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SPATIAL, SOCIAL AND TEMPORAL COMPROMISE ON THE 'BORDER'

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This paper focuses on Alanya, a mid-size town along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, where a shift from agricultural production to tourism has been experienced over the last 20 years, resulting in waves of migration. In this particular instance, a spatial 'border', which is both temporal and selective/permeable, is experienced in the interaction with tourists. Local and immigrant inhabitants' attitude towards tourists represents a level of compromise and acceptance that is shaped by the shared interests of all groups.

In this study, our definition of 'border'¹ relies on four premises. First, for us, border denotes the spatial boundary that separates different modes of action / behavior / attitude among people. Second, this boundary changes with time, hence it is temporal. Third, it has a social dimension in terms of the interaction among various actors, their attitude also changing with time and context. And fourth, the border is permeable and this permeability is socially selective. We refer to a 'border' in relation to tourism in Alanya, where tourism became the major cause of change in the town's urban identity.

In our discussion of how the concept of border is reflected in Alanya, we refer to basically three groups of actors: the inhabitants who are actually born in Alanya (Locals), those who have migrated to Alanya (immigrants), and the visitors, especially the foreign tourists.² All of these groups of actors have a relation to tourism, the major agent of change in Alanya. Yet, our focus is on the local and immigrant inhabitants, and the tourists are referred only from the point of view of the inhabitants. The interaction among these actors is reflected on different kinds of border situations, each interaction representing our initial premises.

The perceived impact of tourism on residents and the interaction between the guests and the hosts have been studied in various settings.³ In these cases, the prevailing concerns were the impact of tourism in terms of economic input, social impact, cultural exchange, interaction of inhabitants with visitors, variations of perception in relation to attachment to community, and ecological impact. In this study, however, our focus is on the spatial border where the different attitudes and preferences among inhabitants are observed.

Here, we discuss the above points based on a field study that consists of questionnaires with local and immigrant inhabitants, interviews with the representatives of various sectors, survey of local newspaper *YeniAlanya* between 1975 and 1999, published reports and documents, and our observations.

ALANYA AS A COASTAL TOWN

Alanya is a mid size town located along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey. Despite its locational importance in naval terms, Alanya's relation with its hinterland remained weak for centuries.⁴ The town's transportation was via sea and caravan trails until the highway connects to Antalya on the west, Mersin on the east and Konya on the north, were constructed, all after 1960s. The limited relation of Alanya was strengthened with the completion of the pier in 1956, contributing to the development of tourism.⁵ The castle where people settled first has been a significant element in Alanya's urban identity. However, although the coast and the flat lands were settled later, their population surpassed that of the castle in a short time. It is reported that the town, known for its fertile soils, with the increase in productivity after the encouragement of greenhouses in 1970s, became an important center for agricultural production.⁶ We can claim that being a coastal settlement has not been significant in Alanya's identity in those times. Changes started in 1970s with the encouragement of boarding houses and the construction of motels,⁷ and accelerated with the new legislation in 1982 for the encouragement of private tourism investments through credits.⁸ All these have resulted in a further emphasis on tourism. Houses in orchards, which once constituted the settlement pattern, were affected the most by the transformation within the last 20 to 30 years. Thus, tourism not only led to an increase in population but also resulted in a densely built urban character. The resulting transition of Alanya's primary economical activity from agricultural production to tourism is striking.⁹ After the 1980s, every issue about the town finds a place in the local agenda in relation to its impact on tourism, and satisfying the tourists becomes the most important reason behind every action.

With its unique integration of historical heritage, represented by the castle from Seljukids, and the natural assets of holiday tourism, i.e., sun, sea and sand, Alanya has become a popular attraction for foreign and domestic tourism. This new role has resulted in waves of migration to Alanya, initially from nearby towns and later from almost all regions of Turkey, due to work opportunities.¹⁰ In addition to this, a considerable number of people particularly from northern Europe have chosen Alanya as their retirement destination. The existence of these separate groups of inhabitants is pronounced on every occasion,

pointing to a potential for tension among them. Nevertheless, the cultural differences among the groups, which are expected to lead to segregation, seem to be accepted and acknowledged as a fact of life.

THE 'BORDER' OF TOURISM

The injection and encouragement of tourism as the prevailing activity has also led to the attribution of a new kind of identity to Alanya. Tourism in Turkey very much relies on the prevalence of holiday tourism that is based on the sun, sea and sand, and Alanya constitutes a very appropriate site for such an approach. A long coastline with sand beaches and a climate that stretches the tourism season from March to October all help this emphasis. The reputation of Alanya revolves around its holiday beaches within the center, where you can swim without leaving the town. Hence, the promotion of Alanya as a tourist destination primarily capitalizes on its 'natural' assets, not on its historic or urban characteristics. The settlement itself, which is quite densely built, does not offer much attraction. Yet, Alanya is neither a place for 'enclave tourism' where tourists spend their times in resorts almost without leaving them,¹¹ nor a 'tourist city' whose urban characteristics pre-dominate its tourism potential.¹²

The facilities that are primarily offered to tourists are almost all located in certain parts of the town, like the coast, the castle and the bazaar (FIG. 1). We refer to this territory as the 'border' of tourism, which is not fixed and absolute, lending itself to fluctuation and change.¹³

The coast of Alanya has sections with different physical qualities which are used in different ways. The pier and the promenade (Iskele) constitute the heart of Alanya, both for the inhabitants and the visitors. The promenade stretches from the pier to the public park and is heavily used year-round for strolling and looking around. Along the promenade parallel to the coast, there are cafes and restaurants, as well as bars and nightclubs, mostly frequented by tourists and young inhabitants.

Krykubat and Keo para are the sections of the coast that stretch east and west, respectively. They both have beaches with kiosks and tents and are managed by a local non-governmental organization, ALTID.¹⁴ Blocks along the coast house mostly tourist accommodation facilities, hotels and buildings with furnished apartments called 'apart'. These 'apart' are designed in such a way that they can easily be turned into regular apartments for year-round accommodation. Other than interior spatial organization, these two kinds of buildings look alike, presenting themselves with similar architectural vocabulary. Furthermore, they almost all have shops and restaurants on the ground level. Thus, the differentiation between

temporary and permanent use is not recognizable from the outside. The guests of these hotels and apartments use the beaches across the coastal avenue, claiming the otherwise public areas. The most significant difference between the two beaches is in the way they meet with the settlement: 'while *Krykubat* beach is separated from the buildings with a highway, *KJeopatra* beach is more integrated with the settlement. It is designed to accommodate a diversity of uses: in addition to the beach, there are sports facilities like tennis courts, as well as cycling and jogging tracks. There are also various sports events organized here, especially during the summer months (e.g., the international beach volley tournament).

The bazaar right behind the promenade, contrary to the rest of the town, is made up of gridiron streets with one or two-story buildings. Bars, eating facilities and shops selling souvenir items mostly cater to tourists, domestic and foreign. Buildings in the inner section of the market have more stories here commercial and residential uses are mixed. The variety of stores also increases, including stationary stores, supermarkets and groceries serving the inhabitants' daily needs.

In addition to the sun-drenched sand beaches, the castle from the Seljukid times is another symbol for Alanya. Yet, despite its historic and aesthetic values, it is neither a place for repeated visits, nor part of a 'heritage/antique sites tour', as is the case with Ephesus or other sites in western and southwestern Turkey. Even if it is regarded as a major tourist attraction, the castle can easily be delineated from the rest of the town because of being on the top of a peninsula which houses only part of the inhabitants of Alanya.

As summarized above, most of the uses along the coast are geared particularly towards tourism, with accommodation, shopping, entertainment and catering facilities. Both these and the castle correspond to a spatial border that is shaped by the new identity of Alanya as a tourist destination. The attitudes of the inhabitants (both locals and newcomers) among themselves and towards foreign tourists follow and enhance the boundaries delineating the 'border'.

CLAIMING ACCESS

In Alanya, tourism has resulted in an invisible boundary which changes with season and context, as well as depending on the actors involved. This flexibility and relativity points to a compromise on the part of the local and immigrant inhabitants with respect to each other and towards the tourists. The way various actors claim access to areas within this border and their preferences for different locations also varies, as

mentioned below.

The Coast

Different parts of the coast, *Iskele*, *kubat* and *Kleopatra*, have different degrees of permeability of use outside tourism. In general, the coast within Alanya reminds the inhabitants mostly of strolling and looking around, rather than using the beaches for swimming and sun bathing.

The *Iskele* is the section, which is by far the most popular among the inhabitants; only 7 percent of the interviewed people stated that they never go to this area, compared to 50 percent and 30 percent of the interviewees who never go to *Krykubat* and *Kleopatra*, respectively. 40 percent of the interviewed people stated that they visit *Iskele* everyday and 36 percent once or twice a week. Considering the reason for these visits, a great majority of the answers was strolling and site-seeing (83 percent). Men seem to be more regular visitors of this section, although the difference is not significant. *Iskele* section of the coast offers the opportunity for both inhabitants and tourists to come side by side, sharing the same spaces, even if they do not interact much. This pattern of use is similar for both locals and immigrants during high season. However, according to our observations, the immigrants use the small green areas in this section for picnic purposes in the winter. These support our finding that *Iskele* is not the first place that comes to mind when asked about the coasts of Alanya: rather than being part of the coast, it is seen as a place for public gathering. Thus, the sea does not have a primary role in the spatial experience of *Iskele*.

Krykubat is the section of the coast that is used the least by the inhabitants (50 percent said that they never go there). There is no difference between men and women, and locals and immigrants in terms of their frequency of use. The fact that this portion of the coast is lined with hotels and *aparts* which somewhat diminish the beaches might have been a discouraging factor for the inhabitants, leaving the beach to foreign and domestic tourists.

Kleopatra beach is the first place that comes to the mind of 40 percent of interviewees when asked what the term 'coast' reminds them. This may be because of the fame of this beach as the best in Alanya. The amenities provided in the *Kleopatra* beach and the events organized here help popularize this beach among the inhabitants. Compared to the beach on the east (*Krykubat*), the use of *Kleopatra* is more common. 30 percent of interviewed people stated that they never go there, compared to 54 percent who go there everyday or at least once or twice a week. There is also a considerable difference between men

and women in the use of this beach: Of the people who stated that they go there every day, a great majority were men; if not for swimming, for enjoying the crowd and gazing at the tourists.¹⁵

During the summer months, instead of staying in town, the locals of Alanya move to Toros mountains (yayla) to the north of town to beat the heat.¹⁶ In any event, both locals and immigrants prefer going to the beaches outside of Alanya where they can have more privacy and have a picnic as well.

The Bazaar

Being directly behind the *Iskele*, the bazaar is one of the most vivid parts of Alanya, tourists being the primary crowd at all times. The inhabitants, particularly the locals, express feelings of uneasiness and alienation in this section of the town: among the people who feel this way in any part of Alanya, 45 percent indicated the bazaar and its vicinity. The goods sold here are almost standard souvenir items that can be found in any tourist location in Turkey, not having ties with the local culture. Furthermore, most of the shop-owners are people from out of town, who come to Alanya only during the tourism season and close off their shops at other times. To avoid Alanya's becoming a 'ghost town' outside the tourism season, the local municipality requires that the shops cannot be closed off for longer than 15 days in a row. In the inner sections of the bazaar, there are buildings with stores on the ground levels and residences on the upper levels, used and inhabited by locals and immigrants to Alanya. Thus, as we proceed towards inland, the primacy of tourism and related facilities decreases and the users are mixed.

The Castle

The castle, which almost everyone stated as the symbol of Alanya, is another territory that is not much claimed by the inhabitants. Among the interviewees, those who never go there are 15 percent and those who go only occasionally are 50 percent. Furthermore, some of the regular visitors are people who actually live or work there. Nevertheless, the castle is not regarded primarily as part of tourism, rather as part of the history of Alanya: 65 percent referred to its historic significance when asked what the castle reminds them. In half of the answers to the question about their favorite places in Alanya, the castle was indicated. Thus, rather than being left to the territory of tourism, the castle is a place where people have developed ties and symbolic attachment. Yet, its symbolism is a remote one, as also supported by its silhouette seen from a distance being the primary image.

Overall, inhabitants' reaction to the places that are predominantly used by tourists varies for locals and immigrants. Among those who stated that they feel at home everywhere in Alanya, a great majority were

people who have moved to Alanya (10 percent). This finding is further strengthened by the expressed feelings of exclusion and alienation in such places: 70 percent of the people who expressed this experience were local people.

COMPROMISE ON THE BORDER - CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our initial assumption was that the coastal zone of Alanya is completely and homogeneously left to tourism. We thought of this 'border' as an area of compromise on the part of the inhabitants where they have yielded to the unquestionable demands of tourism. Yet, our closer observations at different times of the year, interviews with residents, and the answers given to the questionnaire made us question this assumption. What we found was that there are variations within this 'border', spatially, socially and temporally. The spatial border defined by tourism in Alanya is neither absolute nor permanent, but it is temporal and permeable, this permeability being socially selective. Its invisible boundary changes with season and context, as well as depending on the actors involved. This flexibility and relativity points to a compromise on the part of the local and immigrant inhabitants with respect to each other and towards tourists.

The temporality of the border of tourism in Alanya can be observed by comparing the high season with the winter months. During the summer months, the border is characterized with tourists being at the focus and the inhabitants either adjust their behavior in accordance with their interest in tourism, or withdraw completely. The shop owners' attitude towards customers, for instance, differs depending on the season. During winter months, when there are not many tourists and business is slow, they are more at ease with each other and more patient with customers. Not having tourists around as the target of gaze, the inhabitants' interaction among themselves is more direct and their use of the spaces is more casual, as is the case in Irikele. While some of the inhabitants expressed their feelings of exclusion and alienation to areas that are primarily offered to tourists such as the beaches and the bars around the promenade, this situation changes in the winter months.

There is a social border between the inhabitants and tourists, as well as between locals and immigrants. When there are tourists around, although they are accepted as a fact of life in Alanya, their perception by the inhabitants conveys messages of exclusion, regarding them as the 'others' with different customs and life styles. The immigrants to Alanya, in general, express feelings of exclusion, no matter how long they have been living there. At the root of it might be a conflict of interest in sharing the benefits of tourism,

since most of the immigrants moved to Alanya due to the work opportunities offered by tourism development. Nevertheless, these different groups of inhabitants seem to stay side by side, neither resenting nor integrating with each other, which, for us, represents a level of compromise and acceptance **that is shaped by their shared interests in doing business through tourism.** ¹⁷

With the permeability of border, we mean that it is not rigid and permanent, rather it has the potential for letting others. This permeability is selective and not the same for all. In fact, there are no restrictions, physical or social, for tourists, in terms of the places they can visit. As to the inhabitants, there is difference between locals and immigrants, due to their adaptation to tourism and its imprint on the town's identity. The spatial border of tourism is less effective on immigrants, probably because tourism and its opportunities have been the factors that attracted them to Alanya in the first place. This selectivity varies not only for locals and immigrants, but also with respect to gender and age. Young males frequent the bars and clubs at nights and enjoy the beach during the day much more than the women and older people.

In this study, rather than discussing the interaction between host and guest, or the perception of tourism by the inhabitants, we have focused on the way different attitudes and preferences were reflected on the urban space of Alanya and how it varied. Overall, the inhabitants, both locals and immigrants, seem to have yielded to the demands of tourism, which represents a compromise on their part. Yet, they do not complain about this situation, and there does not seem to be much of a conflict on the border tourism creates and its spatial boundaries.¹⁷ Furthermore, tourism is promoted as a regulating and positive agent in the development of Alanya, without much worry or concern about its possible negative impacts¹⁸.

Other than youngsters who stated that they would like to leave the town for attending universities, people did not have any intention to leave the town, indicating a shared attachment to Alanya. As to the future, both locals and immigrants, with no regard to the feelings of exclusion or conflict of interests, expressed contentment and had positive expectations. People of Alanya almost unanimously state that they want other investments such as educational institutions and cultural facilities, to balance the dominance of tourism.

Compromise on the border points to a delicate balance that needs to be continuously re-established. Enabling the various groups in this compromise so that they can *voice* their interests instead of being 'victimized' by others' decisions would be a step for sustaining *this* balance. The current primacy of

tourism as the only area of investment, if not balanced with others, may easily turn against the benefits of the town.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ 'Border' means 1: a line that indicates a boundary [syn: boundary line, borderline]; 2: the boundary line or the area immediately inside the boundary [syn: margin, perimeter]; 3: the boundary of a surface [syn: edge]. Source: WordNet[®] 1.6, © 1997 Princeton University. Here we used it as an area, as it is in the second meaning.

² In our interaction with people in Alanya, we realized that 'tourist' almost exclusively means foreign tourist for them. In this study, we did not consider domestic tourists since the 'border' conditions work particularly for foreign tourist. Domestic tourists are taken as somewhat 'neutral' agents.

³ See Paul Brunt and Paul Courtney, "Host Perceptions of Sociocultural Impacts", *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol.26, no.3 (1999), pp. 493-515; Tim Snaith and Art Haley, "Residents' Opinions of Tourism Development in the Historic City of York, England", *Tourism Management*, vol.20, no.5 (1999), pp. 595-603; S.F. McCool and S.R. Martin, "Community Attachment and Attitudes toward Tourism Development", *Journal of Travel Research*, vol.32, no.3 (1994), pp. 29-34; G. F. Ross, "Resident Perceptions of the Impact of Tourism on an Australian City", *Journal of Travel Research*, vol.30, no.3 (1992), pp.13-17; John Ap, "Residents' Perceptions on Tourism Impacts", *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol.19, no.4 (1992), pp.665-690; Pauline J. Sheldon and Turgut Var, "Resident Attitudes to Tourism in North Wales", *Tourism Management*, vol.5, no.1 (1984), pp.40-47.

⁴ Rudolf M. Riefstahl, *Genel Garbi Anadolu'da Türk İmarisi* [Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia]. (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941).

⁵ Mustafa Akkaya, "Cumhuriyetin İlanından Bu Yana Alanya" [Alanya since the Proclamation of the Republic], *Yeni Alanya*, 25-30 October, 1975.

⁶ Yusuf Mert, "Seracilik [Greenhouses]", *Yeni Alanya*, 4 March 1975, p.1.

⁷ *Yeni Alanya*, 5.11.1975; 21.01.1977.

⁸Kore! Göymen, "Tourism and Governance in Turkey", *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol.27, no.4 (2000), pp.1025-1048.

⁹While the agricultural revenues were equal to tourism revenues in 1992, the tourism revenues grew fast, becoming five times the other in 2000 (*YeniAfsayla*, 11.1.1992). See also the table below for a comparison between tourism revenues and agriculture revenues.

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Agricu 1	—	—	—	—	—	127*	126	134	125	109
Touris	201*	368	362	327	423	481	530	449	311	557

* million U.S. dollars

(Source: Alanya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasi, *Ekonomik Rapor 2000* [Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Report on Economics 2000], based on Tables 39 and 86).

¹⁰The increase in population during the years when economic activity shifted from agriculture to tourism is also significant, as can be seen in the table below. The population increase that was around 10-20 percent between each census until 1980s, jumped up to 104 percent between 1985 and 1990. As a consequence, the town expanded outwards and became even more densely built due to increase in demand.

1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
5162	5884	6623	8049	10129	12436	15011	18452	22190	28735	58629	110181	134396

(Sources: *YeniAlanya*, 24.10.1990, p.1; Alanya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasi, *Ekonomik Rapor 2000* [Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Report on Economics 2000]).

¹¹Tilman Freitag, "Enclave Tourism Development- For 'whom the Benefits Roll?'" *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol.21, no.3 (1994), pp.538-554.

¹²See Susan Fainstein and Dennis Judd, "Cities as Places to Play, in *The Tourist City*", Judd and Fainstein (eds), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) pp. 261-272. They classify 'tourist cities' into three, as 'resort cities', 'tourist-historic cities' and 'converted cities'. While Alanya as a settlement has the properties that resembles all these, it does not fit any of these categories as a whole.

¹³Tourists can experience various aspects of Alanya as a town, for instance shop in the supermarkets that everyone uses and be part of the daily life, if they desire to do so. Here, our intention is to point to the areas where facilities for tourism prevail.

¹⁴Alanya Turizm İşletmeleri Derneği (Alanya Tourism Management Association).

¹⁵This kind of gazing the tourists, sometimes out of curiosity, is a reversed form of 'tourist gaze', similar to what is called 'inspecting gaze'. See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze - Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), and Emine O. Incirlioglu and Gaye Culcuoglu, "Kaleköy: A Mediterranean

Village Frozen in Time for Global Touristic Consumption", in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements - Working Paper Series*, vol. 138 (2000), pp. 55-69.

¹⁶ This is a very common tradition along the southern coast of Turkey.

¹⁷ Particularly in historic sites, visitors who are after authentic experiences may be seen as intrusion to inhabitants. In the case of Alanya, the residential area around the castle has the potential for such an intrusion. However, the inhabitants have developed measures to protect their daily lives and privacy from such intrusions by exhibiting the handicraft items on the streets, thus 'staging authenticity'. See D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, Schocken, 1990).

¹⁸ The town is densely built without much concern for environmental consequences. Criticisms on this point and blaming tourism for attracting a lot of people and for creating pressure on urban land are quite common. Yet, many inhabitants who were after their interest in land speculation and development continuously delayed the finalization of the development plan of Alanya in 1980s because it would restrict their benefits (*Yeni Aflaj*, 4.2.1985).

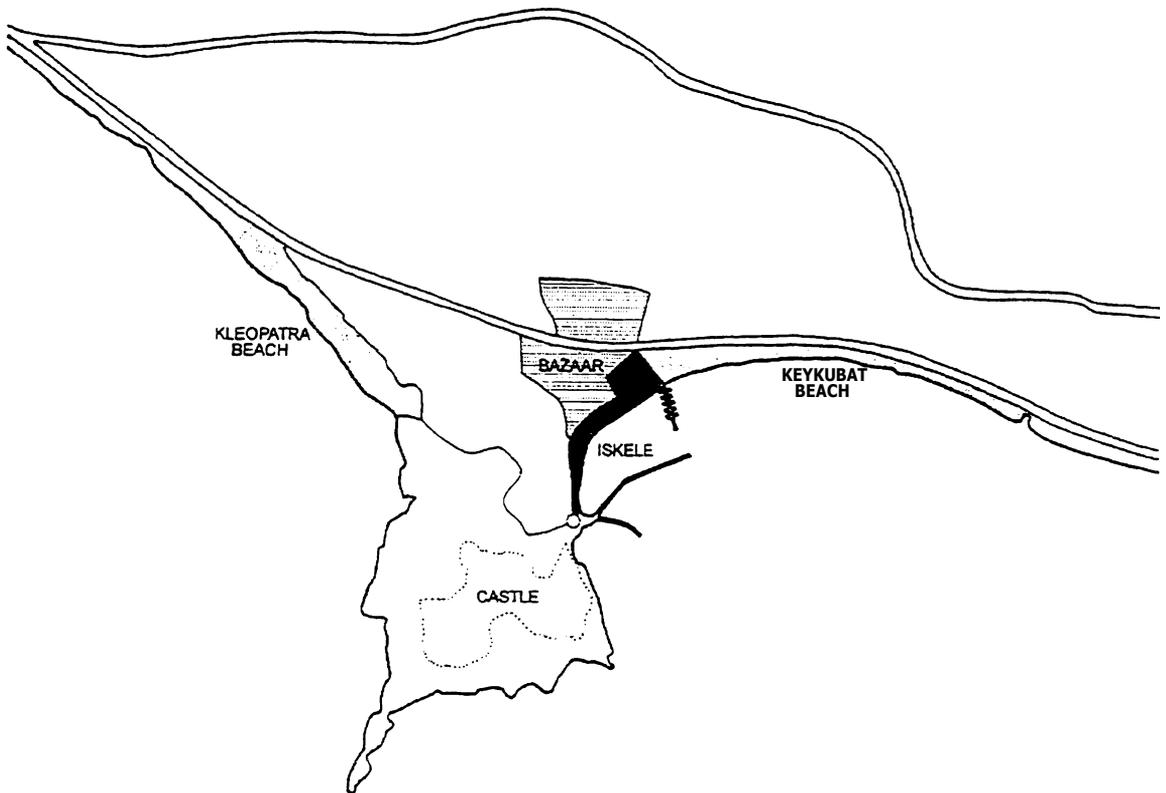


FIG. 1 The facilities that are primarily offered to tourist are almost all located in certain parts of the town, like the coast, the castle and the bazaar.