

THE ROLE OF TOURISM RELATED MIGRATIONS ON SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE: THE CASE OF DIDYMA

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ABSTRACT

Didyma is an area which has been home to immigrants for 100 years and so experienced changes in many aspects. Immigration towards a region, alone, has the power to cause change. The development of tourism in Didyma has increased the power of migration to cause change and has turned migration into a self-acting social process. Starting from 1924, when first immigrants arrived at Didyma, if we call every movement of migration of a group of individuals with common characteristics a "stratum of migration," it will be possible to distinguish three main strata; namely, the Balkanization, dam-induced and tourism related migrations. Within this framework, the purpose of this study is to investigate the sociocultural change created by social groups distinguished according to their sociocultural characteristics and reasons for migration related tourism. The data for this study were collected through interviews conducted in person and analyzed in accordance with grounded theory approach. As a result of this study, the dimensions of change were divided into five main categories; deterioration of social values, declination of business ethics, changes in senses of identity and belonging, socio-spatial accumulation and emergence of social hegemony.

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INTRODUCTION

Anatolian territories are one of the regions where the range of migration is at its widest. It is known that whatever the manner of relocation with migration, people take with them their belongings, animals, food; in addition to their habits, values, behaviors, languages, religions, customs. In other words, everything about and around them. In order to feel a sense of belonging to their destination of emigration, they build a life in accordance with their lifestyle and habits; in short, their individual backgrounds. The effort made to socialize with people much different from themselves, to get along with them, or to adapt to them brings with it a process of interaction. On the other hand, it is inevitable for the host community to live through the same processes. While they go on with their lives in their small and isolated world, suddenly or gradually, strangers begin to arrive. Now, it is a certainty that change will happen for both communities, because migration is, with no doubt, one of the main forces of cultural change and of new cultures produced by the intermingling of different cultures (Tekeli, 2015). Migration as the cause, or result of change, forms both social change and transformation in migration receiving or emigrating societies and is also informed by the main processes of change. The reasons that trigger migration change from period to period and from community to community. Migration, as a main characteristic of societies, gain political significance when it takes place across national borders; whereas when internal migration is the case, it leads to social, cultural, and economic changes in receiving and emigrated regions.

In the history of Didyma, three main strata of migration movements can be determined which are; the *Balkan migration*, *dam-induced migration* and *tourism related migration*. In sociology, the concept of stratum is frequently used to distinguish groups which differ in terms of gender, age, religious bond, military rank, etc. among human societies (Giddens, 2008, p. 340). In this study, however, the stratum does not refer to an inequality or hierarchy. It was borrowed to categorize migrations, which are an important part of the social life of Didyma, and to emphasize the different characteristics of immigrants who migrated in different periods. The term “stratum of migration” was coined to point out the fractioning among groups in terms of causes of migration. The first stratum of migration, which is the Balkan migration, refers to the immigrants arriving from Thessalonica in 1924 and from Bulgaria in 1936 and settling in Didyma in the scope of the Lausanne Peace Treaty. The second stratum, which is the dam-induced migrations, involves the relocation of immigrants who had to leave Eastern Anatolia because of the dam projects and who were located

in Denizköy in 1986 and in Yalıköy in 1989. The third stratum of migration, which are tourism related, refers to the migration movements towards Didyma from all over Turkey in relation with the development of tourism industry after the 1985.

There are factors beyond measure, contributing to the emergence of sociocultural changes. These can be listed as migration, geographical, biological, and social disasters, economic progress, shocks and advancements, technology, new leaders and ideologies, changes in regime, student and laborer exchanges, mass media, changes in the information transfer methods, climate change, domestic and foreign tourism movements (Gürkan, 1969, p. 470; Berkes & Jolly, 2002). For example, rural-urban migration accelerates with the employment opportunities in the tourism regions. Tourism promotes migration in two ways. The first one is that getting positive experiences as a tourist in a region turns the temporary stay of the tourist into a permanent stay due to social reasons and reasons such as employment or retirement. The second is that advancing tourism sector leads immigrants to job hunting (Williams, 2012).

The purpose of this study is to examine the changes caused by migrations to Didyma within the historical process from the viewpoint of tourism. To put it all in more comprehensive terms, the changes created by the social groups from different sociocultural backgrounds that dispersed into different strata of migration depending on the reasons of migration in Didyma, which has been attracting migrants since 1924, has been studied in this research. This study revealed the changes caused by coexistence of social groups from different backgrounds, and the social processes created by migrations in Didyma, which is the tourism region that has been attracting highest number of immigrants in Turkey. The scientific studies conducted in Turkey particularly discuss the external migration, but do not correlate it with tourism and domestic migration. Within this context, it is believed that this study will make a major contribution to the literature. Thus, this study has set forth the social changes in tourism regions attracting higher numbers of immigrants within a historical context. In this study, first, the relationship of the tourism and migration phenomena as social change agents with sociocultural change has been presented and the tourism relationship has been explained; then, information regarding Didyma, which is a city of immigrants, has been given. While analyzing the social dynamics created by each migration stratum building the life in Didyma, the grounded theory approach has been adopted in order to explain events, actions and interactions that occurred in time, as a result of migration related to tourism.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Recently, temporary movements from home to a distance have attracted the attention of migration researchers (Bell & Ward, 2000). Although the concept of “mobility” occurred as a significant concept in the field of social sciences, the importance of tourism as a constituent of immigrant experience has attracted relatively less attention in the mainstream migration literature. Focusing on the certain forms of tourism and migration relationship, it is understood that subjects such as tourism and labor migration, tourism and entrepreneur migration, tourism and return migration, and tourism and retirement migration attract more attention (Hall & Williams, 2002). Studies on tourism-migration relationship have been subject of the intensive attention of the researchers, especially after the 2000s. Tourism-migration relationship was discussed in some of these studies (Williams & Hall, 2002; Hall & Williams, 2002; Williams, 2012). Some other studies (O'Reilly, 1995; King et al., 1998, 2000; Warnes & Patterson, 1998; Williams et al., 2000; Benson & O'Reilly, 2015) are about retirement and lifestyle migration. As it is seen, lifestyle migration has been discussed in the studies about tourism and migration relationship in recent years. Williams and Hall (2002) suggested that there is a weakness in the conceptualization of the differentiation between tourism and migration. Certain forms of tourism-related migrations were examined within the context of social and economic circles. Dwyer et al. (2014) stated that tourism movements prompt the migration phenomenon and these migrations occur due to visiting friends and relatives (Gössling & Schulz, 2005; Williams, 2012).

Considering this subject in terms of Turkey, it can be said that studies on tourism and migration have increased, especially after the 2000s with the transformation of Turkey from a sending country to a receiving country. Turkey sent lots of immigrants to European countries that wanted to pull themselves together economically by supporting industrialization after the Second World War in the 1960s. The transformation of Turkey from a sending country to a receiving country happened after an intensive and gradually increasing influx of tourists as a consequence of the international expansion policies applied as of the 1980s. In parallel with the advancement of tourism regions, British and Germans purchasing property in Turkey and starting to live a settled life in coastal regions may be regarded as the beginning of a new migration movement from developed countries towards Turkey. Therefore, parallelism is observed between the studies about migration to Turkey-tourism relationship and foreigners settling in Turkey by purchasing property in the 2000s. These studies conducted

especially within the context of retirement migrations focused on settled foreigners living in Turkey (Karakaya & Turan, 2005; Südaş, 2005, 2012; Nudralı, 2007; Südaş & Mutluer, 2008; Nudralı & O'Reilly, 2009; Dönmez & Birdir, 2011; Deniz, 2012; Tuna & Özbek, 2012), international migration experience of women (Gebelek, 2008), tourism-related employment migrations (Tümtaş, 2009; Türkoğlu, 2011; Ekiz Gökmen, 2011), and marriage migration (Deniz & Özgür, 2013). Considering these statements, it can be said that studies conducted on migration to Turkey and tourism generally focus on international migrations. In these studies, conducted on the international and national levels, the existence of a relationship between migration and tourism triggering each other was revealed.

The Relationship of Tourism and Migration

Besides economic reasons such as poverty, unemployment, limited employment opportunities, famine, inadequate food sources, the main reasons of migration also include racial, ethnic, religious, or lingual oppressions, ethnic cleansing, holocaust, civil wars, and associated atrocities, natural disasters and epidemics (Benhabib, 2006, p. 147). However, along with the changing world and time, the term migration is going through a semantic transformation. Although this century has witnessed various migration movements, the term began to bear a completely different meaning once it intersects with tourism. For instance, a person, who spent his/her entire life within a tiresome work environment, might dream of moving to a coastal town after retirement. An actively working individual may want to seize new business opportunities in a tourism region with increasing opportunities or may permanently leave their current residence and move to another region with encouragement and recommendations of their friends or relatives.

Hall and Williams (2002, p. 7-8) described the relationship between tourism and migration as a symbiotic relationship. They even used the Grand Tour example to objectify the fact that this symbiotic connection/relationship between tourism and migration dates back a long time. Accordingly, an economic basis was formed in order to attract immigrants from other countries in premium services provided in Northern European aristocrats' visits/travels to Southern Europe. When today's tourism-related migration types are considered, it is observed that various forms of migrations that occur due to geographical extension of social networks, resulting from friendly and consanguineous relationships, cause tourism movements. The immigrants themselves cause a tourism

movement when they travel to visit their friends or relatives. Tourism, on the other hand, may also cause a migration flow. One of the most significant epitomes is labor migration. In a study conducted by World Tourism Organization (2010), the opportunities provided by the relationship between two global phenomena, tourism and migration, are presented. This study, which discusses the relationship between tourism and migration on an international level, discusses these phenomena as significant indicators of globalization. The immigrant categories in this study are explained through their relationships with tourism. Thus, the immigrant categories associated with tourism are: immigrant labor/workers, irregular immigrants, qualified labor immigrants, immigrants who migrated for family reasons, return immigrants, permanent immigrants and ethnic-immigrants.

Strata of Migration in Didyma

The very first immigrants of Didyma, following the population exchange, were the refugees coming from the villages of Kavala, Greece in 1924. Another flow of migration to Didyma occurred from Varna, Bulgaria 12 years after the migration from Greece. The migration movements by the Greek and Bulgarian immigrants, who, after a while, had begun to be considered the locals of Didyma, constitute the “first stratum” of migrations to Didyma. Another significant flow of migration to Didyma had occurred when the citizens of Kurdish origin, whose hometowns and villages were submerged due to dam projects in Eastern Anatolian Region, were settled in this region between 1986 and 1989. The immigrants, who are referred to as dam-induced immigrants in this study, were settled in two villages named Denizköy and Yalicköy, which are relatively far from the center of Didyma. Thus, different cultural characteristics clashed between locals and immigrants. Dam-induced immigrants became part of the community and found their ways in Didyma, with the help of government assistance. Accordingly, the migration movements by the dam-induced immigrants, who came to Didyma between 1986 and 1989, constitute the “second stratum” of migrations to Didyma. Another type of migration in Didyma examined within the scope of this study is tourism-related migrations. As in most regions of Turkey, the tourism investments had gained momentum with the help of incentives for development of tourism in mid-1980s, and many other sectors related to tourism had both directly and indirectly gotten their shares. The landowners and proprietors in Didyma did not turn down the hotel investment proposals of tour operators, and dozens of new hotel constructions in various capacities had begun in record time. This

period, when the development of tourism and migration began to trigger each other, was also the period when the labor migration levels had begun to skyrocket. The 1990s, which followed this period of construction and real estate bonanza, represent the saturnian age of development of tourism in Didyma. The foundations of the developments that triggered excessive flow of upcoming migration were actually laid at this period. Tourism-led migrations became uncontrollable after the British have discovered Didyma, which had been a popular attraction for mass tourism by that time. When foreign property possession became possible in 2000s, Didyma became a popular attraction for international migration flows. Besides the British, Didyma has always been the perfect choice for Turkish citizens, who pursue better living conditions and standards. Tourism-led migrations, which began in early 1990s, in parallel with the development of tourism and still continue, constitute the “third stratum” of migrations to Didyma. Within the scope of this study, the phenomenon of social change is discussed within the frame of tourism-led migrations, which became a self-acting mechanism in time.

Tourism and migration phenomenon as agents of social change

In the tourism literature there are multiple models developed to understand the influence of tourism on culture and society, such as changes in language (White, 1974), behavioral changes of the host society (Doxey, 1975), host-guest interactions (Jafari, 1982; Knox, 1982), evolution of sociocultural influences (Kariel & Kariel, 1982), effect of strategic planning and social factors (Getz, 1983), changes in tourist arts (Graburn, 1984), demographic changes, perception of social change and host community (Ap, 1992), product change and ethnic preservation (Smith, 1996).

Due to its characteristics, tourism as a phenomenon has considerable force to alter a community's social, cultural and economic structure. On an individual level, tourism refers to the encounter of two people who have no previous knowledge of each other and their interaction for any purpose or reason. On the other hand, on the level of international social groups' encounters, tourism is a matter of these groups, which belong to different nationalities, cultures and lifestyles, coming into contact with each other, interacting with one another and establishing social relations for, at least, a brief period of time (Tuna, 2007, p. 5). The social dynamics created by tourism has considerable impact on the transformation of social and cultural characteristics of the local community where they take place. This transformation includes systems of value, traditional lifestyles, family

relations, individual behavior, or social structure. Tourists interact with the local residents throughout their stay and their relations change according to the local individualities, local community's qualities of life, systems of value, forms of labor, family relations, manners, behavioral patterns, rituals and creative expressions. The cultural and economic differences between tourists and local residents are on a more distinct and significant level (Tuna, 2012, p. 68).

Changes caused by development of tourism in a region can be positive or negative. The said changes, when considered from a sociocultural aspect, are generally mentioned to emphasize the negative impacts of tourism. What is underlined by the sociocultural environment of a region is the social climate of that area. Naturally, the social climate of the region is open to both positive and negative changes caused by tourism activities in that region. For example, local community may lose its traditional culture and identity due to the changes in the social structure and economic relations constituting the traditional system; traditional occupations may disappear; professional occupation opportunities may be limited due to the economic pressure created by tourism; occupational motivation may decrease in line with the understanding that tourism is an easier and faster way of making money; it may be the case that cultural subjugation occurs in line with the purposes of tourism industry; extraterritorial authorities may have more influence on local decision making mechanism; rental costs may increase due to the competition to purchase or rent housing between local residents and tourists; as a result of the illegal or legal migration to the tourism area, some marginal groups may form or the safety of social environment may diminish (CE, 1993, p. 22). Tourism, especially within local communities, is regarded as an agent of social and cultural change. In many cases tourism is defined as a force of cultural richness and liveliness, or a loss of cultural integrity (Carter & Beeton, 2004, p. 421). Tourism has sociocultural impacts which come in different forms and within different fields. These impacts, however, are classified under ten basic subjects which are the community participation, the nature of interpersonal relations, bases of social union, the rhythm of social life, division of labor, stratification, distribution of power, customs and traditions, and migration. There is a common belief that the sociocultural effects of tourism are significant within these fields (Cohen, 1984, p. 385). In this study, change related to migration examined within the context of socio-cultural effects of tourism.

Migration, whatever may be its scope, brings with it social and cultural change (Göker, 2015). Migrants themselves are subjected to change

as much as they cause sociocultural changes where they have emigrated. As a result, migration for whatever reason entails social, cultural, economic and political shift within the social structure (Durugönül, 1996, p. 95). The notion of migration which is one of the most important factors affecting the increase or decrease of populations of countries or smaller communities informs the age and sex of the demographic involved. Population of the migration receiving area increases, and accumulations occur based on the age and sex of the immigrants. In addition, changes in the rate of literacy, education, professional qualification and in relation to these changes, fluctuations in the number of skilled laborers occur. These changes which take place in the social structure, culture, economy, environment, political etc. will be directly proportional to the scale of migration. These changes may have positive or negative impacts. For example, in relation to the causes of migration, it is clear that migration from regions with limited area of employment to those with abundance of job opportunities will have positive effects. However, housing problems due to migration, inability to fulfill local functions due to the scale of migration and problems which may stem from this, crime rates, and unemployment are some examples to the negative outcomes. From this perspective, migration is an important mechanism which initiates sociocultural change as well as having both positive and negative impacts (Akkayan, 1979, p. 20-21).

There is a multitude of sociocultural changes that occur among emigrating individuals and host societies due to migration. Cultural encounters, exchanges, and the emergence of hybrid cultures are in direct relation to the proportion of migration processes. Although, from time to time, all these changes in a community entail the emergence of a number of intermingling cultures and groups which represent these cultures, they often induce isolated, introverted, spatially and symbolically marginalized parallel social groups. This shows the tendency to veer towards strife rather than comingling and entails a number of social issues such as new forms of racism, xenophobia or discrimination (Göker, 2015, p. 45).

METHODOLOGY

The Field of Study: Didyma

Didyma is a region which qualifies for the euphemism “mosaic of Turkey”, because of its status as home to individuals and social groups from all over Turkey. The cultural diversity within its borders has virtually transformed Didyma into a “sociological laboratory.” Didyma is a region where people

from different backgrounds of language, religion, ethnicity, lifestyle and perception have been emigrating to for 100 years. Naturally, when different individuals and social groups reside in the same place, it will result in change due to interactive relations. In Didyma specifically, where population doubled in only a period of 10 years, as a result of immigrants flowing from every part of Turkey, there is a unique opportunity to understand social processes brought forth by both forced migration and tourism related migration. Because Didyma is one of the regions today where tourism related migrations come to being in the most tangible manner.

Situated on one of the two peninsulas environing Güllük Gulf and home to blue flag beaches, Didyma has tens of immaculate coves and bays on its 90-kilometer coastline, almost all of which being sandy beaches. Didyma shines out as a tourism center, with its long and sandy beaches, clear blue sea, Temple of Apollon built in 560 B.C.E. which is the largest temple of ancient period, its unique microclimate with hundreds of sunny days in a year and mild weather which allows its residents to enjoy water sports and beaches even in the winter months. It is also closely situated to some ancient cities and natural wonders such as the Bafa Lake Nature Park, Ancient City of Milenos and Ancient City of Pirene. The unique combination of nature and sea, history and culture, makes Didyma an important area of tourism.

Data Collection

In this study, depth interview method, which is one of the most common means of data acquisition in qualitative research, was employed. This method used in fields of social sciences is a tool that helps the researcher to thoroughly and profoundly comprehend the subject matter in the fieldwork (Kümbetoğlu, 2015, p. 71-72). Therefore, interview method is the most substantial way to understand others (Punch, 2011, p. 165-166). The underlying logic of in-depth interviews is to reveal the subjective comments of people regarding social realm in order to understand the meanings and experiences they construct on a daily basis (Layder, 2013, p. 95).

The experience from the previous interviews, which took place prior to this study, showed that the participants do not candidly bare their hearts to people who they see merely as researchers. In order to enter into the semantic worlds of participants and gain their recognition, the researcher contacted every participant whom she would interview with the interposition of a reference, conducted pre-interviews, and visited them in

their homes, workplaces, or social spheres where they lead their “real” lives. Once mutual connection and communication was established, the interviews commenced.

In the current study, in order to understand the changes in sociocultural structure of Didyma due to the migration movements related to the development of tourism from the individuals’ point of view, two different lists of questions were prepared for the interviews with local residents of Didyma, dam-induced immigrants, and immigrants who moved to Didyma for reasons directly or indirectly related to tourism. The question sheet prepared for interviews with the local residents of Didyma constitutively included questions regarding the life history of participants, sociocultural life of the past, sociocultural relations with immigrants, development of tourism, and problems relating to migrations in Didyma. The questions sheet prepared for immigrants constitutively included questions regarding the life history of participants, individual experiences of migration, sociocultural relations with the locals, development of tourism, and questions relating to migrations in Didyma. Expert opinion was consulted to ensure the content validity of the interview questions. The questions considered to be irrelevant to the aim of this study were removed and the semi-structured interview sheet was finalized.

After the semi-structured interview questions took their final form, between the dates July 14 –August 21, 2017; January 10 – January 24, 2018; March 2 – March 16, 2018, during the 70 days spent on the field. The data were collected during in-depth face to face interviews, of which the shortest lasted 34 minutes, and the longest three hours and 19 minutes, 54 hours in total. During the interviews, in addition to the open-ended questions, the researcher frequently asked the question “how” in order to deepen the narration. The interviews were recorded on a tape recorder with the permission and consent of the participant. Along the course of the interviews, as the topics narrowed down from more general to subjective ones, the body language components such as the behavior, gesture, and facial expressions of the participants were noted down without disrupting the flow of the conversation and losing the interviewer-participant contact. Starting with the first interview, in order to initiate the analyses, on the day interviews were held they were transcribed.

The transcriptions following the first in-depth interview were thoroughly scrutinized by the researcher. Thus, the researcher opened up the path to develop a deeper point of view on the data. It is crucial for the analyses that the researcher embeds herself into the data in order to become

acquainted with the depth and span of the contents of the data. Diving into the data requires rereading the data in detail. These repetitive readings include searching for meanings, similarities, etc. in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87).

After the transcribed texts of the interviews were perused, they were imported to the professional data analysis program MAXQDA 12 to help analyze and visualize the data for qualitative research. This program helped the researcher to systematically order, evaluate, analyze, interpret, report on and manage the bulk of data. The researcher completed the analytic process in a controlled manner from top to bottom by systematically engaging with all the interview texts and notes on the 42 participants. Since the significance of encoding is obvious, the encoding processes were completed with utmost care.

In studies conducted with the grounded theory approach, a detailed and in-depth dataset is required to construct a theory. Therefore, in grounded theory it may be necessary to conduct interviews with 20 to 60 participants to reach data saturation (Creswell, 2016, p. 88). In this study, interviewing 42 participants was sufficient to reach satiety. The researcher has traversed between data collection and data analysis throughout the process (Creswell, 2012, p. 433) and when she confirmed that the data reached satiety, she completed the theoretical sampling process. The sample group constituted of 16 refugees/immigrants, eight dam-induced migrants, 12 workers/entrepreneurs relocating to Didyma to benefit from tourism related job and business establishment opportunities, six lifestyle migrants who moved to Didyma for better living standards related to climate, health, retirement, etc. Out of the participants, 5 of whom were female and 37 males, it was detected that six of the locals were primary school graduates, five high school, and five university graduates, all of the dam-induced migrants were primary school graduates, and of the tourism related migrants, one was secondary school two were high school and thirteen were university graduates. When the types of migration were inspected, it was found that the 24 participants making up the first and second stratum were a part of forced migration, the third stratum of migration represented by 18 participants were voluntary migrants to Didyma. It was determined that the participants were involved in a set of diverse economic activities. Different demographic characteristics of the participants whose ages ranged between 36 and 88 enriched the dataset by adding diversity.

FINDINGS

Sociocultural changes

When social change is considered, the development of tourism in Didyma can be acknowledged as a milestone. Migration movements taking place parallel to this development doubles the population of Didyma in the 1990s. It is possible to see migration's force of change clearly in the 2000s when Land Registry Law was enacted, and British citizens rapidly purchased immovable. As the number of real estates approached 15 thousand, British population made up a fourth of Didyma, and this situation created opportunities of all kinds. However, after the year 2012, these opportunities were pronounced "missed opportunities." As the British were targeted by profiteers and opportunists, a number of social problems ensued. Immigrants who once created added value to develop the region's economy were now referred to as unskilled deadbeats undermining tourism economy with no added value. In this context, when evaluating sociocultural effects of tourism related migration, it should be considered in what period foreigners begin to purchase property. The categories of deterioration of social values and declination of business ethics are closely related to tourism related migration. The other categories are changes in senses of belonging and identity, social-spatial aggregation and emergence of a social hegemony.

Deterioration of social values

The *deterioration of social values* was divided into subcategories such as *cultural degeneration due to British immigration*, *British-immigrant marriages degenerating the conjugal union* and *rapid enrichment causing inappropriate lifestyle*. One needs to understand the category of *cultural degeneration* as not caused by the British, but as immigrants turning the British opportunity into profiteering. Secondly, the subcategory *British-immigrant marriages degenerating the conjugal union* refers to the union of very young men marrying settled British women who are of an age that is deemed unacceptably old by social values and turning the institution of marriage into a marriage of finances. Finally, *rapid enrichment causing inappropriate lifestyle* subcategory is interpreted as locals acquiring wealth they cannot stomach by selling their land to investing or enterprising immigrants, and immigrants getting rich quickly from selling British construction and real estate.

The interviews show that the allure of money making has changed social codes of both the locals and immigrants, most of whom are from Eastern Turkey. This situation is categorized under cultural degeneration due to a boom in immigration flow to Didyma of those hoping to take advantage of the British residents. This resulted in the poorness of migrant quality, as well as a moral breakdown. P20-Melih states this situation as such: *"I agree that such degeneration can be seen in all communities. However, I do not see how it can be done so impertinently. I believe it is only possible in societies where individuals are socially, culturally and educationally inadequate predominate the community."*

Another reflection of the degeneration of social values appears as *British-immigrant marriages degenerating the conjugal union*. Here, the emphasis on the "immigrants" getting married to the British is due to that fact that no one from the local community was involved in these marriages. This is especially because it was frowned upon by the families of younger men to marry British women over a certain age. Therefore, this evaluation concerns the second and third stratum of migration. It can be readily admitted that these types of unions between young locals and British women, who are significantly older than them, are financially motivated marriages. P24-Melih emphasizes how this situation is normalized among young men and states: *"Most of the Kurds here got married to the British. Young men get married to British women old enough to be their mothers. The Brit thinks he loves him, little she knows it's for goods, estates, money. But the Brit doesn't know. She purchases a flat and registers the title deeds in his name."*

The final subcategory under the deterioration of social values is the *rapid enrichment causing inappropriate lifestyle* subcategory. It is possible to consider this situation from both local and immigrant aspects. The sudden shift from a life of struggle against poverty to making such amounts of money that they cannot mentally surmount, due to their previous, simple lifestyle, virtually transfigures the local villagers. P6-Korkmaz expresses the situation as such: *"The peasant of Yoran lived a simple life, keeping to themselves, then the substantial amount of cash entering their lives, they lost their composure."*

The declination of business ethics

This category is divided into three subcategories: *defrauding the British*, *tarnishing occupational reputation* and *normalization of commissioning*. The degeneration of business ethics in Didyma brought forth a process which had staggering outcomes from many aspects. While Didyma was a down-to-earth tourism region until the 2000s, after the enactment of Land Registry

Law, it became a center of fraud, attracting all kinds of swindlers. The migration flow during this period led to an environment where social disintegration materialized, people became distrustful of one another and some people took advantage of legal loopholes, damaging social norms and morals.

Defrauding the British subcategory is a statement of remorse which reflects this period that every participant mentions. This is a period where the locals' "*we were remained in the background, we failed*" and the immigrants' "*we couldn't intervene, it all happened so fast*" sentiments mix in with one another and the compensation for it will perhaps take years. In a nutshell, the British beginning to buy property from 2003 onwards put the people of Didyma to the test. Unable to overcome language barriers, local community was unable to interact with the British. Sudden rise in real estate and landed property prices naturally whetted everyone's appetite and the desire to get rich quickly took precedence over many virtues. This process, which was virtually a turning point in the social life of Didyma and where ethics of commerce was at its weakest, had outcomes that were to the detriment of the whole society.

The unjust treatment of the British, which was also covered in a study on the effects of foreigners acquiring immovable in Turkey (Tanrıvermiş & Apaydın, 2013), also occupied local and national press for a long time. Since Didyma is in a military security zone, sale of properties to foreigners there required the permission of Aegean Army Commandership, which prolonged the bureaucratic process to take longer than it should. The impatience of the British who wanted to take advantage of low-cost housing and of those who wanted to benefit from the British buyers, resulted in notarized housing sales. Because there was no military permission, these contracts didn't have validity in deed transfers and paved the way for malfeasances. Those who wanted to unethically take advantage of legal loopholes sold the same immovable that were already sold and were awaiting title deed registration procedures to second and third persons using the same method. The scale of this abuse reached such magnitude that incidents, such as deluding the British and pretending to help them and registering the property they purchased on themselves, leasing out their property while awaiting the military permission to be granted, or having their houses robbed while they waited out the long bureaucratic process to end in their homeland, were common. The defrauding of the British reached its peak in 2009, and the situation was now ingloriously covered in national and international press, which led to a smear campaign on Didyma. In addition to these, the legal struggle of the mistreated British resorting to the

jurisdiction transformed Didyma from a potential “British town” to a “town deserted by the British colony.” Some statements on the topic that were underlined are as such:

These bar managers had learned to speak English. They could interact with them. They went and became the realtors of Didyma. Even though they had no background, they immediately entered the real estate industry. They sold buildings, flats to three different people. They were thus involved in aggravated fraud (P10-Metin).

The British were unfortunately cheated out of their money by certain people. They sold the houses above their worth. Plasterers, painters, plumbers all gouged the prices, they did all sorts of things. In the entertainment venues they went, they got different prices (P14- Ergüneş).

As mentioned before, the right to purchase property being granted to foreigners brought substantial opportunities, such as bringing market boom to the real estate industry and promoting foreign investment. The tendency to increase investment expenses in construction industry in countries experiencing recession (Kaya et al., 2013) reflect a transformation in the economic policy of Turkey, especially after the 1980s when Turkey was under the influence of free market economy. The dominance of open economy in neoliberal Turkey attracted foreign investors in a number of sectors. While the opportunities for unearned profits created by the incentives regarding land ownership in construction industry, which is seen as the most important agent of economic growth (Kaya et al., 2013), attracted the attention of global firms on a macro level, it also attracted the local and national construction companies, but also others, who had nothing to do with this industry on a micro level. At this point, considering Didyma, it is observed that this time frame, where everyone became contractors or real estate agents together with the freedom of landownership for foreigners, is also period when the foundations of distrust against real estate and construction industries were laid. In those times of distrust, this process, which had become a sub-category under the name of *damaging of professional reputation*, was the outcome of this distrust.

P11-Melih shares these insights from his own experience: *“We also had these contractors who were low-ranking officials, poor persons or people with very little capital. There are hundreds of contractors like me. In Didyma, you don’t need to have money to be a contractor, anyone can become one. I’m an engineer, and I work as a contractor. Waiters are contractors. Some retiree is a contractor. A doctor here is a contractor. Everyone is a contractor.”*

The last subcategory under the topic of declination of business ethics is the *normalization of commissioning*. This subcategory, which again needs to be considered along the lines of British immigration, shows that the British were deceived not only when acquiring housing, but in every process where they had to purchase any goods or services they needed to maintain their lives. In addition to this, it is revealed by the interviews that the same unjust treatment was at work in venues where they addressed their social needs. P21-Veli criticizes this situation as such: *"What I mean is, there was not a place where they weren't screwed over. They were swindled."*

Changes in senses of identity and belonging

The category of changes in senses of identity and belonging divides into three main subcategories. These categories in historical context are: *the disappearance of exchange/ "muhajir" distinction among the locals, the loss of the sense of spatial belonging in locals, and the formation of the sense of spatial belonging in immigrants.*

Even though the immigrants from Greece and Bulgaria differentiated from one another as exchanged and incomer during the first decades of migration, the sense of being "us" faced with the migration movements at different periods caused this distinction to disappear. Thus, the problems they encountered due to their differences in cultural roots, such as frowning upon intermarriage, or even transgressing the borders of one another's neighborhoods, the cultural bonding of the coming years eliminated the cultural distances between them. When the dam-induced migrations took place, the distinction of "us" referred to the Balkan migrants and "them" referring to those who arrived after them. As the tourism related migrations gained pace, the sense of solidarity grew even stronger and turns them into locals and the rest strangers. Now, according to the locals of Didyma, any outsider would be a stranger. P19-Musa sums it up as such: *"The newcomers in Didyma began to unite among themselves. As the outsiders organized and became empowered, the locals began to have this idea that 'as long as you are from Didyma, you are better than them.'" P38-Bahattin, on the other hand, correlates the sense of being "us" to migration and states: "The social bonding began later, when Didyma started to develop and attract strangers, and received a lot of immigrants."*

The loss of the sense of spatial belonging in the locals is especially correlated to the decrease in the rate of locals in the population of Didyma due to tourism related migrations. As the interviews with the locals grew more intense, they often express their sense of nostalgia as if they feel that

they do not belong to the Didyma of today, saying: *“In these conditions, I cannot say I am from here. Because I long for my old village, those people, that sincerity, and beauty of old. When I look at it today, Didyma looks tainted to me. It is not pleasant in any way, there is no trace of sincerity. Back in the day, everyone loved one another in my town, they all helped one another. Believe me, I feel like the only reason I stay here is because this is the land I inherited from my father and grandfather. I wouldn’t stay here if I didn’t have my bricks and mortar down here, because this place lost that sincerity, that beauty, that leniency, that culture.”*

In the last category which is the *formation of the sense of spatial belonging in immigrants*, it is understood that the freedom to maintain their own values and habits in Didyma was effective in such formation. The liberal environment of Didyma, which is one of the reasons for migration, forms the basis of the transformation of adaptation process into a sense of belonging. P11-Melih interprets this situation as follows: *“I feel like I belong to Didyma because I love this atmosphere, this culture. Our social lives, our work, everything is in place. Despite small mishaps, we can preserve our culture. We overcame so much in Didyma. That’s why we have adapted to this culture, we love the culture, atmosphere, and nature. That’s why we don’t want to leave here.”*

Socio-spatial accumulation

It is natural for immigrants to live close to one another where they have migrated. Socio-spatial accumulation may at first seem like a necessity, in time, the desire to be in solidarity transforms it into a willing accumulation in a certain area (Ünal, 2012). When Didyma is considered specifically, it became significantly clear that immigrants with previous knowledge of each other want to live close to each other. Another example is that after the earthquake in Didyma, before the area of residence was designated in a region called Yenihisar, Romanians used to live mixed in with the rest of the locals. After the construction of living spaces, Romanians spatially separated from the rest. In this period, when hints as to the development of tourism could not yet be foreseen, the area close to Altinkum shore was allotted to the Romanians so that they would be out of sight. Immigrants of Eastern Turkey origin, who were displaced because of the construction of the dam, were settled in Denizköy and Yalıköy which had no economic value at the time, though they were near the shoreline. As migration rose in time, the desire of immigrants of different ethnic background to live closer to those they are ethnically related to, leads to the placing of Kurdish, Alawite, Romanian and other neighborhoods distinctly apart. In addition

to that, it was detected that public spaces were also prone to accumulation. Narratives regarding the said subcategory are exemplified below:

Everyone hangs out in their own association, own coffeehouse, own clubhouse. Today there are a few coffeehouses up there where the locals hang out. And they all gather around there, they don't go anywhere else. In short, they still can't accept one another (P3-Erdal).

Emergence of social hegemony

The period when dam-induced migrations took place coincides with a time when internal security concerns began to sprout in Turkey. Local community put citizens of Eastern Anatolian origin, who settled in Didyma with the Denizköy and Yalıköy, on par with the terrorist groups causing unrest at the time and did not approach the dam immigrants out of fear and reservation. Unable to build lasting relations with the immigrants on a social level, or rather afraid to build such relations, locals had withdrawn into their shells. P22-Fuat states the attitude of locals of Didyma at the early stages of immigration as such: *"We came here, and the locals here said, 'they came from the East, who are they, are they PKK militants or what,' and didn't give us jobs, stayed away from us."*

Dam-induced immigrants, who were discriminated due to the prejudices of the early stages of migration, began to actively partake in fields of tourism and commerce in a couple of years. The ongoing fears of the locals lead to their exclusion from the fields where dam immigrants were active and their disappearance from economic life. P14-Kartal states regarding how the process flowed after the dam-induced migration: *"After the construction of the dam in the East, our people came to Yalıköy and Denizköy. Along the way, they adapted, but the local community had some reactions, some prejudices. Prejudice is the most dangerous. No matter how they adapt, this prejudice still partly prevails. Despite everything, they embraced Didyma. [...] I also have a lot of acquaintances there, they are active in both commerce and politics."*

Since migration routes, paved by dam-induced migrants, became busier as tourism sector developed, this led to the hegemony of second and third stratum of migration in the social life of Didyma, as they earned their place economically. Today, this hegemonic form of social order reflected on both economic and daily life practices, is acknowledged by the local community and they do not even venture to attempt entry into the fields where immigrants dominate. P24-Melih summarizes the position of local

community regarding immigrants thusly: “And most of them feel like they have to make friends with us, they cannot order us around.”

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The diversity created by migration movements, conceptualized as stratum of migration in Didyma, provides important opportunities to understand the nature of migration. Didyma is an unmitigated *laboratory of sociology* in terms of the insights it provides on almost all aspects of the phenomenon of migration due to the forced and voluntary immigrants it received. Didyma is a region which provides numerous opportunities with regards to making sense of tourism related migrations, which have not been delved much into in theories of migration (Südaş, 2005) and managing the consequences of these migrations. To this point, the immigrants who settled in Didyma from the year 1924 and onwards were distinguished into stratum according to the social characteristics they possess and have been grouped in terms of the historical contexts they belong in. As it is known, the concept of stratification in sociology is used to express the hierarchical fractioning that takes place among groups of people for whatever reason (Giddens, 2008). However, the term was used in this study not as referring to the state of inequality in the social structure or among social groups, but to refer to the different social characteristics of immigrants migrating to Didyma in different periods. In other words, the reason for the use of *stratum* to express movements of migration is to focus on the reasons of migration of individuals who have common characteristics. Thus, social groups varying and naturally creating different social dynamics, depending on the cause of migration, were connoted as “stratum of migration.” In this context, in line with the aim of this study, the relations of every stratum with one another, their manners of relating to tourism and tourism dependent sectors and the social dynamics they have created was discussed over this narrative.

Sociocultural changes of Didyma are the deterioration of social values, declination of business ethics, changes in senses of identity and belonging, socio-spatial accumulation and emergence of social hegemony. As the result of the field study, it was determined that the development of tourism is a turning point in Didyma’s changing social structure. While growth of tourism in a developing region alone is enough to create radical change, the degree of change in a region of tourism like Didyma, where sudden flows of migration took place over a short period, are even more drastic. It was found that the enactment of Land Registry Law was a turning point in the social history of Didyma. In other words, it was determined that

the processes which had the most profound effect on the social structure of Didyma, in the context of the relation of tourism and migration, began with the Land Registry Law. This legal development, which caught the locals of Didyma off guard, had destructive outcomes for both locals and immigrants. This process led Didyma to change shells in sociocultural, economic and environmental contexts. At this point, it was discovered with this research that, when examining the different dimensions of social change, it is crucial to think of the period where foreign natural and legal persons began to purchase property as a milestone.

Migration movements of social groups, who have internally homogenous characteristics, create social stratification. First and second stratum of migrations to Didyma, which took place within national borders and were forced, and the voluntary migrations, involving national and international movements, were evaluated in the context of the dynamics they created within themselves and also the relations among one another. The results of this study show that the locals, dam-induced immigrants and tourism related immigrants, who are divided into social stratum and possess different cultural characteristics, have different social reactions and different ways of relating to tourism.

Cultural capital in the context of etymon and native land leads to hegemonic constructs among stratum of migration. As it appears in the economic life as well, the research showed that there is a social hegemony between stratum of migration. Political biases against the citizens of Eastern origin, who had been relocated during the dam-induced migrations approximately 60 years after the locals arrived in Didyma, did not allow for neither a social nor an economic relation to develop between the two strata for a long time. Dam-induced immigrants, who speedily adapted to the commercial life after the post-migration process, became the dominant merchants and pushed the locals out of the economic life. Following the development of tourism industry, the arrival of immigrants using their connections with the previous ones turned the commercial deficiency of the locals into commercial fear. Such that today, this hegemonic form of social structure, which is echoed in economic life and also practices of daily life, is acknowledged by the local community and they avoid even venturing into the fields where immigrants dominate.

In cultural structures where social assimilation processes are not analyzed, legislations, such as the one allowing foreigners to purchase immovables, have the power to alter social codes. It was found as a result of this study that development of tourism industry in the region is a turning

point in the transformation of Didyma's social structure. While the rapid growth of tourism in any developing region is a source of radical change, in a region like Didyma, where this development led to rapid and sudden immigration movements, the changes are even more sweeping. The enactment of Land Registry Law was found to be especially important turning point in the social history of Didyma. In other words, it was discovered that the processes which had the most intense effects on the social structure of Didyma in the context of tourism and migration began with the enactment of Land Registry Law. This legal development, which caught the locals of Didyma off guard, had destructive impact on both the locals and immigrants. This process led to Didyma to change shells in sociocultural, economic, and environmental contexts. At this point, it was asserted that the period in which foreign natural persons purchased property needs to be considered as a milestone when different aspects of social change in Didyma is investigated.

Along with the international tourism activities, the European Union accession period (Südaş, 2012), incentive impositions created by the economic policies of the time and the effort to catch up with the global real estate market attracted the attention of local and national firms, as well as those who had no relation to construction industry. At this point, it was found that migration of labor, investor and entrepreneur pouring towards Didyma suddenly gained momentum. However, the period of change, which had destructive impact on the social life of Didyma, was found to take place when *everyone became a contractor*.

When migration movements towards tourist areas are considered, it can be said that acquisition of property has a facilitating effect in all those areas. However, in Didyma, it was found that not only the migration process was badly managed, but it also brought with it a number of problems as well. The fact that every sphere of society in Didyma was caught off guard, and that the immigration, which was mostly from Britain, was seen as the *English Opportunity (!)*, all but normalized the exploitation. It was found in the study that as a result of this, the British rapidly entered the process of returning to their home country. Property sales that first started to rise during the first ten years following property acquisition, entered a period of stagnation, and finally, the process of re-selling immovables, as the British began to depart from Didyma.

This study has distinctive significant contributions to the sociology of tourism literature in a variety of aspects and a series of managerial implications. However, there are some limitations. First, the study was

conducted in Didyma, region located in Aegean coast of Turkey. Therefore, future studies may focus on other tourism destinations attracting tourism migrants due to its high level of tourism attractiveness such as Alanya, Fethiye, Marmaris etc. In addition, the reasons undergone of return migration of British residents to their home country or other countries can be investigated in future research.

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