	6.3	698.3
% of tourism market, 2000	3.9	17.5	16	57.8	2.9	0.9	

On the other hand, regarding top destinations, it is explicit that the most popular destinations are also developed countries (Table 7). The most popular destination is France, followed by United States and Spain. It is important to note that an extremely high portion of travel is received and generated by relatively few countries. The top ten destinations account for 54 per cent of the world volume of tourism flows, with seven of the top ten countries located in Central and Western Europa. The U.S., France, and Italy, as popular international tourism destinations, are among the top countries which accumulate tourism surpluses.

**Table 7. Top 10 tourist destinations (International Tourist Arrivals) millions (WTO, 1997)**

<b>Countries</b>										
<b>Year</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>China</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>Russian Federation</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Mexico</b>
1999	73.0	48.5	46.8	36.5	27.0	25.4	18.5	9.5	17.1	9.0
2000	74.5	52.7	41.2	41	31.2	24.9	22.8	20.4	18.9	20.0

The pattern of tourist sending is similar to tourism arrivals. The most tourist sending countries are in Europe and Americas (Table 8). Europe leads the world in tourist sending. The U.S. and Germany usually are the leader of the world as tourism-generating countries (WTO 1997). The U.S. is responsible for generating 15 percent of the world total of international tourist arrivals (WTO 1997) .

**Table 8. Top tourist sending countries (WTO 1997)**

<b>Tourists by originating region</b>	<b>Africa</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>East Asia/Pacific</b>	<b>Europe</b>	<b>South Asia</b>	<b>Middle East</b>	<b>Other/ Unrecorded</b>
% of all tourists (WTO, 1998)	2.5	19.6	14.6	58	0.9	1.6	2.9

Tourism generating countries are also closely linked with the volume of tourism expenditures. In 1998, United States surpassed the Germany in international tourism expenditures by generating 14.8 of the world total vs. 12.4 per cent for the U.S, while United Kingdom the third leading tourism generator, accounted for 8.5 percent of the international tourism expenditures.

**Table 9. Tourism expenditure by country: Top six tourism markets  
(WTO 1997)**

	<b>United States</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Combined share of tourism spending</b>
US \$ billion	56.1	46.9	28.8	32.	17.8	17.7	-
% of all tourism spending	14.8	12.4	7.6	8.5	4.7	4.7	52.7

The importance of tourism in the global economy both as an income generator and employer has been widely recognized. Human resources are likely to be one of the most important issues facing the tourism industry. World Tourism Organization projects that by the year 2005, tourism jobs will increase faster than traditional industries by as much as 59 percent. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) has estimated that tourism employed 1 in 9 workers worldwide, making it the world's largest employer. (World Travel and Tourism, 1993).

The direct and indirect employment in tourism represents a sizeable portion of total employment (Table 10). Both direct and indirect employment opportunities in tourism are expected to grow over the next decade.

**Table 10. Travel and tourism employment (World Travel and Tourism, 1993)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Direct Employment % of Total</b>	<b>Indirect Employment % of Total</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
1991	4.9	5.3	10.2
1994	5.1	5.5	10.6
2005	5.4	5.9	11.3

### **3.3. The Emergence of Tourism As An Agent of Development**

The development of tourism in developing countries has long been considered as both a vehicle and a symbol at least of westernization, but also of progress and modernization. It has accepted as the most important tool to the local and national economy and considered to be an effective source of income and employment.

The preference of tourism in the path of development has widely been addressed to the assumptions which admit tourism as a neutral and easy way towards modernization and westernization. It has also been considered as an effective means of transferring wealth and investment from richer, developed countries to

less developed, poorer countries by means of both tourist expenditures in destination areas and investment by the tourist-generating countries in tourism facilities (Sharpley & Tefler, 2002). It has also been emphasized that unlike many other forms of international trade, tourism does not suffer from the imposition of trade barriers such as quotas and tariffs. That is, whilst major tourism-generating countries operate restrictions to protect their internal markets, they generally do not want impose limitations on the right of their citizens to travel overseas. On the other hand, since the attractions of tourists of many countries or regions depend on the natural resources –the sea, beaches, climate, mountains and so on – and rely largely on the sources already in place -e.g, sand, sun, friendly people (Crick, 1989: 315), it has been suggested that the development of tourism can be derived from resources which may have limited or no alternative use (Sharpley & Tefler, 2002). Not only natural resources but also historical sites, monuments and urban heritage have been considered to be free as tourism resources.

It has also been accepted that tourism may enhance development not only through tourist expenditures, but also the backward linkages of these expenditures which put local economy into motion. It was believed that tourism creates foreign exchange and employment and that tourist expenditure generated a large number of multiplier effect, which stimulate the local economy. The requirements of a variety of goods and services including accommodation, food and beverages, entertainment, local transport services, souvenirs have been considered as a leading factor of the expansion of the local economies from farming and, agriculture to service industry. To sum up, tourism like other forms of economic development appeared as a path to modernity for many less developed countries (Meethon, 2001). It has been promoted as a development strategy to transfer technology, to increase employment and capital (Britton, 1982) and as a modern way of life with western values (Mathiesson & Wall, 1993)

Thereby, the legitimization of tourism in developing countries has been conceptually built in terms of the paradigm of modernization theories which

define socio-economic development as an evolutionary path; a shift from a traditional society to a modern society; a shift from agriculture to industry and from rural to urban and the introducing of modern values and institutions (Sharpley & Tefler, 2002).

Consequently, the evolutionism, diffusionism structural functionalism have become the main sociological grand theories in conceptualizing the relationships between developed and developing countries in terms of the paradigm of modernization approaches (Sharpley & Tefler, 2002). The most well-known evolutionary approaches which try to construct models to explain and describe the relationships between regional development, changing attitudes of locals and impacts of tourism are Butler's Destination Life Cycle Model, Doxey's Social Impact Irridex, and Smith's Tourist Types and its impacts of community model. They are called as 'stage-based models' which aim to construct theoretical models in an evolutionary perspective (Pearce, 1996).

### **3.3.1. Stage-Based Models**

Stage-based models are concerned with the case studies of economic, cultural and social impacts of tourism mainly on destination areas by discussing the various aspects of tourism development over time and space. It is noted that the tourist area is neither fixed spatially or temporally. Within a process of social change, lifecycle of resorts changes and different social implications at each of the stages is concerned. Butler's model is the most common of them.

#### **3.3.1.1. Butler's Destination Life Cycle Model**

Butler (in Pearce 1996) identifies six stage cycles in the evolution of a tourist area: the exploration stage, the involvement stage, the development stage, the consolidation stage, the stagnation stage and the decline.

The cycle begins with the *explorations stage* in which there are a small number of visitors. The types of tourists are characterized as explorers who make their own travel arrangements and seek to merge with the local community. They speak the language of the hosts and identify with their culture. The hosts welcome their 'guests' for they bring novelty and open a window to outside world. Hosts do not consider their social space as 'pleasure periphery'. In the exploration stage, the social impact is small. Commercial activities occur in a small scale and family-based.

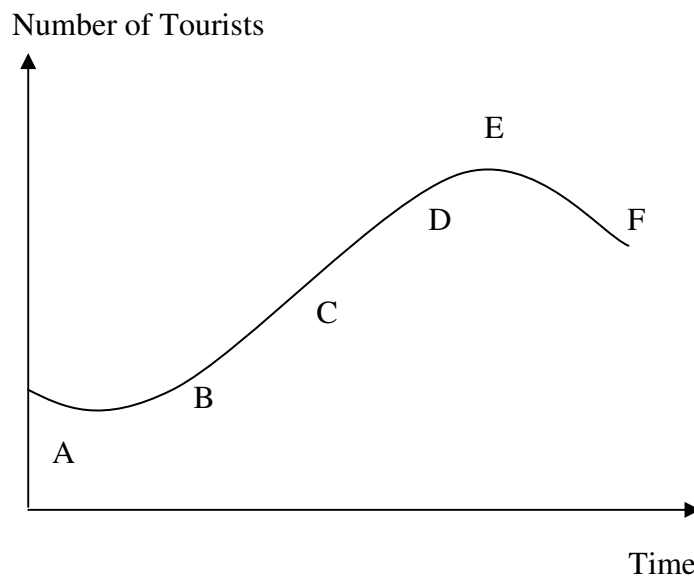
When the number of tourists increases, the second stage is entered. In the *involvement stage*, host community begins to respond to the increasing numbers of visitors by providing necessarily facilities. However, the entrepreneurial activities are still family-based. Levels of tourist/host contact remain high. Owners of accommodation display signs indicating rooms to let, print some brochures to give their guest. At this stage, the relationship between host and tourist is still harmonious, and the tourists are still high level of interest and sympathy with the local way of life.

In the later stages, some of the host community recognizes that tourism will continue to grow and in order to earn more from it they expand the facilities being provided.

In the *development stage*, community becomes a tourist resort. Cohen's (1972) 'institutionalized mass tourists' appear. Some of the business may be owned by local people, some by international tourism companies. The package tour is the main type of tourist flows. The dominance of tour operators appear. The relationships between tourist and host are changed and tourism becomes a business. Novelty and excitement are not the basic motivations. In the well developed tourist enclave, the host community has less contact with tourists as the tourist area attracts migrant workers into the hotels and restaurants. In the time of growth, the industry slows down.

In the *consolidation and stagnation* phases, revenue earned per tourist tends to fall, as the resort loses its ‘exclusivity’. It has come to resemble many other locations. The tourists are attracted by the organized mass market. The resort has reached its full capacity. It is not a ‘fashionable area’. The host community is faced with a resort where tourist companies are minority in their own home area. Thus new forms of tourism might be sought.

The impacts of the number of tourists on destinations life cycle over time may be showed in the Figure 4.



**Figure 4. Life-cycle of destinations**

A: Exploration, B: Involvement, C: Development, D: Consolidation E: Stagnation, F: Decline

### 3.3.1.2. Doxey's Social Impact Irridex

Doxey's model is related to the changing attitudes of host community in the stage of life cycle of resorts. Doxey (in Ryan, 1991) argues that specific changes in attitudes exist within the host community towards tourism as the cycle unfolds. Initially there is what he terms, *euphoria*. The host community is pleased to see the tourists because of its economic advantages. As the cycle moves into its involvement stage, Doxey observes that it is generally a minority of the host



community that is involved. As the numbers grow, the tourist is no longer a rare sight. Community becomes the tourist resort. New tourists may not speak the language of the host community and are perhaps less interested in the daily life of community. In the second stage, *apathy* commences. By the time development, the tourist/host ratio has so changed that the host community becomes marginalized in its own area. Apathy turns to *annoyance*. In turn, faced with the problems of over capacity of the life cycle, annoyance turns to antagonism.

Euphoria ↓	Visitors are welcome and there is little planning
Apathy ↓	Visitors are taken for granted and contact becomes more formal
Annoyance ↓	Saturation is approached and the local people have misgivings. Planners attempt to control via increasing infrastructure rather than limiting growth.
Antagonism	Open expression of irritation and planning is remedial yet promotion is increased to offset the deteriorating. Reputation of the resort

**Figure 5. Doxey's irridex**

(Table is adapted from Ryan, 1991)

Doxey's model explains the attitudes of host community in various phase of development. This model considers attitudinal change of host communities and explains development in terms of the behavioral change of host community.

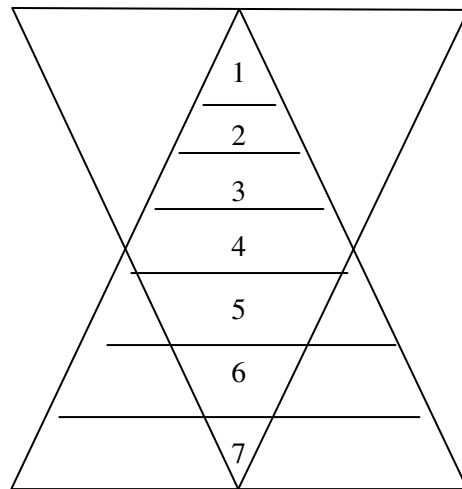
### 3.3.1.3. Smith's Tourist Types and Impacts on Community

Whereas Butler's model is concerned with the numbers of tourist and Doxey's behavioral changes over time, Smith (1989) involves different type of tourists and their effects on communities. She considers the types of tourists and their adaptation to local norms as follows:

**Table 11. Smith's typology of tourist types linked to community impact**

Type of Tourist	Number of Tourists	Community Impacts
Explorer	Very Limited	Very few
Elite	Rarely seen	Very few
Off-Beat	Uncommon but seen	Very few
Unusual	Occasional	Gradually Increasing
Incipient	Steady Flow	Gradually Increasing
Mass	Continuous flow	Substantial
Charter	Massive arrival	Substantial

Smith (1989) supposes that the frequency of tourist types determine the impacts of tourism on host communities. Thereby, low numbers of visitors adapt well to local housing, food, and lifestyle and seek to avoid contact with other tourists. So that, by virtue of their limited numbers, explorers and elite travelers makes little impact upon the native culture. Hotels and other services are little required for them. However, the off-beat and unusual tourist stays at hotels that locals also use and get local services. Their presences are seldom disruptive. The occasional tourist relies more on Western amenities such as packaged tour. Indigenous culture rates some interest, but it is regarded as a low priority. However, as the number of tourists increase, different expectations emerge and more facilities are required to handle them. Mass tourism involves a large influx of visitor to destinations. These tourists require Western amenities, and make little effort to adapt to local requirements. The high number of tourist requires organizations by groups. This type of tourist makes little compromise with local culture. Accordingly, many tour operators and hotels have standardized their services to western tastes. The frequency of tourist types and local perceptions of visitors may be showed in the Figure 6.



1. Explorer; 2. Elite; 3. Off-Beat; 4. Unusual; 5. Incipient Mass; 6. Mass; 7. Charter.

**Figure 6. Touristic impact upon culture (triangle) and local perceptions of visitors (inverse triangle) expressed in types of tourism**

*(Source: Smith, 1989).*

According to Smith (1989), when their numbers increase the stressful contacts between hosts and guests appear to increase. As the numbers increase, different expectations emerge requiring different facilities. Smith suggests that the critical point in tourist development is the transition from occasional tourism to mass tourism, when members of mass tourism ‘seek’ Western amenities. To preserve cultural resource and enhance economic base, local communities must decide whether to control or restrict tourism to preserve their economic and cultural integrity; or to encourage tourism as a desirable economic goal and restructure their culture to absorb it.

#### **3.3.1.4. Critiques of Stage-Based Models**

Although stage-based models are still common to evaluate the tourism-community relationships, they have been criticized in various perspectives. Pearce (1996) indicated that all stage models have poor demarcation line between steps or a stage and shifting from one stage to another precludes the continuous

existence of the previous stage. In other words, these models have difficulties about the turning points or transitions between stages.

In addition, stage-based models expressed a general view of host and tourism. Tourism may become different in diverse social contexts and host reactions to tourism vary according to different social, cultural, historical contexts in which it takes place. Besides, in Butler and Doxey's models, the manner of the hostility of host community and the definition of the social and cultural parts of community that suffer from or complain about tourism is unclear. It is also argued that in some cases, despite very high levels of tourism development and contact with tourists, hosts may remain very positive in their reactions and attitudes (King, et al 1993).

According to Oppermann (1993), stage-based theories based on the notion of unilinear change and restricted theoretical insights solely in terms of the increase in the number of tourists and change in tourist types. Moreover, (Crandall (1987) argued that the real impact of tourism industry depends on a large number of criteria ranging from the number of tourists to the historical, social and cultural, economic and political conditions in which tourism emerge and develop.

On the other hand, it is suggested that when host community decide (or it is decided for them) to promote their cultural and environmental heritage for tourism, they often 'chose' to make the adjustments necessary for dealing with tourists. So that, if a host community is to retain the integrity of their own culture, they develop means by which they can restrict the influence of the tourists. In fact, the '*touristic bubble*' and '*staged authenticity*' are suggested as a way of protection mechanism of host culture from the foreign and exterior influences

According to Boissevain (1996: 13), staged authenticity as a contriveted touristic space, can protect the back regions and privacy of local inhabitants by keeping tourists focusing on the commercialized front region. Black (1996) also argues that in a touristic site or settings, the spatial separation of tourist accommodation,

souvenir shops and restaurants have kept tourists away from the local residential area, make boundaries between tourists and locals. Therefore, for Boissevain (1996: 14), there is various way of protecting back regions/community integrity. These are called as covert resistance, hiding, fencing, ritual, organized protest, and aggression. Boissevain defines "covert resistance" as low or passive level of resistance, examples of this are gossip, sulking, grumping, etc. the sexual humiliation of female tourists, rude taxi drivers, and shop keepers. "Hiding" is related to the unenthusiastic communities about the presence of visitors. In this case communities hide the aspects of their culture from visitors such a way that they grasp celebrations at times and places that enable them to avoid the attention of outsiders and kept certain food and spaces for themselves. Boissevain defines "fencing" is the act that communities decide to avoid tourist gaze via fencing off private areas and events to tourists, avoiding photographing, rejecting the wandering of tourists in certain spaces etc. "Ritual" is defined as a way of coping with the stress caused by uncertainty about conflict and change Increase in public rituals to celebrate community identity and the resurgence of rituals to reassert indigenous values and identity are exemplified. According to Boissevain, whereas "Organized protest" occurs against those marketing back region and rights to the tourist industry without local citizens' consent, "aggression" occasionally happens when people resort to violence to defend themselves against intrusive tourists.

### **3.4. Dependency and Political Economy of Tourism**

Political economy approach focuses on the structural adjustments of the developing countries to the changing conditions global economy (Sharpley & Tefler, 2002). The issues of unequal development or unequal exchange and the hegemonic power of developed countries and transnational corporations are the main subject areas of political economy approach. In this context, tourism is considered as an area reflecting the structural changes of global economy. Political economy describes the relationships between global and local as unequal

and displays how the external factors of global capitalism affect local communities.

The political economy approaches consider tourism as an equivalent to new way type of plantation economy and as a part of the whole relations in which the needs of developed countries are being met by the developing countries (Matthews, 1978). In this context, the predominance of foreign ownership in the industry imposes structural dependency on developing countries (Britton 1982). It has also emphasized that third world destinations have become 'pleasure periphery' where the rich of world relax and intermingle by the advent of mass tourism (Turner and Ash, 1975).

Since global tourism is controlled by large multinational first world companies regulating tour wholesaling, hotel chains and airlines, there has been little power of developing countries to direct tourist flows (Britton 1982). Therefore, they have become dominated by the marketing systems of standardized tourism packages organized in developed countries.

Multinational corporations do not simply control tourist flows but also tourism technology, industry expertise, product design and pricing. Thereby, metropolitan companies and governments have maintained the special relationships with local elites who gain from less than equal share of income and profits remaining in the peripheral economy (Lea 1988).

### **3.5. Tourism Impacts and Socio-Cultural Changes**

Tourism has long been considered in developing countries in terms of social and cultural effects.<sup>3</sup> Since the beginning of the theoretical and empirical studies

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<sup>3</sup> The social impacts of tourism is described as those which have a more immediate effect on both tourists and host communities and their quality of life, whereas cultural impacts are those which lead to a longer term, gradual change in a societies values, beliefs and cultural practices (Murphy, 1985: 17). In other words, social impacts are those concerned with issues such as health, moral behavior, the structure of family, gender roles, crime and religion, whilst cultural impacts may determine behavioral and attitudinal changes such as dress, food and social relationships as well

concerning host-guest or tourist-native relations, it has been supposed that tourism accelerates cultural change through the process of acculturation. Acculturation and development have become the main theoretical-conceptual front and the guiding paradigm for examining tourism's impact on host peoples (Nash, 1996:).

The theory of acculturation is that, when two different cultures come into contact, over time they will become more like each other through a process of barrowing (Nunez, 1989). By implication, if one culture is stronger or more dominant than the other, then it is more likely than the barrowing process will be one way. Whereas the strong or developed culture is regarded as tourist generated western culture, the weak is considered as tourist receiving local culture (Nunez, 1989).

The consequence of acculturation theory is called as "demonstration effect" which is regarded by anthropologists to refer to a process in which tourists and the things associated with them become models for the hosts (Nash, 1996). It is considered as the introduction of alien values and way of life into relatively traditional or isolated societies. Demonstrated effect may be manifested by local people adopting Western style of dress and indulging in types of behavior that lead to increasing polarization between the older and younger generations (Sharpley, 1997). It is also likely that local people may begin to question and challenge local custom and tradition and begin to strive for the material and financial affluence displayed by tourists (Sharpley, 1997).

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as changes in the cultural practices and artifacts (Sharpley, 1997). In socio-cultural impacts literature, whilst the enhancement of mutual understanding between different cultures, improvements in the quality of life, increased labor market participation of women, the protection or enhancement of traditions, customs and heritage have been denounced as positive, cultural imperialism or assimilation, crime, prostitution, gambling, black market, increase in illegal activities have been declared as the negative socio-cultural outcomes of tourism. However, it has been emphasized that there is a basic difficulty to separate the tourism induced impacts or change from other impacts of modernization such as urbanization, migration and the influence of mass media while they occur simultaneously in a whole package (Sharpley, 1997 ). Besides, because of the stereotypical notions, the different relationships of communities with tourism and the unequal and uneven use of resources of communities in their relationships with tourism, the positive outcomes of tourism regarded by some may be considered as negative by others. In other words, the description of impacts as negative or positive is value-laden and widely affected by subjectivities (Sharpley, 1997).

The theory of demonstration effect has been challenged by various perspectives. Because it relies on a process in which tourists and the things associated with them become models for the hosts, local communities are usually envisaged as those lacking an internal dynamic and become blank screen upon which to project ideas of which tourists hold (Black, 1996). Concerning impacts and socio-cultural changes brought by tourism, Bianci (2003) argues that static and bounded notions of community have been the basic assumptions of field studies. Afterwards, not only has been the term community in the tourism literature questioned (Boissevain, 1996), but also the involvements and responses of agents to tourism have been regarded in a broader perspective.

In this context, Meethon (2001) challenges the views which consider tourism as an intrusion and tourists as invaders. According to Meethon, the departure point has been based on the container type of culture models admitting host communities tend to become more like the tourist's culture by the advent of tourism. In other words, cultural change is assumed in terms of the impacts or effects that outsiders bring with them, which lead to create homogenous and westernlike societies. Moreover, cultural change is considered in an essentialist perspective, which local cultures/pre-modern are idealized essences or entities that exist beyond the action of people (Meethon, 2003).

Yet, culture is a continuous, unfinished process of flux and change (Abram et al., 1997), a production and a process of generating or conferring meanings through symbolic forms (Boissevain, 1996). In this context, place-bound notions of culture and society as essence have been challenged with a variety of views mainly by focusing on the actions involved in the process of meaning creating. Thereby, Hollinshead (1998) argues that culture is not static, organic entity or a 'system' including purity, unspoiltness and authenticity, rather an ongoing process of practice actors involved.

From a different perspective, Urry (2000) challenges the place-bounded approaches to the concepts of community and culture by arguing the mainstream



assumptions based on the attachment of a territorially fixed notion. According to Urry (2000; 2003), due to the globalization and highly mobile nature of images, people and capital, the term community has lost its privileged status and mobility has become the major metaphor around which issues of cultural change are being thought out. Therefore, the problem of "who are locals?" are increasingly problematic in today's world defined by transnational mobilities configured by network or scapes such as mediscapes, ethnoscap~~es~~, technoscapes, finanscapes, ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996).

### **3.6. Globalisation and Tourism**

After 1990, the relationship between tourism, local communities and global mobilities has been interrogated in relation to the process of globalization. Generally, globalization encapsulates a range of socio-cultural and economic processes, characterized by global movement of capital, economic integration (Appadurai, 1996). It is widely viewed as one of the most powerful forces shaping the modern world and a key idea explaining the transition of the human society into the third millennium (Waters, 1995: 1). Held (1999) indicates that globalization involves the widening, deepening and speeding up of world wide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life. Despite the difficulty associated with globalization, many scholars across various disciplines have offered diverse definitions. For instance, Robins (1999) defines globalization as associated with a philosophy centered around "global-product" and a general idea of consumer sovereignty, based on a global markets and world-standard products. Robertson (1992: 8) refers to globalization as "the process of the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole". Giddens (1990: 64) defines it as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa". He argues that globalization involves time-space distancitation. Accordingly, this constitutes the prime condition for the process of *disembedding*, which involves

the lifting out social relationships from the local contexts of interaction and their restriction across indefinite spans of time-space (Giddens, 1990: 3, 20-21, 63).

It is obvious from the above definitions that globalization has resulted in the intensification of cross-border relationships thus strengthening intercultural penetration and interaction. However, while globalization erodes the cultural barriers, at the same time it also maintains the cultural distinctiveness, diversity and locality (Robertson, 1992: 100,102-103, Featherstone, 1990: 6). The world is becoming more globalized (unified around the dynamics of capital moving across borders) and more localized (fragmented into contestatory enclaves of difference). In other words, the world is simultaneously becoming more homogenized in certain aspects and more heterogenized in others (Teo & Li, 2003). There has been growing recognition that important socio-cultural responses to homogenization have been a reassertion of 'to local' where collectives of actors with similar world views seek to reassert their identity and interests relative to other collectivities (Giddens, 1990). Therefore, there are two main tendencies concerning the impact of globalization on culture: the homogenization and cultural hybridization thesis: While the proponents of homogenization approaches advocate that globalization leads to the erosion and eradication of diverse cultures and the emergence of totally unified single global culture (Robertson, 1992), the advocates of hybridization thesis argues that the increase in intensity of cultural interaction brought about by the process of globalization promotes the dissolution of the link between culture and place (Hannerz, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999). Thereby, cultural pre-condition of globalization is addressed by Tomlinson (1999) as "*de-territorialization*", the loss of natural relation of culture to geographical and social territories. Proponents of hybridization thesis such as Hannerz (1992: 969) ascertain the existence of a global cultural ecumene. By creolization, Hannerz refers to "a process where meanings and meaningful forms from different historical sources, originally separated from one another in space, come to mingle extensively". That is, hybridization is based on the fundamental effect of cultural interaction in shaping

global culture, which does not display or substitute distinctive local cultures, but effects than, mingle with and dwindle the barriers that separate them (Hannerz, 1992).

One aspect of globalization is the celebration of *cosmopolitanism*, characterized as the attitude of openness to the different cultures. It is the name of celebrating difference in a worldwide. (Hannerz, in Rojek 1995).

The process of globalization has also affected tourism in various ways. In fact, the homogenization and hybridisation processes may be found in all tourism process simultaneously. It is emphasized that while transnational capital and economic integration have contributed to increased presence of tourism operations and homogenize tourism products, the increasing emphasis has been placed on the various actions of differentiating local destinations and strengthening local cultures in the pursuit of tourism growth or to counterbalance of these homogenizing influences of globalization (Dregde & Jenkins, 2003). From this perspective, the process of tourism may be explained by the term '*glocalisation*' which refers to global-local dialectic *wherein* local identity is reinforced by global forces (Dregde & Jenkins, 2003). According to Robertson (1995: 25-44), glocalisation is not a polar opposite of globalization but a particular aspect of it. In global world, the celebrations of indigenous cultures and emphasis on local identities have become a global 'best practice' in contemporary societies (Chang, et al, 1996: 301).

At the same time, Wang (2000) disputes the relationships between tourism and globalization from a different perspective and argues that globalization is the name of the ongoing process which difference; other and stranger are not envisaged as dangerous and threatening. It is in a sense a way of "operating difference" globally (Wang, 2000). For this issue, he argues that

Globalization, in late modernity, produces accessible, hostility free, friendly, international contexts which favor international tourism or sightseeing. In so doing, globalization either leads to

the 'villagization' of the world, which integrates more and more remote places into the tourist reach, or promotes the '*mediation of culture*' on a global scale, which helps trigger off cultural curiosity about the exotic (Wang, 2000: 134-135 emphasis in original).

As a consequence of 'cultural turn' in tourism studies, the operation of difference, the dynamics of global and local relationships and the production and consumption of difference, have become the main study areas of last decade.

### **3.6.1. Global-Local Nexus Approach**

As noted earlier, both modernization and political economy approaches are based on the idea that the process of tourism is mainly regulated, directed, and controlled by the tourist sending countries. That is, both approaches consider the external factors which are not controlled by the capabilities of local communities. Host communities are viewed as bounded, static, undivided and happy prior to tourism (Crang, 2004) and portrayed as passive victims of acculturation and the affluence and lifestyle of mass tourists in these approaches. Although both dependency perspective and life-cycle models emerged from different theoretical departure points (neo-marxism in the case of dependency, and modernization in the case of life-cycle approach), it has been argued that they ignored the possibilities that what occurs within a nation/region and the potentials of local control (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

However, global-local nexus approach considers and evaluates the process of homogenization and standardization assertions brought by the global tourism along with the roles of local actors and local conditions. For this issue, Oakes (1992) argues that;

... the local does not exist as an oppositional reality to the global, but rather constitutes a dynamic cultural negotiation with the changing structures of political economy, a negotiation in which dominant structures are mediated by individual agency (Oakes, 1993: 47).

In other words, despite tourism is a part of the process of modernization and globalization, local actors are agents in this process, not just the recipients of this process and they attempt to develop strategies by which encounters with tourists can be beneficial to them. They are able to confront and cope with tourism (Oakes, 1993; Erb, 2000). As soon as the society offers itself to tourism market and attempts to enhance its appeal to the eyes of foreign visitors, society has the consciousness to cope with tourism; it is not the passive object of the tourist gaze but active subject which constructs representations of its culture to attract tourists (Picard, 1996).

In this light, tourism is viewed as a transaction process incorporating the exogenous forces of global market demands and multinational corporations, as well as the endogenous powers of local residents, elites and entrepreneurs. Drawing on the work Foucault, Miller & Cheong (2000) argue that the exercise of power operates at various levels and local people creatively respond to tourism *not as passive recipients but as active social agents*. According to Miller & Chang (2000) locals can contribute to the formation of tourist gaze by observing and influencing development process. Even in brief encounters, locals may display the gaze towards tourists in their actions, gestures, insulations and other communications. Hence the power of the 'local gaze' on tourism can for example draw tourist into the homes and the private space of locals, while it also prohibit the same (Miller & Chang, 2000).

Since globalization leads to the emergence of new forms of local cultural identity and self-expression, Shaw and Williams (2004) argues that the awareness of difference has reinforced the significance of place and that localities can contest their place in the global market by exercising power in various scales through appropriate local actions. For this issue, Oakes argues:

A more culturally complex rendering of tourism's 'consumption' of places, one that sees not merely a globalizing force bearing down upon a once-isolated community but also the dynamic ways local cultural meanings –which are themselves a product of a

dialogue between local and extra –local cultural systems –wrap the tourism experience in an envelope of local meaning (Oakes, 1999 cited in Crang 2004).

### **3.6.1.1. The Production and Consumption Circuit**

The global-nexus approach considers tourism as a transaction process incorporating both exogenous forces and the endogenous powers of local residents and entrepreneurship. The process of tourism is evaluated as a way of striving for a balance between structure and agency, rather than highlighting the one at the expense of other (Milne, 1998). In this context, the production and consumption of tourism has been evaluated in a broader perspective by turning the cultural implications of consumption and production process, namely cultural economy of tourism<sup>4</sup>.

Ateljević (2000) argues that the discourse of global tourism are not imposed simply by global processes and describes tourism as a consumption, socially constructed activity, which is defined and accepted by those who produce and consume it. Accordingly, in the circulation of tourism production and consumption system, the discourses of tourism are negotiated by local agents. In other words, producers and consumers communicate and negotiate between each other in the economic, social and cultural (con) text they create, constitute and re-consume, thereby the discourse of tourism is maintained by *consent* and *coercion* rather than purely by domination. (Ateljević & Doorne, 2002b).

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<sup>4</sup> According to Ateljević (2004), the de-differentiation of the economy and culture are central to the emergence of a new theorization of tourism. Thereby, as a cultural form, tourism consumption has emerged to acknowledge the importance of culture in ensuring consumption. Tourism is an arena in which groups and individuals increasingly engage in attempts to construct their identities through certain consumption preferences and lifestyles which signal taste and position in society. Tourism and leisure consumption/commodities serve as an arena for social differentiation and expression of identity. Commodities move beyond their utility function and assume certain cultural and symbolic meanings, production and consumption, which are seen as complements, feeding off each other endless cycle. Therefore, the production of tourism takes place through its consumption; the process of production can be the performative of consumption practices beyond activities. In other words, in various settings producers (both locals and tourist) themselves consume lifestyles or recreational activities in order to perform the act of production (Ateljevic, 2004).

The proponents of global-local nexus approach argue that the cultural analysis of economic relations gives a new way of theoretical gaze through which to unpack the *glocal* nature of tourism activity (Milne & Ateljević, 2001). The accounts of the way in which the tourism economy is embedded in cultural contexts allow moving beyond some of the pessimistic and reductionist readings of globalization. Tourism activities not only gives shape to the land and provide jobs and income but also produces meaning and representations by means of promotional material which creates and projects powerful social, cultural and psychological meanings of place (Milne & Ateljević, 2001).

From this perspective, how global tourism is produced and consumed in local context has been widely considered in relation to the way of the differentiation and productiveness of it. The problem is that how do the processes of tourism challenge and appropriate at different levels of society by overlapping networks of social action. That is, not only macro-structural nature of tourism development, which is dominated and regulated with large-scale institutions (e.g. transnational corporations and international agencies) but also micro-level responses to tourism including day to day interactions and routine encounters between tourist and local community have become the main problematic in order to conceptualize macro-micro linkages/dialectics and the connection of the localities to tourism (Bianci, 2003).

For Bianci (2003), the role of local cultural norms in the regulation of enterpreaunal activities emerges as a main study area constructing macro-micro dialectic, the global and local, and social relations that shape cultural economies of tourism. Bianci views local entrepreneurship as a way of bridging the gap between micro and macro theorizing and also displays the linkages of the local to the wider political economy. In a similar vein, 'lifestyle type of entrepreneurship' has also been suggested as the clearest example of consuming places, experiences and activities by producers themselves while producing them as tourist commodity (Ateljević & Doorne, 2003).

At the same time, from a different perspective, labour process in various tourism settings may also be conceptualized as the implications of global-local dialectic. For instance, Crang (see Milne & Ateljević, 2001) points out that depending on the appropriated identity politics in labour process, work in restaurants and broader tourism industry view the role of culture in shaping and, in turn, being shaped by touristic experiences. That is, in various tourism settings, not only local entrepreneurship but also labor in the tourism production system may shape and reinforce the dominant discourse of tourism, strengthens, directs and affects the tourist's way of seeing/gaze in accordance with the dominant tourism ideology, discourse and representation whilst participating and negotiating the consumption of tourism.

Consequently, the production and consumption of tourism brought by mainly global processes in the name of tourism image, discourse and representation are negotiated between tourists and various segments of locals/agents in different circumstances. Similarly, since locals recognize what tourists expect, they present themselves and their cultures to conform to the tourists' image of them (Bruner, 2004); their performance are directed to what tourist expect and dream and reinforce the dominant ideology of tourism culture in most of the tourism settings and relationships (Ateljević, 2000). Tourism is not a passive agent either, but must also collaborate with the locals and accommodate to the local situation (Bruner, 2004). The performance of various sections of local community as a social and cultural practice has emerged to construct the linkages of glocal nature of tourism relationships.

#### **3.6.1.2. The Invention of Difference and Practiced Space**

Since tourism is a reflexive process (Crang, 2004) where all the actors learn from experiences, the industry adopts and develops, tourists' respond with changing tastes and preferences, and locals rework their identities and strategies in changing conditions.



According to Picard (1996), in Bali, aesthetic interest of tourists has prompted locals to reinvigorate cultural activities and celebrate their roles as cultural artists. He suggests that this might be called as "cultural involution". Likewise, Bruner challenges static, system-like conceptualizations and expresses the performance of locals as an ongoing process of cultural invention. He defines cultural invention as follows:

Invention of culture conveys the dynamic theoretical perspective which sees culture as constantly in process, as defined and redefined in new contexts. It is opposed to a more traditional conception of culture as fixed and stable. In tourism, the local culture presented for touristic consumption is frequently 'timeless', as sometimes stated in brochures, but is usually recently created to satisfy the preconceptions of modern tourists (in Encyclopedia of Tourism, 2000).

Since, mainly realized by means of (re)shaping and (re)defining the natural, social and cultural assets presented to the tourist consumption, the matter of the production of tourism is put forward by Lanfant (1995b) as a question of identity and locality. Tourism compromises the promotion and marketing the localities to the international tourism market as difference by (re)inventing, (re)producing (re)capturing, and (re)creating the identities of tourist destinations (Milne & Ateljević, 2001: 386). Because of tourism and for tourism, ethnic identities, the local inhabitants, and local way of living have become subject to the tourist consumption.. Tourism promotes *the invention, re-invention and de-invention of difference* (Hollinshead, 1998) and highlights transnational spaces within cultural practices. From this perspective, it is suggested that locals in the realm of tourism or in various tourism settings act so as to confirm tourists impressions of what a local should look like or should not like (Crang, 1998: 118).

In addition to this, as a result of the embodied performances of tourists and locals in various tourism settings, Bruner (2004) states tourist place as *borderzones*, which are not physical borders, but are sites of creative *cultural production* that

consists of the tourists, the natives, tours agencies, government etc. For this issue, he asserts:

Tourism occurs in a borderzones physically located in an ever-shifting strip or border on the edges of Third World destination countries. This border is not natural; it is not just there, waiting for the tourists to discover it, for all touristic borderzones are constructed. ... The touristic borderzone is like an empty stage waiting for performance time. ... The touristic borderzone is a creative space; a site for invention of culture on a massive scale. ... It is a festive, liberated zone. ... In the borderzone both tourists and locals knows its drama, each plays its proper collaborative role... locals are not passive recipients of a touristic invader from the outside, rather both locals and tourists engage in a coproduction: they each take account of the other in an ever-shifting, contested, evolving borderzone of engagement (Bruner, 2004: 191-197).

Borderzones is similar to the conceptualization of "empty meeting grounds" which is defined by MacCannell (1992) as vibrant with people and potential, a site of new subjectivities and consciousness where new culture and relationships emerge.

Furthermore, from a different perspective Wearing and Wearing (1996) define tourist destination as "chora" where people actively interact with each other and people from the host community. Chora is a space whose meaning can be defined by its inhabitants. In fact, while the interaction between visitors and visited are joined by image creator, destinations become mainly imbued with meanings constructed by the actors. As a consequence of interaction between tourist and toured, destinations become more interactive space from its image to its social value which is defined as a collective attachment to places that embody meanings important for a community (Wearing & Wearing, 1996).

From the conceptualizations above mentioned, it may be concluded that tourism is premised upon and sustained by difference over space and may increase some kind of differentiation (Crang, 2004: 7). Therefore, the concept of 'place' emerged as a critical concept in which the cultural regulation of economic and the

cultural materialization of the economic - de-differentiation of economy and culture- is intermingled or articulated (Milne & Ateljević, 2001). Thereby, the construction of tourism places, the regulation of tourism space, the role of global and local processes on this process have become the main study areas to analyze the global nature of tourism development and relations. By the advent of cultural turn in tourism studies, the issues of socio-cultural interaction, difference, cultural production and tourist consumption have been widely considered in relation to the construction and regulation of tourist space and performance of actors.

### **3.7. Destination Making and the Process of Touristification**

Tourism is mainly a place-based phenomenon, takes dreams and myths and inscribes on to place. In other words, it stabilizes social meanings (Hughes, 1998). It is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities but also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs (Aitchison, et. al. 2000). It is not consuming places but also a dynamic force creating them. It mobilizes social dreams and desires by offering dream holidays, romance, paradise which may be called as social imaginaries (Shields, 1991).

Tourism occurs in destination areas whose sociological equivalent is space defined as a place, region or site characterized by certain activities related to its cultural identity and image (Shields, 1991).

The construction and making of tourist destinations, attraction, sights, and sites may be called as *touristification* which is also considered as a component of the process of tourism production system (Britton, 1991). Touristification is a process of making or conforming destinations in terms of the tourists' tastes through various external and internal drives. It may also be described as the total of social, cultural, symbolic and material interventions that make them objects for tourists' tastes. It is the name of the socio-cultural and socio-economic process by which

society and its environment have been turned into spectacles, attractions, playgrounds and consumption sites (Wang, 2000,197).

In MacCannellian terminology tourist space is considered as a threefold relationship. MacCannell (1976: 41) considers destination as an attraction and defines it as a relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight* and a *marker*. Markers, make and determine to what is gazed upon or how a place or objects that to be a commodity both materially and symbolically. In other words, marking is a kind of image-making process, which selects, direct and presents the objects of tourist consumption. Markers actually create sites (Crang, 2004). Sight refers to the physical objects or destinations such as The Tower of London and Eiffel. The marker is data that represent the sight such as postcards, brochures, stories told by visitors. The tourist assimilates the marker and the sight. For MacCannell (1976) sights/destinations are not simply physical objects but symbolic systems.

Urry (1990) characterizes sight, site or destination as those distinguished from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness. He argues that tourist sights predicated in a binary opposition between the ordinary and extraordinary and defines tourist sites within a threefold dichotomies classification based on whether they are 'authentic' or 'inauthentic', 'historical or 'modern' or whether they are subjected to 'romantic' or 'collective gaze' (Urry, 1990: 105). This characteristic of tourist spaces is not only corresponds to the different types of tourist consumption manners and motivations but also carries distinct cultural meanings in their own.

On the other hand, Cohen (1995) distinguishes tourist space and attractions in terms of two dichotomies *authentic/natural* and *artificial/contrived*. Authentic and contrived types are two extreme opposites. According to Cohen, a certain tourist space occurs between these two extremes. Natural attractions are completely unmarked and have not undergone any intervention. On the contrary, contrived attractions are the sites and sights created for touristic purposes and are artificial in character which does not contain any natural elements.

It may be inferred from the aforementioned explanations and descriptions that symbolic and cultural processes play important role in the process of touristification or destination making. According to Lash & Urry (1994), place-myths are one of the most important prerequisites of the emergence modern tourism. Moreover, Selwyn (1996), considers tourism as myth-making and argues that tourism works through myth and fantasies. In addition to this, Hennig (2002) considers *nature, the noble savage, art, individual freedom and self-realization, equality and paradise* as the most common modern myths that refer to the 'meaning of life' and manifest itself in various practices of contemporary tourism.

It is clear that tourism attributes some sort of identities to the place in various ways that these places become subject to the motivation systems of potential tourists. Destinations are often referred to 'clean environment', 'pristine seashores', 'the sunshine coast', 'the city of discovery', 'a world of difference', 'a scenic wonderland' (Ateljević & Doorne, 2002) or depicted as a tropical paradise of haunting beauty, an unspoiled beach, a place of mystery and enchantment, an exotic, island of dreams, where the people live untouched by civilization, close to nature, (Bruner, 2004) and so on. Their tags such as 'two hours and a million miles away' (Wales), 'Passion for life' (Spain), 'Live a different life' (Ireland) and 'Come as you are, leave different' (Louisiana), are not simply marketing way but also means intending to convey some kind of spatial identity (Morgan, 2004).

In addition to this, since built by the quest for an experience which may be sensual, bodily or emotional, the process of touristification may also be considered on the basis of 'desire' and 'seduce'. Drawing on the work of Baudrillard, Terkenli (2002) argues that the appeals of tourist landscapes are formed by the relationships between desires and seduce/place. With tourism the pre-existing landscape is either greatly modified (as in heritage planning or any other forms of leisure space) or totally obliterated (as in the building of Disney theme-parks) (Terkenli, 2002: 229). According to Terkenli, space has become the

arena of cultural economy by means of the tensions and intercourses between seductiveness belonging to space and desire inscribed by tourists.

As Weightman (1987) argued, imaging tourist destinations is a matter of how to mystify the mundane, amplify the exotic, minimize the misery and romanticize the strange.

Thereby, the definition of foreign cultures as the opposite of immediate conditions of home has become the basic discourse of contemporary tourism (Rojek, 1993: 180). So that, destination making has also been conceptualized as a way of *othering*, a process of reflection implying other cultures and environments, which are everything that home cultures and environments are not (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 59). For Aitchison et. al. (2000), the concept of othering is central to the creating of tourism landscapes.

*Othering* depends on the binary conceptualizations such as clothed-naked, fashion-adornment, labor-leisure, ethics-pleasure, masculine-feminine, reason-emotion, culture-nature (De Certeau cited in Crang, 1998) or savage-civilized, instinctual-intellectual, natural-cultured, simple-complex, primitive-advanced, emotional-scientific, feeling-learning, custom-knowledge, ritual-reason, barbaric-development (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). These binaries have been very influential for the course of the existence of cultural economy of tourism. Likewise, Crang (1998: 137) exemplifies that global consumption have been bound into a series of binary pairs such as 'fashion' in contrast to 'tradition', 'western' to 'indigenous' and 'mass-manufactured' to 'handmade'.

It has also been emphasized that the process of othering has directly affected contemporary tourism discourses, stemming from the colonial division between west and east. According to Duncan (1993), in Western thinking, the Orient has been defined as static and timeless, Africa as 'dark continent' in contrast with the civilized white Europe, as progressive in making history and changing world. Generally, in contemporary tourism discourse, 'otherness' widely relies on

themes of the noble savage, primitive, the exotic, suggestions of sexual adventure, the sublime, and beautiful, exploration and discovery, timelessness and authenticity.

However, the discourse of beautiful beaches, quaint little towns, western comforts, out-of-the-ordinary experience, exotic food, international shopping, foreign romances (Rojek, 1993) are not just the ways which separate space from mundane, everyday, ordinary and so on, but also a reason make various interventions to the landscapes or places.

Although symbolic, cultural and discursive processes take important part in the construction of tourism spaces, a destination, geographical landscape or physical place become also tourist space by means of material interventions, social and cultural practices which regulate tourism experience. The regulation of tourism space addresses the kind of spatial orders in which tourism experience could be realized. In other words, the issue of the regulation of tourism space discusses and examines how tourism is consumed and produced in practice.

### **3.8. The Regulation of Tourist Space**

Tourist spaces is generally divided into two types of formations between tourists and toured. Opperman (1993) argues that because of the dual structure of tourism industry, tourism relations are segmented into two types of spatiality or industry called as *formal tourism industry* and *informal tourism industry*. Likewise, Edensor (1998) indicates that tourism creates two different types of spatial regulation combined with different types of performance: *enclave tourist space* and *heterogeneous tourist space* which is respectively called by Jackson (1993) *enclave type of development* and *integrated type of development*.

The distinction between enclave space and heterogeneous space emerges as a crucial area to discuss the basic categories of tourism such as familiarity versus strangeness, homogenization versus heterogenesis, sameness versus diversity,

global versus local and so on. However, its main importance stems from displaying different type of experience regarding the relationships between structure and anti-structure, eros and logos.

### **3.8.1. Formal or Enclave Space**

The formal tourism industry is defined by Jackson (1993) as 'integrated type of development' which is called by Opperman (1993) 'formal tourism industry' in terms of the formal -informal dichotomy.

It is often argued that the enclave development is proposed to maintain a clear separation between the native people and foreign tourists and to avoid the contamination carried by the latter (Lanfant, 1995a: 11). In the enclave development, main tourist attractions, sights or destinations are separated from the local community areas, examples of are insulated holiday villages and five star hotels set apart from the local population centers. So that, if tourists stay within the walls of the holiday village their appreciation of host culture is small. Equally the experience of tourists in their staying is not on display for the mainstream of life within the host community. Enclave holiday experience is exemplified as the experience the institutionalized-mass tourists.

It conforms to the preference of Cohen's (1972) 'institutionalized tourists' and resembles of Eco's (1986) 'hyper-reality' with the standardization of resort/hotel services and facilities serving to insulate post(mass)-modern tourist from the local community. Tourists inhabit to an 'environmental bubble' (Boorstin, 1964) which is constituted of accommodation, food and beverage providers, transportation and travel guides, agents. Although the parts of bubble provide mass tourists with a sense of familiar and security, it limits the contact with local people.

Enclave space is called an organized space or formal industry in which tourists are cut off from social contact with the locals (Edensor, 1998). These spaces have high capital investment and international standards: large retail outlets, subject to



quality control, western-style food, travel guide services, car hire facilities etc. In some cases, locals are not employer in these spaces and workers from the informal sector are denied to approach tourists to sell their services.

Edensor (1998) in fact echoes Lefebvre's (1991: 384) observation that tourist spaces are planned with the greatest care: centralized, organized, hierachized, symbolized and programmed with degree and proposes that the tourist enclave is a total institution of regulation that materializes the ideology of consumption and regulates the performances of tourists (Edensor, 1998: 52).

In enclavic spaces, prices are fixed to eliminate the discomfort among tourist and high so that many domestic tourists and backpackers may be deterred from staying and purchasing. The enclavic space mainly serves western notions of consciousness and order of aesthetics of 'health' and 'hygiene' (Edensor, 1998).

Since enclave space is constructed to remove danger and risk, it works to eliminate the unpredictable quality of everyday street life. In other words, it requires both high security and minimum risk (Wang, 2000) and reduces unfamiliarity and strangeness by providing a familiar spatial context produced by tourism industry. They are highly controlled spaces. Tourist activities are monitored through surveillances and by dominant tourist discourse and tour operator (Edensor, 1998). Moreover, the commercial activities of tourists are restricted by those who control the management of space and refuse to entry to informal sector. In other words, they are the total control institutions which are regulated by mainly Apollonian type of modernity (Wang, 2000; Edensor, 1998).

In enclave space, the movement of tourist, what they sight and their interaction with the outside, is predetermined. Since they are confined in an environmental bubble, enclave space is similar to pseudo-event of Boorsteen. Acording to Edensor (1998), since the experience is predetermined and only certain attractions are visited; enclaves are designed mainly for gazing. That is, the experience or stimuli is based mainly on sightseeing or gazing. Activities are

group oriented and tourists do not have to chance the opportunity to discover something beyond the itineraries of package. They are passive gazers. The package tours include only passing from an enclave to another and the passage from enclave to enclave exists in on air-conditioned vacuum of travel buses in which contact with of bodily experience of external conditions such as temperature, humidity and dust are eliminated (Edensor, 1998).

Enclave tourist spaces are similar to shopping centers which are defined by what Baudrillard (1998) as the total mechanism of conditioning of action and time. Enclave spaces operate by enveloping visitors within an environment that floods their senses with the signs and symbols of consumption and play (Judd , 2003). According to Edensor (1998), enclave spaces seem to accord with the non-place described by Auge.<sup>5</sup>

Judd (2003), argues that the tourist in enclave spaces are directed to act like factory workers subjected to the time-sheet, the timekeeper, the informers and the fines. It is because that in enclave spaces, tourists are bounded by physical barriers and are directed to specific activities, which are designed to regulate their inhabitants through the control of four principal aspects of agency: desire, consumption, movement and time (Judd, 2003).

Since, experience is predetermined; enclave spaces are closed up surprises. In other words, the desire is prefabricated in familiarity rather than in difference and innovation (Edensor, 1998). That is, enclave attractions are independent from the

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<sup>5</sup> Auge (1995) describes non-place as opposed to 'dwelling'. Instead of being relational, historical and concerned with identity, these places are the realms of 'transit'. In other words, they are de-territorized spaces. (Tomlinson 1999) The theory of homogenization is mainly concerned with the idea of non-space and de-territorialisation. The main idea behind non-space and de-territorialised space is that the relationship between culture and place are evaporated. Enclave space formulations are similar to these conceptualizations. Most of the characteristics of enclave space, as explained earlier, is similar to Borstien's environmental bubble or pseudo-event which is similar to the idea of 'placelessness' suggested by Relph (1976). For Relph tourism is a form of placelessness, which tourism homogenise everywhere by destructing the local and regional landscape with conventional tourist architecture and synthetic landscapes and pseudo-places.

places in which they are located, but others which are called as 'heterogeneous space' are strongly predicated on 'hereness'.

### **3.8.2. Informal or Heterogeneous Space**

According to Edensor (1998: 294), heterogeneous spaces are the spaces, which are based on the search of difference, fluidity and irregularity. Edensor considers heterogeneous space as a result of the search of difference and argues that the desire to heterogeneous space stems from the lack of heterogeneous space in the West.

The main characteristics of heterogeneous space is that tourist facilities co-exist within local business, shops, street vendors, public and private institutions and domestic housing in a way that tourists and locals are mingled (Edensor, 1998).

The tourist economy of heterogeneous space is labor-intensive, small-family run such as pensions, cafes, restaurants, souvenir and craft shops, independent transport operators and unofficial guides. Hotels are small and cheap, restaurants offer local dishes and facilities are shared by locals and tourists. Hot-water, central heating and air-conditioning are unavailable in most of the hotels in heterogeneous tourist spaces.

Social activities in these spaces occur generally in market or bazaars areas. Hotels co-exist with work places, schools and eating places, administrative and permanent dwellings. For this reason, the opportunities for meeting locals are part of the tourist experience. In heterogeneous spaces, for instance through *haggling*, tourist may interact with a very different type of shopping experience. The tourist in these spaces enjoys more sensible experiences and not purely centered upon visual pleasures. In other words, the centrality of vision is denied in heterogeneous spaces and other stimulus such as noise and smells are encouraged. For this reason, heterogeneous spaces do not fit the mass-product of tourist imagery (Edensor, 1998).

Jackson (1993) argues that the institutional structure of informal tourism industry is usually local and its international linkages are limited; the properties are small owners operated in a line with existing community scale. The tourists utilized these facilities are generally drifter type, characterized with different motivations from mass tourists. It is also pointed out that since there is limited contriveted tourism space, informal industry creates and leads to more authenticity, comparing with the standardized and homogenized tourism products (Opperman, 1993; Edensor, 1998).

### **3.9. Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on tourism phenomena from the side of developing countries and examined in terms of the relationships between tourists and toured. In doing so, a number of significant themes have been taken in consideration ranging from the relationships between modernization and tourism to globalization, destination making and diverse type of spatial regulation of tourism namely enclave and heterogeneous types.

It has been acknowledged that tourism is not simply a process which tourists bring with them. Rather, it is an ongoing process of encounter and interaction, between tourists and toured. This interaction leads to several socio-spatial actions including the production of culture and difference. It has been argued that individuals and communities are not passive in the face of global tourism, but can negotiate, perform and contest, in a variety of scales.

Here, the interconnectedness between toured and touring has been considered as a cultural phenomenon emerged as various type of symbolic and socio-cultural interventions to natural, and material assets. This process has been called as *touristification* which has become a sphere of global and local processes are encountered. That is, touristification has been acknowledged a process of intermingling and negotiating of global and local processes, works through making or conforming destinations as to the tastes of tourists. It has been also

considered as a way of othering to attribute some sort of identities to the place in various ways.

Touristification also requires necessary spatial arrangements between tourist and toured community. This subject is investigated as an issue of the regulation of tourist space and this is examined with reference to enclave and heterogeneous spaces which reflects and corresponds to the contradictions of modernity. That is, whereas enclave spaces is formulated as an outcome of logos modernity and an highly institutionalized side of tourism, heterogeneous space is considered as an example of searching difference, diversity and surprise against contrived spaces. This distinction also emerges an arena to examine whether places are becoming placeless-losing their individual distinctiveness -or not. It may be inferred from the aforementioned conceptualizations that as it is depended on the search of difference, fluidity and irregularity the heterogeneous space accelerate the awareness of diversity in local communities in various settings. In other words, whereas enclave space produce contrived, standardized, and programmed experiences, heterogeneous space stimulate to search for new, different and surprise in the production and consumption system of tourism. Therefore, heterogeneous space has become the area in which the theoretical perspectives based on cultural involution and cultural production could be examined.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE METHODOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE RESEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN MARMARIS REGION**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter is concerned with the developments of tourism and the characteristics of tourism business in Marmaris. It starts with the methodological features of this study. The methodological aspects, purpose, research questions and data collection methods of this study are explained in the first part of this chapter. These explanations also compromise the issues related to the following chapters. Then the emergence and the development of tourism have been studied in combination with the institutionalization of tourism in Marmaris region. Thereby it mainly examines the structure of the accommodation sector and the characteristics and the features of the travel agents which mediate and direct the activities of tourists in Marmaris.

#### **4.2. Methodological Features of The Research**

The studies of conceptualizations of social theory on tourism have been examined from historical perspective in the earlier chapters of this study. The approaches directed to the theorization of tourism have been expressed in a broader perspective. The distinction between the second and third chapter is worth underlying for a study which focuses on bilateral aspects of tourism. In this context, whilst second chapter is concerned with the process of creating demand side of tourism, the third chapter focuses on the approaches conceptualizing

tourisms from the perspectives of tourist receiving countries which present their assets to international tourism market. The developing countries are being tourist-accepting countries constituting the supply side of tourism. Likewise, this distinction between the dynamics of developed and developing countries has been operationalized as host-guest, tourist-toured or tourist-local.

Complying with the perspectives which define international tourism as a relationship of consumption and production, a case study was realized. That is, international tourism mainly comprises the activities which supply cultural sphere to the international markets. Therefore, it leads to cultural, social and material transformations in tourist-receiving countries. Nevertheless, the agents in this process become those who try to put various discourses, myths and related connections into practice.

One of the purposes of this study is to explore, and describe through what ways Marmaris has become a preferable, attractive and seductive tourist town. Therefore, this study follows to investigate and build a rich description of cultural production, spatial reflections of global tourism on the case of Marmaris region. The case study also focuses on contested or controversial consequences of certain tourism relationships which remain unexplored or untouched in tourism studies. Therefore, the purpose of this study is exploratory, explanatory and descriptive (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Mainly an insightful description of complex circumstances that are unexplored in Marmaris case was aimed at. Therefore, this study mainly focuses on ‘processes’ of cultural production, differentiation through gathering information about action and interaction between tourist and toured.

This study pursues answers to the following research questions:

With what characteristics has Marmaris been constructed and produced as a tourist destination?

What representational elements have converted Marmaris to an attractive and seductive tourist space?

How has Marmaris been structured as a natural consequence of global cultural economy, and a part of the international tourism market as a tourist destination?

How the relationship between the global and local is mediated by various types of socio-spatial arrangements of actors?

What kind of roles do the main actors play in the structuring of these features?

How has Marmaris become a contested space whilst tourism and its various dimensions are negotiated within the concept of identity, locality and ‘us’ and ‘them’?

Because many of the themes of this study- i.e. cultural production, difference making, various ways of space transition into tourist destination – need delving deeper, this study was designed to be conducted in settings where all kinds of complexity occur. Besides, related research questions are also needed to study in various particular settings (e.g a daily tour, a local bazaar, apart hotel, a specific interactions between tourists and toured). The behavior or actions of actors in natural settings have been acknowledged as the most significant data.

Similar to many other occasions where a qualitative research design is the only approach needed to address a research question; this particular research was designed and conducted by means of qualitative research tools. This choice is also related to the conceptual perspective which inherently views tourism as a cultural production and/or difference construction. That is, the scientific method incorporated into this study is not one used with an emphasis on hypothesis testing, causal explanations, generalization and prediction. By contrast, I mainly concentrate on understanding and rich description. In other words, basically the interpretive approach, concerned with the meanings which people attach to



phenomena such as actions and institutional aspects of tourism in Marmaris was followed. Moreover, given that the major concern of my research was to understand the context and process of various implications of tourism such as difference making, production of locality, authenticity and so on and their appearance on socio-spatial action, mainly the qualitative research techniques were necessitated.

Because this study pursues answering many of the questions which compromise various forms of tourism issues, research has been designed in a degree of complexity. Therefore research methods were mixed including deep-interview, observation, and documentary analysis. In other words, both ‘naturally occurring data’, i.e. those obtained by means of observation, participant observation and documentary analysis and ‘generated data’ such as those obtained from interview were collected. Choosing between naturally occurring data and generated data depended on the intercourses between the research question and suitable type of data which would best illuminate these questions. To be more precise, the location of research problem determined the selection of appropriate type of data collection method. Generally, whereas the action-concerned questions were investigated by means of observation, the questions concerned with the structural aspects of tourism industry, history and the development of tourism industry were explored by the method of deep-interview and oral-history.

The research process in this study was based on *contextual and explanatory* problems (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 27), which was basically concerned with identifying what exists in the name of cultural production, differentiating between the different and familiar, and identifying how this manifests itself in a given situation. The aim was to describe and display in detail the tourism phenomenon as experienced by the selected population and to study participants’ own terms. It therefore required the researcher to ‘unpack’ issues (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 27) to see, for instance, any type of relationship between a tourist and toured and to explore the meaning of any touristic activity or issue among various sections of community.

The problems and the appropriate type of data collection methods selected - document analysis, observation, and interview- and the research experience in applying these methods during the course of data collection are detailed in the following part.

The production and consumption of a tourist destination may be considered in a variety of ways. It has been acknowledged that one of the ways of the production of a tourist destination may be uncovered by examining its reflections on representational spheres. That is, because tourism is closely connected with imaginary, visual and textual elements, it is necessary to reveal what characteristics of space is promoted in the international tourism market.

Destination making may also be described as an image promotion which is concerned with transferring meaning onto a product from outside (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). It has also been argued that it is the representations rather than the realities of consumption which structure and influence purchasing behaviors (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998: 26). For this reason with what meanings destinations are constructed is important for understanding the representational process. In general, meanings are constructed through words, pictures, phrases and so on. (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). These are best captured in travel texts, essays, namely brochures and advertisements. The meanings of sites in brochures also provide clues concerning what type of touristy activity may be realized and what discourses or phrases are used in the process of designing destinations to cater for tourist tastes. Following semiotic approaches, it may be asserted that ‘words’ in brochures contain signs constructing meaning. These brochures carry message which can easily be perceived by those tourists who share the same code.

In Chapter 5, by utilizing semiotic analyzes, the depicted experience and genres will be focused on through using the words in brochures of tour operators. In this chapter I review with what themes a tourist destination is depicted and focus on aspects of analyzing of these themes.

This analysis was carried out by focusing on travel catalogues and brochures published by British Tour Operators. The texts used in this analysis are accepted as 'cultural texts' containing various codes of 'being a tourist' in contemporary societies. In general, showing what would be get in Marmaris and what kind of experiences and tastes could be provided different from mundane, these texts also have the notions of tourist identity or 'tourist gaze'.

By means of documentary analysis, the substantive content and meanings of these catalogues and brochures were examined. The documents were obtained from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism General Directorate of Information and London Counselor's Office for Culture and Tourism. By documentary analysis, I aimed to determine the distinctive characteristics of Marmaris region as a tourist destination, dwelling on those that are worth the greatest emphasis, and interpreted them with reference to the global tourism discourses and representations. Thereby, Marmaris region is promoted in the international tourism market with the image of cosmopolitanism, traditionalism, and an image of space which suggests 'tradition' and 'modern' at the same time.

However, one of the assumptions of this study is that images or representations of a tourist destination emerge as a social practice in various forms of tourist-local relationships. In other words, those involved in tourism relationships come to realize tourism representations in a variety of ways. In fact, these interventions which make places as tourist destination have many cultural and social characteristics. Therefore, the characteristics and the spheres of tourist local relationships are also cultural. To say that tourism is cultural means that it is concerned with representation and meaning as well as necessary practices of individuals (Chaney, 2002).

Therefore, tourism is defined as a cultural production and the construction of difference and this definition requires the revealing of how this process is to be captured in various settings. To respond to the research questions concerning

cultural implications of the relationships between tourists and toured, interviews, observation and participant observation were used.

Putting the method of observation into practice is the consequence of the fact that most of the interactions between tourist and local are involved in many forms of socio-spatial action. In fact, observation method was not only used in quantifying any interaction between tourists and toured but also in most of the applications of interview by recording the interviewee's body language, relationships between the interviewer and tourists etc.

As most of the cultural implications of the touristic relationships occur and are realized in their natural settings, this method becomes the only method to capture the natural performances of actors and development of touristic events. In other words, various reflections of the relationships between a tourist and the employees of and apart hotel, a waiter of a restaurant, a driver of a jeep used in safari may be noticed and captured in their natural settings through observing what the actors do and don't do.

The natural settings also provided data which is an 'enactment' of social behavior in its own social setting. Connected with the specific characteristics of spatial regulation of tourism in Marmaris, behaviors/actions of actors and interactions between tourists and toured also needed to be understood in the real world context. Therefore, the main naturally occurring data in this research was observation.

By means of observing, recording and analyzing, the behaviors of entrepreneurs and labor were shed light upon as they occur. Observation allowed events, actions and experiences to be 'seen', without any intervention on the part of those involved. The reason behind observation lies in the idea of approaching tourism phenomenon as a 'process' involving several players where often non-verbal communication tends to be important.

The particularized method of observation was used in the studies carried out in hotels and apart, jeep safari and various spheres of tourist-local relationships such as local bazaar, daily tours and in the Information Bureau of Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Observation took 45 days in Marmaris and environs and interviews were conducted in the meantime.

The data regarding the spatial characteristics of Marmaris, the distinctive characteristics of Marmaris in terms of sense and experience of tourists, the production of difference, the features that make Marmaris a distinctive tourist place, the manner of consuming Marmaris and various forms of performance and liminalities were obtained mainly by means of deep-interviews carried out with specialists. Therefore the sampling method was 'purposive' and 'non-probability'. That is, units were selected to reflect particular features of groups in the studied population which were not intended to be statistically representative. In sampling, the perspective that validity is more prior to reliability was the starting point, and thus it was hoped that more valid data would be obtained if a selectively chosen smaller group who have a mastery of the subject rather than a bigger but randomly chosen sample size is involved (Thompson, 1999).

The information was collected from individuals who have a unique or highly specialized role in tourism relationships in Marmaris such as those who deal with tourism and/or have been living in Marmaris for at least 15 years. Others are mainly leading professionals or 'experts' or senior representatives of organization and institutions such as hotel and travel agency owners, religious functionaries, the representatives of National Education Departments, and Ministry of Forest, Environment Health, the most former tourism employers, former executives, inhabitants who have been living in Marmaris since childhood days. It is worth noting that the reliable data is obtained from those who are sensitive to events and have a sufficient time to observe, compare and evaluate the social and cultural implications of tourism in Marmaris. It is supposed that only those who live Marmaris for at least 15 years possess these characteristics. Twenty five semi-

structured interviews were conducted. The interview guide used during the course of research is in Appendix A.

However, different interview questions were formulated and posed for different respondents to get an insight into the various aspects of tourism phenomena in related populations in Marmaris. That is, regular distinctions were made between the populations who have direct economic interaction with tourism industry and those who do not.

The distinctive characteristic of Marmaris in terms of tourist tastes were investigated by means of interviews conducted with *local agents*. It was presumed that local agents had rich and multidimensional knowledge about various sides of tourism phenomena as they are one of the most effective actors who construct and mediate different manners of tourist-local encounters. Besides, as the research was continuing, it was considered that the tourism discourse and representations were reinforced by various types of embodied socio-spatial actions. As culture brokers or marginal men, they strengthened the main image and representations of global tourism in the name of traditions, authenticity, modernity, orientalism, exoticism, myths and so on.

Therefore, the interview questions concerned with the sense of tourists, performance, experience, the manner of consumption of Marmaris in general were interrogated through interviews conducted with local agents. These issues are examined in Chapter 6.

The data concerning the history of tourism in Marmaris, the development of tourism industry and changes in the type of accommodation and other tourism related businesses were obtained from the specialists and those who have witnessed tourism from the beginning of the phenomenon in Marmaris. These issues constitute the following content of Chapter 4.

Basically a tourism phenomenon may be regarded and evaluated in a broader and different perspective depending on the values, ideas, beliefs, ethics and cultural differences among the members of tourist community. The concept of contested space was studied through interviews with religious authorities educationalists, and those who had left outside of the tourism relationships and people who are not in a direct economic relation with tourism. In order to understand the controversial aspects of tourism, the opinion questions were asked to actors concerning whether Marmaris is real or contrived. The issue, how Marmaris has become a contested space whilst tourism and how its various dimensions are negotiated within the concept of identity, locality and 'us' and 'others' are studied in Chapter 7.

However, the process of interview was not carried out in a linear and direct way. In fact, in most of the settings interviews gave direction to research, to the unpredictable or new points, which contribute new insights to the phenomena. In general interviews also (re)constructed, (re)captured, and (re)defined the research problem throughout research process as a result of the interactional characteristics of the procedure. In most of the cases the role of interviews and their operation were realized as Holstein & Gubrium (1995) argued

All knowledge is created from the action taken to obtain it. What passes for knowledge is itself a product of interaction. Treating interviewing as a social encounter leads us rather quickly to the possibility that the interview is not merely a neutral conduit or source of distortion but rather the productive site of knowledge itself. The emerging lesson is that interviewers are deeply and unavoidably implicated in creating meanings that ostensibly reside within respondents. All interviews are reality-constructing, meaning making occasions, whether recognized or not (p1-3).

The research was designed with a certain degree of flexibility as most of the research was based on qualitative techniques. Therefore, the questions concerned with the research problem have been revised and reformulated during the course of research. The nature of research design was flexible and conducted generally

in their natural setting in which various types of action between tourists take place.

Data was collected by using the methods which involve close contact between the researcher and the participants. This provides interactive and developmental opportunities and allows for emergent issues to be explored.

It is acknowledged in this study that knowledge is not given but created and negotiated through collaboration between researcher and interviewees. The meanings of interviews stories, descriptions, and statements were developed and interpreted to add new insights to the research problems. That is, research is perceived as a process, a 'travel' (Kvale, 1996) in which the researcher is an active player in developing data and meaning. Therefore, most of the interviews were carried out in interviewees' everyday world situation and free expression was emphasized. This enables the interviewer to capture new and different points to be evaluated and developed.

#### **4.3. The Emergence of Tourism in Marmaris**

Situated in the south western Turkey; where the again sea meets the Mediterranean; Marmaris is a coastal town in the Muğla province. It is one of the most popular resorts of Turkey. Total population of Marmaris is 97.302 as estimated in 2000. Its population increases to 250-300.000 in the summer months. Marmaris has 13 villages and 6 municipalities. Literacy rate is %99. There are 17 primary schools and 4 high schools. There are also 12 local newspapers, two of which are daily. In Marmaris Museum there are 10.803 historical artifacts. The number of visitors was estimated to be 500.000 in 2000.

There are many historical buildings, touristic facilities, activities and a marina which is the largest facility in the Southern Aegean region. The Marine provides all types of services to the yachts.



The bed capacity of hotels has gradually increased and it is possible to find hotels that suit all types of budget.

There are also new holiday resorts that are developing right around Marmaris such as Armutalan and İcmeler. In the close environs and villages of Marmaris such as Cedar Island, Karacasöğüt, Turunç, Kumlubük, Bayır, Çiftlik, Turgut, Orhaniye, Kızıkuş and Selimiye, many of the touristic activities and relationships exist. These places are famous for their natural assets, peaceful and silent beaches, traditional lifestyle and tranquility.

The coastline is considered as a realm of natural wonders. There are numerous beaches, caves, promontories, islands, peninsulas, and harbors. Because the mountains approach sea vertically, the beaches are usually small and caves are narrow. These caves are similar to large pools and the locals call them ‘bük’ (a term that original means fertile land along the river).

It is stated that the sea shows the most beautiful hues of turquoise and navy blue because of the fact that the sea gets deep 5-10 meters off the coast. However, it is not only the sea but also the features accompanying the fact that Marmaris is surrounded by sea, historical attractions, natural beauty and sweetgum trees that function as some of the prominent determinants in describing, representing and extending its fame abroad. In a study conducted on Marmaris around 1970s, natural beauty was the theme that was emphasized the most. (Uykucu, 1970). Günlük trees and the dazzling scent of pure olive oils are considered as the prominent characteristics of Marmaris that mark this town. Thereby, natural beauty is described as one that is not only to be viewed but also to be smelled. For this reason, senses of both vision and smell stimuli have been stimulated in describing and representing Marmaris since 1970.

Marmaris was built all over again, for it experienced a catastrophic earthquake in its history. There were efforts and initiatives by the governors of the time toward the ultimate end of building it as a touristic city in 1960s (Uykucu, 1970). For this

reason, it is possible to claim that the origins of the ideas that the future of Marmaris lies in tourism dates back to 1960s. It is mentioned that, around 1960s, the inhabitants of Marmaris played an important role in determining the houses and places wherein the tourists would be accommodated and planning the sightseeing tours (Gebeş, 2005). In the same period, a tourism association was also established which would determine the house and places wherein the tourists would be accommodated and which would ensure that other services are provided properly.

The motorway which connects Marmaris to the neighboring towns and cities proved ineffective till the beginning of 1970s. For this reason Rhodes played a vital role in establishing a connection between Rhodes and outer places till then. It is noted that connection via Rhodes dates back to pre-republic times. It is stated that, around these years, even the patients were taken to Rhodes and got treated there. Excursionists came to Marmaris on daily boat tours starting from 1960s to the mid-70s. Those who came from Rhodes played an influential role in the local people's opening themselves to the outer world and getting to know more about tourism. In other words, the very beginning of tourism in Marmaris is by way of those who came from Rhodes by seaway. From that time on, the inhabitants of Marmaris looked to the sea awaiting those coming from Rhodes. The owner of Hotel Sini says on this issue:

Introduction of tourism to Marmaris occurred by way of people who came to Marmaris on daily basis. Reaching Marmaris on highway was difficult. ... Tourist-meet-and-greets with sword-shield dancing used to be organized. In those years there were folkloric dance shows. ... There was a folklore team set up by the people of Marmaris. They used to do shows at the hotels. There was a public education center. I was a kid then. We used to welcome tourists and hand flowers to them. And they used to tip us with holey coins ... we used to sell postcards or anything that was in hand ... They rarely stayed for the night, but rather came in the morning and leave in the evening. There was no travel agency of course. There wasn't much of sightseeing. All the sightseeing was done in a single day. There was this *Yeşil Marmaris* travel agency and a man called *Karya Mustafa*. They used to handle the

sightseeing. It is him, Kayra Mustafa, who started tourism here and did agency business. He is also the first to take tourists from Sweden. I am talking about the years between 1967 and 1970.

These are the years remembered with few shops, thus low prices and lot's of shopping for tourists. Generally souvenirs about Turkey, ornaments made of marble, clothes weaved from şile fabric, jackets, sandals and carpets were on the market (Gebeş, 2005).

1970s are the years in which tourism was uninstitutionalized. Because Marmaris is loosely connected to environs, it is noted that sightseeing was restricted to a small area and that there were no trip plans as organized today. Indeed, an agency owner who has been in this business since 1983 and who first organized the daily tours around states:

Agency business was done by a few in 1970s. Accommodation, however, dates back to mid-1960s. Tourism was started by Hotel Lidya between the years 1963–64. It was followed by Hotel Martı and Hotel. Nevertheless, the business of operating home pensions was in a very active state. The houses which were devastated by the 1957 earthquake were replaced by houses with bigger rooms, thus which lend themselves to the business of home pensions. Now even most of these have been blasted down and buildings have been constructed instead. These were mostly houses with 2-3 flats (A Local Travel Agent).

The establishment of Accommodation facilities dates back to the mid-1960s. For the first time, Hotel Lidya was established, and this was followed by Hotel Turban and Hotel Mares. In 1970, there were totally 9 hotels: Hotel Lidya, Altınışik, Hotel Martı, Karaaslan, Hotel Akdeniz, Hotel Hayat, Hotel Konak, Hotel Hal, and Hotel Şükran. Additionally, as noted, there were four pensions. These are called Sini, Adalıoğlu, Balcı and Selçuk (Uykucu, 1970). The number of restaurants in 1970 is 6: Palmiye, Birtat, Tilla, Yakamos, Sini and Mehtap.

A major portion of the local economy in 1970s owes little to tourism. Important sources of income in the local economy are production of vegetables and citrus

fruits, sponge diving and fishery. It is known that vegetables were mostly sold to İzmir and the neighboring towns. Indeed, citrus fruits have an important place among the sources of income (Uykucu, 1970) .

Sponge fishery, one of the most significant business fields, directly influences the economy of Marmaris in the 1970s. As noted, the fact that there is lack of agricultural fields and that those that are available only suffice for the subsistence of their owners makes sponge fishery one of the most important sources of income. Fishing, however, is stated to make a contribution to the local economy only when the catch is more than needed. Apart from these, sage tea, thyme, bay leaf, peanut, olive and apiculture constitute other economic activities.

An image, representation and motto which suggest that traditional food, drink and tastes can be enjoyed amid natural beauty, sunny beaches and traditional hospitality have been effective in the evolution of Marmaris ever since. Tourism has always been considered as a passage to the outer world. By this token, Hotel Altınışık, which was one of the very few hotels in 1970, introduces its facilities on the basis of a place where traditional specialties are presented amid comfort.

Hotel Altınışık: This year, in Marmaris, Hotel Altınışık was built for our very welcome tourists for their comfort. There are, 60 rooms and 112 beds: Exceptional service, traditional Turkish dishes, tennis courts, magnificent, uncoil beaches and excellent jazz bands (Uykucu, 1970).

#### **4.3.1. The History of Accommodation in Marmaris**

Marmaris is described as a small, pretty coastal town, wherein no dramatic change was observed in the number of accommodation facilities and where there were few hotel and motels till 1980s. However, in those years, as home pensions were a significant touristic activity, these houses comprise the majority of the total number of beds. The home pension is the most important social organization which initiated the development of tourism, extension of Marmaris into outer

places and prominent cities and its first contact with the foreigners. In Marmaris, 1970s are known as the years of the business of home pension. Concerning this issue, Gebeş (2005) maintains the following:

Daily events were arranged according to the residents of the houses. Thus, those were the years when women were active. In those times women would not say they were running a pension, but they would say that they had boarding guests. They didn't see the visitors at home as a means of gaining money. Maybe this is because it was not acceptable at those times to stay up people at home and take money in return. They were the years of domestic tourism. This practice was conducive to friendships. . The visitors were not taken as clients, but guests. We gave out daughters to Ankara, İstanbul for marriage. Because women were sort of the proprietresses at home, they used to manage the house. Men, on the other hand, were dealing with fishing, sponge fishery, mining and forest workmanship (Gebeş, 2005).

Operating a home-pension is the practice of letting 1-2 rooms of a house like a pension. For this reason, it is noted that those whose houses are suitable for this type of letting, used to keep the second room ready for the outsiders' use. It is also mentioned that occasionally the hosts would sleep in tents set up in their garden or lay beds on their roofs and use this section of the house also as an accommodation space. It is revealed that in early 1980s there were nearly 200 houses used as pensions. Therefore it would be reasonable to assert that the majority of the bed capacity of the time was rendered by home-pensions. It is also underlined that the main tourist type was the backpackers. After all, when we consider the fact that there wasn't an organized tourism industry –and the only organized part is that which is on daily basis through Rhodes- and that around 200 houses provided the service of home-pension, it would not be wrong to assume that the tourists who came to Marmaris was very much like Cohen's drifter or Maccannel's authenticity-seeking tourist.

On the other hand, domestic tourism has made a certain contribution to the touristic activities in Marmaris since the beginning of 1970s. In fact it is widely accepted that the tourism activities of Marmaris hinged mostly around internal

tourism form 1970 to 1980s. It is stated that, between the years 1975 and 1982, tours form several places of Turkey to Marmaris were organized and those who came were accommodated at houses. Domestic tourism was considered as a means of connecting the town residents to Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir. As the home pensions became a preferable accommodation alternative for the middle class inhabitants of Ankara, İzmir and İstanbul, the holiday preferences of the middle class urban people made a dramatic impact on the foundation of Marmaris. Doubtlessly, one of the most important factors that brought about the boost in national tourism is the opening of the Sakar passageway, which leads to Marmaris, in early 1970s. In a study about Amasra conducted by Necdet Sakaoğlu, it is maintained that the middle and high class urban people's tendencies concerning holiday were a determinant factor in the development of Amasra. (Necdet Sakaoglu Çeşm-i Cihan Amasra, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Publications) As a similar trend was observed in Marmaris and based information obtained on the class profile of people staying at the home pensions, it is possible to claim that the middle class urban people's tendency to use up nature, the Mediterranean and the blue had a major effect on the development of Marmaris.

#### **4.3.1.1.The Vanishing of Home-Pension and The Transition to Apart Hotel**

*Houses at the worksite were two flatted dwellings, the lovely gardens of which were full of flowers and trees. (A boat owner and a former inhabitant of Marmaris)*

A change which would affect the future of Marmaris took place in 1981.This is the design of the new city reconstruction plan. The new plan required changes in the plans toward replacing 2-3 floor earthquake houses, which had been built near the sea after the 1957 earthquake and which were also known as construction-site houses, with 4-5 floor buildings. The idea that the future lies in tourism became widespread in early 1980s-this idea did not only apply to Marmaris but also was repeatedly verbalized by those that manipulated the national economic policies-, and this caused attempts at increasing the total number of beds in Marmaris.

Within this context, with the introduction of the changes in the city reconstruction plan, the construction of numerous accommodation facilities in the city center and near the sea became possible. With this change in the city planning, which caused the occurrence of multi-flatted constructions in the coastal places, the earthquake houses were knocked down, and instead, multi-floor, hotel type buildings were constructed. The fact that earthquake houses, which were around 200 in number, were knocked off and replaced with multi-floor houses bred the consequence that the open areas which were used as gardens were diminished and, thus an abrupt transition from pensions to apart hotels took place.

The idea aiming at increasing the bed capacity played a role in the arrangements that allowed the transition from home pension to hotel type accommodation. The governors of the time came to think that the future lied in tourism and the legal regulations allowed the houses which were near the sea side, which is known today as the public beach, to be knocked down. These two considerably affected the years to come in Marmaris. In the following years, this development, which stimulated the spread of apart hotel type of accommodation, proved an appropriate model for the English tourist's accommodation preferences.

Apart Hotel is a model that especially suits English tourists' holiday options. It is stated that, in the second half of 1980s, the English tour operators did pay-cash business deals with land and pension owners so as to help increase the number of hotels, which accelerated the transition from pensions to apart hotels. Those are the years that are also remembered as years when the apart hotel business was pretty profitable, for accommodation prices in Marmaris was two or three times as high as in a hotel in Antalya, and when the owners of the touristic establishments were believed to gain easy money. With the advent of the apart hotel period, thence, started a period wherein foreign tourism manipulated Marmaris. In line with this, it is plausible to claim that the development of tourism in Marmaris was based on national tourism before 1980 and foreign tourism after 1980s.

Foreign tourism started to determine the economies and social life in Marmaris, which led to many people coming to Marmaris from several places of the country and from Germany to find employment and to start business. This was the beginning of a trend for Marmaris on the way to becoming a town prone to immigration. A hotel manager who came to Marmaris from Germany around 1985 and who was first involved in the pension business and then in hotel management retrospect those years in his following words:

I had no idea that I would do this job when I was coming here from Germany. But coincidences drew me into the tourism sector. When we first came to Marmaris there were mostly pension sort of businesses. It was difficult to find a place to stay in those years. Because here were mostly home pensions. People squeezed themselves into one of their three rooms. And they let the other two to the tourists. Even announcement were made by the help of municipality vehicles, recommending this way. There were sometimes people who would sleep in the roof or on the veranda in the open air. İçmeler was only a village then. The coast line up to İçmeler was all empty, mostly rush-bed.

Because the total number of beds was not very high at that time, the agencies were not having busy days as they are today. There were mostly tourists with knapsacks. They used to make their own traveling arrangements. They would not come with suitcases as they do now. And not incidentally the travel agencies wouldn't go to the airport for the transfer of tourists. The tourists would come by themselves and find the place where they will be staying. My business was a one man enterprise between the years 1985 and 1997. It makes 15 years. I converted the pension into an apart at the end of 1997. There were not many apart hotels in 1986. Thereafter they started to construct apart hotels...

It is estimated that the people who can be called as true inhabitants of Marmaris as far as their origin is concerned makes up hardly 10% of the population and the remaining 90% are comprised of people who have settled in Marmaris in the last 20-25 years. Marmaris was prone to extensive immigration especially after 1980. People from every corner of the country flocked to Marmaris. Consequently, tourism was no more a business done in Marmaris by the local people of Marmaris, but it was one done by all people from all over the country. Thus, it can be concluded that today businesses that are considered true tourism business



such as running a hotel or travel agency are done by those who are not originally from Marmaris. A study carried out by Muammer Tuna in 2002 reveals that the ratio of local people-those who were born and grew in Marmaris- to outsiders in the employed population is 30%. Another analysis from the aspect of tourism establishments indicates that only 18% of them is older than 15 years and that remaining ones hardly have such a long history (Tuna, 2002). This situation suggests that the actual development of Marmaris has taken place in the last 15-20 years. As a matter of fact, Marmaris can well be defined as a town made up of people coming from all over the country as of mid-80s. In one sense, Marmaris can be defined as a city, whose jeweler, spice seller, barber, souvenir shop owner, i.e. whose inhabitants of several other jobs, are people who came and formed it to get the advantage of tourism.

#### **4.4. Tourist Traffic in Marmaris**

Generally there are two ways of coming to Marmaris Dalaman Airport and seaway. According to the annual statistics of 2004 the number of tourists who came by airway is 971.595 and that of tourists who came by seaway is 224.844. The number of people who came from Rhodes on daily boat tours or on their private boats is included in this number. People who come from Rhodes make up the major portion of those who come by seaway. Tourist boats from Rhodes organize excursions everyday in high season and once every week in off season. Because those who come from Rhodes do not stay overnight, they are not counted as tourists. The number of tourists coming to Marmaris is below.

**Table 12. A rough estimate of the number of tourists coming to Marmaris district**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Number of Tourists</b>
1996	824.750
1997	916.264
1998	711.550
1999	475.078
2000	605.562
2001	757.258
2002	955.052
2003	954.328
2004	1.196.000

Cruise Ships come to the Marmaris harbor in recent years. These leave the county on the same day of their arrival, following a whole day of city tour. They come 1-2 times a week.

Marmaris harbor is one of the biggest marinas in Turkey as to the yearly number yachts that arrive in Turkey through them. The yachts that come to the Aegean region enter Turkey through Marmaris and Bodrum harbors. Having dropped their anchor for a few days, these yachts go to the neighboring bays and spend an average of one week in Turkey. Marmaris is the harbor used by cruise yachts to enter and leave the country.

As evidenced by the Tourism Information Directorate report, the majority of tourists coming to Marmaris are composed of English tourists. The number of tourists who arrive at Dalaman Airport is 1.295.460, and 596.777 of them are from England, 190.460 are from Netherlands, 138.284 are from Germany, and 93.733 are from Russia. As it is assumed that 70% of them have their holidays in Marmaris, it can also be stated that more than half of the tourists who come to Marmaris are composed of the English. Most of the English tourists come on package tours. In fact, in a study conducted by London Tourist Board and Convention Bureau, it is reported that more than 80 % of the British tourists come on package tours. This may reasonably lead to the generalization that most of the tourists coming to Marmaris do use the package-tour. A standard package tour includes accommodation and transportation.

#### **4.5. The Tourism Business in Marmaris**

Marmaris is a destination in Turkey that obtains the third highest tourism income, after Antalya and İstanbul. Marmaris has all the branches of business that typically exist in a town and all of these are related directly or indirectly with tourism. For this reason, it would be simplistic to restrict the tourism business to solely running hotels, having travel agencies, serving food and drinks, and selling souvenirs. The uniqueness in the planning of Marmaris as touristic resort, the

professional activities that seem unrelated to tourism and to each other all come together within the framework of tourism. As any decrease in the number of tourists coming to the region adversely affects all the branches of business, and by the same token as all of them benefit from an increase in this number, from a broad viewpoint, one can so well assess that all the businesses as tourism business. As a result of the unique tourism relations in Marmaris, any business that seems unlikely to be related with tourism ends up being a tourism business. However, in essence, the quality of a tourism destination and the touristic relations are revealed by how the accommodation and agency activities are organized.

#### **4.5.1 The Accommodation**

Because the accommodation establishments are granted work permit by two institutions (Ministry of Tourism and municipalities), the procedures to assess the standards of theirs are twofold. The number and type of accommodation establishments in Marmaris and in its environs are as follows:

**Table 13. The number and type of accommodation facilities**

<b>Licensed*</b>	<b>Total Number</b>	<b>Number of rooms</b>	<b>Number of beds</b>
Holiday Villages	6	1.482	3.021
5-star Hotel	6	1.415	3.116
4-star hotel	17	2.519	5.469
3-star hotel	44	3.524	6.754
2-star hotel	60	2.726	5.318
1-starhotel	5	123	248
Pension	12	231	455
Apart Hotel	13	675	1.357
Touristic Total	163	12.425	25.738
Licensed by Municipality Total**	631	17.775	42.754
Cumulative Total	794	30.200	68.492

\* Licensed by The Ministry of Culture and Tourism

\*\* Licensed by the Municipality of Marmaris

According a research conducted by Tourism Information Directorate in 1991 there seem to be 135 facilities licensed by Ministry of Tourism, 166 hotel and motels licensed by the Municipality of Marmaris, 50 Apart hotels, 26 Camping sites (tent and caravan) and 275 pensions. Whereas the number of accommodation facilities was 631 in 1991, it is 794 today. Though there hasn't been much change in the total number in about 15 years, one dramatic change has been the disappearance of pensions and camping sites. As aforementioned, the disappearance of pensions can be attributed to their being knocked down and replaced by apart hotels or their being converted into apart hotels. Whereas the number of camping sites was 26 in 1991, hardly ever camping sites exist today.

As can be seen in Table 13 the development model in Marmaris is one that is primarily based on apart hotels. The number of touristic facilities licensed by the municipality is 631, and the total number of rooms is 17.775 (300 of the touristic facilities licensed by the municipality are located in Marmaris, 106 of them are in İçmeler, 86 of them are in Armutalan, 40 of them in Turunç and the others are in Söğüt, Beldibi, Bozburun, Orhaniye, Selimiye, and Çetibeli towns. The growth that was initiated in the city center extended into districts of İçmeler, Armutalan, and Turunç in time. When the total number of rooms is taken into consideration, it is seen that small scale enterprises are dominant. The ratio of touristic facilities with 100 rooms is 17%. Whereas the average number of rooms in the 163 touristic facilities licensed by the Ministry of Tourism is 76, this number is 28 for the 631 touristic facilities licensed by the municipality. That is to say, small scale businesses are a most important hallmark of Marmaris. Tuna (2002) maintains that a development model based on small scale enterprises that takes place in Marmaris hampers the growth of tourism and results in limited rise expected of the tourism income. On the other hand, because the backstage networking of small businesses is relatively more local, it before all else benefits the people in the immediate circle, and more branches of business benefit from the tourism income. What is more, the small and large scale businesses are catered for different tourist tastes and experiences. As a matter of fact, the social and cultural

characteristics of tourism in Marmaris vary from Kemer and Belek provinces of Antalya, which may be categorized as large scale enterprise. What gives Marmaris its distinctive characteristic is small scale business.

The number of touristic facilities licensed by the Ministry of Tourism 163, and total number of rooms is 12.425 in Marmaris. The facilities that obtained their license from the Municipality of Marmaris have an average of 30 rooms, while those that obtain it from the Ministry of Tourism have an average of 70 rooms. This situation can be attributed to the fact that the Ministry of Culture and tourism gives priority to holiday villages and 4-5 star hotels in its practice of granting licenses.

When the number of beds is taken into account, it is observed that in touristic facilities that are licensed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, each room has 2 beds on average, while in those that licensed by the municipality, each room has three on average. The number of beds in municipality licensed ones is 42.754; it is 25.738 in Ministry of Culture and Tourism licensed ones. Therefore, two thirds of the bed capacities in Marmaris are comprised of touristic facilities licensed by the municipality. It is observed that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's overall policy and the attitude to the licensing of hotels and what actually happens in Marmaris differ widely from each other. Apart hotels have never been types that receive priority in being licensed and they have been overshadowed, thus less encouraged, by the holiday villages and the starred hotels. The ratio of apart hotels to other accommodation services licensed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is about 1-2%. In short, it is reasonable to say that the accommodation structure in Marmaris is not determined by the standards set by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. That is, rather than the Ministry of Culture and Tourism but the structuring of global tourism, the relationships between global and local processes, tourist tastes and experiences have become determinant in the development of the accommodation structure of Marmaris.

#### **4.5.2. The Characteristics of Apart System and Its Differences From Hotels**

In fact apart hotel is a more spacious pension. It is the version with kitchen, closet and the shower removed into the room. Its purpose is to help maintain the atmosphere of home in Marmaris. It is enabling them to cook, have a drink, sleep the baby, watch TV, and go onto the balcony (An apart hotel owner)

The transition from pension type accommodation to the apart type has been a determinant factor in the formation of Marmaris. Apart hotels as an accommodation type mostly conjures up British tourists from middle or low socio-economic status. British travel agencies' entering Marmaris tourism industry fostered the spread of apart hotels and the tastes of British tourists has played an important role in the existence of Marmaris' apart based development model. Apart based tourism model is also what makes Marmaris basically different from Kemer and Belek provinces of Antalya, known as a suburban tourism destination. The most significant feature differentiating apart hotels from other hotels is that it provides limited or no food service besides accommodation. In the apart hotel system, the guests fill up the refrigerator in the room with the stuff they have bought from the supermarket. They prepare their meals themselves. In hotels, however, there is one common kitchen, and the clients chose among the food cooked in this kitchen. Food services confine the hotel guests to the hotel. Because the food is included in the price, they do not go out looking for alternative food. Consequently, a tourist staying at a hotel is much less attached to outside when compared with one staying at an apart hotel. A tourist at an apart has to go to the local market at least once every day.

Apart hotels are also different from pensions as to several aspects. There is so much space for common use in pensions. You have to share the toilets, the kitchen, and the bathroom with total strangers. There is no such obligation in the apart hotels. This rightfully makes one claim that the apart hotels are the accommodation option which is very much like one's home.

The shared spaces lessened by the transition from pensions to apart hotels. In other words, a privatization of spaces took place. Better yet, they became familial places. Toilets, showers and kitchen no more had to be shared. Apart hotel turned out to be a model that is better tailored for families. For this very reason, we can claim that the story of the transition from pensions to apart hotels parallels that the transition from drifter type tourist to the tourist who is having a holiday with his family.

Managing an apart hotel is easier than managing a hotel. The average room number in apart hotels is 28. A business of this size hardly needs manpower other than the family members. One who is involved in the hotel business, on the other hand, has to employ numerous employees so as to live up to all the services that are inherently required of a hotel. He is not only responsible for employing waiters, cleaning staff, bartenders but also ensuring that these are qualified. In apart hotels, however, few people are employed at housekeeping and kitchen. Apart hotels are small-scaled businesses; thus, they maintain their services with less number of staff. There are so many apart hotels which are family enterprises. Daughters work at the front desk, sons do the daily unimportant chores, the father the deals with the financial things like the tax and bank transactions and communicating with the tour operators and the mother does housework. The family serves another function at the same time, which is offering the tourists an opportunity to authentically observe, get to know and chat with a typical Turkish family.

Apart hotels usually have gardens with pool, tables and chairs. They are the gathering places. The relatively small size of the gardens allows people to meet, come together and start casual relationships.

Hotels, not incidentally, are more formal. It is more likely at apart hotels that people get intimate. In hotels, especially in those where the number of rooms is very high, there is no space management that brings individuals closer to each other. Hotels and apart hotels are geared toward different tastes and preferences.

The difference between the clients at hotel and the apart hotel reflects the social and cultural distinctions of apart otels and hotels. Hotels are often associated with homogeneity (Rojek, 1993) and the ability to keep standards. Their characteristics are free of local uniqueness. That is, there is not much difference between a hotel in Spain and in Turkey. They are like Tomlinson's *de-territorisaton* and Marc Auge's *nonspace*. The most distinctive feature of apart hotels is their irregularity. There are apart hotels having 15 rooms as well as those having 100. In the same way, just as there are apart hotels with a 10- square meter pool, so are there with 50-square meter ones. For this reason, it is hard to classify them. There are many cases wherein one feature in one apart hotel does not apply to another. There are apart hotels which approximate the hotels as to the physical conditions and services they provide, as well as those that fall into the other end of the continuum and seem closer to pensions.

Nonetheless, the differences between hotels and apart hotels are well beyond services they provide and the physical conditions they possess, for they are more of cultural and social nature. When we depart from Cohen's differentiation, hotels are more like places, the clients of which pursue familiarity, i.e., look for the things that they are accustomed to. For tourists of this sort, there is not a big difference between a 4-5 star hotel in Marmaris and a 4-5 star hotel in Greece or Spain. Services and standards are similar. Considering Cohen's duality of familiarity-strangeness, the hotels are better suited to tourists who pursue familiarity. The more stars the hotels have, the more distinct this characteristic is.

Apart hotels differ from hotels as to certain local features. At the top of them is their informality. An apart is run with a smaller number of qualified personnel. The local features are much more noticeable especially in family enterprise apart hotels. Because an important part of the family's time is spent in the apart hotel, the tourist finds the opportunity to 'gaze' at the Turkish family. Owing to these qualities, at apart hotels, it much easier for the clients to communicate with each other and with whoever runs the place. A holiday-maker at a hotel does not meet with the owner of the hotel or the manager, and he is not concerned about doing



so. It is only the apart hotel clients who can have close relations with the owner of the apart.

Having these characteristics, apart hotels are more suitable as they help foster get-togethers, friendships, intimacy and other relations. That is apart hotels breed *communitas*. For instance, in apart, it is generally seen that there is a communal dining as opposed to dining at private tables in hotels. In aparts there are also so many activities that encourage sociability such as dance, parties, chats, games by the pool or in the hotel garden, jokes, and so on. Hence, they are a closer to characteristics of *carnavalesque*. The traditional Turkish belly-dancer invites people to dance at Turkish nights. This shows that the apart hotels maintain the informality of home-pensions to some extent. In other words, aparts create a kind of *communitas* that is a generalized state of friendliness and intimacy experienced by those traveling together or sharing travel experiences.

Within this context, it is observed that the waiters and waitresses and other personnel at clients' service in hotels and those in apart hotels also bear different characteristics. Whereas in the former, seriousness accompanied by formality is conspicuous, in the latter, one can observe free-and-easiness, animation, roaring laughters and extreme behaviors and attitudes, all inviting people to sit, dine, etc together. This situation makes hotel a formal setting. There, the attitudes and behaviors have been trained and standardized. Generally, graduates of schools that give special training on tourism work at the service, the front desk. They are serious in their relations with the clients and they keep their boundaries. These employees' building and developing relations with clients is a rare happening, whereas the picture is different for a waiter or bartender working at an apart hotel. The labor of apart employee' is performative. In other words, it is the intimacy, closeness, togetherness, sharing, jokes, laughing and games at the apart hotel. This way of performing at the apart hotel has been mingled with their work there, or so to speak it has been part of their job description. In one sense, they act the part of the Turk representing the local. With this characteristic, the apart

hotels approximate to *communitas*. Smaller and more intimate, they have a welcoming atmosphere.

Nearly all of the apart hotels work in coordination with international tour operators. It is almost impossible for an apart to survive without being connected to an international tour operator. 80% of the hotel clients are sent by the contracted tour operators.

As mentioned before, hotel bookings in Marmaris are made in three tariffs, namely one week, 20 days and 15 days. This means that tourists stay in Marmaris with an average length of 10-12 days. In this period, considerable time is spent on the daily tour organized in and around Marmaris. A network of tourism activities is actively carried out owing to these tours organized by travel agencies. The active role and influence of tourism agencies in all tourism activities other than accommodation has made them one of the most important factors realizing touristic experiences and shaping the tourists' relations with the environs of Marmaris. In other words, tourism agencies act as a mediator in establishing a relation between global rules for tourism and Marmaris, thus having an important role in actualizing several practices influencing the tourists' perception.

#### **4.5.3. Travel Agencies**

Simply a tourism relationship compromises three agents: tourist-local-broker. Because today tourism affairs have been so institutionalized, it is nearly impossible to hold tourism activities without a mediating institution. That is, the relationship between tourist and local could not been built without mediators. The role of travel agents is widely emphasized in the literature. For MacCannel (1976) tourists take guided tours because they provide easy access to areas of the establishments which would otherwise be inaccessible. Therefore, the relationship between tourist and locality can not be considered as a direct and unmediated manner (Markwell, 2001).

Brokers are called in the literature as *mediators*, *middle-men*, *intermediaries*, *marginal men* or *culture brokers*. Since they control or manipulate local culture to attend to tourists' purposes they can introduce change within their society (Burns, 1999) and develop certain levels of control over the amount and quality of the communication between hosts and guests. According to Mathieson and Wall (1993), they are in a position to manipulate local culture for tourist purposes without affecting the cultural identity of the host society in a detrimental manner. Markell (2001) argued that the guided tour is itself a prime source of mediation. According to Tucker (2003) they do their works in relation to the image, representation and the myths which destinations have. Generally, in most of the touristic realms they deal with the situation of managing and selling of the experiences, discourse and myth of destinations such as authentic village life, adventure, discovery, oriental life and so on

It is analytically important to understand the functions of the travel agencies, i.e. how they mediate the impact of global tourism at various levels and settings within the contexts of culture, identity and locality, to internalize the dynamics between tourism and locality. The mediating service the travel agencies perform helps, in one sense, the establishment of interaction between macro level of global tourism and micro level of everyday experiences. Understanding the interaction and dynamics between the global and the local tourism is required to evaluate how the industry of the global tourism is actualized in the micro level and the local level of everyday life. Because mediating also involves organizing the tourists' relation with the environment, as well as helping establishing relations with the tourists and local people, it is the most crucial step in manipulating the touristic experiences.

The structure of the tourism in Marmaris has made the travel agencies pretty active. Whereas the number of travel agencies was 58 as indicated by a study carried out by Marmaris Tourism Information Directorate in 1991, this number is 205 today. The evolution of the number of travel agencies over the years is as follows:

**Table 14. The number of travel agencies**

Year	Number
1997	102
1998	102
1999	131
2000	173
2001	199
2002	199
2003	194

There has been a slight increase in the number of accommodation establishments and rooms in the last 10 years. Conversely, the number of travel agencies tripled. This situation hints at the fact that areas other than accommodation establishments have been subject to tourism more intensely and the role of travel agencies in developing these relations has expanded.

The organization of fields other than accommodation naturally has led to diversified tours and touristic activities and an accelerated extension of touristic affairs into the villages and environs of Marmaris. Guided tours to the neighboring villages and towns are an important part of tourism in Marmaris. The guided tours come in the first place among the most memorable experiences of tourists who stay in Marmaris for 10-12 days in average. The high number of travel agencies and their provision of several opportunities for tours are closely linked to Marmaris being destination that does intra-city tourism.

Agencies fall into two categories in terms of what they do and what activities they carry out: *Incoming travel agencies* and *local agencies*. Agencies dealing with incoming tourism are the agencies which market the tourism in Turkey via foreign tour operators and which cater for the tourists' accommodation and other needs. These also arrange for the contracts between the tourist and the

accommodation place. The contact of the accommodation establishment with international tour operators is established with these agencies. Although these local agencies could well be bypassed and reservations could be made via direct contact with the tour operators, this is not allowed as it may cause some legal problems.

Every year, incoming tour operators inform the international tour operators of the number of beds and qualities they offer in tourism fairs. The international tour operator makes the deal with the agency on the basis of the demand in its country. The local agencies, however, get their share of the tourist cake which is out of this circle.

Local agencies that are not directly involved in incoming tourism are so to speak the retail merchants of incoming types. They sell tickets. Agencies organize sightseeing tours and the others sell the tickets to tourists who are interested. Among all agencies, the agencies which do not organize tours but sell the tickets of agencies which do so and get commission over this are called 'street agencies' because the business they do is not taken as creditworthy. However, these agencies play an active role in the structuring of tourist experiences.

Agencies conduct tours of several types. These tours are more of tours related with the nature. Among these, the widest-spread are Jeep Safari, Diving, Blue Cruise, Village Tour, Horse safari/Horse Riding, Quad Safari, Rafting, Fishing, and Wagon Trail.

It is observed that the slogans used by the local agencies in their guided tour brochures and brochures of other commodities, i.e. other tourism oriented services they sell; comply with those of the global tourism.

*Horse Riding:* Birds will be sings only for you (...) you will have a lovely day in a pine forest. The best *adventure* of your holiday.  
*Discover* the beautiful bays of Marmaris (...).

*Turkish Wagon Trail:* Enjoy a *relaxing* day on a horse drawn wagon trail in the mountains. *Explore* the wonderful views of the forests and *wild life*.

*Village Tour:* The *real Turkey* is not as far away as one may think (...). A 20 mile drive can take you to small villages and the local people with *genuine hospitality*. (...) Swimming in the cool water of the water fall is a *refreshing* challenge. (...) After having lunch in an *authentic atmosphere*, you'll be hosted by a local family in their *traditional house* (Eston Tour).

*Bays and Islands/Yacht Tour:* Nothing can *spoil* these days (...). Sunbathing on secluded beaches (...) floating of the boat on turquoise waters and isles with *no touch of tourism* (A Local Agent Brouchere).

To restate, Marmaris' contact with the international tourism market is twofold: First one is through the trio of the tour operator-incoming local agency-accommodation establishment. The second type of contact is made through the local agency's obtaining its clients directly from the tourism industry. The local agency can directly find clients –without contacting the international tour operators- with its own means or via internet.

The tour operator-incoming agency-hotel spectrum can be defined as formal structuring of tourism. Incoming agencies receive commission over the profit of tour operators in this chain. The most important function of the incoming agency is to go to the airport and take the tourists to their hotels, the arrival of whom have been arranged by the tour operator.

Because transportation has been provided in recent years free of charge, the daily tours have been the platform for competition between the incoming agencies and local agencies. The tour operator gets 70% of a packaged tour, and a major part of the remaining amount is spent on accommodation. For this reason, the daily

tours are the number-one source of competition between incoming agencies and local agencies.

The fiercest competition in Marmaris tourism sector takes place between the agencies that pursue incoming tourism and local agencies, and as a consequence of this competition, the incoming agencies depict any structuring outside of itself as dangerous, unreliable, low-quality. Local agencies mostly do their activities in the streets.

Tourism usually conjures up images of hotels and agencies. Tourism can no way take place without the hotels and agencies. This situation especially applies to enclave development models. When the holiday village type of structuring in South part of Antalya, i.e. In Kemer and Belek, is taken into consideration, it can be claimed that tourism activities are merely agency business that involves taking the tourists to their hotels and the organization of these hotels where they accommodate. There is, however, a different situation in Marmaris. Any field other than accommodation provides a source of tourism consumption because package tours only include transportation and accommodation and because accommodation heavily hinges on apart hotels. Hence, many business lines rather than accommodation and agency are directly related to tourism in Marmaris. There, tourism is a sector that incorporates many branches of business. In Marmaris, directly or indirectly, taxi drivers, local markets, shoe polishers, street sellers, educationalists, students, medical staff are just as related to tourism as travel agencies and hotel managers. For this reason, it is difficult to define the business of tourism and determine its boundaries in Marmaris. As tourism brings together diverse businesses in Marmaris, the line between the businesses that are and that are not related to tourism is blurred.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the methodological aspects of this study and development of tourism in Marmaris with reference to the experience, opinions

and ‘stories’ of individuals who deal with tourism for a relatively long-term. It has been appeared that the appeal of Marmaris lies in apart-otel type of accommodation of which standards and characteristics are different from pensions and hotels. Some distinctive local characteristics of apart otels make them and Marmaris as a place providing more intimate and interactive opportunities between individuals. Apart maintains the informality of pensions. Therefore small-entrepreneurship forms the type of business of Marmaris. As many business lines are directly and indirectly related to tourism, the line between the businesses that are and that are not related to tourism is blurred.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE REPRESENTATION AND THE IMAGE OF MARMARIS REGION IN TRAVEL TEXTS**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the representational framework of the process of destination making and its reflections in Marmaris. It begins with the main conceptual issues of the relationships between representation, place and destination. It then examines the interconnections between representations, discourse, image and the production and consumption of tourist destinations. It ends by looking to the main themes of representational framework of Marmaris in travel texts with reference to the discourse of nature, bridge, cosmopolitanism and traditionalism.

#### **5.2. Representations of Place/Destination**

According to Hall (1997), representations connect meaning to culture. It works through using language to say something meaningful or to represent the world meaningfully to other people. It is defined as the description or depiction of something; to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination. To represent also means to symbolize something to someone; representation is defined by Hollinshead (Encyclopedia of Tourism 2000) as the appearance of a thing or event according to conventions. For Hollinshead, under post-modernity, representations and signs are increasingly consumed instead of actual entities by means of the technology of simulation which frame touristic pseudo-events.

Rojek (2005), in his latest study, depicts leisure as a system of representation that works through advertising, television, film, popular music which are seminal value and responsibility in leisure conduct. Besides, leisure practices in the sense of mental and physical choices and actions are co-determined with representations of leisure.

It has been pointed out that the process of touristification involves necessarily symbolic interventions, carried out mainly by visual and representational processes. As an integral part of tourism industry (Edensor, 1998; Rojek, 1997b) and as an active form of spatializing place (Hughes, 1998), representation has also been considered in relation to the production and consumption of tourism. A key role has attributed to the representations in the social construction of place myths, contributing to the cultural production and consumption of landscapes, spaces and places for different people at different times. Representations of other places and cultures have directly and indirectly become effective in today's image-dominated consumption practices. Their content is the vital part of tourist imagination and crucial for the process of myth-making (Selwyn, 1996). Symbols, images, signs, phrases and narratives provide the ideas that fuel the commodification and consumption of tourist sites (Edensor, 1998: 13). Representations of space especially through various texts convince consumers that "they are purchasing the intangible qualities of restoration, status, life-style, realize from the constraints of everyday life' (Britton, 1991: 465). Likewise, authenticity, difference and other can also be emphasized in a representational framework in which their codes become functional to consume tourism. As they are social constructions of reality (Maccannel, 1976: 92), the discourses such as otherness, luxury, escape, get away, health and so on take place in their framework. Touristic representations are based on discourses<sup>1</sup> producing

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<sup>1</sup> Hollinshead (Encyclopedia of Tourism 2000) defines discourse as a statement or talk constituting a social language about a subject. That talk constructs the message in certain 'lights, collectively constraining other ways of seeing and knowing. In tourism, those within a state agency, travel trade association or particular population may (through their speech and writing) consciously or unconsciously prefer certain representations of history, nature and so on, denying rival explanations. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Wang (2000: 173) describes discursive practices as a formation eliminating, defining or justifying something, while simultaneously

meanings for places, cultures, attractions and activities in connection with tourism (Sarinen, 2004).

Since representations play an active role in the process of consuming and producing tourist spaces, to be an attractive site, destinations require image packaging strategies through designs, brand names, slogans and advertising. Moreover, the image that is the perceptions, beliefs, impressions, ideas and understandings one holds of places, has become one of the key factor in the travel selection process. Hence, the role of destination imagery in the development of destinations constitutes 'pull' factors of tourists' have of place and people which they plan to go. That is, image/representation is the underlying factor in a destination selection, a reason to visit a place, destination choose, tourist decision making, and tourist satisfaction. It also may configure and reinforce attitudes and behaviors of tourist in destination place, create new pattern of attitude or change it (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998: 63).

Representations are generally considered as the culminating of several discourses or bodies of knowledge, which work to construct a specific object in a particular way and to limit other ways in which that object, may be constructed (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998: 37-38). They display tourists what to expect, what to look for and how to read the landscape (Tucker, 2003).

As pointed out earlier, the transformation/construction of place is a distinct characteristic of tourism industry. Thereby, the countries are labeled and described with certain characteristics such as 'a land of dreamtime' or 'a land out of time'. Rojek (1993: 180) defines this kind of interventions to the destinations as the way of 'bracketing out of disenchanting' which works through selecting certain aspects of nation and locale with positive mythical, material properties by

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avoiding or excluding others. Wang argues that specific discourses dominate specific type of tourism during a particular period of time and indicates seven type of discourse in the history of tourism from Grand Tour to III Millenium: discourse of education, discourse of health, discourse of romantizm, discourse of rational recreation leisure, discourse of exoticism, discourse of escape or paradise, and discourse of pluralism.

means of manipulating the physical appearance of sights. The negative sides such as urban deprivation, industrial pollution, crime and the racial, political and religious tensions are disguised or eliminated. In other words, changing it to a spectacle in cliché and stereotype, place promotion immobilizes the dynamic world (Morgan, 2004).

Therefore, as visual and mental representations of a place, images may be considered as the "symbolic transformations of a place" (Wang, 2000) and the objects of consumption producing sign-value which consumers follow (Baudrillard, 1998). Their role is to create symbolic worlds that are superimposed the daily world, to convey and to represent socially and culturally sanctioned appeal or 'another world'. According to Wang (2000), by means of image making, the place is symbolically transformed with a few principles such as beatifucitaion, romantization, mystification. Whereas beatification means the selecting pleasant scenes and omitting ugly ones, romantization involves the idealized images such as relics and primitiveness. Mystification is one of the most common and dominant themes in promotional materials which include the amplifying the 'exotic' and avoiding the urban and industrial images. The mystified image works through a wider framework of contrast between the image of modernity and the image of non-modernity i.e the timeless other, the exotic and the primitive.

Although place are represented in a myriad of visual and written texts, as well as in spoken languages, advertising, travel books, travel guides, websites, brochures are most common ways of representing and creating the image of a destination. They are made by the various elements of culture industry and photographic eye, which has a key role to shape the technologies of seeing and understanding of particular place (Urry, 1990).

### 5.3. The Construction of Marmaris Region in Travel Texts

This section is concerned with the characteristics of Turkey and Marmaris, depicted in travel texts. That is, how Marmaris and Turkey is imagined, described or represented in contemporary tourism market? Which themes are used in image-making or myth-making? In other words, in order to make an attractive leisure space or tourist destination, how Turkey and Marmaris is labeled, represented, and stereotyped in global tourism market?

In order to evaluate and examine the representational framework of Turkey and Marmaris, the main themes which British tour operators employed have been taken into consideration. The catalogues and brochure of tour operators and travel agents have been examined in relation to the main discourses of contemporary tourism<sup>2</sup>.

The travel texts depict, label, and describe Turkey and Marmaris region as follows:

Turkey is a vast, fertile, *spectacular country, full of history*, ancient monuments and natural wonders...when you choose Turkey you re choosing 1500 years of history, a fascinating *blend of European and Oriental cultures,superb cousine...* home to historic Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, Turkey is littered with *preserved ancient cities.....long beaches for lazy days* (Manos, 2004).

Turkey has one of the most enviable coastlines in Europa complete with rugged cliffs, *long sandy beaches and secluded coves...* Created from a *fascinating blend of European and Eastern cultures*, Turkey is littered with wonderfully *preserved ancient sites* from Roman theatres to medieval castles... walking through

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<sup>2</sup> For Urry (1990) texts are one of the main components of making tourist gaze which produces the techniques how to see other cultures, societies and places. In MacCannellian terminology, they are considered as 'markers' which condenses many meanings constituting symbolically sights (Rojek, 2005). Promotional texts essentially symbolize a country, place or a nation (Hollinshead, 1999). Since being social and cultural, they may also be investigated and considered as "cultural texts" representing ethnographic knowledge and site of cultural production which can be taken up as cultural artifacts (Morgan, 2004).

the countryside is an inspiring experience, while boat trips are a great way to *explore* the wonderful coastline (Panaroma, 2004: 3).

Turkey is *a land of striking contrasts*, a country that is embracing the new without casting off old... it is a country of big bustling cities and vast open countryside (Holidays 4U Turkey, 2004).

Turkey, *romantic and exotic ...set at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, Turkey offers the best in western, modern facilities in an atmosphere of eastern exotic charm...* Her warm and welcoming people will greet you as a guest, not a tourist... Turkey has long been *a land of tolerance and love*. 'Come, come whoever you are', wrote the famous 13<sup>th</sup> century Turkish philosopher, Mevlana (Paradise Found Limited, 2004).

*...A nation that belongs in no category but its own...* (The Imaginative Traveller, 2004-2005).

Turkey *a land of harmony and contrasts*, a unique holiday destination, which offers so much more than sun, sea and sand., beautiful weather, stunning scenery, fantastic beaches, friendly locals, intriguing history and culture, delicious food (Detur Summer, 2005).

Turkey is *an exotic land, where the cultures of the Mystical East, and Modern West coexist*. It is the land that is blessed with beauty and History (Directtraveller, 2004).

There are many reasons for your choice of Turkey, the treasure house of nature, history and culture which *links the continents of Europa and Asia* and surrounded on three sides by sea... Anatolia, the cradle of civilizations ([www.sideguide.net](http://www.sideguide.net)).

Turkey is a country of many delights just waiting to be *discovered*. Turkey is land of character, ancient civilization, diverse landscapes and wonderful food... the first difference, which you will find in Turkey, is that *you are welcomed as a guest-not a tourist* (SunStop Holidays, Turkey Summer, 2004).

Turkey is *a dream destination* of enchanting resorts, mouth-wateringly good food and golden beaches. A host of historical treasures deserve your attention and water sports keep active souls happy. Turkey delivers fantastic holidays, all around the year (Thomas Cook, 2005).

Turkey *where east meets west...* A glittering fusion of ancient and modern, Turkey is a place where the *exotic sights* and sounds of

the east-mosques, minarets and colorful bazaars- are tempered by the *modern tastes* and expectations of the western world (Prestige, 2005-2006).

A land of history, culture and natural beauty (Sunstop Holidays, 2002).

Turkey's coastline is thankfully not one long stretch of tourist development and it's still easy to *find a traditional little seaside resort where the spread of tourism has yet to compromise the original Turkish character* (JMC, 2001).

Turkish Cousine is one of the most important and richest in the world. For the Turks the meal is a social event, so you can relax and take your time over food.. (Anatolian Sky, Summer, 2001).

*Everything is freshly prepared from natural ingredients* and you will find something to suit all tastes (Anatolian Sky, Summer 2001).

'A bustling resort for sun worshippers as well as those with a taste for history' (Airtours The Holidaymakers/Turkey April 2001).

*Marmaris ancient and modern combine* in today's stylish and sophisticated Marmaris where the traditional harbor bursts with all kinds of sailing craft... Marmaris can be whatever you would like it to be, lazy or lively days, busy or quiet evening... (Airtours The Holidaymakers/Turkey, April 2001).

*Ancient and modern combine* in the sophisticated Riviera style resort of Marmaris, where the traditional harbor bursts with sailing craft, the palm fringed promenade bustles with activity and the narrow shingle beach offers both water sports and relaxation (Prestige, 2005-2006).

*It is the unique combination of the richness of the landscape, the friendly local people, her culture, and her history that make Turkey a magical experience...* Hospitality is a cornerstone of the culture, and visitors to have been sent by God, which ensures you, are treated not as a tourist but as a valued guest (Anatolian Sky, 2004/5).

Try a traditional Turkish bath and massage, known locally as Hamam- it is truly relaxing (Firs Choice, Summer, 2001 First Edition).

Turkey, it is *magic*, it is *different* (Anatolian Sky, Summer 2001).

It is the unique combination of the richness of the landscape, the friendly local people, her culture, and her history that make Turkey a *magical experience* (JMC, 2001: 5).

It is understood from the texts, that variety of characteristics are attributed to Turkey and her coastline: Spectacular; full of history; superb cuisine, crystal clear waters, long sandy beaches and secluded coves; fascinating blend of European and Eastern cultures; preserved ancient sites; the countryside of inspiring experience; wonderful countryside and coastline waiting to be explored; a land of striking contrasts; romantic and exotic; modern facilities in an atmosphere of Eastern exotic charm; a land of tolerance and love; a nation that belongs in no category but its own; an exotic land where the cultures of the mystical East and modern West coexist; waiting to be discovered; a place people are welcomed as a guest-not a tourist; a dream destination; where the exotic sights are tempered by the modern tastes and expectations of the western world; freshly prepared foods from natural ingredients; a magical experience are used as main themes of markers/brochures which label, depict, brand and represent Turkey in international tourism market.

Although texts depict very different characteristics, experiences and tourist tastes, it seems clear that the 'nature-related' phrases have become the main themes in making Marmaris as an attractive and preferable tourist destination. In other words, the discourse of nature has become the most important aspects of representational framework of Marmaris and the development of suitable social and cultural structures and practices.

### **5.3.1. The Discourse of Nature in Contemporary Tourism and Marmaris**

The growth of nature-based tourism and the decrease in the relative importance of mass tourism has been highlighted in various ways (Sarinen, 2004; Franklin, 2003). Accordingly, Macnaghten and Urry (1998) have explored the emergence of 'culture of nature' in most Western countries and argued that this phenomena is a culture that emphasizes valuing the natural, purchasing natural products,



employing images of nature in marketing, being in natural environments and engaging in practices that enhance the 'naturalness of one's body'. However;

Nature is not nearly so natural as it seems. Instead it is a profoundly human construction... This is not to say that the nonhuman world is somehow unreal or a mere figment of our imagination - far from it. But the way we describe and understood that world is so entangled with our own values and assumptions that the two can never be fully separated (Markwell, 2001: 40).

The essentials of nature-based tourism is based on Romantic Movement (Wang 2000; Franklin 2003; Rojek 1993; Aitchison, 2000)<sup>3</sup> which was a reaction to modern capitalist industrialization and a critique of the rising of rationalized space (Crang, 1998) based on the geometric division of land according to the scientific principles stressing the authority of human reason over nature. It is expressed that their position, opposed to the quantification of life, the domination of exchange value, and the laws of market (Wang, 2000: 86) has been the nucleus of the discourse of nature in 20th century. Romantics turned nature as the real essence of humanity.

Because of the critiques of the Cartesian vision of the world and the sublime in the landscape, which were the main vision for Romantics, they stressed the spiritual experience of place instead of rational understanding. By the advent of romantic thinking nature become the sign of 'simplicity', 'idyl', 'authenticity' in contrast to pollution, complexities and artificiality existed in urban environment

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<sup>3</sup> In late 18th century, Romantics bestowed wild places such as lakes, mountains and natural on immaterial qualities. The idealization of the nature was achieved by the promotion of healthy exercise and requirement to create, beautiful, natural, fresh-air settings, improving the balance between mind and body that was deemed essential for the health of mankind and which urban-industrial threatened. Landscape is believed teem with life options unavailable in the East Romantics nature. Romantics anesthetized nature, reinvented the relationships between man and mountains, deserts, rivers and the sea by defining them as more authentic than the relationship between man, technology, industry and the city (Rojek, 2005). The implication of Romantic movement on nature-based tourism has been the "medicinal landscape" (Rojek, 2005) of nature, based on the idea of balance for mind and body, restoring energies despoiled in work and urban existence, renewing relationships between man and the land. In general, breaking clean air, unspoiled hills and doles, natural mountain streams were promoted as therapeutic and the countryside was allocated the task of restoring the Cartesian balance between mind and body that the city violated by the requirements of the labor process.

(Wang, 2000). That is, the romantic critiques of modernity evaluate and approaches simple and natural life aesthetically, and nostalgia, as an anti-modernist discourse, has become one of the most important driving force of nature-based tourism (Rojek, 1995).

Since mountains, forests, lakes and deserts are considered as undamaged or unspoiled by modernity and to get away or to escape from metropolis are regarded as a way to catch freedom of mind and tranquility, contemporary tourism discourses use nature as an oppositional force to the everyday or mundane. (Urry, 1990: 98; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998; Lash & Urry, 1994).

Therefore, there is a close symbolic likeness between the nature-culture opposition and tradition-modernity relationships. According to Picard (2002: 126, ), whilst culture resembles modernity, nature appears as out of history and timelessness in contemporary culture. Likewise, the themes such as *a world apart from modern society, genuine unspoilt landscape, the chance to rediscover old world values, a romantic landscape, warm-hearted people* are to be considered in relation to the modern-tradition and nature-culture dualities.

It can be inferred from the texts that in order to promote Marmaris/Turkey to international tourism market, the themes of nature, rurality, and tradition have been used opposed to the urbanity and industrial. A variety of themes indicates and brands Turkey as a destination beyond the malaise and pollution of modern urban and industrial life. The themes such as ‘unspoilt landscape’, ‘exotic’, ‘simplicity’, ‘tranquility’ and so on reminds Romantic distinctions made between culture and nature. However, it can also be inferred from the texts that Turkey/Marmaris is not delineated solely in terms of its natural and ‘out of modern’ characteristics, but depicted as a place in which plenty of assets may be found. Turkey is a country where the cultures of the Mystical East and Modern West coexist thanks to its special location which is called as ‘bridge’.

### 5.3.2. The Metaphor of Bridge

Turkey where east meets west, is a fascinating country that *blends attitudes the European and Middle Eastern*. Stunning landscapes and coastlines only add to this huge country's enduring allure (Original Travel: Essential Information Guide, 2003).

Since too much familiarities create home-likeness and too much differences from home condition lead to discomfort and strangeness, Silver (1993) argues that in promotional texts, destinations are exposed to consumers neither remote nor touristify. Likewise, advertisement industry generally emphasizes traditional characteristics of countries along with modern or developed characteristics. For instance, the theme of 'scenic wonderland' used as a brand name or slogan of New Zeland to promote country to the international tourism market has been employed in connection with the symbols of progress (Ateljević & Doorne, 2003). Therefore, the construction of the images of different cultures and distant place have become an extension of home and what Hannerz calls 'home plus'. 'Spain is home plus sunshine, India is home plus servants, Africa home plus elephants and lions' (Hannerz, 1990: 241).

For this reason, whilst the tourist space is differentiated from home space, the attributed difference between home and away is not become absolute. In order to eliminate the ambiguity stemming from being in a different place, the familiarity or similarity between home space and tourist space has also been constructed. That is, being in a different place or situation becomes a 'controlled risk' (Rojek, 1998).

The metaphor of bridge complies with the attributed balance between tradition and modernity. Therefore, being in a bridge also means being in two different spaces at the same time. A local agent brochure depicts it as follows:

*A mingling of modern and traditional lifestyles brings you to the old village located behind the resort and still preserved in its authentic features.... for the adventures type there is a leisurely*

hike up through a beautiful canyon located behind the village that sweeps you into another world' (A Local Agent Brochure).

Likewise, the description of Turkey as a bridge connecting east and west has been also officially appropriated: "*A rich varied and dynamic blend of east and west*" (<http://www.gototurkey.co.uk>).

To sum up, Turkey is constructed in accordance with the image of space in which east and west, new and old, modern and tradition merges into each other. Such an image is exactly identical with the many discourses of contemporary tourism emphasizing 'difference' and 'sameness' at the same time.

The metaphor of bridge also implies difference, diversity and multiculturalism. In other words, the depiction of Turkey as a bridge operates to amplify the assets that Turkey has. Therefore, the imagination of Turkey/Marmaris is closely related to the dynamics of post-tourism markets based on developing and celebrating difference to international tourism markets or the characteristics of 'experience economy' indicating the transition to the economy based on the strategies enhancing and stimulating new and different of experiences (Show & Williams, 2004; Sarinen, 2004).

### **5.3.3. Cosmopolitan Versus Traditional**

As a result of the metaphor of 'bridge', it can be presumed that the discursive construction of Turkey is based on a place imaginary in which nature, history and authentic could be consumed in homelike conditions. If we convert this kind of place imaginary to the Hanners's formulation, we may argue that Turkey is home plus orient, nature, tradition, and so on. This formula finds its basic implications in Marmaris case in the signification of cosmopolite and traditionalism descriptions. For example:

Marmaris is a stylish and *cosmopolitan resort* (Cosmos Octobar 2001).

Large *cosmopolitan* resort-great for nightlife, shopping and with a beach too (Sunstop Holidays, undated).

Marmaris, a *cosmopolitan* air surrounded by some of Turkey's most dramatic scenery: Descend into the stunning pine clad bay of Marmaris, with its fjord like scenery and well-renowned beach. (First Choice: Summer 2001).

Marmaris, *cosmopolit harbour towns* (Manos 2004).

Marmaris is a *lively cosmopolitan resort* (Panaroma, 2004: 3).

Marmaris has something for everyone from beaches to nightlife to shopping... a *cosmopolitan resort* you will find English used everywhere... a great place for bargaining-hunting... narrow streets and marina's modern arcade houses... the nightlife is varied with something going on to suit all tastes.

The term 'cosmopolitanism' goes with "a well established tourist town" qualification indicating a place imagery where different and new experiences may be found. That is;

Marmaris is perhaps *the most European* of the Turkish resorts, although a venture into the maze of narrow streets which make up the Old Quarter soon reveals a very Turkish atmosphere (JMC 2001).

The eastern type of manners of cosmopolite Marmaris are generally depicted in terms of features peculiar to market, street, shopping and local bazaar.

Stroll and explore the bustling Marmaris bazaar, *getting the feeling been in Asia* (Direct Travel 2001).

The Market is a riot of local colour... (Cosmos, 2001).

Considering Marmaris with its environs, it may be concluded that this region has both cosmopolite and traditional characteristics. That is, while being represented to international tourism market as a region, the cosmopolite characteristics is supplemented and amplified by traditional characteristics.

The stresses that indicate traditional characteristics are to be identified with nearby places such as Turunç, Selimiye, Orhaniye and Turgutköy. The relationship of these places with tourist tastes is differentiated from Marmaris. In this context, in Marmaris region, different places are identified with various meaning and images in travel texts. Whereas the central Marmaris are identified with the characteristics of developed tourist towns such as ‘a variety of shopping opportunities’, ‘night life’, ‘entertainment’ and so on, the rural environs of Marmaris are depicted and represented to international tourism market as ‘the place of tranquility’, ‘solitariness’, ‘natural life’, ‘traditional lifestyle’ and so on.

The themes which emphasize traditional characteristics may be found in several texts:

If you have ever dreamed of being able to slow the pace of life right down, to escape from the *pressures of modern life, and return to a more natural rhythm then you should visit* Orhaniye, Selimiye and Hisarönü villages situated on the Marmaris peninsula, where you can *really experience a taste of traditional Turkish village life*. (Anatolian Sky, Summer 2001).

Orhaniye is famous for its delicious pine honey -you will see the colorful hives left by the roadside as the beekeepers take the bees up to the fresh mountain air (Anatolian Sky, Summer 2001).

Selimiye is *an idyllic fishing village..* the catch of fresh fish and seafood is served the same day at the seafront restaurants, so renowned for their delicious fare that people travel from miles around to eat here. *The only sounds are those of the craftsmen going about their daily work at the village boatyard and the call to prayer, the haunting chant of the Müezzin, from the tiny whitewashed mosque* (Anatolian Sky, Summer 2001).

Those who dream of being able to slow pace of life right down, *to escape from the pressures of modern life, and return to a more natural rhythm should visit the charming village of Selimiye to experience a taste of traditional Turkish village life* (Anatolian Sky, 2004/5).

Hisarönü, set on a wide sandy bay. The surrounding countryside is beautiful, in a region renowned for *its rich harvest of almonds and fragrant* herbs such as oregano and sage. It is a rare pleasure to be

in an area where you are more likely to come across a herd of goats or a farmer riding a donkey, than coachload tourists (Anatolian Sky, Summer 2001).

Our Philosophy A Tapestry holiday is *not* a package holiday. We dislike the whole concept of mass tourism. Turgutköy and Orhaniye: These two villages are situated close together on the Bozburun Peninsula which is particularly *peaceful*, attractive and *uncommercial area of Turkey*. The entire peninsula is heavily protected by Conservation Laws, for which we are eternally grateful and it provides a real insight into what we would describe as *The Real Turkey* (Tapestry Holidays: The very best of *uncommercial Turkey* 2001).

Turgutköy village has total population of 549 who make their living from the sea land and forest. Village life still goes on much as it has for centuries with locals in traditional garb herding cows, sheep and goats and tending crops of corn, wheat, barley, peanuts and all manner of vegetables. This lifestyle is obviously *healthy* one as the average life span in Turgutköy is eighty two years of age with the eldest inhabitant being a sprightly one hundred and five (Tapestry Holidays, 2001).

Turunç: Full of traditional character, Turunç offers a laid-back holiday atmosphere and spectacular scenery all round (JMC 2001).

Turunç is just 10 km along the coastline from Marmaris and İçmeler, yet you feel as though *you've stepped back 50 years in time*. A heady combination of stunning scenery, crystal clear waters, peace and tranquility, this is the perfect place to 'chill out' leaving the stress and strains of modern life behind, whilst indulging in some serious relaxation (Manos Holidays Summer 2001).

Turunç, for peaceful tranquility look no further than Turunç... Turunç is *small and friendly*, and still holding on to its traditional lifestyle... (Sunquest Summer 2001).

Turunç offers safe sand and shingle beaches (Two thirds of the main beach is a mixture of sand and shingle). Turunç experiences *very little traffic* and with its village atmosphere parents will feel comfortable allowing their children to spread their wings a little (Tapestry Holidays: The very best of *uncommercial Turkey* 2001).

The resort of Turunç must be the choice for those wishing to *experience both nature and comfort...* with a *melding of village life into modern touristic idealism*, secluded amongst its own *paradise...* a short walk within the town brings you to shops with

its authentic hand crafted souvenirs and village products such as honey (A Local Agent Brochure).

Therefore, the themes such as "to escape from pressures of modern life"; "to return to a more natural rhythm"; "to experience a taste of really traditional Turkish village life"; "rich harvest of almonds and fragrant"; "tranquility"; "uncommercial area"; "the Real Turkey"; "healthy and small place", "friendly people"; "timelessness"; "experiencing both nature and comfort"; "a melding of village life into modern touristy idealism" have become the main discourses which describe the environs of Marmaris.

Consequently, villages and its surroundings are labeled against mass touristic characteristics. The experiences, which are defined as opposed to urban and industrial life, such as the experience of tranquility, rurality, timeless, unspoiltness have become the dominant themes of representing the small villages of Marmaris to the international tourism market.

As a region, Marmaris is promoted both in terms of its modern, cosmopolite features and authentic, traditional, natural characteristics attributed to its rural surroundings. The maintaining of the traditional villages of Marmaris and their timelessness and authenticities has been guaranteed by conservation laws.

#### **5.4. Conservation of the Landscapes**

Generally, the process of touristification compromises various practices to keep tourist destinations attractive, seductive and preferable. For this reason, destinations have carried out a variety of precautions, legislations and administrative provisions in order to carry on the life-span of their natural and cultural assets used by tourism industry. However, the preservation or conservation is not simply related to the life-span of natural and cultural assets but to the subject implicating the interconnections of global and local processes (Meethon, 2001). In fact, the preservation of natural assets and the discourse of



natural and cultural conservation have become a globally accepted strategy from nation states to the international organizations such as UN, UNESCO.

Marmaris has been influenced by the global process concerning the preservation of the cultural and historical assets, and this result in making many legislative regulations, directed towards preserving natural and cultural assets. In other words, several discourses of Marmaris such as the pristine beaches and its unpolluted and untouched natural advantages have been struggled to guarantee by means of various laws. Therefore, laws have become significant texts in determining the development dynamics of Marmaris and its region. Forming the dynamics of the construction of Marmaris and its periphery, these laws also give the codes about the tourism development model of Marmaris. The construction obstacles have various functions and implications regarding to the speed and direction of development of villages, opening new fields to agriculture, and decreasing the speed of urbanization.

The most important text related to the preservation of Marmaris Region is National Parks Law. The regions outside the settlement area of Marmaris have been the area of National Park since 1996. İçmeler and Turunç which are as important as Marmaris are also governed according to the article of National Park Law. Besides preserving of natural life, National Parks Law has also the purpose oriented towards sustain aesthetic value of Marmaris. This situation may be seen in a text which promote and define Marmaris National Park: "Marmaris National Park consists of natural resources that one rare in terms of their *scientific* and *aesthetic* value" (Dürüst, 2003: 35).

The significant part of the touristic construction in Marmaris is either composed of fields from those promulgated as National Park or the forest areas allocated to investors by The Ministry of Tourism. The well known enterprises as Turban, Albatros, Magic Life, Martı, İber Otel, Grand Yazıcı, Halıcı, Mares were built on forest areas which had been transformed into touristic enterprises field by the amendment of acts.

At the moment, unless National Park Organization gives permissions or approvals to the new constructions on the areas where the city ends and National Park zone starts, new hotels, settlements and dwellings couldn't be put up. Therefore, in the current legal framework, the more urbanization of Marmaris depends on the policies to be followed by Ministry of Forest and National Park Organization.

On the other hand, constructions on the countryside of Marmaris could be carried out in a framework defined and determined by the Act for Preservation Cultural And Natural Assets and realized as to the permissions established by the same Act.

All of the 14 village dependent upon Marmaris provincial district is under the control of natural and archeological preservation laws. In a research carried out by the Marmaris Governorship in 1988, tourism was stated as livelihood sources of 12 of these 14 villages. The fact that tourism has become one of the main living sources of villages is a result of the characteristics of villages defined as 'traditional lifestyle' and the developments in post-tourism markets constructing these specialties as tourist product.

On the other hand, Marmaris Private Environment Preservation Law is the most significant act which obstruct to construct building and other facilities in bays. Hindering the construction of the bays, the law provides legal framework of realization and continuity of pristine bays, sandy beaches and calm places that yacht tourism seeks. Essentially, keeping villages and bays closed to huge constructions is also important for stabilizing the tourism development and relationships of Marmaris. As, keeping the bed capacity of the accommodation facilities in Marmaris to a certain degree is crucial for all the branch of business in Marmaris , it is clear that, opening new fields to tourism investments and facilities affects whole regional economy in a detrimental manner.

Therefore, in order to continue Marmaris as it is, keeping the ‘traditional’ or ‘authentic’ characteristics of its villages and bays in near township emerges as an a significant issue. In other words, the discourses of tranquility, traditionalism, natural rhythm, pristine beaches in a sense run to maintain cosmopolite Marmaris.

## **5.5. Conclusion**

In this chapter it has been argued that representations are integral to tourism industry and their role ranges from the decision-making process of individuals to the social, cultural and symbolic process of touristification. Representations have been considered as the culmination of place myths, connected with the cultural production and consumption of landscapes. Their consumption and production play an active role in making destinations attractive, seductive and preferable. Basically, they transform places into tourist destinations.

In this context, as a tourist destination, it has been argued that Marmaris is represented in international tourism market to comply with various tourist tastes and variety of images and myths. Marmaris is depicted and labeled as a developed and cosmopolite tourist town where several activities, different tastes may be found and experienced.

However, one of the most common myths of Marmaris is attributed to its natural assets. Nature has become the main discourse which distinguishes Marmaris from urbanity. Alongside its nature, the characteristics of Marmaris region such as ‘out of modern urban life and landscape’, ‘the traditional life style’ are also labeled in travel texts. Therefore, traditionalism and cosmopolitism is depicted in the same path.

It has been pointed out earlier that destinations are not merely constructed in a representational framework but also practiced by various agents including tourists and locals. In other words, place and sites are not only imagined but performed

by embodied practices. As Coleman and Crang (2002) suggested, as well as visualized and textualised, destinations are created through performance. In other words, what transforms a space into tourist destination is not only textual and visual process but the embodied practices of various actors. That is to say symbolic transformation or production of space affects many practices of actors (Meethon, 2001). This idea constructs one of the main arguments of next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **LIMINALITY, PERFORMANCE AND SENSUAL TOURISMS**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter examines tourism phenomena in Marmaris region by focusing on spatial regulations of tourism relationships, and various aspects of the type of experience of tourists. It discusses the specific characteristics of Marmaris in relation to the concepts of liminality, gaze and performance. Because tourism is disseminated to many aspects of community life of Marmaris, it has been argued that tourism market of Marmaris is segmented into a variety of parts replying different tastes and tourist preference.

#### **6.2. The Overview of the Distinctive Characteristics of Marmaris**

The essence of tourism is based on various types of dualities conceptualized as 'play' versus 'work', 'sacred' versus 'profane', 'strangeness' versus 'familiarity'. It has been regarded as the result of the division between the ordinary and the extraordinary (Urry, 1990), phantasmagoria of space (Rojek, 1998) or a way of escape from the rationalization and abstraction of space. In other words, the desire to have a break off the monotony and routine of domestic and work space has become the most common motive behind tourism (Rojek, 1998).

Therefore, the basic precondition of travel is the creation of various spaces different from mundane, everyday (Wang, 2000: 117-118). This differentiation has been explained in terms of sacred, extraordinary, strange, and lucid and indicated that tourism is the all of the practices directed to the differentiation of

space both symbolically and materially. That is, tourism is the major form of leisure activity that cannot be realized within one's own home or home community but as a result of removing people to a place which is less familiar to them.

At the same time tourism has also been conceptualized as a way of consuming other places, cultures and societies, namely a practice and an encounter with otherness. Compromising the practice of encountering other people and places, it has also been conceptualized as the business of 'difference projection' or 'invention and reinvention of difference' in various settlements (Hollinshead, 1998).

For this reason, in order to examine and understand the seductiveness or attractiveness of destinations, constructed through and for tourism, the distinctive social, cultural and geographical characteristics should be determined. That is to say, where do familiarity and difference come into being? What characteristics of Marmaris distinguish it from everyday or mundane? What is in Marmaris that is ready for tourist consumption? These questions may be evaluated by focusing on the experience or tastes, suggested in travel texts and in terms of the opinions and views of local agents.

#### **6.2.1. Describing Marmaris Through Tourists' Perceptions**

The top 20 experiences of Turkey are portrayed by First Choice, one of the biggest British Tour operators, as follows:

Turkey's Top Essential Experiences: Accept a glass of apple tea in one of the many shops whilst on a shopping spree... Ride a Camel... Experience a traditional Turkish Bath... Cover yourself in mud at Dalyan... Share a Dolmush with the locals (including their chickens)... Have your shoes shined by a local shoeshine boy... Discover the caves and bays of Turkey's rugged coastline onboard a *gulet*... Visit a local, weekly market and mingle, amidst the hustle and bustle, with the locals... Play a game of backgammon or 'Okay' with the locals... Twist and turn off the beaten track on a

4/4 Jeep Safari... Sample the variety of flavors of Turkish delight... Experience all delights of Turkey-belly dancing, folklore and Turkish coastline at a traditional Turkish night... Visit a traditional mosque... Wonder at the nimble-fingered carpet weavers at a traditional Carpet Farm (First Choice 2004).

Furthermore, *The Imaginative Traveler* depicts Turkish experience as follows:

Each day is a surprise with the smallest gems of Turkish experience: the jolly bargains with insistent shopkeepers over glasses of hot, sweet apple tea; playful exchanges with village children of local families in their alpine mountain homes; thrilling games of backgammon with bus drivers, waiters and local audiences all jostle to give their own best personal advice over the game; idle chit-chat and people watching from dusty roadside stools through the swirling smoke of apple nargilehs.

These dynamics lie at the heart of a young nation with the oldest of... histories. A nation steeped in culture and beauty and tradition... a nation overflowing with wealth of incredible sites, breathtaking natural splendors and charming, hospitable people... (*The imaginative Traveler*, 2004–2005).

The experiences and tastes mentioned above are well beyond making a country attractive to tourists. They also suggest how to be a tourist in a country and how tourists perceive this country. It is perfectly possible, in Marmaris, to materialize and exhaust these experiences that are depicted as unique to Turkey. The most conspicuous characteristic of the aforementioned experiences is that they are geared toward action and practices based on performance rather than passive viewing. In other words, both texts utilize discourse that invites tourists to be active tourists.

Generally the consumption of tourism occurs in three ways: gazing at landscapes and people, experiencing physical, social and sensory pleasure, and talking (Crang, 1997). In order to understand the elements of tourist consumption, a set of questions were prepared to figure out what tourists basically do in Marmaris; the responses of the local agents to the questions revealed the following:

Shopping, boat tours, going to bars and discos.  
Boat tours, beach and pool animations and entertainment at night.  
Sea and sunbathing, entertainment at night.  
Shopping, night life.  
Sunbathing, exploring the culture, Boat Tours, Jeep Safaris.  
Swimming, Sunbathing, night entertainments.  
It depends on the tourist.  
Swimming, drinking beer, having fun.  
Young people enjoying night life and entertainment, elderly pursuing solitariness in İcmeler and Armutalan.  
Swimming and sunbathing.  
Doing a few typical things of a standard holiday, such as joining a few guided tours, and for the rest of the holiday relaxing all day, sunbathing by the pool.

According to the local agents who responded to the questions, shopping, entertainment, boat tours, sea and swimming pool entertainments, night entertainments, Jeep Safaris, swimming, sunbathing, drinking beer are at the main activities which tourists are engaged in Marmaris.

From the texts and interviews, it is explicit that experiencing bodily, socially and sensory pleasures appear common ways of experiencing Marmaris. In terms of the binaries of vision versus body, it may be suggested that Marmaris is a destination of bodily practices carried out in a variety of tourism settings. Similar themes were also indicated by local agents who highlighted mainly active practices over passive ones in explaining the consumption practices of tourists.

A set of questions were formulated to find out what distinctive characteristic make Marmaris a special place for tourists. To such questions as "What novelty- something that tourists have not known, seen, tried, experienced- have been offered?", "What qualities do you think are unique to Marmaris for them?", "Which features of Marmaris have attracted tourists' attention?". The local agents gave the answers like the following:



A holiday opportunity in one of the most hilarious bays on earth, the sun, the beach and the natural wonders.

Cheerfulness, sincerity in human relations, companionableness, hospitality.

Not being able to walk in the street easily, to be constantly bothered by the commission hunters, children street sellers and beggars.

The characteristics of Turkish people that moderately comply with the rules of Islam.

Turkish people's being keen on friendships, their smiling all the time and Turkish men's being famous casanovas.

Turkish men who keep paying flattering compliments to them in way that they haven't got used to, and their continuously telling them how beautiful they are.

Night life, alcohol, and the diversity of entertainment places.

Friendship, intimacy, caring for others' feelings.

Turkish men's desire to date women older than themselves to obtain European passport.

The fact that there are not so many women working, men traditionally pose with their prayer beads in their hands, the Turkish people's eating the pips of the sunflowers, their talking loudly and overusing body language, being impatient in traffic, despite the pedestrian crossing, drivers' never making way for other drivers or pedestrians, Turkish people's sense of humor and their tendency to make jokes, treating tourists warmheartedly, not being punctual, Turks' talkativeness.

Cheap or reasonable prices, bargaining, flattery.

On the other hand, with other questions – "What are the things that tourists do in Marmaris but not in their country?", "What kind of feelings and experiences mark their visit?"– the researcher aimed to describe Marmaris from the viewpoint of local agencies and find out how Marmaris stands distinct, for tourists, in terms of the mundane and ordinary. The results of the interviews pointed to the following:

Freedom, that there are no restrictions about sex and no dress code.

Their trying to enter supermarkets like Migros and Tansaş with their bikini and swimming suits on and when not allowed, their overreacting to the situation as if it were acceptable in their country.

More relaxed behaviors, getting rid of work stress, enjoying the love and respect they receive here.

Freedom, a relaxed and cheap holiday, human relations.

Enjoying the sun and the exploration of a new place.

Receiving the kind of attention that they would not meet in their own country, and being happy about it.

Their motivation level depends on where they come from.

They have intensive experiences, even drinking, for nobody interferes and nobody cares.

They behave much more comfortably than they would in their own countries and they tend to look down on the people dealing with tourism, for the simple reason that we need them. We are now being treated as a second-class citizen in our own country.

Love and sex. The fact that a granny of 80 can have an affair with a smart lad of 18-23, that those below 18 can go to any bar or disco they like and behave there in the way they like, and that a 11 year old boy can order the bartender to give a glass of wine at the bar.

That a lady between the ages 45–70 can date a boy between the ages 18–25.

The warm relations that they are not accustomed to in their homeland and the way of clothing, in addition to the life style and some sort of relaxed and free behaviors.

Concerning what kind of a tourist town Marmaris is, why tourists come to Marmaris, what are its distinctive characteristics, these and the like have been laid down: natural beauty, hospitality, sincerity, friendships, hot bloodedness, freedom as to dressing and sex, characteristics unique to the bazaar and shopping practices, dress style, freedom in relations, old tourists' being able to find young lovers.

Marmaris could be defined and identified in very broad terms based on social, cultural, and characteristics exclusive to social identity, for as a touristic place, Marmaris has been planned in a unique way.

### **6.3. Enclave-Heterogeneous Tourist Space Distinction in Marmaris**

There is everything in Marmaris (A Local Agent Tour, sales representative).

One shouldn't confuse the approach to tourism in Antalya with other destinations in the city involved in tourism. Holding companies are located in Antalya. They are all on the public land. It is a sector created by the government. The holiday is here is bound to be an artificial one. To put this in another way, it has physical being but no life. There you play music to people but tell them to play, or the food is served and you tell them to eat....However, the holiday is a little different in Marmaris, Fethiye, Bodrum; you don't tell them to swim because they do want to swim anyway. There is no point in telling the tourist what to do. What is more, one does not need to be running a touristic establishment here so as to be making money. In Antalya, however, you have to have one to be able to make money. But here, there are hundreds of barbers, jeweler shops, restaurants (A Hotel Owner).

The touristic facilities in Antalya are hygienic and sterilized. It is a little bit weird. In other words, isolated, and clear away from filth. In order for a tourist accommodated at these facilities to contact with the outer world, he has to get on the dolmush, and go to the nearest town. In Marmaris, however, the tourist is experiencing Turkey as soon as he goes out of the door. In Antalya, a tourist at a holiday village does not know the waiter or the manager. Here however he is acquainted not only with the manager but also his daughter and son. It gives the tourist a sense of trust. In Marmaris, there are surprises in everything. The tourist may come to see all kinds of people like those coming from the Eastern Turkey, and they may even come to make friends with every kind of people from the shopkeepers to the inhabitants of Marmaris. When shopping, the tourist may find both the original and the fake Lacoste. If a tourist has been to Marmaris just even once, there is nothing else in the rest of Turkey that may surprise him. He has learned all. The regulars of Marmaris can easily distinguish between the natural beauty and the man-made beauty prepared for them. You can see tourists every here and there, as they are sitting

on a wall, watching the passer-bys and trying to communicate. Tourists like doing them. They like, in other words, sharing small things with strangers even for a while. They see a different life here. Conversely, everything is set in Antalya: the animators and their friends accompanying them (The Municipality Doctor and An Owner of An Apart Hotel).

In his attempt to explain the unique qualities of Marmaris as a touristic town, a man of tourism usually resorts to contrasting Marmaris and Antalya. Not surprisingly, thus, an authority from GETOB (The Union of South Aegean Touristic Hotels) when comparing Antalya and Marmaris describes Marmaris as a place where tourist experiences are controlled neither time nor space-wise. When the local travel agency says there is everything in Marmaris, he stresses the fact that there is a richness of attractions in Marmaris, and that the tourist can enjoy resting, romanticism, adventure, discovery, in short literally everything here. An apart hotel owner, on the other hand, mentions that Marmaris is a place full of surprises and he underlines the unpredictability element. Tucker (2003), in a parallel fashion, emphasizes that the concept of a place wherein anything and everything can happen, can be found and can be done is penetrated in the Turks and Turkish tourism.

In terms of the distinctions of Edensor (1998), it may be asserted that Marmaris accommodated both heterogeneous and enclave space, yet what makes Marmaris unique is its heterogeneous characteristic. On this stratum, Marmaris falls closer to the heterogeneous end since apart hotel type accommodation is very widespread. Because accommodation is, to a large extent, provided in apart hotels, tourists are enabled to experience a myriad of situations and life choices, which are not predetermined.

On their way to the sea, the apart hotel customers view the school, the mosque, the circumcision ceremony, children playing games in the narrow streets, and their games. To be more precise, there is a space structuring that allows higher degrees of interaction between the tourists and the local people. A tourist sunbathing by the pool of the apart hotel can in the meantime observe the next-

door neighbors' daily hustle bustles. A tourist who is having meal in the apart hotel's garden can witness all the details of local people's daily life, i.e. an adult shopping with kids, a local parent sending her child to the school, and her way of communicating with the child. It is also possible to see the tourists and local people are shopping at the same places, especially at big market places.

It is a very common scene that a half naked tourist passes by a local inhabitant doing his daily chores or a local man comes across a tourist who is sunbathing with topless bikini in Marmaris. In the same way, very commonly, a half-naked woman may be seen walking on the same pavement, or a tourists and local people may be seen drinking coffee in the same local café. The tourists may as well see shabby ghetto houses right next to a modern building as well as children playing games in the side streets, stray cats and dogs, people not seeing any point in obeying the traffic rules when crossing the street, and fake perfumes, textile products, shoes, eyeglasses of worldwide famous brands. In short, the daily routines of the local people and the consumption practices of tourists are interwoven in Marmaris. To put this in another way, the area of life which tourists watch or where the tourist experiences take place is mixed with other daily routines of local life. Because the tourist practices and everyday practices are intermingled to this extent in many situations, the boundaries between the tourist and the local people are quite blurred.

Unquestionably, Marmaris is not a fully heterogeneous space. Though in limited number, the tourist establishments that operate on all-inclusive system and their relation with the tourism market to which they are connected can be considered Marmaris' enclave spaces. Another space that shows enclaved characteristics is international tour operators' latest trend of taking tourist guides along with them from their own countries and functioning with them. In so far as the tourists' relocation in the region and their relation with the local community are through a guide from their own nationality, it can rightfully be said that this new market constitutes one enclaved space in Marmaris. Another reason why this section of the market can be defined as enclave in Marmaris is that these tourists depend on

a guide from their own country in their contact with the local community and movement in the region.

Nevertheless, as aforementioned, Marmaris has stayed away from the exclusive holiday village model in many ways and has always been associated with in-town tourism, so it is much closer to having a heterogeneous identity. In essence, Marmaris appeals to those who want a cosmopolitan town experience combined with a beach holiday.

#### **6.4. Liminalities of Marmaris**

In terms of the spatial characteristics and tourist tastes, Marmaris may also be defined as a marginal space (Shields, 1991) - i.e. a place in which disapproved behavior and actions may be performed. That is, what distinguishes Marmaris from everyday and mundane lies on the performative experiences of tourists and locals in various settings. In terms of Lefebvre's conceptualization Marmaris may also be considered as a *differential space* which individuals like being a part of.

The main characteristics of the liminality of Marmaris can be analyzed and defined under the category of "the experience of disorders". Disorder and foreignness are experienced by both tourists and locals. The disorders are described as follows:

Especially English and the Dutch who have been to Turkey five times and more have a tendency to be like Turkish people. They want to be like them as regards behaviors. For instance, in their first visit they economize on a single lira. The other year, they realize that money is not a big deal. And... they see that Turkish people, when finished with smoking, throw away the cigarette ends onto on the road, so do the tourists start doing the very same thing. May be they do not adopt this behavior automatically the first year. And maybe they throw a few cigarette butts the next year. But they certainly throw them the third year. I bet they do because I have such clients, for as long as eight years. They do whatever is allowed by this disorder. They use the pedestrian

crossing in their own countries, but here they start walking wherever they please (A Local Agent).

They like the order of 'no order' (A Civil Servant).

After they leave the bar, they pee here and there. Can they do it in their own country? No way. But when they do it here, they will boast on this (A Civil Servant).

You cannot imagine how many of such tourists I have seen in the last 7–8 years. They hold their praying beads just like us; pronounce the God's name just like us, saying "Allah Allah", throw the hanky with which they have cleaned their nose onto the pavement, try to smoke in the way we do, press the cigarette end between the thumb and the index finger and fling it into the air in a very typical fashion of Turkish men, and behave far more freely than they could if they were in their own country (A Local Agent).

They do the things that are not permissible in their own country. It is daring for a 60-year-old woman to go to a bar with an amazingly mini skirt. But you will see several of them here...Marmaris is a place where they feel young and behave as if they are young (A Hostel Owner).

A woman who often goes unnoticed in her country may be treated here as if she is a queen (A Local Agent).

Everything that is unsettled is weird to them. It makes them burst into laughter when the dolmush falls into a pit on the road, causing them to bounce on their seats. It is very strange for them to experience some of the problems that they solved 100 years ago. Stray dogs and cats are an extremely unusual sight for them. When they see stray dogs and cats in the streets, they go and stroke them affectionately as if they are the most extraordinary creatures on earth (A Civil Servant).

Consuming and experiencing the disorder in Marmaris plays an important role in its liminality; this is a state in which attributes related to order and control are undermined and *eros* is overshadowing *logos*, and this makes Marmaris a more of a differential place. Lack of rules, freedom, relaxed manners are the main characteristics enjoyed by national and international people no matter if they are connected to tourism or not, and they are the main features associated with the identity of Marmaris.

Some see the lack of order in Marmaris as a natural consequence of combining a town life with all of its push and shoves and beach culture. That is to say, it is a consequence of all the features of a community life of a town living together with a beach culture, and incorporating beach culture into community life.

From a different perspective it may be suggested that the appeal of Marmaris lies in its foreignness; tourists encounter a streetscape different from Europe. Likewise, the hustling and bustling of Marmaris and specialness of street life have been depicted in various texts as a touristic experience.

Therefore, from the perspective of tourists, we may argue that Marmaris is a liminal place, where everyday norms, values and obligations are suspended. For tourists the experience of Marmaris is the search for pleasure in its various dimensions-aesthetic, physical, emotional, sensual and sexual is the primary motivation. Typical behaviors peculiar to the liminality of Marmaris include consuming alcohol excessively, parading topless on the beach, wearing seducing clothes 'to please oneself', getting involved in sexual liaisons with strangers and so on. Marmaris provides the tourist with the opportunities to relax, to feel less constrained, and to be in a less formal manner. They may do different things, wear different clothes, have warped time schedule, and experience new and different activities, which produce a different state of mind. It could be regarded as a place representing a kind of 'a separate life'. Tourists in this space temporarily leave behind their 'serious' or 'mundane' identities and move into a transitory world; that is they enter into 'a world of play'. Hence we may suggest that Marmaris may be regarded as a place of playground of post-tourists, as a world of freedom 'to transcend social limitations, freedom to play –with fantasies and social relationships.

The liminal experience of Marmaris is also a concern for locals, which is mostly considered to be connected with sexualities.



The liminal experiences of Marmaris not only depend on tourists' being able to do many things that they do not do and cannot do in their countries but also Turkish people' being able to do many things that they do not and cannot do normally do in their countries. Liminal experiences of locals may be focused on two ways. First, is through the realization, stimulation and reinforcement of the experience of disorders by middle men and the sharing of pleasure with strangers. From the local point of view, because of its unconstrained and liberated characteristics in Marmaris, sexuality emerges as a main component of liminal experience here. Sexuality and nudity have become much concerned with the ways local transgress, disobedience to rules, or engagement in new forms of experience.

The majority of the labor force who find employment in Marmaris consists of temporarily working men who have come to Marmaris on seasonal basis from all over Anatolia and from several villages of Marmaris, and it is these men who are most conspicuous in the foreground when sex is concerned. Concerning this issue an apart owner says:

They can walk hand in hand; nobody turns around to have a look at them... because nobody cares... everything is allowed here. They come to Marmaris with short hair. They let their hair grow up to shoulder level; they have a haircut only once and this is just before they leave Marmaris Turkey, in other words just when they turn back to conventional life...to their families over there. They wear earrings over here... They can grow hair, experience many firsts in their lives. They can do all of these because they see Marmaris as Europe. People are free to do anything... Behaviors are lax... To cut it short, Marmaris offers two things: earning freely and living freely (An Apart Hotel Owner).

When people talk about tourism in Marmaris, sexuality is high on their agenda. It is widely rumored in Marmaris that female tourists pursue sex in Turkey owing to some superior sexual attributes of Turkish men. Such common belief about Turkish men's sexuality reinforces their sexual identity and even activates their impulses toward sex, because of which it is highly likely to see local tourism agencies to spread and nourish such beliefs. In other words, a large part of the

population in Turkey strongly associates the identity of Turks and Turkish men with possessing women in a chauvinistic fashion. On this topic, a local agent is of the following opinion:

European women adore the way Turkish men master women.. Their men do not own women... Unlike them, a Turkish man can be extremely jealous of his woman. And women do like this feeling... Women feel they are valuable.

Therefore, among the most important reasons why Marmaris is a focal point of attraction and why so many people flock to Marmaris from every corner of Turkey are experiences which erase the line between work and pleasure in Marmaris and subtle penetration of sexually connoted things every where in Marmaris (namely, selling of postcards in the middle of the street which overtly depict sexuality) For a person who is employed amid nudity, the distinction between work and pleasure is naturally blurred.

As aforementioned the most significant characteristic of Marmaris is that small town life and beach culture coexist. For this reason, it is worth mentioning at this point that describing the meaning and organization of the seaside is important for understanding the nature of tourism in Marmaris.

#### **6.4.1. The Seaside of Marmaris: Blurred Boundaries Between Everyday and Touristy**

Franklin (2003) considers the seaside as the manifestation of modern consumer culture and an important ritual of translation into the new world of consumerism and pleasure. In Marmaris, swimming, diving and various activities related to sea are the most common ways of consuming and experiencing a place. That is, sea and the experiences based on and stemming from sea have become the basic attributes which make Marmaris an attractive tourist destination.

Therefore, the beach appears to be the main area of most of the tourist experiences carried out in Marmaris. As indicated earlier, beach has also been the

most emphasized aspect of the liminal situations. Whereas Shields (1991) emphasizes the carnivalesque zone of the beach liberating bodies from the disciplinary practices of workplace and everyday codes of moral conduct<sup>1</sup>, Rojek(1993) labels it as an escape area from contemporary life. In term of the conceptualizations of Urry (1990), it may be described as one aspect of collective gazes, characterized by liminal tourism.

Beach has also been characterized as a place of play /lucid space, a threshold since it is neither land nor sea. Like all betwixt and between ritual spaces, the beach marks the boundary line between nature and culture, a third-space or boundary (Hughes, 1998).

Beach has been characterized as a meeting place of people who do not know each other beforehand. At the seaside status, problems stemming from home, work and everyday relationships are put aside or suspended. Hence, the beach binds people to a feeling of *communitas*, attaches them according to individual experience of transition and renewal of bodies rather than nationality and citizenship (Frankin, 2003). It is a site of transgression, a lace of license, bodily disclosures and excess in which usual norms of privacy and personal space disappear.<sup>2</sup> The beach is also a place of relaxation, adventure and potential for sexual experience.

In Marmaris there are two main swimming areas: public beach and beaches in front of the hotels. The beaches in front of the hotels are mostly used by the hotel customers. They are gathering places both at night and in the day time. Therefore, beaches bear *carnavalesque* qualities with their day-time and nigh-time discos.

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<sup>1</sup> For Shields (1991) the beach was a site associated with health before the 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century it became a place of adventure and seduction. In the second half of the 20th century it has become an axis of the consumption with the cult of sun-ten. The ten has become one of the most easily accessible and universal *sign*. Similarly, Urry (1990) asserts that the beach was a place of 'medicine' rather than 'pleasure' in 18th century.

<sup>2</sup> This particular state is most obvious in the way the *chezlongs* are arranged on the beaches in Marmaris. There is hardly enough space for one person to pass between two *chezlongs*. This situation wherein the space between bodies is diminished is specific to *communitas* and an outlet for circumstances where the distance between total strangers is eliminated.

The public beach, the oldest in Marmaris, is at very central place of the town. What makes it different from the other beaches is that being at town center, it is not a separable place and it is not isolated from the town life. The beach maintains its own rules and culture within the normal flow of the city life. Anyone from anywhere could be a part of the beach. On the beach, one spends his time making very intimate contacts with others. One of the most important characteristics that make Marmaris, Marmaris is that the beach culture maintains its existence in the city life and that liminality is intermingled with everyday life. Within this context, it is possible to sunbath topless in the middle of the daily flow of life.

As a matter of fact, although the beach is at a central point in the city life, the beach culture -i.e. freedom, orderliness unconstrainedness, nudity- is not constrained in any way whatsoever by the public decorum. The existence of beaches in the middle of everyday has not led to attempts at restricting this freedom; the beach culture and everyday life are, and have always, existing together. In other words, structure and anti-structure are not separated but intermingled in Marmaris. Tourism and the liminal space created through tourism is not separated from but located within the daily aspect of the local life.

*Communitas* and *carnavalesque* characteristics ascribed to the beach are made up, structured and maintained by the beach boys. In a sense they may be called as players, culture-brokers and middlemen. The beach culture is reinforced and maintained by them. In a place where the daily boundaries between bodies are unclear, they actualize the performances toward achieving togetherness, closeness, intimacy and friendship. They entertain tourists, invite tourists to join the animations, help them get rid of their shyness, flatter them, make them laugh, boost their egos, make them feel valued, perform all kinds of practices to break away from the seriousness of the daily routines, everyday life, the mundane and the ordinary.

For this reason, the experience of friendliness and intimacy has emerged as an implication of *communitas* and an asset ready for tourist consumption.

#### 6.4.2. Intimacy and Friendliness As The Experience of *Communitas*

According to Franklin (2003) tourism essentially permits a looser and friendlier relationships to exist between individuals and plays a role in removing and suspending the closed manners of interaction in everyday life, in which social distance is the norm. It is clear that in most of the tourism settings looser, closer and friendlier relationships may be found whether it is short term and permanent.

In Marmaris case, as explained earlier, friendliness and intimacy have appeared as one of the most important features of *communitas* or liminal experience in various tourism settings especially in apartments and beaches. That is to say, it is assumed that one basic factor which attracts tourists to Marmaris lies in the experience of the genuine, intimacy and close relationships in Marmaris. A local agent depicts the nature of relationships between two different people as follows:

British families are hungry for sincerity and genuine... This warmth in the relationships is important for them. As for Turks, they take great pride in making friends with Europeans. They may stay friends with a British family even though without knowing a single word in English. They hang around together and communicate by body language (A Local Agent).

From the perspective of local people, most of the people believe that western tourists find intimacy, friendly people, unspoilt and genuine relationships in Marmaris, which do not exist in their country. The term *friendly people* has become one of the most widespread rhetoric of tourism in Marmaris, mainly claimed by locals who deal with tourists. Local people are proud of their features of friendliness and having genuine relations, and for them that the westerners do not possess this quality is a deficiency in their personality.

It is supposed that western people have come on their own and been alienated from their relatives, neighbors and friends when they find true relationships and family life in Marmaris. Local people commonly believe that tourists find ‘the

real' relationships in certain characteristics of Turkish people such as intimacy, friendliness, sincerity, trust, and appreciation in Marmaris.

Intimacy and friendliness are among the personality features tourists highlight.<sup>3</sup> As these two become the two community characteristics tourists consume, it is observed that the local people tend to develop an ownership of these assets, reinforce them and also want tourists to consume them.

### **6.5. Performative Labour: Tourism Employees as 'Performers'**

Early studies concerning tourist-local relationships acknowledge the basic dualisms between the tourist and local who provide them with the touristic services. Supposedly, the relationship between tourist and local is inherently asymmetric since whilst tourists are most concerned with recreation, entertainment and play, locals have to work. According to this, it is assumed that in such models as this leisure time belongs to the tourist and work belongs to the local people; however, with reference performativeness and playfulness of labor concepts, what is essential of play has been incorporated into the field of locals who are at the tourists' service.

According to Crang (1997), the construction of tourist space is the formation of the meaningful settings that tourists consume and tourism employees help this process. In this context, the role of tourism employees has become an indispensable part of the construction of various tourism settings. The type of service which is mostly demanded in the tourism relations is performative. Especially in tourism services that call for involvement in physical experience, play and action, employment of work force keen on playfulness is important. Parallel to this, it is often seen that in many transactions between the tourists and local employees, labor is shaped by the systems of tourist inclinations and along

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<sup>3</sup> In a research, conducted by Mintel Consultancy Marketing for London Counselor's Office of Tourism and Culture is declared that more than three in ten who had been to the country felt that friendly and hospitable people was one of the three most important reasons for going Turkey.

with the cultural and social differences the tourists demand. Thus, employees not only work but also play.

In addition to this, Crang (1997) also argued that the relationship of tourism employees with tourist gaze is two-sided. Employees in tourism work under tourists' gaze, yet at the same time they perform their work in a way that they make tourist direct their gaze to the right place. That is, they are both the object of tourist gaze and subject of causing tourist gaze. To restate, tourism employees work when they are subject to tourists' gazing them and they do breed these gazes. Because employees who serve tourists are continuously exposed to their looks, part of what they produce at work is exhibition of the way of life in Turkey in general and culture of these employees in particular (Crang, 1998). In one sense, tourism workers act to confirm tourists' impression of what a Turkish, local, or oriental, or all of these, should look like (ibid: 118).

Being a tourism worker necessitates both producing the tourist gaze and being consumed by these gazes because tourism is a perpetual process wherein production and consumption mutually nourish each other (Ateljević, 2000: 381). In fact, inclusion of local actors in the tourism discourse is inevitable in the consumption production cycle of tourism (Ateljević, 2003). Reinforcement of the global tourist discourse is dependent on local actors' diversifying them, rendering them unique, and adapting them to tourist motivations. Local actors' successfully doing these increases the means of cultural production. The local agents in Marmaris and in its environs and various communities in the realm of tourism produce tourism discourse with various practices.

Therefore, in various tourism settings the bodies and characteristics of identity may become the object of tourist consumption. Especially, the bodies, eye and hand gestures of those whose work is predominantly catered for bodily pleasures—bathing, swimming, dancing, drinking, flirting, hill-walking are reshaped in the realm of tourism. The employee who rubs the tourists' back at the Turkish bath, the bartender, rafting guy, the diving instructor, beach boy, shop

assistants, and jeep safari drivers reform their bodies and identities as a touristic commodity. Indeed, tourism related labor is not incidentally a cultural commodity. In other words, both actively producing and being sold, employees' selves become part of the product, and their personhood is commoditized (Crang 1997).

Their characteristics which lend themselves to playfulness have become the vital part of this type of commoditized labor (Crang, 1997). This fact points at a situation where the so-called fun that blurs the distinction between work and leisure has become the work itself.

Performative labor performs practices related to body and interaction. Body language heavily based hand and arm gesture is its most important tool. It performs whatever is required in a touristic setting. Street sellers, drivers, waiters- in short, work laborers who take part in almost every field of tourism- try to make tourist experience things that they cannot in their own countries with the kind relations they build. In their attempts, they make the present setting different from the home country. The waiters serve the meal with all kinds of humor, and jokes and doing so, they draw the tourists into a realm far away from the sobriety of the normal life back in the home country. They sometimes take the initiative to encourage tourists who sit at the same table but who do not know each other to start a conversation and become friends. This means they flourish the sense of the community in the restaurant. The performances of employees are all directed at getting people together. The main goal is creating *communitas*. So in a way, what the waiter and the commission hunter make is *communitas*.

The tourism workers both adapt their bodies as an object of tourism and alter their hair style, clothing styles, the way they speak and use body language to fit the tourism setting. Both the man who sells Turkish ice-cream in his authentic costume and the beach boy has adapted their identities to the tourist realm in one way or the other.



Performative labor is a field which evidences that tourism is cultural production or invention of difference (Hollinsead, 1998; Bruner, 2005).

For this reason, from the perspective of locals, it is reasonable to define tourism as strategies of the local community and the actors which are geared toward creating differences and the total of performances containing cultural practices which aim at this end. In other words, tourism in Marmaris is an ongoing process of constructing difference in various settings, including dancing, playing music, selling, smiling, serving, driving, guiding, and so on (Urry, 2004). Indeed, in Marmaris, there are certain circumstances under which this situation comes to the foreground more obviously.

#### **6.5.1 The Consuming Skills**

The profession of a barber shows that the limits of tourism consumption goes well beyond what is merely understood from tourism, i.e. tourism that is usually summarized to be sea, nature, and souvenir shopping. It also exemplifies how a way of life or a skill turns out to be subject to consumption and how it is related to cultural and discursive processes.

Visit a local barber's for a hair cut, neck massage and to have the hair 'Burnt out' of your ears and nose! Really, it's not as bad as it sounds... (Turkey's Top 20 Essential Experiences: First Choice 2004).

The excerpt above signals at the fact that going to a barber in Turkey is truly a different experience. What is distinctive about the profession of barber here is the original style the barber observes in haircut and shaving. It is the concentrated use of hand skills during whatever he does. They do not cut the beard with a straight razor blade in many countries of Europe. They do not use scissors. Upon coming to Turkey, a tourist usually has his beard shaved with the blade. Plucking facial hair, burning out hair, neck shaving, shaving with scissors are accepted to be what make a barber shop in Turkey different from that in Europe. A tourist whose

visit to Turkey lasts around 10 days goes to a barber shop at least once for hair cut and 2-3 times for beard shaving.

There are 86 barbers in Marmaris. The hotels that are in the service of several hotels are not included in this number. Around 70 % of the barbers are active on seasonal basis. There are drastic differences between a barber in Marmaris and that in a place that hasn't been touristified. Although it is banned by law, many barber shops are unisex in Marmaris. A sight of men and women both having a shave is most unusual in Turkey, but it is possible in Marmaris.

According to barbers, what they perform is art. Not everyone can be a barber. There are many barber shops which have names such as 'Magic Scissors', 'Magic Hands'. One will hardly see barber shops with such names as these in Ankara or İstanbul. There, magic is not a word used to explain the job of a barber. The reason for this is that this job is a very ordinary thing, both for the barber himself and for the person whom he shaves. A barber illustrates his job in his following words:

We have the skill. I try to show off a first coming tourist with all the skills I possess. There is no point in doing it to a Turkish customer, for he is already aware of our skills. Being a barber is a work of handcraft, so not everyone can perform it. They are aware of the fact that we are outstandingly skilled.

For this reason, being a barber should mean whatever the handicraft of authentic Turkish carpet or ceramics means. Although these are two very different branches of business, each one of them represents a particular skill when it comes to tourism. Because of the difference between the way hair is cut in Turkey and in England, going to the barber is a ritual or a distinctive characteristic of local community, which may be commodified symbolically. Consequently, it is a most important aspect of identity and profession, and it is of utmost importance for the barbers in Marmaris to preserve and further their skills, maintain their desirable characteristics, enrich them with the addition of new related skills, and help these

unique skills to survive and reproduce. Not surprisingly, a seller of traditional Maraş ice-cream who has been doing this job in the streets for years says that "he creates new tricks every other year, adds new flavors, and has invented how to make strawberry ice-cream and that he is working on producing the mint flavored Maraş ice-cream".

That is, the ice-cream seller not only sells his ice-cream but also offers the traditions, his animated acting for the tourists' consumption, i.e. he also commodifies them. Just as the barber, his skill and identity have evolved to fit the requirements of being playful, enjoyable, traditional, and so on.

A man who has been running a Turkish hamam for 15 years puts the meaning of his job for the tourist so well in his following words:

After leaving the hamam the tourist says he feels at least one year younger... he means it... Anyway, that is what we are trying to do here, get them to say this. They buy bath gloves in order to continue the bathing habits they adopted in Turkey back in their home. It is not possible to simulate this atmosphere at home though. There is traditional bullfighting in Spain and our hamam here. We aim at treating them as if they are sultans for one day in their lives.

The bath attendant utilizes the claim to renewal in his interaction with the tourist. The same claim does not have much place in a Turkish customer's bath experience. The rejuvenating and healing effects, as well as the opportunity to experience some symbols of living in a palace, being like Ottomans or sultans, are promoted to consume Turkish practices of bathing. The Turkish bath operator contributes to and reinforces these promises of oriental experience and renewal with his labor.

Therefore, the emergence and significance of performative labor is both the result and cause of the uniqueness of spatial regulations of Marmaris. Stemming from uncontrolled, unregulated, undetermined characteristics, heterogeneous space

produces lots of tourism settings and relationships, and brings about performance carried out mainly by small entrepreneurs and labor.

In Marmaris the expectations, desires, myths, fantasies, dreams about place are carried out especially by performative labor practices that make change a place as into a scene of fantasy. In various tourism settings, the labor force performs practices according to the expectations, motivations, discourses, and images formed by tourists. It creates differences and originality to get the best out of tourism and resorts to using every opportunity in tourism relations to realize this aim. To this end, they re-evaluate and re-consider their identities, Turkishness, manliness, masculine merits, and skills. Therefore they are not passive but active in their relationships with tourism and tourists. Since they are performative and reflexive, with what they do in the name of pre-modern, primitive, oriental and traditional, they affect, realize, and strengthen the gaze of tourists connected to these discourses.. The force, unseen elsewhere, pushing tourists to Marmaris has become a reality in Marmaris by means of embodied performance of labor.

#### **6.5.2. Touting Vendors in The Open Market: A Way of Encountering Otherness**

One of the most important spheres where the heterogeneous characteristics of Marmaris become obvious is shopping. Shopping has been a popular tourist experience, and in tourism related discourse, Marmaris has widely been referred as *paradise of shopaholics*.

The Market is a riot of local color (Cosmos April-October 2001).

A heaven for shopaholic, much of the town-centre is traffic-free and filled with markets and bazaars.

In Marmaris you will find the best shopping and the opportunity to practice your haggling skills to get the best bargains. (First Choice: Summer 2001 First Edition)

Turkey is a shoppers' paradise... The shopping experience takes on a whole new meaning in Turkey; once you have lost your

inhibitions, you will find that haggling over the price is half the fun of the purchase. Bartering can be hard work and you will often be offered a glass of tea or apple tea to assist the process (Anatolian Sky: Summer 2001).

Haggling is one of the greatest traditions of Mediterranean cultures...once you have got the hang of it you'll not only obtain a real knock-down price, you'll have lots of fun too! (First Choice 2004).

There is a growing interest in the study of shopping experience and its place on tourism (Franklin, 2003). It has been considered as a way of encountering, knowing and consuming other places and cultures and thus an encounter with otherness. Moreover, in a cosmopolitan town, it means enjoying a sense of adventure, performing adaptability and showing openness to any other culture.

Souvenirs ranging from spices and carpet to leather and jewelers in Marmaris address both feelings of being Turkish, oriental, Mediterranean and being English, Dutch. Thus, the souvenirs in a way reflect the cosmopolitan nature of Marmaris. They appeal to different identities, tastes and habits.

The souvenir sellers do not only relate their commodities to Turks, Mediterranean or the Orient but also by selling the ceramic ornaments of the emblems of English football teams, they successfully reach the tourists' English, Liverpool or Everton-selves. The British and the Dutch identity continue to live in the souvenirs and clothes.

The open markets for fruits and vegetables are depicted discursively as the place of fresh food grown under natural conditions, and satisfy the tourists' tastes and their hunger for the genetically unmodified. The open market is the place of wares that are authentic, unmodified, organic, and free of the harms of industrialization as promised in the tourism discourse.

Weekly bazaar at the same time conjures up images of people rushing, shouting, cramming in the crowd, hurrying, bargaining, and with all these properties, it is a

place full of surprises. It is an unplanned, disordered place. Weekly bazaar is an aspect of Marmaris that symbolizes the Turkish or oriental side of it.

Nevertheless, what renders shopping in Marmaris unique is not the stuff on the market but the stallholders; their performances and their original way of selling things make shopping a memorable experience for tourists. No doubt, the stallholders are the people with whom tourists communicate most easily and most often.

The unique way of vendors is locally referred as *touting*. It calls for acting skills above anything else. Generally the seller makes a pass at the tourist, half joking, which starts the conversation. Most commonly, they talk importunately, joke with women or pay compliments to them. The sellers bring along with them their body language, jokes, anecdotes, pretentious miseries, gestures, i.e. most importantly, they bring their dramatic skills. Their lax manners, self confidence, and intimacy are directed at making tourists feel good and relieved. This situation emerges as a part of community-based tourism and marks an area where work and play mix with each other.

This way of interaction which may as well be defined as *garrulity* (vendors' advertising their wares to the passing crowd shouting in a talkative manner) is special to the Mediterranean, the Orient. It is a common way of shopping everywhere in the local life of Anatolia. It points at a tangible life-style. The bus terminals, open markets, street vendors, hunting customers in front of the shops, using body language excitedly are all unique characteristics of the informal bazaar, and experiencing these is the very consumption of different cultures and national properties in tourism activities. The attempts at selling and various related practices mingle shopping and leisure. It is just like a game both parties join. This original shopping style commoditized bargaining as a tourist experience and made it a cultural characteristic. As a consequence, it has been added to the brochures prepared by tour operators.

## 6.6. From Village Tour to Jeep Safaris or From Gaze to Performance<sup>4</sup>

Many early forms of tourism used to rely on the type of tourists who were expecting ethnicity, folkloric features, nativeness and localness, but in recent years an increasing portion of the percentage of tourists have been attending to bodily experiences mainly in nature. In recent years most of the scholars have emphasized the increasing interest in bodily practices (Franklin, 2003). The differences between the village tour and the jeep safaris very clearly yield the transition from the 'gazing' tourist to the 'doing' tourist (ibid).

Village tour is a form of tourism wherein tourists passively look around. Tourists in these tours are passive spectators. They just listen and follow what the guide says and shows. The village tour mainly includes presentation of the pre-modern characteristics of village life. Tourists do not be a part of the village life. The tour merely lasts a few hours. The authentic village life and its inherent settings are often simulated by travel agencies. This sort of touristic experience is alienated from the basic flow of activities in a village. The village has become like a museum. Hence, the village tour is likened to a Maccanaleian type of staged authenticity.

Tourists are brought to villages enclosed in air-conditioned tour buses. Closed-top and closed sides vehicles are used in these village tours as against the open-top, old make of jeeps used in safari tours. The former is inherently closed to the outside world, insulated against dust, filth and heat, whereas in latter the outside world is not a place to steer clear from. Village tour is based on staged authenticity and took place in an environmental bubble. Upon differences between the two types of tours, a local agent comments: "Village Tour is just for the elderly. In Jeep Safari, however, there are action and high levels of adrenalin."

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<sup>4</sup> This section is based on the observations and interviews carried out in a Jeep Safari which I participated in July 2004.

Jeep safaris and village tours are the most important means that take villages and village paths into production and consumption of tourism. The bumpy village roads and dirt and dust mark jeep safaris. Village tours on the other hand are called as old-fashioned. Chronologically, Jeep safaris were introduced into tourism after the village tours. The major difference in between the two is speed. Jeep safaris involve experience based on speed, action, play, whereas village tours aim at fulfilling promises in certain tourism discourse such as pre-modern timelessness, authenticity, and traditional life.

The jeep safari offers the opportunity for adventure, discovery, entertainment and action all at once, enabling the participant to experience liminality, carnivalesque and playful performance, which constitute the very nature of Marmaris. Its play related characteristics are at certain times combined with discovery and at other times with adventure statements.

Jeep Safari takes place on the net of bumpy roads connecting Marmaris to the villages and the villages to each other. After sea, sun and sand, Jeep Safari is one of the most important tourist activities in Marmaris. First Choice pictures the experience of Jeep Safari as follows:

Imagine you are wearing your oldest clothes, scarf tied around your head like a pirate with your sunglasses to the ready. You set off in a convoy, being driven by your 'guide', into the hinterlands of your resort. Your drive could lead through refreshingly cool, tall, green forest space or across peninsulas with sea on either side and where nature is only an arm's length away. You immerse yourself in the stunning views from mountain lookouts and wonder in amazement at the crystal blue azure sea rugged coastline. Paddle in blissful along the shore or douse yourself in a mountain spring or seek out waterfalls to dive into.

Experience first hand the hidden secrets of Turkey, witnessing the welcoming waves of playful children along the roadside, as you pass through the sleepy villages and luscious cultivated plants. Perspective the continuous toil of villagers out in their fields reaping and sowing in their traditional way under the hot summer (the ladies in their baggy trousers and headscarves) – you can



remember this whenever the urge to complain about modern living strikes you.

Think about lunching somewhere traditional and authentic and laughing and joking with your fellow adventure seekers, feeling energized by the simplicity and quality of life and wondering at the landscape, so raw yet so magnificently striking.

Feel the sheer exhilaration of the wind blowing through your hair and the warm sun shining down on you as your convoy heads for home, leaving you with that 'outdoor' glow so rarely experienced back home –well don't just imagine-try it (First Choice 2004).

Jeep Safari is organized when a team of 8-9 people is set up. The name of the team is 'Survivors'. The team is composed of drivers. An experienced guide takes the lead. He briefs the others when necessary at stop points. The drivers do not use their real names. They give up their names for that day only and use names that the British and Dutch tourists are pretty familiar: James Bond, Jerry, Danny, Tarzan, Michael, James, and so on.

Before the tour takes a start every single participant regardless of the age are dispensed with, or sold, a water gun by the organizing team. Water wars have turned out to be the most exciting and most important stage of the safari tour. A 50-year-old tourist who fights in the water wars goes back to his childhood for one day only. Depending on the degree of playfulness, water wars may be regarded as an example of age-suspending, another aspect of liminality (Crouch,1999). When fervently participating in the water wars, the old and the young, people of all age groups live their childhood once again with their own children. The roads open to the normal traffic is the setting for this animated activity. If the competing travel agencies' safari tours happen to collide by coincidence, then the whole event turns into war games between the teams of the two agencies. There are even times when the villagers who water their gardens by the side of the road join the game for a while splashing the tourists. In jeep safaris, everybody from 12 to 50 is a child for a single day in the playground of the forest and village roads of Marmaris.

Safari tours involve heat, dirt and dust, steep slopes, bumpy roads and as Rojek puts it, “tamed-danger” or “controlled- risk” (Rojek, 1998). That is, in jeep safari, you are almost at risk, not truly having it. They do not let real danger threaten the tourists. Even though it is called safari, it is indeed not a real one. Better to say, it is a game people of all ages play. The participants pretend to do something dangerous when in fact there is no danger whatsoever in it. In fact, there is no nature or village seeing in jeep safari. In essence, the jeep safari is solely the travel itself; the participants spend three fourths of the day on vehicles.

In terms of the conceptualizations of Elias, we may argue that the jeep safari resembles the temporary transition to dirty manners, nakedness, noise and all metaphors that tend to accompany the 'uncivilized'. In a way, jeep safari which aims at enjoying and consuming the dirt and dust, danger, nature and adventure allows the tourists to go beyond the boundaries of civilization and adopt uncivilized manners temporarily. Doing so, it symbolizes the dilemmas of 'system versus culture', 'logos versus eros', and 'reason versus desire'.

During safari, the members of the team survivor put aside their real identities and try to make the experience as enjoyable as possible. They are called animators, brokers, middle men, or mediators. Middle men are closer to the limits than they really are in their daily lives, and they take on a personality that displays all kinds of playfulness unlike their real personality in the daily life. Their mission is to entertain, excite, surprise, exhilarate, and to offer limitless freedom though short as it is. For instance, they occasionally allow the tourists to drive the jeep so that they can more genuinely experience the sense of danger. That is, the team survivor tries to contribute some extraordinariness to bodily practices and activities of tourists.

There is more to being a driver in the safari team than driving the jeep; the drivers actively take part in turning the experience into an enjoyable game, doing the necessary bodily practices to help the tourists live all aspects of liminality. The labor force in this case is the very object of the consumption. As a matter of fact,

the labor force employed as drivers in the safari tours do not only talk and perform to fulfill the motivational expectations of tourists but they also themselves, with their very physical being and bodily practices, are the objects of tourist consumption. With their role in jeep safari, they are both the producers and the achievers of the tourism discourse in this field.

It is possible to trace several reflections of contemporary tourism in jeep safari. Better yet, it is likely to see how the organizers of the jeep safari strengthen the contemporary tourism discourse. Honey is presented in relation with health and sexual potency at a honey stand organized for tourists. When honey is promoted, the main themes used in the relevant discourse to reach the tourists compromise the refreshing, anti-aging, satisfying effects of nature and plants grown in natural habitats. Honey is so to speak made a tourist fetish by claims to health, sexuality and youth.

In another route, the starting point of which is an old tree and legends about it, the system which depicts other cultures as primitive is made use of. For instance, the tourism professionals may help spread the rumor that when one rotates around a 450-year-old tree three times, all his wishes will come true according to the believes of local people. Doing so, they foster the category of primitiveness, which is one of the categories structured by tourists in the schemata of otherness. In reality, however, it is very difficult to trace who has started this rumor, let alone know whether or not the wishes come true when a person goes around the tree three times. For some, it is only a story made up for tourists like many others. Within this context, the safari team survivor has to carry out certain practices to contribute to the tree's becoming legendary, mythical, exaggerated and a fetish.

Another myth and the team survivors' role in it can be analyzed in the legend of maiden sand. Kızkumu (maiden's sand), with a unique geographical feature, is one of the stop-points frequented by the survivor team; no matter how far you walk into the sea, the water does not get deep in this spot. The legend about this shallowness in Kızkumu has been related to the antique ages. According to one

belief, a princess who flees from a king trying to invade her land tries to reach the other side of the water scattering the sand that she had filled into her skirt into sea. Unfortunately when there are only 100 meters to go she gets drowned. A variation of this legend says that a girl who is madly in love with a lad on the other side tries to reach him scattering the sand in her skirt into the sea, but before they come together, she runs out of sand and she dies.

The myths about Kızkumu are totally anonymous. To some, these are all the imagination of people involved in tourism. To others, when there is something original that lends itself to a story about it, people just make up stories. Anyway, apparently these myths serve mystifying Kızkumu or other places (Wang, 2000). Survivor team aids the myth-making process (Selwyn, 1996). At another breakpoint, camel, one of the most significant symbols of the Oriental cult, is offered as an element of tourism consumption. The camel tour organizers keep doing this activity although they are against the idea of tourists' associating Turkey with camels, and in some way they become a part of and even contribute to the orientalism discourse.

Therefore, the global nature of tourism relationships may be found in a variety of touristic settings of Jeep Safaris, namely in the components of nature, adventure, myths discourses combined with playfulness of performative labor. Indeed, the tourism labor which contributes to tourism with its performances aim at the tourism discourse and these myths, in other words what is told and believed, to be embodied in the physical experiences and activities of tourists.

In brief, because the tourist experience in the jeep safari is heavily a bodily activity, we can once more underline that tourism in Marmaris is not just a symbolic entity or passive viewing but a busy activity and physical performance. Jeep Safaris are the number-one activities that make Marmaris the playground of the post-tourist. By the same token, we can categorize Marmaris as a place that provides the post-tourists with a platform for play considering that tourism activities that are playful in essence are predominant here. By means of Jeep

Safaris, Marmaris has not been only a place that one encounters but also lives through embodying performance and play.

#### **6.7. The Search for Authenticity in Nature and Village: The Experience of Slow Time or Solitariness**

As expressed in several parts earlier in this study, nature has been placed to a vital position in the process of promoting Marmaris in the international tourism market. Marmaris has been depicted in various tourism texts not only as a cosmopolitan town but also as the land of the unspoiledness, primitiveness and untouchedness, referring to the rural side of Marmaris such as Turunç, Orhaniye, Selimiye.

Nature has become one of the central components of tourism activity, a major tourist attraction, a product and a general trademark with certain qualities attached to particular places, which can be wild, untouched, untamed, scenic, beautiful, and rough (Saarinen, 2004). Nature tourism relies on the attractiveness of ‘undeveloped’ natural areas and the associated activities that can be pursued there. Franklin argues that in contemporary tourism main tendencies of people are to search new means of interacting with nature (Franklin, 2003). These have generally been associated with the idea of ‘rurality’ and ‘village’. Natural beauty and ‘unspoiled natural landscapes’ have been main visual and aesthetic affinities to nature, based on the Romantic cults such as simple life, pre-modern settings and primitiveness (Wang, 2000).

Nature has been expressed in discourse vividly through awakening of feelings such as renewal, recreation and regeneration. Graburn (1989) argues that “varied aspects of land, sea, and sky perform their magical works of renewal- it is the ‘pure’ air, the smoothing waters or the vast vistas that are curative. Nature is curative, performs magical re-creations and other miracles”. In modern sense, nature is loaded with healing, strengthening and curing connotations whereas the daily life –both home and work-has been loaded with devastating, ailing, and sickening meanings.

As a result of the modernist approaches to the nature, the village represents the traditional, authentic, stable, unchanging, real life and so on. Whereas so much in the metropolis is fake, the village is natural and believed to be a true reflection of reality in contemporary tourism discourse (Rojek, 1993). It also represents the middle classes' nostalgia for rural life (Crang, 1998) and the romantic cult of primitiveness (Wang, 2000).

In terms of MacCannellian (1992) terminology the village is authentic and natural representing warmth, safety and associated with strength, independence and freedom. Likewise, Rojek (1993) pictures wilderness unspoiled and non-modern with its beautiful mountains, lakes and deserts and considers it as a sanctuary.

Therefore, the natural elements are to be considered a reflection, a past connection between people and the land, a link which unquestionably has disappeared from contemporary urban and suburban life. In people's mind, the past, authenticity and real experiences can still be found on the peripheries of the modern world, where nature, wilderness and indigenous or other cultural groups untouched by modernity are situated (Saarinen, 2004).

In Marmaris, environs such as Turunç, Orhaniye, Selimiye, Kumluca, and Söğüt are in accordance with the contemporary tourism discourse suggesting rurality, nature and related tourism activities. These places have also been labeled as real Turkey whilst urban and suburban areas like Marmaris are labeled as fake.

Travel agencies of Turunç bring to fore the pastoral and rural properties of Turunç when describing this place in tourism contexts. A tourism agent in Turunç elaborates on how Turunç differs from Marmaris in his following words:

Actually tourists visiting Turunç make this place different in the first place. The tourist here cannot come into contact with English speaking tradesmen and shoppers. The tourists here are extremely content with the children street vendors who attempt at speaking English, the waiters who cannot take the orders properly, and the peace and quiet here. These are what make Turunç, Turunç.

Tourists do feel that they have come to a unique place. Unlike in Marmaris, they do not find anything artificial here. Turunç is not a place where the girls of the village exhibit themselves weaving carpet in their traditional clothes or men boil alizarin in special costumes in authentic-looking settings that are artificially arranged beforehand. The tourist is fully aware of this as well. Anything fake in Turunç will bother you. The villagers are everywhere in Turunç, at the seaside, in the street, in the gardens. It is no place for fraud. No sooner you try it than will it be unraveled. You cannot grab on a tourist's arm to sell her something because you see her 10 times a day.

Turunç has found itself discursive expression with its simplicity, tranquility, the real life, and the real difference. Furthermore, the idea of renewal has also determined the representational and discursive characteristics of Turunç.

In the opinion of travel agents of Turunç, tourists believe to have refreshed their bodies and souls by the end of their visits. There are no traces of the urban life, its filth, and technology here. As a result, Turunç is where there is peace, harmony and idleness. Not surprisingly, the tourism activities that take place in Turunç are based on the romantic notions. In romanticism, long walks and uniting with nature renew mind, body and the soul, helping the rediscovery of the essence of nature and introspection (Wang, 2000).

Away from luxury and intermingled with nature and local life, Turunç and places alike are generally known to be preferred by tourists over the age of 50. The main tourist activities carried out in Turunç are headed for renewal and rejuvenation.

In brief, Turunç symbolizes the non-western other and authenticity. Parallel to this, the unspoiled nature theme, which penetrates almost all marketing techniques and which is a reflection of the modern men's quest for authenticity, has come to fore in the tourism discourse that shapes Turunç as a tourist attraction. For this reason, Turunç is inviting the tourists as it offers what is on their mind: authenticity, timelessness and stability.

### 6.7.1. The Discourse of Solitariness Versus Communitas

The tendencies toward getting away from the fast pace of the modern life and living the present time rather contemplating about tomorrow are taking an important part in the discourse of tourism industry and within this context, people are mostly attracted to surfing, climbing, walking and similar outdoor activities (Franklin, 2003). Individuality rather than team work marks these activities.

Whereas Marmaris may be characterized by its carnivalesque and communitas characteristics, places like Turunç have been subject to preferences toward solitariness. Therefore, the village is also described as the playground of the romantic traveler who has been generally considered as a love figure needing to be alone in nature or in the silent environments (Franklin, 2003; Wang, 2000). One basic aspect of romantic idea lies in loneliness; they do not wish many other people to come to places they prefer. These characteristics have become the main feature of post-tourist in 20th century. To cut it short, places like Turunç turn out to be the perfect destinations for tourists who are seeking merits such as non-materialism, absolute beauty, and simplicity.

This tendency is locally evident in rhetorical expressions such as "tourist do not like tourist", "tourists not keen on the presence of other tourists". Since locals are aware of the tourists' desire for solitariness and simplicity, a place of no touch of tourism has always been preserved in various tourism settings both discursively and by means of local action. In a local agent brochure, the lonely tourist figure is shown as follows:

Nothing can spoil these days. Sunbathing on secluded beaches. Swimming on a boat. Floating turquoise in turquoise waters and isles with *no touch of tourism* (A Local Travel Agency).

A local travel agent who aims at helping the romantic tourist of 20<sup>th</sup> century enjoy peace, solitariness, silence and simplicity does, above anything else, steer tourists away from any condition which may threaten their expectations.



We drew our route in a way that our customers do not come across with the other gangs of tourists. Other tours pass close by us, but we still avoid coming into contact with them (A Local Travel Agency).

Being far from the crowd or unpolluted by tourism are also most commonly highlighted features of and widely made promises by the cosmopolitan. As a local agent expresses, there is everything in Marmaris! There are also uncommercial and authentic places in Marmaris. Thus, preservation of such places as Turunç has become a crucial issue for tourism employers and employees.

If Turunç develops and becomes as civilized as Marmaris, it is bound to lose some of its customers to Kumlubük. In one sense, Turunç is a representative slice of Turkey. It hasn't really lost its contact with Turkey, i.e. it is not like Marmaris, yet at the same time it is becoming detached from Turkey because they want to be like western countries on the verge of Turkey's becoming admitted to European Union. It is a conflict. If we are Europeanized, we will certainly lose our tourism identity. Two kinds of tourists come to Turkey. In the first group there are tourists who come to Turkey because it is cheap. The second group is comprised of people who want to discover Turkey, and these people often go to places like Turunç. We have to make a good analysis of why tourists come to Turkey and we have to prevent these reasons from disappearing, or else tourism will come to a cease in Turkey. Places like Turunç should maintain their authenticity for ever. Why don't people go to Spain any more? Because tourists complain that Spain has turned into a miniature England. The same thing applies to Marmaris; there are many that see Marmaris as a copy of England.

In one definition, tourism is the construction and structuring of tourist spaces in accordance with the motivational systems of tourists (Black, 1996). In this process, the spaces are adapted not only to comply with the representations and images but also practices of consumption as demanded by tourists. The tourist and local people practices which give a place its tourism identity are different in Marmaris and in Turunç. Marmaris is a place to play (Urry & Sheller, 2004) and Turunç is a place to rest owing to different practices. Turunç has been constructed

as an ideal village within nature, simplicity, tranquility as demanded by the global tourism industry.

Nevertheless, the survival of both Marmaris and Turunç as touristic resorts depends on each other. It is because of the cosmopolitan features of Marmaris that places like Turunç find themselves a place in the tourism market, yet at the same time the very presence of these places adds much to the richness of Marmaris. We cannot talk about a Marmaris without Turunç. Marmaris means Turunç and vice versa. Even though Turunç and Marmaris are described with quite oppositely connoted words and offer different experiences, they cannot sustain their existence without each other. Hence, there is a mixed perception over Marmaris as it appeals to both the romantic traveler and the active tourist.

## **6.8. Conclusion**

In this chapter, mainly the roles of actors have been examined in the process of differentiation of Marmaris from homelike conditions of tourist. Marmaris is a liminal, heterogeneous tourism space. In Marmaris because accommodation is, to a large extent, provided in apart hotels, tourists are enabled to experience a myriad of situations and life choices, which are not predetermined. Then the tourist practices and everyday practices are intermingled to this extent in many situations that the boundaries between the tourist and the local people are quite blurred.

It has also been argued that performative labor play significant role of producing and consuming tourism system by means of various practices. Because there are many occasions for close relationships between tourist and locals, Marmaris provides many occasions to affect, direct, reinforce and change many discourses of tourism. Labor has become very effective in this process. Because of its liminal characteristics the distinction between work and play has become blurred in many tourism settings.

Regarding tastes and experience of tourists it may be concluded that Marmaris has become a place 'doing' and 'acting' become more important than 'gazing'. In view of the increase in post-tourist sensibilities, it is clear that Marmaris has become a place new and different experiences are searched and realized. As emphasizing the concept of a place wherein anything and everything can happen, can be found and can be done in Marmaris it may be concluded that agents have become active elements of tourism production system.

Besides its natural characteristics have also constructed Marmaris as a destination which romantic sensibilities could be realized. Local agents in this process also play many roles to strength many discourses of contemporary tourism such as traditional village life, unspoiled nature, authenticity and so on.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONTESTED SPACE**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

In previous chapter it has been argued that the heterogeneous characteristics of Marmaris and the distinctiveness stemming from the combination of beach culture and town culture distinguish her from the artificial places namely enclave ones. It has been argued that for most of the tourism employees tourists consume ‘Turkish reality’ in Marmaris. This chapter is mainly concerned with examining reverse ideas claiming that Marmaris is not a Turkish reality but an artificial reality, a dream space. It is argued that while making Marmaris an attractive touristic place for tourists, this situation causes different voices to arise concerning some aspects of tourism relations.

#### **7.2. Marmaris: Does It Reflect The ‘Real Turkey’ or Is It ‘A Contrived Area’?**

Because of the blurred boundaries between local and touristic areas, Marmaris, from the tourists’ point of view, has been considered as a place where most of the characteristics of Turkey can be found. However, from a different perspective, Marmaris can also be labeled as a place unpertaining to the real characteristics of Turkey. Marmaris has been evaluated by a majority of people as a place which does not reflect the real Turkey but is rather a dream, a fantasized area, not characteristic of the common and mundane life style.

That is to say, as a liminal and unstructured space separated from the mundane of Turkey and the home country of tourists, Marmaris resembles the characteristics of "the border zones" of Bruner (2004) and most of the "in-between" space conceptualizations. It is both Turkey and not.

The answers to be given to questions of which characteristics distinguish Marmaris from the real Turkey or from the common characteristics of Turkey and which areas would be recommended to a tourist seeking the real Turkey show with which features Marmaris assumes the characteristic of being a 'front-stage', 'a borderzone', 'a third-space' or 'in-between space'.

Thus, the differences between Marmaris and the 'real' Turkey can be expressed by local agents as follows:

It is a place where customs and traditions are not considered very important. While there are places in Turkey where couples cannot walk holding hands, in Marmaris one can see couples making loving along the seaside, in cars or on streets.

It is an artificial place, very different from the real essence of Turkey for various reasons.

When compared to Turkey in general, it caters to more modern and European tourists.

It is a place dependent on tourism.

Owing to its greed for earning money, Marmaris no longer reflects the real Turkey.

Everything is a fantasy. It is like a small European city, far away from the social and economic problems experienced by the rural areas.

A section of people who consider everything by means of money live in Marmaris.

The number of Turkish restaurants is small. There is foreign music and foreign restaurants everywhere. Night clubs are full of teenagers who get on tables and act in ways which would normally

be unacceptable in their own towns. The Turkish customs and traditions do not prevail in daily life.

Marmaris is a European, modern town.

It is a town that is beyond Turkey's life standards.

Owing to the tour operators those living in Marmaris have been adopted to a certain culture. Marmaris evolved with the consideration of what a tourist would want not what the people of Marmaris themselves would want.

Thus, the features that distinguish Marmaris from the 'real' Turkey are: alienation from customs and traditions, the inclusion of sexuality into everyday life, alienation from the real essence, being modern and at the service of European tourists, being shaped according to the tourists' point of view, the distortion of people due to their greed for earning more and more money, foreign music and dance prevailing everywhere, the existence of places where people can indulge in actions that they would normally not be able to do at their hometowns, and being an artificial place which the tour operators have created.

Then what are real or common Turkey and its characteristics?

It is a place where people do not earn money without producing anything, where people greet each other with no commercial concerns, where there are fewer modern buildings, where foreign language is spoken more sparingly, where the majority of the populations live on farming or agriculture.

There are more natural areas.

There are villages and cultural entities.

It is our traveling gypsies and our common culture, our wedding ceremonies, our way of asking for a girl's hand for marriage, our friendship and cooperation.

It is our Bayır village, the Orhaniye region and our traditional life style.

Real Turkey is made up of the non-touristic cities, where people like helping each other.

It is the villages of Marmaris.

It may be inferred that the ‘real’ Turkey has been considered in relation to tradition, rurality, village, and relations that money has not distorted, and Marmaris has been associated with such concepts as corruption, artificiality, money, the loss of customs and traditions. These traits, which differentiate Marmaris from the real Turkey, in a way, define the front-stage. Thus, the fact that many of the features that make Marmaris a cosmopolitan town is not associated with the ‘real’ Turkey reveals that the social life in Marmaris is thought to have no relation to its real essence.

Definitions expressed as reality-artificiality or as common-unusual can be regarded as a different aspect of the conflicts between liminality and order.

#### **7.2.1. Liminality versus Order**

Within the framework of Wang’s (2000) eros-logos conceptualization, it is possible to define the essence of tourism as controlled experiences realized in permitted places. Liminal places are places that are kept separate with respect to time and place from the normal and common places. For this reason, the relation between liminality and order is inherently controversial and implicates the contradictions between ‘Apollo and Dionysus’, ‘logos and eros’.

As previously mentioned, Marmaris is a destination where tourism is carried out within the town and where town culture and beach culture are intermingled. While making Marmaris an attractive touristic place for tourists, this situation causes different voices to arise concerning tourism relations. Accordingly, it has been revealed that the courses of tourists’ actions in Marmaris are directed with the notion that everything can be done in Marmaris, that the actors within the realm of tourism approach tourists holding this notion and, as a result, order and liminality, which have entered all spheres of life, are intermingled and thus conflict with each other in most cases.

This situation emerges most evidently in the problems arising from the fact that apartments and hotels are intermingled with houses and schools. The conflicts between liminality and order appear in the dilemma of whether the beach should be organized as an entertainment or a relaxation place and sometimes in the dilemma of whether or not apartments and hotels should be far from the houses. In general, converses concerning the seaside and apartments emerge as an area in which the Apollo and Dionysus conflict is reflected (Franklin, 2003: 166).

Owing to the struggle between the Dionysian and Apollonian type of impulses (Franklin, 2003: 166), the beach in Marmaris has become a site of struggle between those who try to define it in terms of excitement, relaxation, and play and those who regard it as sexually depraved and morally dangerous.

Thus, there are two issues related to space resulting in cultural conflicts in Marmaris. The first is the beach or seaside and the second is the apartments and hotels. Tourism has intermingled with daily life; it has become a part of daily life. This situation has in recent years caused the Beldibi region, the town's farthest place to the coast, to develop as a house territory.

Thus, apartments are primarily the focus of the issues raised and discussed in Marmaris. Some of these discussions are on the evaluation of the swimming pool, one of the indispensable elements of the apartment hotels, and on our relation to the pool.

Thus, English tourists' apartment hotel practices become an element of the evaluation since it is believed that, owing to their actions, Turkish people's relation to water and the pool changes; an Englishman's relation to the pool is not accepted by an average Turk. It is a common belief that a Turk who goes to an apartment where there are English tourists does not want to go into the pool of that apartment.

They (English tourists) drink beer, they suntan and sweat by the pool, and then jump into the pool swimming in dirty water. Later, they continue going into the pool. We generally do not like the



pool. We do not have a pool culture. We like the sea and we are cleaner than them (A Civil Servant in Municipality).

Aparts are both the reason and the outcome of the discussions on all the issues related to tourism in Marmaris. For hotel owners apart hotels are considered to be far from a serious tourism business and are evaluated as a model which causes low quality rather than high quality tourists to come. The view that apart hotels are not in fact hotels also prevails in the Culture and Tourism Ministry. Thus, the apart types of hotels have not been a model of accommodation which is encouraged.

They have continuously directed the tourists to the apart hotels... The international agencies... this prevents the high quality tourists from coming... Spain has realized this mistake and converted the apartments into hotels... if apartments are to be established, this should be done with in a planned way. Apartments should not be run with 15-room buildings with a 15-metre square pool... This is not the way to do it (A Hotel Owner).

The contradiction between liminality and order is most evident in the religious views, educationalists' views and in the approaches of the permanent settlers of Marmaris to the tourism in Marmaris. Thus, an educationalist says the following in relation to the difficulties of the order of education in Marmaris:

We cannot do education at school. When education starts in September, we start dealing with students' hair, earrings and piercings. They are all under the influence of holiday (An Educationalist).

Tourism leads to cultural assimilation in children. Before learning their own identity and culture, children get to know Germans, English people and Russians. However, they mature fast, they get to know life earlier and see that the world is not only comprised of the place where they live (An Educationalist).

Education in Marmaris is difficult. When the tourism season starts in April, children's attention is distracted. During the summer months, many children work in pubs and restaurants and come to school having learnt many different things at these places. There

are many children who have alcohol dependent fathers. Similarly, there are many children whose mothers and fathers have divorced or separated. Families who come here (Marmaris) are spoiled. Those who come here to do tourism business are usually those who cannot succeed in doing anything in big cities. Marmaris is a *place of comfort and freedom* (An Educationalist).

Tourism in Marmaris can be defined as a performance played and realized in liminal places. However, these performances sometimes take place near areas of settlement and sometimes within them. It is not possible to find a differentiation made between practices of leisure and work in modernist approaches, or they may have become vague. Marmaris has become a place where the distinctions between work and leisure are de-differentiated.

### **7.3. Multivocalities of Marmaris**

Consequently, the differences in views concerning Marmaris, identity, and space make Marmaris a contested space in which a variety of views have been produced as regards the various aspects of tourism relationships. The quotations below show that the relationship between tourism, place and identity is contested, dynamic and multi-dimensional. The meaning of Marmaris varies according to whether or not a person is in the tourism business, and shows that the conflicting feature of place can be observed in many different ways.

All the places where there is tourism are bound to be spoilt. (A Tour Beller).

There is sea and sand here, nothing else. There is nothing belonging to our culture here (An officer in the Province Tourism Directory).

Culture is the source of tourism... Cultural entities, museums, folklore, customs and traditions, and art, harmonized with the sun, sea, green and forest areas, should be focused on and presented to tourists (A Tourist Guide).

Whereas in history the Turkish cuisine was offered, nowadays cuisine is equated with döner and kebab. The döner and kebab

have killed Marmaris. Tourists did not use to know the kebab 20 years ago. They would eat whatever we ate (An Otel Owner).

The relaxation and entertainment places in Marmaris have been set in wrong places. While the entertainment places should be far from the coast, they are set by the seaside. The beach or seaside should be a relaxation place... that is how it is all round the world (An Otel Owner).

Houses and hotels being intermingled is harmful (An Apart Otel Owner).

İçmeler is a good example of a place where houses and hotels are separated (A Local Agent).

If say that we should reflect the Turkish culture, conflicts and differences would appear. This is like being forced to eat a dish that you do not like (An Otel Owner).

If we do not reflect our differences, we will lose our touristic characteristics. We are trying to resemble them since we want to enter EU, but as we try to resemble them, we are losing our touristic properties (A Local Agent).

Marmaris has a different image from the Turkish image. There is no fixed cultural identity in Marmaris. Hotels are not designed according to the Turkish people's demands, customs, traditions, and habits (Religious Functionary).

Since tourism has entered all the spheres of the social life in Marmaris, almost every individual is heavily influenced by tourism and thus tourism has become subject to various evaluations. Marmaris has multi meanings. Therefore, there is no single type of tourism, and its various aspects are interpreted differently by different actors involved, based on subjective meanings that individuals hold (Davis, 2001). The owners of a tourism attraction, the workers in it, religious authorities, education departments, and residents attribute different meanings to Marmaris. Because Marmaris has a feature of having multi meanings, it has also become a place where conflicts are experienced. On the one hand, Marmaris is mentioned as a place where there is romantism and where families can relax, and on the other hand, it connotes hedonism, consumption, entertainment, play, pollution, distortion, corruption, the loss of natural entities, drugs and

prostitution. Thus, Marmaris is both a place where there is harmony between global tourism dynamics and the locality and a place where incompatibilities and conflicts are experienced.

The interviews show how tourism and its outcomes have been negotiated intensively by a variety of people in society. The themes may be evaluated as a search for a new identity for Marmaris, improving it with new characteristics, or a revelation of traditional characteristics or nostalgia to old Marmaris. However, the implications of contested space should be evaluated and interpreted in relation to the type of pleasure, hedonism and consumption which tourism brings to Marmaris.

Therefore, the critical and counter positions to the real tourism of Marmaris may be formulated as tradition versus tourism and culture versus tourism.

#### **7.4. Tradition versus Tourism**

Generally tradition comprises all manner of social practices and institutions, and the embodiment of authentic ways of life. The meaning of tradition as a life style is different from the meaning attributed to tradition by the tourism industry. The tourism industry regards tradition as a commodity to be presented to the consumption of tourists. However, tradition, just like modernism, indicates life style and appears as a category in which the differences between the practices of tourists and local people appear. In other words, tradition at the same time enables the establishment of social and cultural distinctions. When it is talked about traditional food, the traditional style of entertainment, traditional sports, and the notion of a traditional type of consuming free-time, a differentiation is made between those that are deemed as traditional and those that are not. That is tradition becomes a category establishing the boundaries or displaying differences between various types of tourism relationships.

Every social formation or "localized forms of knowledge" (Meethon, 2002) has established codes to differentiate between which leisure practices are appropriate, regular and healthy and which are deviances. According to Meethon (2002), opinions on tradition and modernism play a significant role in the establishment of boundaries, differences and categorizations between tourists and local people. Thus, there may be numerous cases where the implications of the encounters between tourists and local people are evaluated in relation to tradition. Because of the differences between these codes, a certain behavior is defined as appropriate or inappropriate. In general individuals' behaviors, feelings and conducts are continuously assessed within the scope of the differences between the modern and the traditional.

In this case, the behaviors and practices indicated as appropriate or preferable within a place indicate the boundary between the tourist and the locality/identity, the distance between tourism and locality and appear as a manifestation of the multivoice of the place.

The quotation below shows that the relation between culture and tourism can be evaluated from many different angles, such as social relationships, ethical judgments, place arrangements, and cultural identity.

There is nothing related to local tourism. There is no Turkish brochure in the Tourism Information Directory. There needs to be planning. Culture originated facts should be taught. The price of everything is indefinite. Shopkeepers should be educated.

Tourism has entered Marmaris before civilization. 47% of the couples are divorced. The moral values, customs and identities of small children have disappeared. Tourism is a disaster for Marmaris. Money and prosperity bring disaster.

In our culture the bar does not appear as the first place you confront when you enter a hotel. In Marmaris, you first encounter the bar in a hotel. For this reason, the eligible age to drink alcohol has been pulled back in Marmaris to an earlier age.

Children observe everything before their puberty age. Perhaps democracy is too much for Marmaris! There is a great extent of moral corruption and degeneration. I do not know whether this derives from tourism or the media.

Children become materialistic. In our culture hotels are not the places where people entertain. There are bibles in the drawers of the hotels abroad, so there should be the Quran in ours. The food does not belong to our culture. There is no prayer room in the hotels. In our culture there is no notion of entertainment. Tourism should be carried out in a respectable way. People act as clowns to attract tourists. We are humiliating ourselves to entertain tourists. We are belittling ourselves under the disguise of service. The hotels are not proper. There is nothing other than alcohol and swimming. I believe tourism should be a congregation like a football organization.

The safaris are interesting. 20 jeeps stop by the road when they see goats eating grass have the tourists get off and take their photos. They go into old, corrupted village houses. This distorts our image. Agencies, consciously or unconsciously form a primitive image of Turkey. Rather than the real Turkish Village and villager, a primitive Turkish image is presented to tourists.

Tourists do not know our history. None of the characteristics deriving from our history is present in Marmaris. The tombs are not introduced. Information about our mosques is not presented accurately. Tourists are even stating that our mosques are built in the Italian style.

Even on some beaches in America it is forbidden to suntan topless!

Tourists view our natural beauties, drink beer and leave. We do not have a museum or a religious building. There are just hotels and apartments. There is no place left reflecting cultural features.

There are hotels near schools. Primary school children see semi-naked women lying near the pool. Women in shorts pass by while the Friday prayers are being conducted.

The Turkish nights are like buffoonery... Those who do these do not think about what their culture entails. They have no intention of presenting their own culture (Religious Functionary).

The quotation above show that with the disappearance of traditional behaviors and practices and the characteristics of the traditional life style in streets and

public places, Marmaris is now known with its pleasure, hedonism and entertainment.

The distinctions made between the traditional and non-traditional can be observed in many areas in Marmaris. The beaches of Marmaris, ways of entertainment in apartments, the behaviors and conducts in streets and shopping centers, the behaviors and conducts of mediators, night entertainment, and the way Marmaris and Turkey are presented are the most common controversial issues.

It has been argued previous chapter that tradition appears to be a response to the tourist's pursuit of a different and extraordinary feature mainly in relation to the experiences concerned with the symbols representing traditional life. However, it may also be found that tradition is a category to be negotiated while talking about such concepts as pollution, distortion, corruption, disappearance and erosion of values. According to this, tradition is sometimes a category negotiated when a relationship is found between tourism and corruption and is sometimes a situation related to the longing for the lost values and features. Therefore the relationship between tradition and tourism is ambivalent.

At another stance, tourism is bombarded with criticisms regarding cultural and folkloric values. Evolved as a reaction to the emphasis laid on pleasure, hedonism and entertainment in Marmaris, this view has the tendency to emphasize culture against real tourism.

### **7.5. Culture versus Tourism**

The place stands for a set of cultural characteristics and says something not only about where you live or come from but also about whom you are (Crang, 1998). In recent years a more important problem has emerged concerning the sense of belonging. A variety of elites and intellectuals have commenced debating the problem of identity, Marmaris and tourism:

Marmaris has no identity. Identity exists with a memory. When Marmaris is mentioned, ugly buildings and structures come to mind. People are degenerated; their sole concern is money. Those with a sound occupation would not come to Marmaris. Those who come to Marmaris to run a business are comprised of those whose businesses are corrupted. Marmaris has lost its image of a cute, small town. From now on it should seek ways of becoming an elite holiday town. It should find a new identity for itself in this line. Marmaris exists with its entertainment, but it should exist with its history (A Writer).

Marmaris should have a city identity and should become a brand. (A Person Dealing With Health Apparatuses).

Marmaris is a touristic town where global processes and local sensitivities meet, conflict with each other and are discussed. In recent years there is an opinion rising that Marmaris has become a place where very few people feel at home owing to the high number of immigrants Marmaris receives, the presence of individuals from various cultures, unplanned development, ugly buildings, its entertainment places rather than its relaxation places being focused, and the emergence of a tourist-based style of life. Very few people feel Marmaris is their home town. The exclusion of those who have witnessed and experienced the rapid social and cultural change in Marmaris from this process caused problems related to identity and belongingness to appear.

The increase in questions related to identity and belongingness is in a way a result of mobilities replacing space or Marmaris becoming a pass-through place rather than a place to live (Urry & Sheller, 2004).

Relaxation is not part of Marmaris' identity and appears as a nostalgic feeling related to the history of Marmaris. Marmaris has lost its feature of being a town where one can relax. When Marmaris' identity is mentioned, mostly entertainment, action and shopping come to mind.

For this reason, there are attempts to abandon the 3S definition of Marmaris – the Marmaris Sea, Sun, Sand - and secure features of an elite touristic town. In recent



years, the elites of Marmaris have begun defining their town as a city of cultural town and assumed an approach of revealing the history and culture of Marmaris.

#### **7.6. The Negotiation of Locality in Belly Dancing**

It is possible to find everything at Turkish nights. Turkish nights are no longer Turkish nights... there is almost everything – shows, magicians... There is everything you look for with the intention of attracting tourists (An Otel Director).

Turkish night is just a name. The point is just show (An Otel Owner).

Another conflict experienced in relation to issues of identity and the Turkish and eastern identities emerge, in a different way, with the distinctions made between Turkish nights and belly-dancing. The Turkish night is one of the most widespread experiences of tourists in Marmaris. Almost every tourist group is made to watch a Turkish night. Even though the indispensable element of Turkish nights is belly-dancing, it is primarily made up of entertainments and shows. An apart, hotel or entertainment place intending to organize a Turkish night consults the Police Headquarters. Thus, a tourism businessman who wants to organize a Turkish night has some bureaucratic and official responsibilities to carry out. However, if a belly-dancer is included in the Turkish night, the Police Headquarters does not the night to be called as the Turkish Night. If a Turkish Night is to be organized, there should be no belly-dancer; if there is a belly-dancer, the name is not allowed to be Turkish Night.

Consequently, the official view (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism) states that not foreign music but Turkish music must definitely be played at Turkish nights, that activities should be in accordance with Turkish customs and traditions, that there should be no conducts or behaviors that degenerate our Turkish customs and traditions or reflect our culture inaccurately to the foreign guests, that there can be a belly-dancer only after the Turkish Night ends, not during the Turkish

Night, that examples of the Turkish cuisine should be presented, handicrafts, such as carpets, kilims, bags and socks belonging to the region should be exhibited.

Hence, both The Police Headquarters/The Ministry of Interior Affairs and the Ministry of Tourism hold the common view that belly dancing is not associated with the Turkish Night or with the Turkish identity. However, in practice, it is belly-dancing that makes Turkish Nights meaningful. The belly dancer is the indispensable element of these nights. It is impossible to imagine a Turkish Night without a belly dancer considering both the image of orientalism existent in contemporary tourism and the post-tourist motivation seeking belly-dancing. Belly-dancing is the most widespread performance of the Turkish tourism.

The difference between the official view and the practice of tourism concerning the Turkish identity and belly-dancing appear as different aspect of the conflicts between global and local features. Even though the official view is not content with the belly-dancing being associated with the Turkish identity and although there are interventions striving to prevent this, the association between belly-dancing and Turkish Nights continue to exist. Thus, the applications regarding Turkish Nights defined by the official view have not been put into practice. What a Turkish Night is and how it should be is defined by the tourism industry. We can maintain that global tourism has developed tourism practices according to its own understanding of the Turkish identity.

## **7.7. Conclusion**

It has been argued in this chapter that tourism is multi-dimensional and complex phenomena and become a hot issue subjected to various interpretations and voices. Whilst tourism has made Marmaris a consumed place with its various aspects and a 'playscape' creating openness and accessibility (Junemo, 2004) to numerous interventions, this situation become a reason of raising contested views. Because of the high number of tourists, and rapid development the issues concerning various aspects of tourism has become a matter negotiated, discussed

and evaluated with reference to tradition, culture and identity. Not only the lifestyle that tourism brings, but also the products consumed by tourists become a controversial issue whether they represent real identity, tradition or not. This may be seen explicitly in an ongoing conferring around an issue that whether ‘belly-dancing’ is Turkish or not.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **CONCLUSION**

This study has pursued to assess tourism phenomena in a variety of theoretical perspectives and practices its reflections in a coastal tourist town. In the first chapters of this study, tourism theories have been investigated and evaluated in its various aspects including the issues concerning the concept of tourist and tourism and their implications on tourist-receiving countries. It has been argued that tourism is the basic characteristics or metaphors of contemporary life and its emergence is inherently related to the social, economic and cultural transformations of modern societies. Since the Second World War, its scale has been disseminated to the every corner of globe and almost all communities have become interrelated to the tourism relationships in a way.

The emergence of tourism in developing countries is basically the outcome of the social, economic and cultural transformations of developed western societies. Because of these transformations the developing countries have become subject to the tourism production and consumption system. By the advent of global tourism, their social, cultural and natural assets have been (re)produced (re)defined, (re)evaluated, (re) captured in order to set them ready to the tourism production and consumption system. In this vein, the local communities become agents to participate into the tourism production and consumption system in a variety of ways.

Therefore, tourism in a sense, as Lanfant (1995a) argued, is a problem of identity which emerges mainly in struggles to reach a decision made for promoting the assets of local communities as a tourist product. Besides, the matter of tourism is also contested and controversial. Basically, the social and cultural differences in host communities find its reflections in most of the issues concerning tourism production and consumption processes. That is, tourism and its various outcomes is understood, defined, evaluated and judged in a number of ways depending on social and cultural differentiation within local communities. Whilst evaluating by local communities as a way of participating global world in the name of 'renovation' and 'invention' of local difference and uniqueness, it may also be considered as a thread diminishing local uniqueness by homogenizing tourism product on worldwide. Therefore tourism and its effects, as Wang argued, is an ambivalent issue (Wang, 2000).

This study has been designed in a perspective to understand how tourist town is Marmaris. In doing so, various tourism settings, issues, discourse, representations and several manners of the relationships between tourist and toured have been taken into consideration. As tourism has been affecting many aspects of social, economic and cultural life of Marmaris for a long time tourism is regarded and evaluated in every sphere of life. In fact, Marmaris has been made by and for tourism. In this study the meaning of Marmaris is examined with reference to its representational framework in international tourism market and the tastes or experience of tourists. Then, the role of actors in realizing these tastes in various touristic settings and relationships has been investigated.

It is explicit that the tastes and differences consumed by tourists have been gradually increased by means of developing, transferring, displaying and evaluating tourism potential of Marmaris in a number of ways. This is because of the growth of 'tourism reflexivity' (Urry & Sheller, 2004) which makes actors more sensitive to the dynamics of global tourism. Therefore various transformations between tourists and toured and spatial implications of these

transformations have made Marmaris as negotiated, performed, gazed, and contested in a variety of ways.

The basic characteristics of Marmaris may be attributed to its liminalities. Depending on its 3S -sun, sea, sand- type of tourism, sea-related activities and experiences have made Marmaris as a liminal tourist destination or marginal space (Shields, 1991) in which everyday obligation and work-home routines are suspended. For tourists the experience of Marmaris is the search for pleasure in its various dimensions-aesthetic, physical, emotional, sensual is the primary motivation.

In terms of the distinctions of Edensor (1998) it may be asserted that Marmaris accommodated both heterogeneous and enclave space, yet what makes Marmaris unique is its heterogeneous characteristic. On this stratum, Marmaris falls closer to the heterogeneous end since apart hotel type accommodation is very widespread. Because accommodation is, to a large extent, provided in apart hotels, tourists are enabled to experience a myriad of situations and life choices, which are not predetermined.

In the opinion of tourism entrepreneurs in Marmaris, tourists coming to Marmaris have particular characteristics, the tourist profile in Marmaris is comprised of tourists who come to Marmaris over and over again, and while the tourism in, say, Antalya suffers from the extra ordinary events such as war and terror, Marmaris is not much affected by these circumstances.

Marmaris is primarily known as a destination the major tourist activities of which are organized within town. The environs of Antalya however carry out tourism activities out of town and they have enclave characteristics. Travel agencies in Marmaris emphasize the fact that Marmaris is much different than Antalya in that the enclave tourism that is embodied in the form of holiday villages is not that wide in Marmaris and Marmaris does not have the characteristics of this type of

tourism. This is important in understanding the distinct characteristics of Marmaris, the perception of tourists, and their consumption practices. It is certain that Marmaris is the place for both airport-hotel-airport type of tourism market and a tourism market that doesn't allow and favor structurally organized predictability. The latter determines Marmaris' identity as a tourism destination, though. Considering the fact that the majority of tourists visiting Marmaris come on packaged tours, we can once again assert that Marmaris is more of a place where predetermined tourist activities are unlikely. However, package tours generally include only transportation and accommodation. In other words, the time to be spent apart from these two is not included, which gives the tourist some freedom as to how to use this space and time.

Therefore, several fields of the social life –walking in bazaar, cutting hair, bargaining, and so on– have been subject to tourist consumption due to the heterogeneous space property of Marmaris. Traditional tourism activities wherein diversity and variedness are enriched can be observed along with numerous practices involving skill and physical experiences. Marmaris is a tourist resort where tourists are invited to consume several aspects of community life and local people are encouraged to embody several aspects of community life through expressive and performative experiences. According to this, it is the local life itself that is consumed by tourists in Marmaris. Local community is commonly consumed in Marmaris because it is readily available there.

As the tourist practices and everyday practices are intermingled to this extent in many situations, the boundaries between the tourist and the local people are quite blurred. In essence, Marmaris appeals to those who want a cosmopolitan town experience combined with a beach holiday.

Tourism in Marmaris may not be simply evaluated in a free-time activity. Rather the consumption and production of tourism has become interrelated with various sides of tourism processes in which global and local processes are negotiated.

Tourism has become an activity which constructs and forms Marmaris and its environs in a variety of ways including symbolic, cultural and social processes. Marmaris has been represented in international market by various themes in accordance with the space imaginaries of late modernity. That is, Marmaris is depicted and represented to international tourism market in accordance with the themes of global tourism such as cosmopolitanism , traditionalism, natural wonderness, authenticity. These themes are produced as a tourist experience in various settings.

In fact, the representation, image and discourse of Marmaris in international tourism markets have led to the development of many socio-spatial practices to realize them as an experience. In short, Marmaris has become a place where ‘myths’ can become ‘reality’ through performance of agents employed in various tourism relationships. This might be observed mainly in nature-related tourism activities.

In Marmaris the expectations, desires, myths, fantasies, dreams about place are carried out especially by performative labor practices that make change a place as into a scene of fantasy. In various tourism settings, the labor force performs practices according to the expectations, motivations, discourses, and images formed by various ways. Therefore they are not passive but active in their relationships with tourism and tourists. Since they are performative and reflexive, with what they do in the name of pre-modern, primitive, oriental and traditional, they affect, realize, and strengthen the gaze of tourists connected to these discourses. In other words, by means of their search of something different from ordinary, tourist experiences have reinforced awareness of difference in Marmaris. This may be found in various manners and socio cultural characteristics. Not only natural assets or geographical characteristics but also skills, bodies, manners, gestures have become subject to tourist consumption. In this context, the discourse of ‘friendly people’ has become the most widespread rhetoric both produced by locals and consumed by tourists in various tourism



settings. Therefore, intimacy and friendliness emerges as the experience of *communitas* and the experience of the genuine, intimacy and close relationships peculiar to Turkish people is assumed one basic factor which attracts tourists.

For this reason, from the perspective of locals, it is reasonable to define tourism as strategies of the local community and the actors which are geared toward creating differences and the total of performances containing cultural practices which aim at this end. In other words, tourism in Marmaris is an ongoing process of constructing difference in various settings, including dancing, playing music, selling, smiling, serving, driving, guiding, and so on (Urry & Sheller, 2004).

Therefore, the emergence and significance of performative labor is both the result and cause of the uniqueness of spatial regulations of Marmaris. Stemming from uncontrolled, unregulated, undetermined characteristics, heterogeneous space produces lots of tourism settings and relationships, and brings about performance carried out mainly by small entrepreneurs and labor.

As mentioned earlier the tastes and experience of tourists has been gradually changed and differentiated along with the changes in the dynamics of global tourism markets. In fact, the global nature of tourism relationships may be found in a variety of touristic settings of Jeep Safaris, namely in the components of nature, adventure, myths and discourses combined with playfulness of performative labor. Indeed, the tourism labor which contributes to tourism with its performances aim at to realize discourse and myths, in other words what is told and believed, to be embodied in the physical experiences and activities of tourists. Jeep Safaris creates a fantasy world within which physical activity takes place. And these activities contribute to the effectiveness of myths.

In brief, because the tourist experience in the jeep safari, which is heavily a bodily activity, we can once more underline that tourism in Marmaris is not just a symbolic entity or passive viewing but a busy activity and physical performance.

Jeep Safaris are the number-one activities that make Marmaris and its environs as the playground of the post-tourist. By the same token, we can categorize Marmaris as a place that provides the post-tourists with a platform for play considering that tourism activities that are playful in essence are predominant here. By means of Jeep Safaris, Marmaris has not been only a place that one encounters but also become a playground through embodying performance and play.

As discussed earlier the characteristics of Marmaris tourism market have been determined on a large scale by the dynamics of global tourism markets. In terms of the conceptualizations of Lash and Urry (1994), it may be argued that Marmaris tourism market reflects many transitions from fordist production to Post-fordist production. That is, increased diversity of preferences, proliferation of alternative attractions along with the gradual increase in the number of travel agencies, the growth of nature tourism-related activities have made Marmaris sensitive to the dynamics of global tourism. In general new activities such as trekking, safari, biking are pursued through enterprises that are related to the specificity of “experience economy” (Sarinen, 2004). Segmented into a series of consumer groups catering for different tastes and styles, Marmaris bears characteristics of post-tourism market.

Marmaris tourism industry accommodates a wide variety and an abundance of styles. This variety is in terms of both representational and tourist practices aspects. Thus, Marmaris is segmented into a series of consumer groups whose different tastes and styles are catered for. It rightfully means Marmaris is a tourist area sensitive to post-tourist motivations.

In terms of the conceptualizations of Urry (1990), we may argue that as a region, Marmaris is the place of both collective and romantic gaze. The tourist activities in the town center fall into the first group. In contrast, those in the environs such as Turunç, Hisarönü, and Kumlubük are more of romantic gaze. To generalize,

we can maintain that the farther one goes away from Marmaris, the more romantic gaze the activities become, and the closer one comes to the town center, the more tourist experiences and spaces there are complying with the collective gaze. To be more precise, Marmaris region is a place where romantic travel and commercial tourism cohabit. To be candid, however, Marmaris can more easily be described with the performative experiences based physical performances rather than sole visual experiences. Not incidentally, physical practices -doing and acting rather than seeing-, the variedness in the travel agencies' tour programs, and heterogeneous features of touristic place render Marmaris a place keen on detecting post-tourist tendencies.

Themes such as nature, authenticity, adventure, discovery, rural life and paradise are not only used in the imaging of Marmaris, but they are also the themes with which the post-tourists define themselves (Harrison, 2003). This is the reason why active participant type of tourists is more commonly seen than passive viewer type of tourists in Marmaris. And these themes better comply with the new tourist image mentioned by Mumford and Munt (1998). Another reason why Marmaris can be said to have a multifaceted image is that it incorporates most of the modern myths –i.e. nature, self-realization, and paradise– as Hennig (2002) mentioned. That is why post-tourists' consumption practices are greatly influential in the Marmaris tourism sector.

It is acknowledged that tourist destinations are social and cultural constructions whose meanings and values are defined, redefined, interpreted and negotiated by diverse groups (Squire, 1998). Marmaris is no exception of it and has multi meanings. Therefore, there is no single type or understanding of tourism, and its various aspects are interpreted differently by different actors involved, based on subjective meanings that individuals hold (Davis, 2001). The owners of a tourism attraction, the workers in it, religious authorities, education departments, and residents attribute different meanings to Marmaris. Because Marmaris has a feature of having multi meanings, it has also become a place where

disagreements or clashes are experienced. On the one hand, Marmaris is mentioned as a place where there is romanticism and where families can relax, and on the other hand, it connotes hedonism, consumption, entertainment, play, pollution, distortion, corruption, the loss of natural entities, drugs and prostitution. Thus, Marmaris is both a place where there is harmony between global tourism dynamics and the locality and a place where incompatibilities and conflicts are experienced.

It has been argued that the heterogeneous characteristics of Marmaris and the distinctiveness stemming from the combination of beach culture and town culture distinguish her from the artificial places namely enclave ones. That is Marmaris is a destination where tourism is carried out within the town and where town culture and beach culture are intermingled. While making Marmaris an attractive touristic place for tourists, this situation causes different voices to arise concerning tourism relations. Accordingly, it has been revealed that the courses of tourists' actions in Marmaris are directed with the notion that everything can be done in Marmaris, that the actors within the realm of tourism approach tourists holding this notion and, as a result, order and liminality, which have entered all spheres of life, are intermingled and thus conflict with each other in most cases.

This situation emerges most evidently in the problems arising from the fact that apartments and hotels are intermingled with houses and schools. This conflict materializes as the appearances of the contradictions between liminality and order, namely in the dilemma of whether the beach should be organized as an entertainment or a relaxation place and sometimes in the dilemma of whether or not apartments and hotels should be far from the houses.

Therefore Marmaris is a touristic town where global processes and local sensitivities meet, conflict with each other and are discussed. Because of various types of mobilities and travels including people, capital, objects, signs and informations it has become a place where very few people feel at 'home'. Owing

to the high number of immigrants Marmaris receives, the presence of individuals from various cultures, unplanned development, its unattractive structures, its entertainment places rather than its relaxation places being focused, the dynamics making Marmaris as 'playscapes' (Junemo, 2004) very few people feel Marmaris is their home town. In a way the exclusion of those who have witnessed and experienced the rapid social and cultural change in Marmaris from tourism development process caused problems related to identity and belongingness to appear. The increase in questions related to identity and belongingness is in fact a result of various types of mobilities replacing space/Marmaris becoming a pass-through place rather than a place to dwell (Urry & Sheller, 2004).

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **Interview Guide**

1. Turizmciler Marmaris'te turiste bilmediği, görmediği, tanımadığı bir ürün, faaliyet veya yaşam biçimi olarak ne sunmaktadır?
2. Turistlerin ülkelerinde ve başka yerlerde olmayıp da Marmaris'te buldukları farklılıklar nelerdir? Hangi özelliklerin Marmaris'e özgü olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
3. Marmaris'te ülkelerinde yapamadıkları neyi yapıyorlar, hissedemedikleri, yaşamadıkları hangi duyguları hissediyor ve yaşıyorlar?
4. Siz, bir turizmcisi olarak esas olarak turistlerin ne hissetmelerini sağlıyorsunuz?
5. Marmaris'in ve Türklerin turistlerin ilgisi çeken en belirgin özellikleri nelerdir?
6. Turistler Marmaris'te en çok ne yapmaktan hoşlanırlar?
7. Geleneksel özelliklerimiz, yaşam biçimimizi, otantik yanlarımızı sorduklarında neleri anlatıyorsunuz?
8. Hangi geleneklerimiz ve özelliklerimizin turistlere farklı ve ilginç geliyor?
9. Sizce Marmaris gerçek Türkiye mi?
10. Değilse Marmaris'in gerçek Türkiye'den farkı ne?
11. Marmaris'in gerçek Türkiye olmadığını düşünen turistlere gerçek Türkiye'yi sorduklarında nereyi gösteriyorsunuz, neleri anlatıyorsunuz?

12. Hem dođulu hem batılı olmayı nasıl ifade ediyorsunuz? Sorduklarında Dođulu olmayı ve batılı olmayı nasıl anlatıyorsunuz?
13. Marmaris'te Türk/Akdeniz kùltürüne ait özelliklerin giderek kaybolduđu ve azaldıđı söyleniyor. Türk/Akdeniz kùltürüne ait hangi özellikler kayboldu?
14. Marmaris'te korunması gereken deđerlerimizin giderek azaldıđı söyleniyor. Sizce de öyle mi?
15. Marmaris'te yaşam biçimimize uygun olmayan davranış ve eylemlerin arttığı söyleniyor. Sizce de öyle mi? Örnek verebilir misiniz?
16. Marmaris'te, her şeyin yabancı turistlere göre ayarlandığı söyleniyor. Sizce de öyle mi?
17. Yaptığın iş ne tip özelliklere sahip olunmasını gerektirir?
18. Hangi duyguları yoğun bir biçimde yaşamalarını sağlıyorsunuz?
19. Turistlerin Jeep Safariden/Köy Turundan esas olarak bekledikleri nelerdir?

## APPENDIX B

### Turkish Summary

Turizmin dünyanın en büyük endüstrisi olduğu, farklı toplumlar arasında gerçekleşen en kapsamlı ilişki ve faaliyetlerden biri olduğu yaygın bir biçimde kabul edilmektedir. Küresel bir olgu olarak değerlendirilen turizm, sadece turistlerin akışını değil bununla ilgili mal ve hizmetleri, bilgi teknolojilerini, organizasyon modellerini ve imajları da kapsayan çağdaş toplumlardaki en önemli hareketliliklerden biri haline gelmiştir.

Toplumsal teori turizmi modernlik süreçleri ile ilişkili olarak ele almış ve bu ilişki turizm sosyolojisinin en önemli kategorilerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Buna göre, turizm modern toplumlarla, bu toplumlardaki yapısal dönüşümlerle ilişkili ve modernlik içerisinde ortaya çıkan deneyim ve yapılanmalar çerçevesinde değerlendirilerek kavramsallaştırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Turizm ile ilgili konular, modern deneyimleri organize eden bir endüstri, modern olmanın niteliklerini gösteren bir ‘işaret’, birey veya gurupların kültürel sermayelerini oluşturan kültürel bir ikon, veya çağdaş yurttaşlık haklarının ayrılmaz unsurlarından biri olan bir ‘yurttaşlık hakkı’ olarak nitelendirilerek geniş bir perspektif içerisinde değerlendirilmiştir. Buna göre, turist olmak modern öznelliğin ayrılmaz unsurlarından biri haline gelirken turistler de çağdaş yaşamın en önemli mecazlardan biri olarak tanımlanmışlardır. Genel olarak belirtmek gerekirse, turizmin sosyolojik açıklanışında mecazi düşünce belirgin olmuş, turizmin veya turistin ne olduğuna göre değil daha çok neye benzediğine ilişkin bir yaklaşım izlenmiştir. Buna göre turistik deneyim ve yapılanmalar hakikat, bakış, eşik, gösteri gibi kavramlar ile ilişkilendirilerek çok çeşitli biçimlerde ele alınmışlardır.

Turizm sürekli olarak kalınan yerden kısa süreli, geçici, iş ile bağlantılı olmayan ayrılımları içerir. Buna göre, gündelik olandan, ev ve işten kısa süreli kopuş ve

eve dönüş turizmin özünü oluşturur. Eve dönüş unsuru en az evden ayrılma unsuru kadar önemlidir. Bu kopuşlar, ‘hakikat arayışı’, ‘yeni ve farklı bir şeyin arayışı veya izlenmesi’, ‘sahteliğin peşinden gitme’ gibi kavramlar ile ele alınarak açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Gündelik olandan farklılaşma veya ayrılma ‘gündeliğe karşı kutsal’, ‘işe karşı oyun’, ‘benzerliğe karşı benzemezlik’ veya ‘sıradana karşı sıra dışı’ gibi kavram çiftleri ile tanımlanmıştır. Buna göre turizmin özünü gündelik veya sıradan olandan farklı mekânların oluşturulması olarak tanımlamak mümkündür. Bu mekânlar turizm ilişkilerine konu olduklarında ‘kutsal’, ‘oyun’, ‘hayal’ ‘fantezi’ veya ‘sıra dışı’ ile ilişkilendirilerek tanımlanırlar.

Modernlik ve turizm arasındaki ilişki, modern toplumları geleneksel toplumlardan ayıran ev ve iş arasındaki ayırım ile doğrudan bağlantılıdır. Günümüzde turizmin çağdaş yaşamın ayrılmaz unsurlarından biri haline gelmesi nedeniyle geç modernliğin mekânlarının ev, iş ve turizm mekânları olarak üçlü bir ayrıma tutularak tanımlanması ve değerlendirilmesi oldukça yaygındır. Bu bağlamda, mekân farklılaşması veya farklılaştırılmasını turizmin temelini oluşturan en önemli faktörlerden biri olarak ele almak mümkündür. Nitekim turizmin bir toplumsal faaliyet olarak anlamı üzerinde süren tartışmaların da mekân üzerinden yürütüldüğünü görmek mümkündür.

Turizm esas olarak ev ve iş mekânlarından farklı bir mekânsal oluşum üzerinde gerçekleşir. Bu bağlamda, bu amaçla yapılan toplumsal, kültürel ve maddi müdahalelerin tümü turistleştirme (touristification) olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Buna göre turist mekânlarının yapılma sürecinin anlaşılması turizm hareketlerinin ardında yatan toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik süreçlerin ortaya çıkmasında yönelik bir konu olarak ortaya çıkar. Toplumsal teori, turist mekânlarını toplumsal ve kültürel oluşum olarak ele alır. Bu bağlamda bir yer turistleştirildiğinde turist isteklendirilme sistemlerine uygun olarak gerekli sembolik, toplumsal ve kültürel müdahalelere konu olur. Bu müdahaleleri mekânın turist deneyimlerine, beğenilerine veya tüketim süreçlerine uygun hale getirilmesi olarak da tanımlamak mümkündür.

Mekân-temelli bir konu olan turizm kültürel alanın uluslararası piyasalara sunulmasına, üretimine ve tüketimine ilişkin çok çeşitli faaliyetleri içerir.

Turist mekânların üretiminde temsiller önemli rol oynar ki bu süreçte kullanılan semboller, imajlar, işaretler ve anlatılar ile tüketim ve üretim sisteminin temel dinamikleri ortaya çıkar. Başka bir deyişle turizm, mekânın üretimi ve tüketimine ilişkin çok yönlü, toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik müdahale ve düzenlemelere neden olur.

Bu bağlamda, uluslararası turizm ile birlikte bir ülkeye sadece turistler değil onlarla ilişkili çok sayıda konu, belirli bir örgütlenme biçimi, yaşam biçimi, imajlar, kimlik özellikleri, belirli bir tipteki üretim ve tüketim ilişkisi girer. Doğa, kültürel varlıklar, yaşam biçimi, geleneksel özellikler gibi alanlar bu ilişkilere konu olur.

Bu nedenle, bu sürecin, çeşitli toplumların bu piyasalarda yer alacak ya da alabilecek özelliklerini ortaya çıkarma, değerlendirme ve yaratma eylemlerini hızlandırdığı belirtilir. Başka bir deyişle toplumların turistleştirilebilecek özellik arayışına girmelerinin yeni kimlik özelliklerinin ve yerelliklerinin ortaya çıkmasına ve farkındalığına yönelik sonuçları olduğu belirtilir. Buna göre turizm, turist mekânları adı altında turist isteklendirme sistemlerine uygun düzenlemeler getirirken turist-alan durumunda olan toplumların da bu sürece çeşitli şekillerde katılmalarına yol açar. Turistlerin yeni veya farklı bir yer ya da deneyim arayışı, turist-alan toplumların farklılıklarını üretmesine veya ortaya çıkarmasına yol açar. Başka bir deyişle turizmin üretim ve tüketiminde rol alan yerel aktörler pasif değildir ve süreci etkileyen, güçlendiren ve yönlendiren eylemleri gerçekleştirirler. Buna göre turist isteklendirme sistemlerine uygun olarak daha fazla turist çekebilmek için aktörler çeşitli kültürel toplumsal ve mekânsal stratejiler izlerler. Turist-alan toplumlar turizm ilişkilerinde daha fazla yer alabilmek için farklılıklarını üretmeye, sahiplenmeye, yaratmaya ve geliştirmeye başlarlar. Söz konusu kültürel toplumsal, maddi farklılıklar mekânda üretilip



tüketildiklerinden turizm ilişkilerinin nasıl bir mekânsal düzenleme ilişkisi içerisinde gerçekleştiği önem taşır.

Bu tezde esas olarak bir turist mekânı olarak Marmaris'in hangi özellikleri ile turist destinasyonu olarak oluşturulduğu ve üretildiği sorulmaktadır. Marmaris'i çekici ve etkileyici yapmaya yönelik olarak hangi temsili elementlerin kullanıldığı, Marmaris'in küresel kültürel ekonominin sonucu olarak uluslararası turizm piyasalarında nasıl yapılandığı, çeşitli mekânsal düzenlemeler altında küresel ve yerel arasındaki ilişkilerin nasıl aracılandığı ve aktörlerin bu süreci yapılandırırken oynadığı roller sorgulanır. Bu çalışmada ayrıca, kimlik yerellik gibi kavramlarla ilişkilendirildiğinde turizmin Marmaris'i nasıl çekişmeli bir mekân haline getirdiği de tartışılmıştır.

Marmaris'in bir turist mekânı olmaktan kaynaklanan özellikleri çeşitli şekillerde ele alınmıştır. Öncelikle, Marmaris'in uluslararası piyasalarda hangi özellikleri ile temsil edildiği incelenmiştir. İngiliz tur operatörlerinin hazırladığı katalog ve broşürler üzerinde kelime incelemesi yapılmış, Marmaris'i gösteren ana temalar belirlenerek bunların gösterimsel olarak ne ifade ettiği açığa çıkartılmaya çalışılmıştır. Marmaris'in temsili olarak inşasında çok sayıda temayı bulmak mümkündür. Buna göre, Marmaris çağdaş toplumlardaki mekân imgesinin temel özelliklerine uygun olarak turistin farklılıkları ev-benzeri (home-like) koşullar altında tüketebileceği yerlere benzetilerek gösterilir. Bu bağlamda Marmaris'in temsiliinde doğa, kozmopolizm, geleneksel yaşam, köprü gibi temalar öne çıkar. Marmaris bir bölge olarak ele alındığında çeşitli özelliklerin çeşitli yerler ile özdeşleştirildiğini görmek mümkündür. Kent merkezi eğlence, hareket, fantezi gibi temalar ile gösterilirken yakın çevresi kırsallık sakinlik, geleneksel yaşam, gibi özellikleri ile anılır. Bu durumda doğanın tüketimi Marmaris'in önemli bir özelliği olarak ortaya çıkar. Doğanın tüketimine veya turizm ilişkilerine konu olmasının temeli Aydınlanma düşüncesine karşı gelişen Romantik harekette yer alır. Köprü mecazı Marmaris'in temsiliinde kullanılan önemli başka bir temadır. Marmaris, Türkiye ile ilgili mekân imgelerinin de bir sonucu olarak doğu ve batının, gelenek ve modernin bir arada olduğu bir köprü olarak da tanımlanır.

Köprü mecazının her iki tarafa kolayca ulaşmayı mümkün kılan bir durumu ifade etmesi nedeniyle Marmaris'in özelliklerini artırıcı ve zenginleştirici bir işlevi vardır.

Turizmin görsel süreçlerle ve teknolojilerle olan yakın ilişkisi turist mekânlarının oluşumunda temsili süreçlere önemli bir işlev kazandırır. Ancak turist mekânları sadece temsiller tarafından oluşturulmaz. Turist mekânlarının inşasının anlaşılmasında turist yerli ilişkilerinin tarzı ve bu ilişkilerin nasıl bir mekânsal düzenleme içerisinde gerçekleştiği önemli bir konu olarak ortaya çıkar. Buna göre bu tezin önemli argümanlarından biri de mekânın aktörlerin pratikleri ile de oluşturulduğudur. Bu bağlamda, Marmaris'te turizm ilişkilerinin heterojen olarak tanımlanan bir mekânsal düzenleme içerisinde gerçekleşmesinin önemli sonuçları olduğu belirtilir. Marmaris turist ve yerli arasında, çevresinden yalıtılmış tatil köyleri ya da turizm kentleri örneklerinde olduğu gibi, sınırların kurulduğu bir turist mekânı değildir. O'nun en önemli özelliği kent içerisinde turizm yapan bir tatil kasabası olmasıdır. Bu özellik turizm ilişkileri ile yerel yaşam arasındaki sınırların bulanıklaştığı, turizm ile turizm dışı alan arasındaki ayrımların ortadan kalktığı bir duruma işaret eder. Başka bir deyişle turist tüketiminin gerçekleştiği alan ile yerel yaşamın devam ettiği alan arasındaki ayrımlar katı değil, geçişlidir.

Turizm ilişkilerinin yerel yaşamın tüm özellikleri ile devam ettiği alanlar içerisinde yer alması konaklamanın apart otel tipi ağırlıklı olarak da gerçekleşmesi ile de ilgilidir. Marmaris'te konaklamanın apart otel ağırlıklı olmasının, turistin kasaba içerisinde hareketini artıran, yerel yaşamın çeşitli özelliklerini tüketmesine imkân veren özellikleri olduğundan turistik deneyimin şekillenmesinde önemli işlevleri vardır.

Marmaris'in bir başka belirgin özelliği eşik turist mekânı niteliğidir. Bu durum turist- turist ve turist-yerli arasında yeni ve farklı birlikteliklerin öne çıkmasına imkân veren verir. Marmaris'in kent içerisinde turizm yapan kasaba olarak anılan özellikleri turist ve yerli arasında çok sayıda etkileşimin gerçekleşmesini sağladığından, eşik turist mekânlarına özgü birliktelikleri birer turist deneyimi

olarak ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, misafirperverlik, samimiyet, sıcakkanlılık olarak adlandırılan toplumsal kişiliğe ait kimi özellikler birer turistik ürün olarak ortaya çıkar. Bu nedenle Marmaris ‘karnavalımsı’ özelliklere yakın bir yer gibidir. Bu özellikler plajda, apart otellerde, yatlarda, yeme-içme ünitelerinde, birlikteliklerin oluşabildiği birçok yerde gerçekleşir. Karnavalımsı ve eşik turist mekânı özellikleri nedeniyle Marmaris bir anlamda kuralsızlığın tüketildiği bir yerdir. Marmaris gerek turizm ilişkilerinde doğrudan rol alan yerli ajanların gerekse turistlerin geldikleri yerde yapamayacaklarını yaptıkları eğlence ve tüketim olanaklarının sunulduğu bir yerdir. Dolayısıyla Marmaris alışılmış gündeliklerden ev ve işe ait özelliklerden birçok bakımdan farklılaşmıştır. Marmaris’i ‘sıra dışı’ bir yer yapan özellikleri hem Türkiye’nin herhangi bir yerinden farklılaşan hem de turistin ülkesinden farklılaşan özelliklerinden kaynaklanmıştır. Marmaris hem Türkiye dir hem değildir, ‘üçüncü-mekân’, ‘sınır bölgesi’ (borderzone), ‘arada olan-yer’ (in-between space) olarak tanımlanan mekânlara ait özellikleri taşır.

Marmaris’in heterojen turist mekânı olmasının getirdiği en önemli özelliklerden biri de farklılığın ve yerelliğin üretimine ilişkin çok sayıda durumun ortaya çıkmasını sağlamasıdır. Marmaris emeğin turizm ilişkilerine gösterileri (performance) yoluyla katılmasına yönelik çok sayıda duruma imkân verir. Emek Marmaris’te hem turist bakışının nesnesi hem de bu bakışın üreticisidir. Berber, dondurmacı, hamamcı, garson, satış görevlileri, rehberler, şoförler gibi birbirinden çok farklı meslekler turizm söz konusu olduklarında farklılıklarını üreten sahip oldukları kimi özelliklerini güçlendiren ve hata fetişleştiren pratikleri icra ederler. Bu durum birçok yerde oyun ve iş arasındaki ayrımların bulanıklaştığı bir biçimde gerçekleşir.

Bu tezde Marmaris coğrafi terimlerle değil turizm faaliyeti ve turist mekânı kavramları çerçevesinde ele alındığından turizm ilişkilerinin kasaba dışı alanlardaki biçimleri de incelenmiştir. Buna göre Marmaris’te turizm ilişkileri kent merkezinin dışına taşıdığından ve köylerini de içine alacak şekilde genişlediğinden kent dışı alanların turizm ile ilişkileri de önemli bir konu olarak

ortaya çıkar. Köylerin turist beğenileri veya isteklendirmeleri ile ilişkisi Marmaris kent merkezinin ilişkisinden farklıdır. Marmaris kent merkezi, eşik ve karnavalımsı özelliklere bağlı turist beğenileri ile ilişki kurarken köyleri ‘sakinlik’, ‘sağlık’ ‘doğal yaşam’ gibi özelliklere dayanarak romantik turist bakışı ile ilişki kurarlar. Buna göre köyler ve Marmaris farklı bakış veya deneyimlere karşılık geldiğinden bir anlamda birbirlerini tamamlarlar. Dolayısıyla Marmaris bölgesi birden fazla turist beğenisine hitap edecek tarzda olduğundan post-turizm piyasalarının bölünmüşlük özelliklerini taşır. Buna göre, Marmaris deneyim ekonomisi olarak adlandırılan süreçlerin uzantısı olarak birbiri ile ilişkili veya ilişkisiz çok sayıda ve türde deneyimlerin üretildiği ve tüketildiği bir yer haline gelmiştir. Hem ‘doğal’ hem ‘kozmopolit’ hem ‘geleneksel’ hem ‘modern’ hem ‘doğu’ hem ‘batı’ kısacası bir turizmcinin de belirttiği gibi ‘her şeyin olduğu’ bir köprüdür Marmaris.

Turist tipi dikkate alındığında Marmaris’te ‘bakan’ turist tipinden ‘yapan’ veya ‘hareket eden’ turist tipine geçişe yönelik eğilimleri görmek mümkündür. Turist deneyimlerinin niteliğine bakarak turizmin Marmaris’te bir bakış ya da işaret olmadığı ileri sürmek mümkündür. Buna göre, turizm Marmaris’te görsel bir süreç olmaktan çıkarak bedene dayalı faaliyetler olarak gerçekleşir. Bakan turistten bedensel faaliyete dayalı turist tipine geçişi köy turları ile jeep safarilerin karşılaştırmasında bulmak mümkündür. Köy turları ‘bakan turist’ tipine yönelik iken jeep safariler ‘hareket eden’ turist tipine yöneliktir. Köy turlarının başlangıcını turistin Marmaris’e ayak bastığı 1970’li yıllara kadar uzatmak mümkündür. Ancak jeep safarilerin 10–15 yıllık bir tarihi vardır. Jeep safari deniz bağlantılı deneyimlerden sonra Marmaris’te en çok ilgi çeken faaliyetlerin başında gelir. Safariler hareket ve bedensel aktiviteye dayanır. Köy turları ise ‘bakış’ a dayanır. Safarilerdeki artış ve köy turlarındaki azalma Marmaris’in ‘oyun’a özgü özelliklerin etkisine girdiğinin başka bir göstergesidir. Safari her aşamasında oyunun belirleyici olduğu bir turistik deneyimdir. Oyun, gösteri ve hareket özellikleri ile jeep safariler Marmaris’i oyuna dayalı turist mekânı yapar. Bu nedenle, Marmaris’i post-turiste doğa içerisinde oyun imkânı veren bir yer olarak da tanımlamak mümkündür.

Marmaris'in heterojen nitelikteki mekânsal düzenlemesinin turistler için gerçek bir deneyimi temsil ettiği ya da gerçek bir farklılığı gösterdiği kabul edilse de birçok kişi için Marmaris gerçek Türkiye değildir. Buna göre Marmaris birçoklarına göre turizm için turizm aracılığıyla bu süreçte yer alan aktörler tarafından dönüştürülmüş ve yaratılmıştır. O gerçek ya da ortalama Türkiye'nin oldukça uzağındadır. Çünkü onu oluşturan, yapan normal ya da sıradan olanın aşınmışlığına ya ertelenmişliğine hitap eden eşik karakteridir. Bu nedenle eşik karakter özellikleri düzen ile çelişkili bir durum içerisindeyler.

Başka bir deyişle Marmaris'te turizmin gerçekleştiği alanın kasaba yaşamının ya da gündeliğinin içerisinde yer alması, turistlerin tüketim pratiklerinin yerel yaşamın devam ettiği alan içerisinde olması nedenleriyle turizm ile yerellikler arasında çeşitli biçimlerde gerçekleşen çekişmeler ortaya çıkar. Bu çekişmeler, konutlar ile apart otellerinin yan yana bulunmasından, turistik olan ile olmayan arasındaki ayrımların kalkmasına yol açan durumlardan ve plaj kültürünün kasaba yaşamı içerisinde yer almasından kaynaklanan sorunlarda kendini gösterir.

Eşik ve düzen (order) arasındaki çelişki turizme karşı gelenek ya da turizme karşı kültür biçiminde özetlenen tutumlarda ortaya çıkar. Buna göre, eşik turizminin getirdiği özellikler bu tip bir turizme karşı geleneğin, geleneksel yaşam biçiminin canlandırılmasına ya da kamusal alanda bu yaşam biçimine özgü özelliklerin yer almasına ilişkin duruşlar kadar kültürel alanın daha fazla turizm içerisine dahil edilmesine ilişkin arayışları da ortaya çıkartır. Bu nedenle, Marmaris'te turizm ile gelenek, yerellik kültür ve kimlik gibi kavramların ilişkisi değişken ve çok yönlüdür. Gelenek ve yerellik turizm endüstrisi bakımından pazarlanabilir bir ürün olarak görünürken farklı açılardan yapılacak değerlendirmelerde korunması gereken özellikler olarak tanımlanır.

Reel turizmin getirdiği yaşam biçimi ve eşik turist mekanı özelliklerine karşı gerçekleşen başka bir duruş biçimi de kültürel alanın turizm ilişkileri içerisine daha fazla dahil edilmesine yönelik arayışlarda kendini gösterir. Marmaris'e yurdun her tarafından turizmden faydalanmak için çok sayıda ve nitelikte insanın

gelerek küresel turizm ilişkilerine çeşitli şekillerde dahil olmasının, mekanı mobiliteler tarafından belirlenen ve tanımlanan bir yer haline getirmiştir. Başka bir deyişle mekâna kimliğini yerleşimlerin değil mobilitelerin vermeye başlaması ile birlikte yerleşiklerde turizme karşı kültür biçiminde tanımlanabilecek tutumlar ortaya çıktığını görmek mümkündür.

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