Permanent tourism and host-guest relations: An empirical study of UK tourist-migrants in Didim, Turkey

by

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Abstract

Attention has long been paid in the literature to the general phenomenon of the migration demands of tourists and their mobility. In particular, the migration patterns of northern European populations to southern European regions, typically motivated by social and economic factors and the search for a better climate and a better quality of lifestyle, have been an area of considerable academic interest. However, with a few notable exceptions, the great majority of studies have focused primarily on European Mediterranean regions in general, and on Spain, France and Italy in particular. In contrast, tourist migration to Turkey's coastal regions has been largely neglected by the academic community. Indeed, only a very limited number of studies have been undertaken into the phenomenon in Turkey, and these mostly date back to the start of the new millennium. Hence, research into tourism migration to Turkey is now relatively dated and, despite calls for more up-to-date studies to be undertaken, this has not occurred. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to address this gap in the literature. In particular, it seeks to investigate and develop a critical understanding of the case of British permanent tourists in Didim, in Turkey. In so doing, it offers an original contribution to the literature on tourist migration and second home ownership, not only considering the phenomenon in a country that, although experiencing a significant level of tourist migration and second home ownership, has benefited from limited research, but also exploring it in a socio-cultural context that differs significantly from that of the majority of (European based) studies.

More specifically, this thesis sets out to examine critically the relationship between the host community and tourist-migrants, referred to in this study as permanent tourists, in Turkey. In order to achieve this purpose, the research seeks to identify and elicit the views of permanent tourists in Turkey and explore the extent of their engagement with the host society and culture in Turkey. At the same time, not only does it develop an understanding of the general characteristics of those purchasing (second) homes in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations), but also it critically appraises the social, cultural and economic impacts of international (specifically British) tourists buying property in Turkey, as well as considering their interactions with the local Turkish community and the respective impacts of the interactions on both the local ('host') and permanent tourist ('guest') communities.

The research adopts an interpretivist approach and utilises qualitative methods to address the principal research questions. Such an approach responds to recent criticisms of the dominance of quantitative-based studies within the host perceptions / host-guest relations literature and consequential calls for broader, multi-dimensional qualitative-base studies. In order to elicit rich data from both (host and guest)

communities in the study area, the research comprises three stages. The first stage involves interviews undertaken specifically with members of the host community, whilst the second stage employs the same method (interviews) to investigate the perceptions and experiences of British permant touristds in Didim. The final stage of the research comprises three focus groups drawn from both the host and permanent tourist groups, the purpose being to consider issues identified in the interviews in greater depth in order to critically assess the themes emerging from both communities at the previous interview stages.

The principal findings, in part, concur with previous studies and, in part, reveal new themes and issues in terms of the motivations for British permanent tourists to settle in Turkey as well as in terms of the degree of integration into the local society. Unsurprisingly perhaps, it is found that many of the permanent tourists' interactions with the host community remain superficial, yet symbiotic. The study also compared the differences between the relations of hosts with both permanent and temporary tourists and, in so doing, considers how the duration of a tourist's stay impacts on these relations**.** Significantly, the findings challenge the models proposed in some early studies, such as Doxey's irritation index (1975), and proposes an adaptation of the model of host and guest relations he developed, highlighting the need for more research about symbiotic host-guest relations, particularly in the case of permanent tourists.

In addition, and augmenting previous research, the findings reveal an increasing trend of permanent tourists, particularly those from the UK, leaving the region owing to insufficient financial resources, poor planning or for reasons of health. The study also reveals that most permanent tourists who still live in Didim are either the retired British population who live there all year round or are second home owners only there for extended holidays.

In line with previous studies, the study also identifies many social, economic and environmental impacts that permanent tourists have on the local community, including increased prices of property, products and services in the region. Despite the negative impacts, however, many locals remain positive about the presence of permanent tourists despite some reservations about some aspects of behaviour. Both communities appear to have learned to live together as two separate societies rather than one, mainly reflecting the language barrier.

The findings have important implications in terms of identifying means of overcoming potential issues to create a better and happier social life for the both communities and to establish more positive relations as a basis for potential tourism opportunities in

Didim as well as in other destinations. Overall the study revealed that the integration levels of permanent tourists with the host community operate on a very practical level. Thus, it concludes that the integration model needs to differentiate between levels of interaction, a primary factor being whether permanent tourists learn the hosts' language.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Globalisation, Mobility and Tourism

> Indeed, migration has been described as constitutive of modern life: in 'liquid' modernity we are compelled by the need to keep moving even when we are no longer clear why (Bauman, 2000; Papastergiadis, 2000: 12). But, not only has migration increased, it has changed its form. Where migration was traditionally a one-off move to a new life in a new place, contemporary moves are multidirectional, blurring the distinction between migration and tourism (Williams et al., 2000 cited in O'Reilly, 2007: 278)

Globalisation is considered by many to be a major contemporary phenomenon, a defining characteristic of the second half of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries (Schaeffer, 2009; Scholte, 2005). Nevertheless, it remains a highly contested concept, not least in terms of its roots (Held and McGrew, 2003).

The nature and impacts of globalisation are equally contested; indeed, 'there remains a lack of consensus over the extent to which globalisation is a universal process which all societies and institutions are undergoing or whether it is simply a convenient label attached to the internationalisation of certain spheres of social, economic and poltical life' (Sharpley, 2009: 88). Nevertheless, globalisation is broadly considered to refer to a consequence of developments in modern communication and transport technologies that have 'shrunk the globe' (McGrew, 1992: 65), and the emergence of a world in which there is increasing inter-dependence between nation-states. That is, it refers to an inter-connected and inter-dependent world in which the activities and influence of political, economic, industrial, religious and environmental organisations transcend national boundaries, in which there is increasing mobility of people, goods services, capital and information across geographic and political borders, and in which the potential exists for the first global civilisation to develop (Perlmutter, 1991). More specifically, according to Steger (2003: 9-12), globalisation displays four principal characteristics, namely: (i) the development of social networks that transcend traditional economic, political, cultural and geographic constraints; (ii) the expansion of

social relations, activities and interdependencies; (iii) the increasing growth and intensity of such relations and activities; and (iv), the increased awareness amongst people of being part of an interconnected, global society.

Others challenge the phenomenon of globalisation. Scholte (2002), for example, points out that it has not signified the collapse of territorial boundaries, boundaries which nation-states are now increasingly seeking to protect. Nor does it preclude the continuing existence of discrete, sub-global societies and spaces, whilst some societies have remained excluded from the alleged global connectivity. Nevertheless, as O'Reilly (2007) observes, a common theme within the literature on globalisation is the notion that the world has become single place, that national boundaries have become, or are perceived to be, of less relevence owing in particular to the complex demands of mobilities or, more specifically, the desire of people to move from one place to another (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2015). In short, travel and migration put pressure on the notions of national state borders. Moreover, Urry (1999) argues that not only do people nowadays believe that they are living in a 'global village', an idea that is a central tenet of globalisation, but that this belief has also influenced the culture of citizenship to the extent that people now often assume that they can live wherever they wish, and that 'home' is wherever they wish to settle. More specifically, as emphasised by Bauman (2013a: İ)

> There is more to the phenomenon of globalisation than meets the eye; unpacking the social roots and social conseguences of the globalisation process.

Bauman's (2013b) argument is that although the forms of modern life vary, there are common characteristics which unite contemporary society. Bauman states that these shared or united characteristics of modernity are their fragility, temporariness, vulnerability and desire for constant change and implies that to *be modern* means to modernize; the emphasis is on change rather than on completion. These changes also bring new structures of meaning of modernity as new trends replace the previous ones as soon as they become old fashioned. He argues that modernity has become associated with the word *liquid* instead of *solid*, with the latter term meaning to control or fix the future as opposed to a more fluid and uncertain future. He goes on to suggest that a hundred years ago, being modern or to be modern meant 'the final state of perfection'; today, however, it means constantly seeking improvement. As Bauman argues, there is no 'final state' desired by society other than some notion of perfection. There is, then, a need to understand how and why the the demand to move

somewhere , to be mobile, has become a current trend in modern society (Bauman, 2013b).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the concept of globalisation has been linked to travel and tourism in general, and the increasing scale and scope of the demand for international tourism in particular (Wahab and Cooper, 2001). Indeed, tourism, decribed by some as the world's largest industry (Sheller and Urry, 2004), is often identified as a manifestation of globalisation, the continuing growth in international arrivals being related to and perhaps contributing to the increased inter-connectivity between people and societies around the world. More specifically, Quinn (2004: 114) suggests that 'increasing tourist mobility is interpreted [by some] as an indication of the deterritorialised spatiality of globalisation'. Certainly, there can be no doubting the remarkable growth in international tourism since the mid-twentieth century; as can be seen from Table 1.1, international arrivals and receipts have grown consistently since 1950, exceeding the one billion mark for the first time in 2012.

Table 1.1: International tourist arrivals and receipts, 1950-2015

Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US$bn)	Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US$bn)
1950	25.3	2.1	2000	687.0	481.6
1960	69.3	6.9	2001	686.7	469.9
1965	112.9	11.6	2002	707.0	488.2
1970	165.8	17.9	2003	694.6	534.6
1975	222.3	40.7	2004	765.1	634.7
1980	278.1	104.4	2005	806.1	682.7
1985	320.1	119.1	2006	847.0	742.0
1990	439.5	270.2	2007	903.0	856.0
1991	442.5	283.4	2008	917.0	939.0
1992	479.8	326.6	2009	882.0	851.0
1993	495.7	332.6	2010	940.0	927.0
1994	519.8	362.1	2011	995.0	1,042.0
1995	540.6	410.7	2012	1,035.0	1,075.0
1996	575.0	446.0	2013	1,087.0	1,159.0
1997	598.6	450.4	2014	1,130.0	1,245.0
1998	616.7	451.4	2015	1,184.0	1,260.0
1999	639.6	465.5			

Source: adapted from UNWTO data

The rate of growth has inevitably declined (Table 1.2). Whereas the annual growth in arrivals averaged 6.2 percent bewteen 1950 and 2010, the rate fell to 3.9 percent between 2010 and 2015 (UNWTO, 2016). Neverthelss, fuelled by continuing growth in wealth and leisure time, particularly in newly emerging economies such as China, as well as developments in technology and political and economic liberaliatiion policies, international tourism continues to grow, although it should be noted that

tourism is not, in a sense, globalised. That is, the growth in tourism is not universal; as Shaw and Williams (2002: 30) have observed, international tourism remains both polarised and regionalised, with major tourism flows occurring primarily between wealthier industrialised countries and, to a lesser extent, between a smaller number of emerging economies. Hence, Europe remains the world's dominant tourism region, accounting for more than half of all tourism arrivals, whilst the Asia and Pacific region is claiming an increasing share (UNWTO, 2016).

Table 1.2: International tourism arrivals and receipts growth rates, 1950-2000

Decade	Arrivals (average annual increase %)	Receipts (average annual increase %)
1950-1960	10.6	12.6
1960-1970	9.1	10.1
1970-1980	5.6	19.4
1980-1990	4.8	9.8
1990-2000	4.2	6.5

Source: adapted from (UNWTO, 2005)

Wahab and Cooper (2001:5) also refer to 'the impact of globalisation as a megatrend on tourism', essentially viewing globalisation as a tangible influence on the development of and demand for tourism. Similarly, Emekli, Ibrahimov and Soykan (2006) propose that globaliation has had a positive influence on the demand for tourism. Whether this is the case remains debatable although there is no doubt that it is not only the scale of tourism that has expanded, but also the forms of tourism that people participate in. In other words, the increasing mobility of people, goods and services, capital, technologies and so on that has underpinned the process of globalisation and the notion of the global village has led to transfomations in styles of tourism and tourist behaviours. Specifically, for example, some claim that the contemporary popularity of so-called volunteer tourism is based in part on the desire amongst younger people in particular to enhance their sense of global citizenship (Butcher and Smith, 2010), although this is contested by others (Lyons, Hanley, Wearing andf Neil, 2012). More generally, and of particular relevance to this thesis, some forms of tourism have evolved to the extent that the distinction between tourism, mobility and migration has dissolved or become more indistinct. Thus, Hall and Williams (2002) refer to younger generations from Australia and New Zealand participating in longer-term travel to Europe to gain experience of living and working overseas and to older retired or semi-retired Canadians experiencing a peripatetic lifestyle by living between Toronto and Florida to avoid harsh winters.

Hall and Williams (2002) go on to suggest that these forms of travel / migration are not necessarily new; the British aristocracy participating in the Grand Tour of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, could be considered an early manifestation (Towner, 1985). However, such mobility has increased in both volume and geographical scope and new forms have emerged, such as young Asian tourists working in New York to pay their university fees or longer-term tourists financing their travel through periods of informal employment at the destination. Equally, the relatively recent (in the history of tourism) phenomenon of large numbers of northern Europeans moving to live permanently or semi-permanently in counties such as Spain can be considered a new form of globalised mobility. Hall and Williams (2002) also suggest that these new types of demand can be seen either as migration or mobility, the main distinction lying in the motivations of the people involved. In other words, the motives underpinning mobility are the key to characterising and differentiating between types of movement, whilst motivation also shapes people's decisions regarding where they move to. For example, if the main motive is climate, then we can see movement from northern Europe towards the Mediterranean region whereas if the motivation is related to culture, then the flow of the movement is to cosmopolitan cities, such as Paris and London.

In short, there is evidence that people no longer live in one place; they are more dynamic and they expect to travel between destinations and stay and settle in new destinations (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2015). Such mobility between different nations is stretching, if not dissolving, national boundaries and giving rise to new isues and phenomena. Specifically, these forms of mobility also often lead to second home ownership in destination regions. Consequently, the type of mobility involved can directly or indirectly influence local destination communities in terms of the origin and composition of the population, as well as highlighting issues of labour supply, house prices, service provision and the cultural images of these places. Moreover, Urry and Sheller (2004) state that almost all societies are transformed by flows of tourists. These transformations can be seen from a sociocultural perspective, and involve more tangible changes, such as those related to the structure of a community, to broader transformations in national identity and the meaning of citizenship for these societies. Inevitably then, the consequences of this manifestation of mobility demand further investigation and, hence, one of the aims of this study is to develop a deeper understanding of this kind of mobility, that is, migration in the form of what can be referred to as 'permanent tourism', as well as its consequences for destination communities.

1.1 Migration and the permanent tourist

Much of the research into (tourist) migration is eclectic. For example, this type of mobility is generally considered by Giddens (1999) to be evidence of a 'runaway world' and by McHugh (2000) as 'transnationalism'. More specifically, Benson and O'Reilly (2009) refer to those voluntarily moving to live or retire overseas as 'life style migrants' (see also Benson, 2010) whereas Cohen (1974) has described them as 'permanent tourists'. Conversely**,** Jaakson (1986) and Hall and Müller (2004) have linked such mobility more pragmatically to home ownership, exploring the phenomenon under the umbrella of second homes. According to O'Reilly (2007), many tourist migrants were initially motivated to move because of the dynamics of globalisation although within Europe in particular, this movement was further stimulated following the effective removal of EU borders under the Schengen agreement. More specifically, both King, Warnes and Williams (1998; 2000) and Dwyer (2002) suggest that many members of the northern European retired population decided to retire to southern European regions primarily for the better climate, although other commentators have stated that demand is more complex than this. Benson (2010) analysed British migrants' experiences and their demand to settle in France, identifying a variety of motives which can be collectively conceptualised as lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). Similarly, Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015) propose the concept of lifestyle mobilities to describe such movement. Irrespective of termionolgy, however, recent decades have witnessed a new and increasing human mobility; that is, traditional migration has been trasformed into a more multi-directional and multi-purpose contemporary phenomenon, including tourism-related migration (O'Reilly, 2007: 278).

It is not surprising, then, that academic attention has long been paid to the the migration demands and pratices of tourists. Hall and Page (2014) note that some of the earliest work dates back to the 1960s, with reseach by Wolfe (1996), for example, exploring tourist migration between the US and Canada. Wolfe's later research mainly focused on second home development (Hall and Müller, 2004), as did Coppock's (1977) seminal text, widely considered to be the first major work addressing second home ownership in the context of the UK. Subsequently, in the 1990s, academic attention turned to tourist migration within Europe, reflecting both the tradition of second home ownership / holidays in some regions and the then rapid growth in north-south migration referred to above. For example, traditional second home ownership and related seasonal migration patterns amongst the population of Scandinavia has been subject to much academic scrutiny (Akerlund, Lipkina and Hall, 2015; Hiltunen 2007; Marjavara and Muller, 2007), whilst others have explored the major movements from northern to southern Europe regions, especially to Spain and France (for

example, Benson, 2010; Haug, Dann and Mehmetoglu, 2007; Rodriguez, Fernandez-Mayoralas and Rojo, 2004).

Within the latter literature, many commentators focus on the factors that influence such migration, with the need or desire to live in the better Mediterranean climate being frequently cited. Similarly, Cohen (2008) suggests that the retirement migrations of Western populations to Asian countries, such as Thailand, are also motivated by the desire to live in a warmer climate; however, he also suggests that these people migrate to less-developed countries because they are seeking a better quality of life. In a similar vein, King et al. (2000) emphasise that, in addition to climatic factors, a perceived better quality of life and the laid-back life style are the principal attactions that encourage northern Europeans to settle in Mediterranean coastal regions. The issue of quality of life is connected to a number of specific factors, such as the image of the destination, a wish to spend longer holidays in the region, as well as the attraction of the lower cost of living and the benefit of buying property in a country with lower house prices – hence the long and dominant focus in the literature on second home ownership (Coppock, 1997; Hall and Müller, 2004; Hall and Williams, 2002; Helderman, Ham and Mulder, 2006; Jaakson, 1986; Müller, 2002b).

More generally, the desire for a better 'lifestyle' is considered by some to underpin so-called lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Torkington, 2012) or mobility (Cohen et al., 2015), both of which refer to the belief amongst migrants that that 'there is a more fulfilling way of life available to them elsewhere' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). In other words, lifestyle migration is a broad concept, potentially embracing many different types of movement including retirement migration as well as younger working families who may be looking for a 'new life'. Thus, overall, economic, health and other social-cultural and life-cycle factors are considered to be the main reasons for the growth in tourist migration, particularly within Europe (Casado Diaz, 2004; Dwyer, 2002; King et al., 1998; 2000 Müller 2002b*;* O'Reilly, 2003, 2007).

It is important to note, of course, that migration may be manifested in two broad forms, namely, semi-permanent and permanent movement. Those engaging in the former are referred to by Cohen (1974) as as 'permanent tourists', or 'persons who, though deriving their income in their country of origin, prefer to take up semi-permanent residence in another country' (Cohen, 1974: 537). This study adopts this definition of tourist-migrants for the group that is the focus of the research – namely, British tourist-migrants in Turkey – based on the principal characteristic that, as 'permant tourists', they are not employed in the host country. This definition also differentiates them from

other categories, such as residential tourists or lifestyle migrants, who may be working. At the same time, however, it should be noted that, in this study, the duration of the permant tourists' residence may involve relatively longer periods than temporary (holiday) tourists, whilst socio-cultural self-identification as permanent tourists, irrespective of whether they own their property or not, is also a factor.

These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two of this thesis but, for the purposess of this introduction, it is also important to note that, despite the burgeoning literature on tourism and migration, only limited relevant research has to date been undertaken in Turkey, a surprising fact given, as discussed in the following section, the increasing popularity of the country amongst 'permanent tourists'.

1.2 Tourist migration in Turkey

As considered above, the phenomenon of tourist-migration by retirees, second home owners and the related impacts on local communities in various countries has been widely explored in the literature. However, most of the research tends to focus on Southern European areas and Scandinavian countries. In contrast, despite evidence of increasing demand from northern European nationals to buy property in its coastal regions, Turkey is one country yet to benefit from significant academic attention. For example, a report by the International Strategic Research Organisation (ISRO) (2008), sponsored by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), concluded that, according to police records in Turkey, 202,085 foreigners at that time held residence permits to live in Turkey (though signigicantly, these figures were compiled prior to the Syrian refugee crisis). More specifically, Bahar et al. (2009) emphasise that in recent years, British, Scandinavian and German tourists have started to buy properties in Turkey for extended holidays or for semi-migration and retirement. As a result, there is a new social presence in existence in Turkey. According to official data from the Land Registry Directorate's Foreigner Affairs Unit in Turkey, cited in Wallwork (2011)

> …British and Germans are the top foreign buyers of property in Turkey. Foreign buyers from 89 countries have purchased approximately 111,200 properties across Turkey. British people are the most prolific buyers with 35,249 British people owning 24,848 properties, followed by Germany and Greece.

So, there is clear evidence of an increasing international demand from northern Europeans in particular to purchase property in Turkey. It is also clear that the potential

overseas property demand has been recognised in Turkey. However, ISRO (2008: 2) states that:

> There are many scholarly researches [sic] on settled migrants in several Mediterranean countries like Spain, Greece, Italy and Malta. Yet, the issue remains relatively untouched in the case of Turkey. The project entitled as 'Integration of settled foreigners in Turkey with the Turkish community: issues and opportunities' is a significant contribution to the literature in this regard and the project findings**.**

However, the study referred to was based primarily on quantitative data and, hence, it came to conclusion that:

> There is not a clear understanding of the 'settled foreigners' concept within the Turkish public. A sophisticated understanding regarding the issue does not exist, either. Not only settled foreigners are taken as a homogenous group, but also their reasons for coming to the country, their needs and their interested are perceived as common. ISRO (2008:1)

Thus, the phenomenon of large-scale overseas property ownership requires systematic research in Turkey. In particular, the large numbers of overseas people purchasing homes in Turkey points to the necessity of investigating the phenomenon from multicultural perspectives, specifically from the perspective of both the local community and the permanent tourists themselves within a particular location (a broader approach to researching the phenomenon is also not widely evident in the extant literature). In other words, there is a need to explore critically the phenomenon of permanent tourists in Turkey within the theoretical context of host-guest relations.

1.3 Host-guest relations

The need for research into the permanent tourist in Turkey is particularly pressing given the distinctions between the cultures of the host and permanent tourist communities, distinctions which are significant when compared to those in most European contexts (Bahar et al.2009; Nurdali, 2007; Sagir, 2011; Tosun,1998). Broadly, it has long been claimed that good and positive relationships between local communities and tourists (between hosts and guests) is key to the longer-term sustainability of tourism at the destination (Sharpley, 2014; Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson, 2006). More specifically, it is commonly stated in the literature (Andriotis and

Vaughan, 2003; Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004; Pérez and Nadal, 2005) that an understanding of the local destination community's perceptions is essential to the development of tourism as it facilitates effective planning and positive experiences between hosts and guests. In particular, it may lead to happier and more satisfied hosts and consequently to more successful tourism experiences (Snaith and Haley, 1999). It is not surprising, therefore that significant academic attention has been paid to the subject of host-guest relations; indeed, according to McGehee and Anderek (2004: 135), it is 'one of the most systematic and well-studied areas of tourism.'

In the context of this thesis, exploring the relationship between the local community and permanent tourists is of particular importance, not least because the latter are long-term residents (or 'guests') in Turkey. Moreover, as noted above, significant cultural differences exist between the two groups, potentially enhacing the potential for misunderstandings or conflict (Sagir, 2011; Tosun,1998). Nevertheless, the question immediately arises: how should this relationship be investigated?

1.3.1 The lack of qualitative research in host-guest relationship studies

Numerous studies of host-guest relationships have been undertaken over the last four decades. Initially, these focused broadly on the impacts of tourism, identifying the economic, environmental and social impacts of most concern to local residents or adopting what McGehee and Anderek (2004) refer to as a 'tourism impact' perspective. Subsequently, attention turned to exploring residents' perceptions of tourism and tourists more generally (a 'tourism perceptions' perspective), attempting to identify factors and variables most likely to result in positive or negative perceptions.

However, these studies have been criticised on a number of grounds (Deery, Jago and Fredline, 2012; Nunkoo, Smith and Ramkissoon, 2013; Sharpley, 2014). Many, for example, are based on 'one-off' case studies of destinations, each revealing factors or variables particular to the context, hence limiting the generalisability of results (Huh and Vogt, 2008; van Doorn,1989). Similarly, Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) observe that many studies are conducted in the developed world, particularly in North America, and these studies are usually focused on domestic tourism. Conversely, with some notable exceptions, few studies have explored host perceptions in popular mainstream tourism resorts, such as in the Mediterranean or Caribbean regions (Sharpley, 2014).

More significantly, however, most perception studies are based on quantitative research and fail to examine the unique characteristics of the destination and hosts. In

other words, quantitative studies tend to be limited in the extent to which they are able to identify deeper or more sophisticated factors which influence host perceptions (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988; Deery et al., 2012; Huh and Vogt, 2008; Nunkoo and Gursoy 2012; Nunkoo et al. 2013; Sharpley, 2014; van Doorn,1989). Putting it another way, quantitative studies of resident perceptions and host-guest relations, focused as they are on identifying specific factors and variables, inevitably fail to take into account the whole picture of the social environments in which the hosts live. As Moufakkir and Reisinger (2013: xiii) observe, 'perception studies tend to reduce the reality of the ... [host] ... gaze to what is visible; yet we know what is visible is not the whole truth.'

In a similar vein, Deery et al. (2012) emphasise that host perception studies tend only to investigate the visible or obvious elements of local residents' views. Even qualitative-based studies fail to explain wider issues or do not acknowledge hidden factors in society which may influence, or even take precedence over, host perceptions of tourism in particular, such as family and friends or the employment situation. Hence, recent studies have suggested that research into host-guest relations and local residents' perceptions of tourism more generally would benefit from a qualitative, multi-dimensional approach that seeks to reveal not only how, but why the local community perceives and responds to tourism in particular ways (Deery et al., 2012).

The research into local resident perceptions of tourism and the relationship between tourists and the local community is reviewed in more detail in Chapter Three. The important point here, however, is that not only is there, as argued above, a need to explore the relationship between permanent tourists and the local community in Turkey, but also, given the lack of attention paid to mainstream, mass tourism destinations such as Turkey, this research is needed to make a novel contribution to the relevant literature. Moreover, as suggested in the following section, there is a need for deeper, qualitative research, as called for in the literature (Deery et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2014), to explore fully the wider socio-cultural context in which the local community and permanent tourists in Turkey interact.

1.4 The need for qualitative research in Turkey

As discussed above, there are numerous drivers of the movement of populations from northern to southern regions of Europe, including Turkey. Collectively, these have resulted in the establishment of substantial semi-permanent and/or permanent communities in Mediterranean coastal areas where, in most cases, migrants buy properties as holiday homes (; Ackers and Dwyer, 2004; Casado Diaz; 2004; Dwyer, 2002; Hall and Müller, 2004; King at al.1998, 2000; O'Reilly, 2007, 2003). However,

despite the burgeoning literature addressing this phenomenon, not only has the increasing demand of northern Europeans to settle permanently / semi-permanently in Turkey been generally overlooked but, in particular, little if any academic attention has been paid to interactions between permanent tourists and local host communities.

Inevitably, these permant tourists may have a variety of economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts on the destination and on local society and culture (for example, Girard and Gartner, 1993; Helderman, Ham and Mulder, 2006; Marjavara 2009; Marjavara and Muller, 2007; O'Reilly, 2003, 2007). Moreover, permanent tourists, when settling in new destinations, raise other issues, such as increasing the demand on local services. For example, some 1.5 million European citizens have settled in Spain, mainly in coastal areas, and these new communities have resulted in demands on local authorities for bilingual schools for families with young children, or that their voices be legally recognised by authorities. Indeed, Wood (2007) observes that although it is usual for European expatraites to vote and stand as local candidates, they are now seeking better and stronger political status:

> In the run-up to the 27 May elections, a number of local parties are dominated by expats and more than 300,000 European residents in Spain have registered to cast their ballots. This could be the beginning of something of an expat political revolution. (Wood, 2007)

Arguably, such issues in Spain are relatively unproblematic given the country's membership of the European Union. However, Turkey must address these challenges without the benefit of an established framework of policies and regulations such as exists within the EU; hence, given the lack of integrated regulations with European nations, local and central authorities in Turkey may find it more difficult to respond to the demands of permanent tourists.

Also as noted above, is important for countries to develop the necessary long-term sustainable policies to keep both host and guest communities satisfied and to meet their demands socially, culturally and economically. However, as ISRO (2008:1) emphasises, the situation in Turkey is the opposite:

> Over recent years the number of settled foreigners has significantly risen and increasing international retirement migration is expected for the coming years. Still, Turkey appears to lack a thorough strategy comprehending different

aspects of the subject. Awareness on the theme and a close cooperation between local executives and central authorities is needed.

The above quotation clearly sets out the issues and emphasises the lack of strategy to respond to the demands for international retired migration. It thus illustrates the need for deeper knowledge and understanding of the challenges and issues, hence the overall focus of this study on investigating the perceptions of both local Turkish hosts and permanent tourists, and their experiences and demands, as a basis for identifying and exploring emerging issues which both communities face.

The specific case of Didim, on which this study is based (see 1.7.2 below), reveals that the host community is not familiar with the new and long-term permanent tourist community in Turkey. It was for this reason that an initial project entitled *Integration of Settled Foreigners in Turkey with the Turkish Community: Issues and Opportunities* was undertaken by ISRO. However, as stated above (section 1.2), given the (quantitative) limitations of the ISRO study (2008), the current study not only addresses a notable gap in both the second-home/tourist migration literature, but also responds to an 'official' call for a deeper understanding of emerging issues between local residents and and permanent tourists ('settled foreigners') in Turkey.

1.5 Aims and objectives of this study

It can be seen clearly from the above that while tourist migration (permant tourists) in general and host-guest relations in particular have been widely explored in other contexts, there has been only limited research into the phenomenon in Turkey, particularly from a qualitative research perspective. Hence, the overall aim of this study is:

To examine critically the relationship between the host community and permanent tourists in Turkey.

More specifically the objectives of this research are:

i. to establish the views of permanent tourists and their engagement with the local society and culture in Turkey;
ii. to establish the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations);
iii. to critically assess the impacts (social, cultural and economic) of tourists buying property in Turkey;

iv. to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on tourists who buy property in Turkey;
v. to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population.

In order to meet these aims, the following research questions will be addressed:

1.6 Research Questions

i. How do permanent tourists in Turkey view and engage with Turkish society and culture?
ii. What types of motivations are there for those who choose to settle in Turkey permanently?
iii. How does the Turkish population view and engage with the permanent tourists' social-culture?
iv. What is the nature of the relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourist and host types?
v. What are the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population?

1.7 Methodology

The research methodlogy for this study is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. For the purposes of this introduction however, the following should be noted:

1.7.1 Research philosophy and approach

Given the study's main focus on understanding permanent tourist-local community relations in general, and on identifying and exploring their encounters, interactions, experiences and behaviours in particular, an interpretivist approach is most appropriate to the investigation as it should allow the researcher to arrive at a deeper understanding of both permanent tourists and the local community and to address the issues of what is happening in the environment (McGregor and Murnane, 2010; Silverman, 2006).

According to McGregor and Murnane (2010), interpretive paradigms see phenomena more subjectively; proponents believe the world cannot be perceived without interpretation because the researcher's view cannot be separated from the phenomena under observation. This philosophy has become very popular in the social sciences in particular owing to the fact that the method allows researchers to scrutinise issues under investigation in an in-depth way through techniques such as case studies, focus

groups, story-telling, content or thematic analysis of interview transcripts (McGregor & Murnane, 2010; Silverman, 2006; Creswell, 2009; Foddy,1993; Lacey and Luff, 2001).

1.7.2 Thematic analysis

According to Lacey and Luff (2001) and Gibbs (2007), different strategies can be employed for the analysis of data from generated from semi-structured interviews. In order to understand the relations between permanent tourists and the host community in Didim, Turkey, this study uses qualitative methods and, specifically, thematic analysis to consider the data.

As the study is, by nature, content driven (exploratory) rather than hypothesis driven (confirmatory), the research focused on using thematic analysis because, in this approach, the subjective meaning of the data is more important than measuring the frequency of the resulting content. Lacey and Luff (2001) state that thematic analysis goes deeper in its analysis and allows the researcher to explore the data by assigning codes to build a detailed analysis. This method also facilitates a greater degree of interpretation because, as illustrated by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Boyatzis (1998), thematic analysis allows two levels of analysis. The first is the latent, semantic level of analysis through which the themes emerge from the surface meaning of data. The second is the interpretive level, where inferences are drawn from the data. The analysis is not just based on description of the data; rather, the model allows the researcher to examine and seek underlying ideas to conceptualise the data. The interpretive level of thematic analysis is often adopted by researchers working within a constructionist paradigm, as is the case in this study (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis,1998). In terms of process, the analysis begins with a narrative account which the researcher explores through a combination of predetermined codes based on the literature and emergent codes which come from the actual data under investigation. In this way, interpretive level of thematic analysis organically connects themes with the literature. The thematic model allows the researcher to describe and interpret the participants' world. This mainly interpretivist approach allows the researcher to be able to interpret from particular cases (Clark, 2009; Reed, 2008).

The second reason why this study adopts a qualitative approach is because, as discussed earlier (Section 1.3), the extant literature on host perceptions and host-guest is by and large based upon quantitative data, with resultant limitaions explored in reviews of the research (Deery et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2014). Hence, this study responds to the call for qualitative research into the phenomenon.

1.7.3 The research

The research was undertaken in Didim, a small town located on the Aegean coast in the Western part of Turkey. It was selected for the research as it is not only a popular tourism destination but also because it is home to an established community of international permanent tourists, especially of U.K. migrants or permanent tourists. According to Turkey's Office of National Statistics (TUIK), Didim's population increased from 42,266 in 2007 to 73,000 in 2015, primarily as a consequence of incoming migration. This growth includes both domestic and international migration although according to one newspaper report, in 2016 British migrants accounted for 25% of the town's population (Londra Gazete, 2016). Therefore, the Didim region provides an appropriate context to investigate critically the relations between the local community and permanent tourist in Turkey.

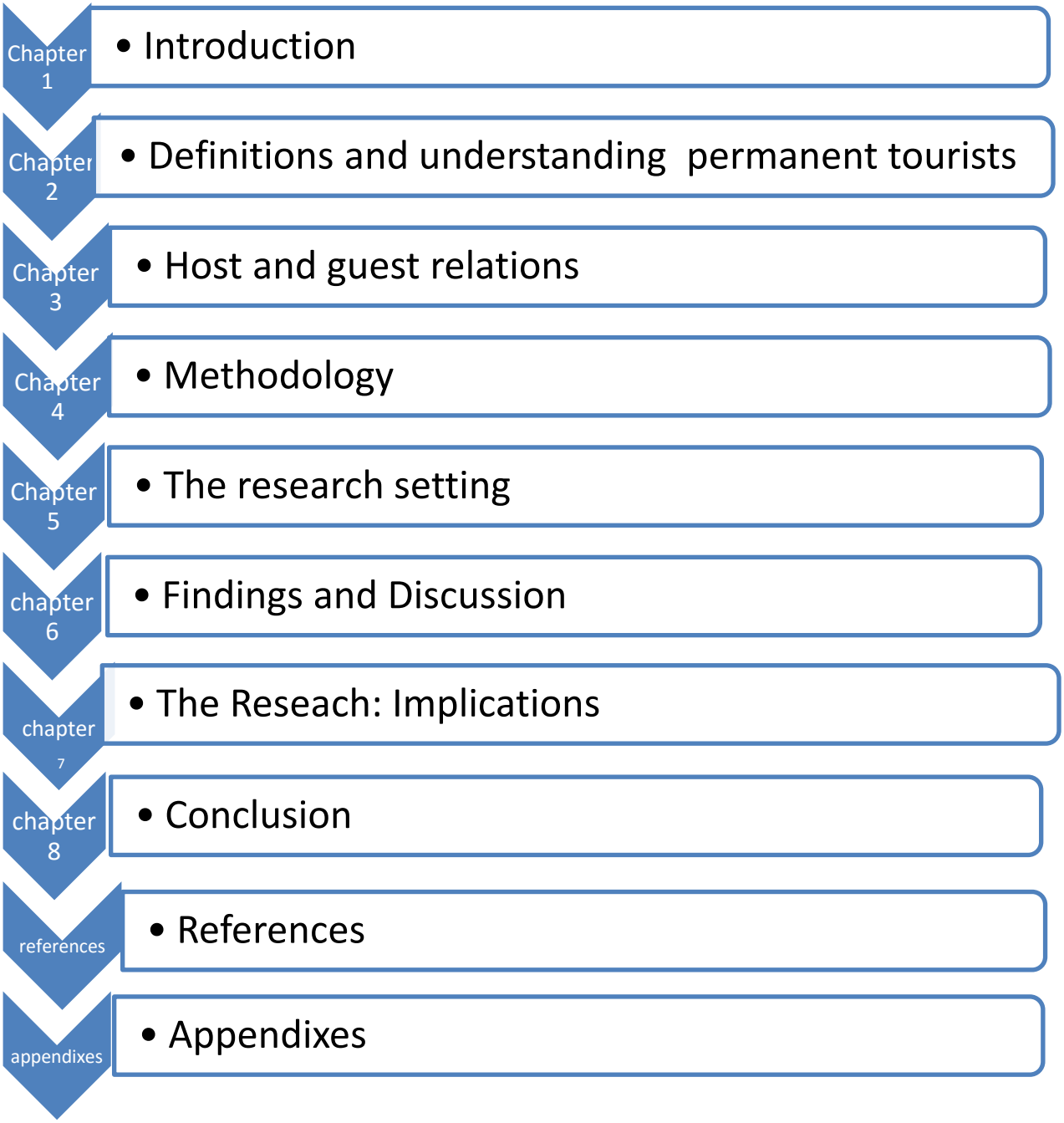
1.8 Conclusion

As set out above, only limited research has been undertaken into the phenomenon of permanent tourism in Turkey whilst, more generally, permanent tourism / second home ownership has rarely been considered in the context of the host-guest relationship and, specifically, in studies that explore contemporaneously the perceptions of both tourists and hosts. Moreover, as clearly identified by The International Strategic Research Association (ISRO) in Turkey, there is clear gap in knowledge with regards to permanent tourism in Turkey, hence the organisation's call for scholars to undertake research into the phenomenon of permanent tourist migration in Turkey and their needs, motives and status in the destination. Therefore, in addressing this gap in knowledge, employing an interpretivist approach this study aims to develop an in-depth understanding of permanent tourists, their relationships with hosts and their social and cultural existence in the host community, as well as evaluating their relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourist and host types. In so doing, it seeks to contribute not only to knowledge and understanding of the pheneomenon of permanent tourism in Turkey in particular, but also to extend knowledge of tourist migration and host-guest relationships more generally. The structure of the thesis is summarised in Figure 1.1 below.

Given the focus of the research, the first task is to establish the conceptual framework. Consequently, the following chapter moves on to review the literature on tourist migration / permanent tourism, seeking to define different forms of tourist migration as a basis for considering how permament tourists in Turkey might be categorised. In particular, it considers distinctions between between temporary and permanent tourist

demand in terms of duration of stay, as well as exploring a variety of charcateristics that contribute to a defintion of permanent tourism.

Figure 1.1: The structure of the thesis



Chapter 2

Understanding permanent tourists

Mathematicians have recently developed a most useful tool to deal with vague concepts such as tourism—the idea of 'fuzzy sets'. (Cohen, 1974|: 528)

2.0 Introduction

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the overall aim of this study is to identify and explore critically the perceptions and experiences of British permanent tourists in Turkey, and their relationship with the host community. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to consider the permanent tourist. Specifically, the chapter commences by introducing the permanent tourist as distinct from other similar types of tourists and migrants commonly referred to in current studies. It goes on to discuss variables that identify the permanent tourist, such the duration of stay and different degrees of permanency, while frequency of visits is also considered. Subsequently, the chapter proposes a conceptual definition for the permanent tourist based on factors such as their movement, their motives for moving and settling in a particular destination, their commitment to living in that destination, and so on. It then goes on to consider general issues identified in the literature faced by both permanent tourists and the local community (hosts), such as language barriers, nationality, degree of integration with host community, and the emergence of permanent tourist enclaves.

2.1 The permanent tourist: Towards a definition

A number of terms have been used in the literature to refer to the phenomenon of permanent tourists, each with a different emphasis. For example, Longino and Marshall (1990; cited in King, Warnes and Williams, 2000: 43) observe that a confusing terminology exists and, hence, distinguish between full-migration (settling permanently in another country) and semi-migration (seasonal migration or for a limited period of residence). They also suggest that the term migration refers to the act of moving to and living in another country which does not preclude working in that country; indeed, work may be the principle motivation for migrating. They go on to propose a continuum from 'permanently-settled emigrants, through dual residence, seasonal migrants and second home ownership… to long stay tourism' (Longino and Marshall 1990; cited in King et

al.,2000: 43). Hence, ‘permanent migrants anchor the continuum on one end, vacationers on the other (Ibid, 2000: 43).

One issue that immediately arises from Longio and Warnes’ defintion is that the term migration (permanent or otherwise) does not preclude working in the host country. Hence, the concept of the permanent tourist (who, for the purposes of this study, is limited to someone who does not work) does not fit easily with their notion of migration, with tourism more generally defined as:

> The activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes *not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited*. (UNWTO, 2011, emphasis added)

That aside, however, the permanent tourist can be seen as lying between the two extremes of the continuum, the word ‘permanent’ referring to being more settled and denoting a longer-term commitment to the destination, whereas ‘tourist’ has connotations of a more temporary movement from everyday life to a different location. Therefore, the term permanent tourist adequately draws on the concepts contained in both terms.

In this study, permanent tourists can be conceptualised following Cohen’s (1974: 537) definition of the term: ‘persons who, though deriving their income in their country of origin, prefer to take up semi-permanent residence in another country’. However, this definition is broad enough to embrace all categories of tourist semi-migration proposed in the literature, including but not limited to:

- retired immigrants (Dwyer, 2002; King et al., 2000)
- amenity migrants (Moss, 2006)
- second home owners (Hall and Müller, 2004; Marjavara, 2009),
- residential tourists (O'Reilly, 2000; 2003; 2007)
- transnationalism (McHugh, 2000), in which movement can be seen as being on-going or semi-permanent
- expatriate communities (Deo, 2012)
- lifestyle migration (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009; Benson 2010)
- lifestyle mobility (Cohen et al, 2015),
- migration and home ownership (Helderman et al, 2006)
- settled foreigners (ISRO, 2008; Bahar et. al, 2009)

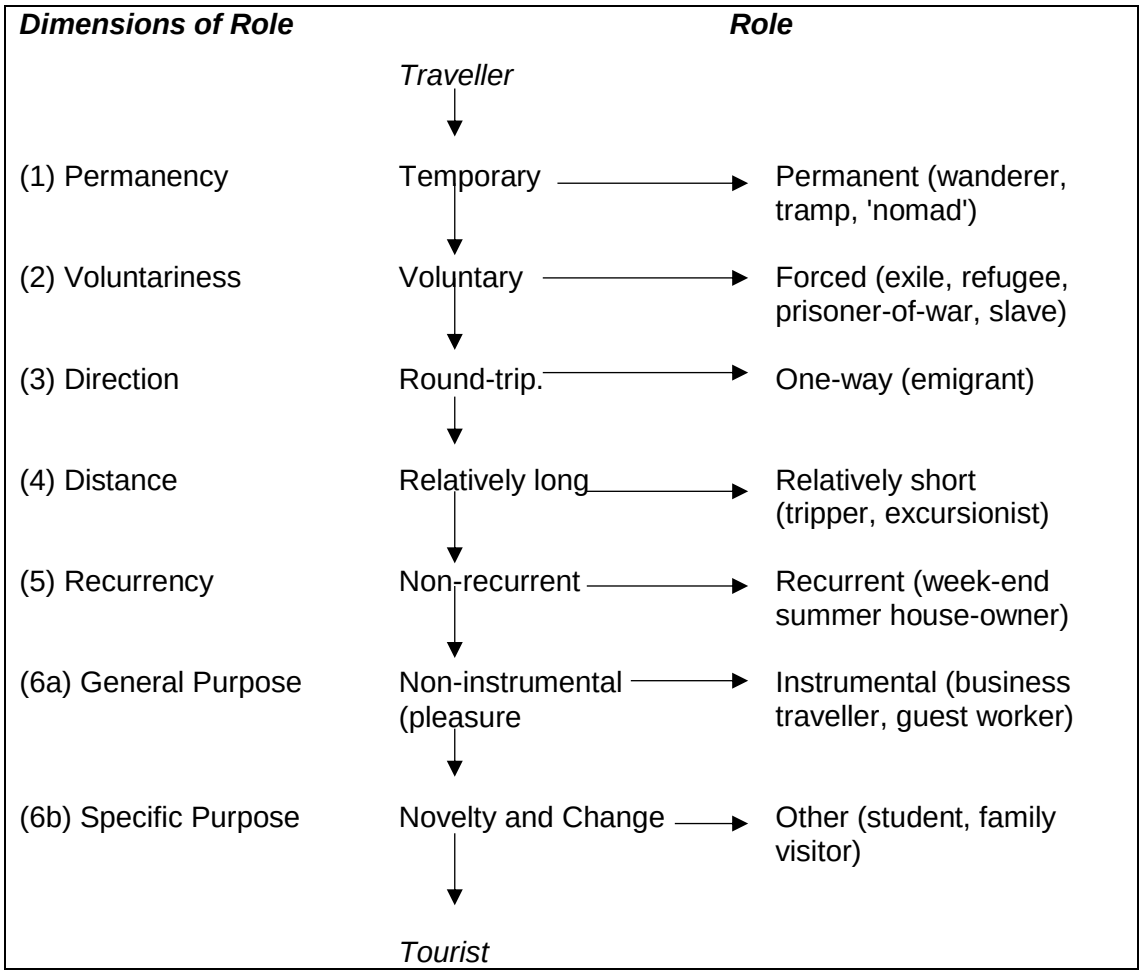
Many of these categories of semi-permanent migration above share criteria with the notion of the permanent tourist, not least the implicit motivation to move abroad for a change in lifestyle, although in some cases this might involve migrating to work and earn an income in the destination whereas in others it might not. Hence, a logical starting point to define specifically the permanent tourist is, as already suggested, the requirement that they do not earn a living from activities undertaken in the destination country. Beyond this, the following brief review of other categories of semi-permanent tourist migration discussed in the literature reveals factors and variables that might distinguish the permanent tourist from other forms of such migration.

2.1.1. Tourist-immigrants or permanent tourists?

In his seminal paper, *Who is a Tourist?,* Cohen (1974) observes that, fundamentally, tourism involves two elements: travel (or, more broadly, mobility) – or the 'travel component' – and a non-permanent stay at the destination, or what he refers to as the 'visitor component' (Cohen, 1974: 530). Hence, he immediately identifies a clear conceptual distinction between a one-way traveller and someone on a round trip or, more precisely, a tourist, the latter emphasising the visitor component. However, he goes on to suggest that, when the different dimensions of the tourist role are taken into account, such a distinction becomes increasingly fuzzy, as does the notion of the tourist more generally. In order to distinguish between the broad category of 'traveller' and the tourist, he proposes a 'conceptual tree' (see Figure 2.1).

As can be seen from Figure 2.1, the role of the tourist comprises a number of dimensions, namely: permanency; voluntariness; direction; distance; recurrency and purpose of trip. Of these, voluntariness is the least ambiguous – to be a (leisure) tourist is to engage in voluntary travel – whilst relative distance from home is also a commonly accepted requirement (though local, domestic tourism must also be taken into account). Less clarity, however, surrounds permanency, direction and recurrency. With regards to permanency, for example, a tourist is typically defined for statistical purposes as being away for a minimum of twenty-four hours and for a maximum of one year. However, as Cohen (1974: 536) asks, 'when does a person cease being a tourist and become a wanderer … or a (modern) nomad?', going on to suggest that length of time is irrelevant as long the tourist possesses a permanent home to which s/he intends to return eventually. Similarly, the dimension of direction contains a degree of fuzziness, and is of direct relevance to this discussion. As Cohen (1974: 537) notes, 'there exist several types of travellers who linger around in their host country without deciding unequivocally whether to settle there or to return to their country of origin.'

Figure 2.1: Conceptual tree' for defining of the tourist role



Source: Adapted from Cohen (1974: 534)

These he classifies as intermediate travellers – that is, types of traveller that fall in between the distinctive categories of traveller and tourist. He further sub-categorises them into three groups:

i. tourist-migrants: people who initially arrive as tourists but decide to remain, work and sometimes settle in the host country. According to Cohen (1974: 537), this is particularly common in Israel where the 'tourist-immigrant… is an officially recognized class of resident'.
ii. permanent tourists: people, typically the affluent retired, who take up semi-permanent residence in another country.
iii. expatriates: adopting a narrower perspective than the more general understanding of the term, Cohen (1974) defines expatriates as people who voluntarily live aboard for indeterminate periods to follow a profession or

vocation (for example, writers or artists) but who do not sever their ties with their home country.

The dimension of recurrency is also ambiguous in defining a (permanent) tourist. Many tourists, for example, return to the same destination each year – indeed, it is aim of many destinations to increase the level of return visits (Alegre and Cladera, 2009) – and, hence, the question to be asked is, do frequent return visits diminish the touristic component of being a tourist? In particular, second home owners are considered by Cohen (1974: 539) to be 'marginal tourist[s], intermediate between fully-fledged tourism and residency'.

It is, thus, possible to consider a permanent tourist as someone (typically retired) voluntarily taking up semi-permanent (that is, for an indeterminate period but with the possible intent to return to the county of origin) residence in the host country. However, other terms, also referred to by Cohen (1974), may be similarly defined, not least 'expatriate'.

2.2.2 Expatriates

As noted above, Cohen (1974) attaches the term 'expatriate' to a specific group who voluntarily live (and perhaps work) abroad and who may establish expatriate communities. However, Deo (2012) observes that British people who migrate to other countries more generally prefer to refer to themselves as expatriates as opposed to immigrants. Significantly, this is a self-selected (and socially constructed, value-laden) categorisation. In other words, irrespective of the purpose and nature of their residency overseas, these migrants avoid the term immigrant despite them being just that. Deo (2012) suggests that it is only white Europeans who adopt this label, an argument supported by Koutonin (2015) who suggests that 'Africans are immigrants. Arabs are immigrants. Asians are immigrants. However, Europeans are expats because they can't be at the same level as other ethnicities. They are superior. Immigrants is a term set aside for "inferior races"'. In contrast, O'Reilly (2007) observes that most international second home owners in Spain see and classify themselves as a 'guests', whilst British home owners in particular do not want to be seen as tourists (O' Reilly, 2003).

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to consider further this debate. Nevertheless, two points must be emphasised. First, it is important to adopt an emic perspective, or to take into account how such migrants view or refer to themselves, and second,

the term ‘expatriate’ may embrace a variety of types of migrant, including the permanent tourist. Hence, there remains the need to further consider the concept of the permanent tourist, taking into account Cohen’s (1974) dimension of purpose or motive.

2.1.3 Lifestyle migrants

As previously discussed, semi-permanent tourist migration is referred to by some as to as lifestyle migration (Benson, 2010; Benson and O’Reilly, 2009; O’Reilly, 2007). Explicit in this term is the motivation or driver of such mobility. For example, O'Reilly (2007:1) defines lifestyle migration as the ‘voluntary mobilities of relatively affluent individuals moving, en masse, either part or full time, permanently or temporarily, to countries where the cost of living and/or price of property is cheaper: places which, for various reasons, signify something loosely defined as quality of life’. In other words, they are seeking something ‘better’.

Alternatively, Benson and O’Reilly (2009) differentiate lifestyle migrants from other migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers, emphasising that have a variety of motives, including: to escape from their (modern) world to somewhere more traditional or ‘anti modern’; to seek self-realisation or self-fulfilment; to discover an ‘intangible good life’; or, for recreation or to fulfil their ‘true desires’. They also summarise the main stories of migration as ‘getting out of the trap’, ‘making a fresh start’, or ‘a new beginning’ *(*see also Helset et al., 2005; Karisto, 2005; Salvá Tomás, 2005). As a specific example, Korpela (2009: 4), referring to the mainly Western lifestyle migrants (second home owners, retirees, backpackers) residing in the Varanasi region of India, reports that they are often critical of life in Western countries, stating that they ‘wholly and actively reject life in the big, bad West… [particularly]… excessive consumption, stifling working practices, unpalatable futures and the daily misery they have willingly fled.’

More specifically, O’Reilly (2003) states that lifestyle migration could be seen as the quest for a rural idyll and an escape from modernity, a point made by Benson (2010) in her study of British migrants seeking out rural areas in France who believe ‘there is a more fulfilling way of life available to them elsewhere’. Benson and O Reilly (2009: 4) also suggest that some lifestyle migrants are responding to their ‘real experiences such as redundancy, divorce or crime; at other times it is unpredictability and risk in their working lives, uncertainty about economic futures or anxiety about crime that they describe as driving their mobility.’ Thus, lifestyle migration may be driven by economic necessity but, significantly, the motives underpinning lifestyle migration more generally are similar to those that drive tourism: escape and ‘ego-enhancement’ (Dann, 1997), a

search for meaning and reality (MacCannell, 2013), the quest for the 'Other' (Urry and Larsen, 2011; and, more generally, Sharpley, 2008). Thus, from the motivational perspective, lifestyle migration (if not economically driven) may be considered similar to tourism, though distinguished by a greater degree of permanency in the destination.

2.1.4 Lifestyle mobility

An apparently similar concept to lifestyle migration is lifestyle mobility. However, Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015) differentiate between the two on the basis of mobility. Claiming that there is a blurring of the line between temporary tourism and migration related to duration (see Section 2.2 below), they follow Urry's (2002: 256) view that lifestyle mobility is 'being on the move'. Consequently, they emphasise that lifestyle mobility differs from lifestyle migration as the movement is 'more fluid, on-going and multi-transitional, reflecting a 'rhizomatic multiplicity' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, cited in Cohen et al., 2015: 11). Hence, lifestyle migration is more about 'one-off lifestyle-led transition', with an emphasis on moving on rather than moving back. According to Cohen et al. (2015), the closest concept is the 'neo-nomad', who works and travels in different places rather than engaging in a one-off movement to one place:

> our conceptualisation of lifestyle mobility, defined here as on-going semi-permanent moves of varying duration, offers a lens into more complex forms of corporeal mobility that may involve multiple 'homes', 'belongings' and sustained mobility throughout the life course. (Cohen at al., 2015: 7)

Hence, the concept of lifestyle mobility is at odds with that of the permanent tourist, the former implying on-going movements of a variety of durations and to multiple places but with no intention to plan to return home, the latter implying a semi-permanent move to a particular place with the eventual possibility of return home.

2.1.5 Amenity migrants

A concept similar to lifestyle migration is so-called amenity migration. The term is applied by Moss (2006) to settled tourists in specific places, in mountainous and rural areas, and is explored in the context of locations in North America, South East Asia and Europe. Research into amenity migrants has been carried out by a number of other researchers (McGranahan, 1999; Stewart, 2002; Nelson, 2006) and, collectively, little is revealed that distinguished them from lifestyle migrants more generally other than 'higher valuing of the natural environment, cultural differentiation and leisure, learning and spirituality' (Moss, 2006 :9; also Price et al.,1997). Indeed, Flognfeldt

(2006) simply states that the key difference between temporary tourists and amenity migrants is that temporary tourists do not wish to reside or earn a living in the destination, whereas amenity migrants prefer to settle in chosen destinations.

Thus, amenity migrants, as long as they do not work, may be considered to be similar to the concept of the permanent tourist, the latter being characterised thus far in this review as someone voluntarily residing but not working on a semi-permanent basis for an indeterminate period, motivated by lifestyle needs. However, the permanent tourist can be further explored by making reference to other factors and characteristics, not least the phenomenon of second-home ownership

2.1.6 Second-home ownership

In the context of tourist migration, Hall and Müller (2004) define second home owners broadly as those who, in addition to their main residence, own non-mobile second homes, such as cottages, houses, apartments and so on. Furthermore, they suggest that, generally, most second home owners travel to their second homes for vacations, whether for weekends, longer holidays or, indeed, semi-permanent residence. In contrast, others propose a broader categorisation of second homes. For example, drawing on the work of Newig (2000) – published in German – Helderman, Ham and Mulder (2006) and Marjavara (2009) identify three types of second homes: non-mobile, semi-mobile and mobile. Non-mobile second homes evidently include those also listed by Hall and Müller (2004) such as houses, cottages and apartments. The semi-mobile category includes trailers/mobile homes, recreational vehicles, tents and caravans, whilst the third comprises just water craft, such as yachts.

This broader conceptualisation (that is, semi-mobile and mobile) of what constitutes a ‘second home’ remains contentious. On the one hand, the very fact that such ‘homes’ are mobile implies a potentially limited attachment to the destination, or a lack of permanence that might be associated with second home ownership; on the other hand, some types of semi-mobile home, such as so-called ‘static caravans’, are more often than not permanently located in dedicated sites. Equally, according to Hall and Müller (2004), timeshare properties should not be categorised as second homes because, although timeshare involves an element of ownership, their use is more akin to traditional tourist activity than tourist migration / permanent tourism.

Indeed, for the purposes of this study, it is most relevant to consider second home ownership (or rental – for example, Sagir (2011) observes that some elderly permanent

tourists in Turkey prefer to rent properties on a long-term basis rather than purchasing them owing to concerns about whether the property is a good investment) from the perspective of the use of the property. In other words, the permanent tourist is better understood or defined on the basis of how they use the property. Some second home owners, for example, purchase property primarily as an investment; this is often the case in Spain, with O' Reilly (2007) classifying such owners as peripatetic visitors rather than migrants or permanent tourists. Putting it another way, permanent tourists will, by definition, be second home owners / renters (and it should also be acknowledged that, in many cases, the home in the destination may be the 'first' home if the permanent tourist no longer owns a property in their home country); however, second home owners are not necessarily permanent tourists.

Usefully, Hall and Müller (2004) identify three categories of second home owner: the 'traditional second home owner' who has purchased the property primarily for leisure reasons and who visits regularly for defined periods (weekend / holidays); the 'incidental migrant', who bought a second home for the same reason but then subsequently moved to the destination on a permanent basis; and the 'conscious migrant', who purchases the home with the intention to migrate to the destination. The permanent tourist, then, embraces the latter two categories. That is, whilst the act of a tourist buying a property in a different country is evidence of a longer-term commitment to that country, it is the duration they stay that distinguishes the permanent tourist from the regular visitor.

2.1.7 Duration of visit

The duration of residence in the destination is another significant dimension of the concept of the permanent tourist category. By definition, permanent tourists remain abroad for longer periods than temporary or 'traditional' tourists. According to Bell and Ward (2000), population movement occurs in two dimensions: time and space. More specifically, 'Tourism represents one form of circulation, or temporary population movement. Temporary movements and permanent migration, in turn, form part of the same continuum of population mobility in time and space' (Bell and Ward, 2000: 88). They go on to state that the distinction between temporary movement ('traditional' tourism) and migration (permanent tourism) lies in the duration of stay: 'permanent migration is generally differentiated from temporary mobility on the time dimension and further classified according to the types of administrative boundaries which are crossed' (Bell and Ward, 2000: 92). In other words, although the actual time spent in the destination is clearly an indication of duration, other factors come into play when

defining the permanent tourist / migrant, as summarised in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.1 Comparing permanent migration with temporary mobility: Key concepts and dimensions

	Type of movement	
	Permanent migration	*Temporary mobility*
Definition	*Permanent change of usual residence*	*Non-permanent move of varying duration*
Key concepts		
• *Usual residence*	Integral concept	Less centrality
• *Return*	No intention to return	May involve a return home
Key dimensions		
• *Duration*	Lasting relocation	Varying duration of a stay
• *Frequency*	Single transition	Generally a repetitive event
• *Seasonality*	Minor seasonal variations	Large seasonal variation

Source: (Bell and Ward, 2000: 92)

Broadly, temporary and permanent movement to a particular place can be differentiated depending on whether or not those involved are returning home, or intend to do so. However, Bell and Ward (2000) observe that it is difficult to describe migrants' movement as being temporary or permanent owing to factors such as how often they stay in those locations, the frequency of movement, how long each stay lasts or how often they visit their home country. Nevertheless, they suggest that migration is a single and more long-term transition to a new location, whereas temporary movement to the new location is more repetitive and variable in duration and that this movement can be anything from a few hours to travel lasting months. Thus, frequency and periodicity of movement, distance of the location and their stages are key variables in understanding the permanent tourist although, generally, the duration of permanent tourism can be considered to be longer than seasonally-determined visits. In other words, the permanent tourist, from a duration of stay perspective, excludes temporary movements including holiday travel (implying return home), weekend visits, public holidays and so on.

2.1.8 Behaviour and social-cultural commitment to the host country

Having explored the nature of the movement of permanent tourists, a further characteristic of the permanent tourist is the extent of their commitment or attachment to the destination. In other words, apart from being physically present in the country, permanent tourists may be defined by how they see and involve themselves with the

host community. Thus, this section considers broadly the relationship between permanent tourists and the host culture, specifically seeking to clarify whether permanent tourists differ from temporary tourists in their relations with the local community and, as a consequence, whether they behave differently.

In addition to duration of stay, O'Reilly (2007) sought to classify and differentiate permanent tourists from longer-stay holiday tourists in Spain according to their cultural attachment to the destination, focusing specifically on issues such as the extent of their engagement in wider cultural activities and, in particular, whether they registered locally as residents. However, she found that distinguishing between the two groups was difficult as, frequently, permanent tourists do not register as residents whilst some behave as 'normal' tourists and others are employed in the destination. Similarly, Williams, King and Warnes (2000) also observe that there is a problem differentiating permanent tourists (migrants) from temporary tourists or visitors because, at least in Spain, the lifestyle of the former is similar to being on an extended holiday in the area. Hence, O'Reilly (2007) conducted an ethnographic investigation into British second home owners / residential (permanent) tourists in Spanish coastal areas over a ten-year period. She concluded that although the observed lifestyle of permanent tourists should be considered, a distinguishing characteristic is how they see or classify themselves. In other words, permanent tourists do not classify themselves as tourists; indeed, they seek to distinguish themselves from tourists by claiming that they live there all year (even though many do not register as residents with their local council), sometimes using jokes to distinguish their behaviour from that of tourists. Nor, however, do they refer to themselves as residents, considering themselves to be guests, a label which suggests uncertainty about the ultimate period of time that they will be staying in the host country. In other words, as 'guests', they do not have any strict or indefinite commitment to the host country.

A study by Bahar, Laciner, Bal and Ozcan (2009) revealed a similar problem of temporary/permanent tourist/immigrant tourist classification in the Turkish context. They note that the Turkish authorities use the term 'settled foreigners' to collectively describe these groups and, as a result, there is no clear understanding of the term because the category covers almost every foreign national who settles in Turkey. This failure to clearly categorise leads to confusion, as the term 'settled foreigner' covers second home owners, permanent tourists, residential tourists and all the different motives, movements and demands of each group. Therefore, it is clear that there needs to be clearer classification of these groups to differentiate them from each other.

In order to do so, there is arguably a need to focus on different types of settlement / residency, as discussed in the following section.

2.1.9 Forms of residency or settlement

According to King, Warnes and Williams (2000), a challenge exists in differentiating permanent migrants (tourists) from temporary tourists or visitors. In an attempt to do so, they distinguish between four forms of settlement or residency, as follows:

i. *Long-stay international tourists*: groups of people who are not involved in paid work. Retirees in particular can be seen as being a major part of this group. This group is more likely to take longer holidays than other groups.

ii. *Second-home owners*: King, Warnes and Williams (2000) define this group as being working-age tourists. These people take shorter holidays than long-stay international tourists. However, they have a more formal and legal commitment to the destination because they are home owners. They take more trips to their second-home and their commitment to the destination where they own a second-home is more concrete. For example, they have more long-term plans related to the location and may commit to retiring there; indeed, commentators claim that most second homes of this type become retirement homes for the owners. Second home ownership can be categorised into three types (Müller, 2002a: 8; see also section 2.1.6 above): (i) Weekend homes, which are usually easily accessible from the owner's primary home, the location being the main priority. Visiting pattern is circulation, with the owners often visiting at the weekend; (ii) Vacation homes, distinguished by longer periods of usage while the frequency of visiting is actually often quite low. The property is independent of the location of the owner's primary house; and (iii), Future permanent homes, which are visited by home owners less frequently but for longer periods. Mobility of this type is more likely to end in migrating to the place. Both vacation and future permanent homes can be viewed as being long-term tourist activity and, hence, are considered in this study as forms of second home ownership commensurate with the permanent tourist.

iii. *Seasonal migrants*: King, Warnes and Williams (2000) state that this group covers a broader range of age groups though many may be younger retirees. These people also own property abroad. However, they tend to visit the

property for shorter stays than those migrating to chosen locations. These seasonal migrants also maintain their own properties in their country of origin.

iv. *Permanent residents*: are people who settle abroad and live as residents all year around in the destination. They take occasional holidays to different locations and although most own their own houses in the chosen location, some also maintain houses in their original country. King, Warnes, and Williams (2000) suggest that, whilst demonstrating a long term commitment to the chosen destination, maintaining a property in their country of origin is 'insurance' against their migration being unsuccessful.

Overall, then, a variety of determining characteristics and factors can be used to identify or define the permanent tourist, including: motives, duration and frequency of stay, commitment to the destination, form of residency, and so on. Nevertheless, all permanent tourists are, of course, individuals whose commitment to the location may vary, who may be on extended holidays or, conversely, are registered as permanent residents, who may see themselves as expatriate and, hence, distinct from the local community, and so on. However, from the above review and for the purposes of this thesis, permanent tourists are defined as:

> *People who take up semi-permanent residence in another country, in a property they may or may not own, for relatively long periods of time for lifestyle purposes other than employment. They may or may not demonstrate commitment to the destination, but identify themselves as distinct from both permanent immigrants and temporary tourists.*

Having defined the permanent tourist, this chapter now turns to developing a broader understanding of this form of semi-permanent tourist migration, commencing with a brief exploration of its historical roots.

2.2 The origins of permanent tourism

Inevitably, perhaps, the history of permanent tourism as defined in this thesis cannot be divorced from the history of tourism more generally. Indeed, as discussed shortly, and as widely suggested in the literature, the rapid increase in semi-permanent tourist migration, particularly within Europe since the early 1980s, can be related directly to trends in international tourism in demand in that period (Hall and Müller, 2004; King, Warnes and Williams, 2000; O'Reilly, 2003). More specifically, large scale semi-

permanent tourism migration is a relatively contemporary phenomenon that has evolved in tandem with the growth of international mass tourism; however, its roots are to be found in the pre-mass tourism era and, in particular, in early manifestations of second home ownership.

Tourism has a long history (Shackley, 2006; Sigaux, 1966; Towner, 1995, 1996). According to Young (1973: 9), 'like many other modern industries, tourism can trace its ancestry back to the Old Testament', whilst others claim that early evidence of tourism can be found in ancient graffiti dating back to 1300 BC scratched onto the great pyramids at Giza in Egypt (Casson, 1974: 32). Certainly, tourism of a sort has existed as long as people have had the means to travel, for example, pilgrimage often cited as the predominant form of tourism in the Middle Ages (Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell, 2006). Moreover, an early form of resort-tourism evolved during the Roman era with the development of Baiae, the first and most (in)famous of Rome's summer coastal resorts where wealthier members of society owned villas (or 'second homes') in order to escape the heat of the city.

The Romans also established spa towns, such as Vichy and Aix-les-Bains in France and Bath in England, which become popular leisure centres. Interestingly, it was the (re)development of these spa towns from the late sixteenth century onwards that is widely considered to signify the beginning of birth of the modern phenomenon of tourism (Sharpley, 2008). The medical profession of the time believed that mineral water could be beneficial to health and, hence, destinations such as Bath became popular amongst the leisured classes because of a book published by Dr William Turner in 1562, drawing attention to the alleged medicinal properties of the city's waters. Other spas were soon established throughout Europe to cater for the needs of a growing clientele, subsequently evolving into leisure destinations; indeed, health considerations became secondary as visiting spas became an annual event on the social calendars of the upper classes (Towner, 1996). As a consequence, the eighteenth century witnessed the increasing demand for second homes in the spa towns, a phenomenon that was to spread to coastal resorts and other areas that were becoming popular (Hall and Müller, 2004). For example, in the nineteenth century wealthy industrialists in northern England built second homes in the Lake District (Rollinson, 1967), acting as a catalyst for the area's then nascent tourism industry and starting a trend that, by the late-twentieth century, resulted in more than 20 percent its housing stock being second / holiday homes (Sharpley, 2004: 234).

As is widely recognised, the growth in tourism from the nineteenth century onwards was largely driven by the development of transport systems; the location and popularity of many British seaside resorts was, for example, directly related to the development of the railway network (Towner, 1996; Urry and Larsen, 2011; Walton, 1983). And it was, according to Hall and Müller (2004), transport systems that initially determined the location of second homes in particular. For example, in Sweden most second homes were built along the steamboat routes (Müller, 2007) whilst, as noted by Flognfeldt (2004), second home ownership in Norway is concentrated on shipping routes along the fjords.

With the increase in disposable incomes in the twentieth century, the opportunity to own a second home was no longer restricted to the wealthy; not only did second home ownership spread to other social classes, but also the character of this movement changed, with increasing demand for second homes in more wilderness and natural locations, as occurred in North America (Hall and Müller, 2004; Moss, 2006). At the same time, second home ownership also provided the opportunity for cheaper holidays although, generally, the history of second home ownership varies by county and /or region. For example, in Nordic Countries (where there is a long tradition of second home ownership; see Müller, 2007), second homes were initially used for more social and cultural reasons and as a result, up to the 1980s, were located in places easily accessible from metropolitan centres. From the 1990s, however, these second home owners became more permanent residents in the areas where they had purchased properties. Conversely, second home ownership in Spain only commenced in the 1980s with most properties being purchased along the coast (O'Reilly, 2007), principally for the better climate (Dwyer, 2002), whilst the phenomenon of buying second home properties in the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal regions of Turkey only began in the 1990s (Bahar et.al., 2009).

The growth of second home ownership / permanent tourism in Spain and Turkey can be attributed to the popularity of these countries as tourist destinations. Indeed, as noted above, Hall and Müller (2004) and King et. al. (2000) both suggest that the development of tourism in general leads to the emergence of permanent tourism in most cases. Thus, it is important consider the extent of the relationship between 'traditional' and permanent tourism.

2.2.1 The relationship between tourism and permanent tourism

A number of commentators have emphasised the link between temporary (holiday) tourism and longer term semi-permanent tourism demand (Hall and Müller, 2004; King,

et.al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2003). Specifically, O'Reilly (2003: 303-304) claims that tourism and migration have historically been closely linked and that not only can tourism lead to migration but also that, in some situations, migration can lead to tourism. She goes on to suggest that migrants from Britain and some other north European nations who have settled in Spain have primarily been influenced by the development of mass tourism to Spain

In a similar vein, King et al.(2000), drawing on Malmberg's (1997) research into international retired migrants in Europe, argue that a strong correlation exists between mass tourism and subsequent retirement migration to particular locations, although tourism itself is not necessarily the only driver. For example, UK migrants to Malta were influenced by cultural and historical ties and, unlike elsewhere in Europe, much of this migration commenced in 1960s and 1970s amongst the wealthy / elite, only expanding to include other social classes from the late 1980s onwards. Indeed, Britain's economic, political and military activities over the centuries have influenced migration patterns whilst, more generally, the globalisation of labour markets has encouraged second-home owners to settle and live abroad (Freeman, 2006; Yeates, 2011). In other words, tourism is not the only factor in the growth of permanent tourist migration.

Nevertheless, in some areas, a clear correlation exists between holiday travel demand and subsequent familiarity with the location that encourages people to retire or migrate there. Buller and Hoggart's (1994) study of British migrants in France, for example, reveals the link between tourism and migration; they found that most British people who bought property and settled in France only knew the location from their holidays. Indeed, only 25 percent of those settling in France had not previously been on holiday in the region where they settled. In the specific context of this thesis, Andreu et. al. (2005) found that British tourists tend to make the decision to purchase property in Turkey while they are taking summer holidays in the country's coastal regions; similarly, Bahar et al. (2009) add that most overseas property owners in Turkey bought their houses after they had been on holiday there. They also found that most properties were used for holiday purposes although many of the home owners were fully settled with some working as estate agents or as café and bar owners. However, as noted in the introduction to this thesis, there remains a lack of comprehensive research into international migration and the demands of foreigners settling in Turkey.

To sum up, then, the history of second home ownership in general and permanent tourism in particular points to a variety of factors such as transport links, colonial / economic ties and so on and whilst second home ownership was traditionally the

preserve of the wealthy, more recent years have witnessed socially broader growth in migration that, in some areas in particular (including Turkey as the focus of this study) can be directly associated with the growth in tourism more generally. However, to understand the phenomenon of permanent tourism more fully, it is now necessary to explore other factors that influence the demand for and flows of permanent tourism.

2.3 The main drivers to move abroad

As observed in Chapter One, forms of mobility vary, though a distinction exists between mobility in general and migration in particular, the latter defined by the motivation which drives people to move and settle abroad (Hall and Williams, 2002). Hence, in order to better understand the permanent tourist, as defined above, it is important to explore why people choose to settle in destinations or places other than in other country of origin and focus on the question of who migrates. Broadly, the literature states that the motivations of permanent tourists often focus on life-cycle perspectives, especially among the retired population who often seek out amenity-rich and sunny destinations (King et al. 2000; Hall and Müller, 2004). Thus, it seems that they have similar motives to temporary tourists although as already suggested, the permanent tourist may display more of a commitment to the tourist destination than temporary tourists. At the same time, a number of broad themes are evident in the literature. For example, Hall and Müller (2004) state that the demand for or main motivations for tourist-migration have different characteristics and, as a result, can be seen in different ways: generally as migration or, more specifically, amenity seeking; for retirement purposes; to escape from an urban to a rural lifestyle; or moving for a better climate or to achieve a better quality of life. Consequently, in each location or destination, permanent tourists may have migrated for varying reasons and, hence, it is difficult to establish patterns of demand or motives relevant to specific destinations (Girard and Gartner, 1993; Helderman, Ham and Mulder, 2006; King et. al. 2000; McHugh, 2000). However, in the following review drawing on research that focuses on northern European (specifically British) tourist-migrants to southern European regions, a numbers of specific motives emerge.

According to King et al. (2000), the principal attraction of Southern European regions to permanent tourists is the different climatic and geographical features they offer. Certainly, it is this that underpins permanent tourism development in locations such as Greece, Spain and Italy. At the same time, factors such as retirement also push permanent tourists or tourist-migrants to settle in these destinations, escaping from colder climates and worked-based lifestyles. A further finding from Benson's (2010)

study is that many of the retirement population had sold their properties in the UK and preferred to opt out of the working lifestyle in the cities, wanting to slow down and make way for a new generation. This motive is summarised by Benson (2010: 50) with the following phrase, 'There reaches a time when old horses should be put out to graze'. Benson (2010) observes that this is a well-established trend, supporting the view of many that there exists an international retirement population (IRM) demand to migrate from northern to southern European regions (Ackers and Dwyer, 2004; Bahar et al., 2009; Dwyer, 2002; King et al., 2000).

The second group of main factors fall under the heading of better quality of lifestyle. Benson (2010), for example, identified that many British people seek to escape from their lifestyle in Britain to a better quality of life with their family in rural areas. Differentiating this type of movement as family migration, Benson (2010: 48) reveals that a common motivation for settling in France is that 'we wanted our children to have better lives'; that is, to enjoy quality time with children and the desire for children to be more active, healthier, and to able to play outside safely. The respondents in Benson's study also complained that Britain had become very polluted, even in the countryside, and also stated that they wished to escape from the economic downturn of the 1990s. Some had been made redundant and saw the opportunity to buy houses in the location because properties were comparatively affordable. Many of these people also complained about the then British Conservative party's policies and cited economic and social changes in the 1980s and 1990s as reasons for migrating.

King, Warnes, and Williams (2000: 93) carried out research with a sample of 925 respondent migrants, mainly of British origin, exploring their motives for moving to southern European countries. The results were ranked as in Table 2.2 below. According to King, Warnes and Williams (2000: 93), the respondents in the study revealed that the main motives for them wishing to settle abroad were the first two listed in Table 2.2: 'climate and other aspects of the natural environment such as landscape and clean air… [and]… pace of life, feel healthier, relaxation, opportunities for golf, sailing and so on.'

Table 2.2 Reasons for migrations by frequency

Rank (1 = most common, 9 = least common)	Reason
1	Climate and other aspects of the natural environment such as landscape and clean air
2	Pace of life, feel healthier, relaxation, opportunities for golf, sailing and so on
3	Lower living cost; housing, food, heating, lower taxes;
4	Social advantage: presence of a British community, many friends, good social life, opportunity for relatives to visit, friendly local population;
5	Admiration of destination country's society, culture, low crime rate;
6	Childhood or family links, including marriage to a local person;
7	Antipathy to the UK, often referring to high crime or poor social values; general wish to live abroad; long-term expatriate with no wish to return UK;
8	Practical advantages: English widely spoken; good travel to UK; already possessed second home in destination;
9	Work or business links to country before retirement

Source: Adapted from King et al. (2000)

It can also be noted that for those moving to coastal locations, there were also other motivators, such as seeking 'a laid-back life style, and social advantages: the presence of a British community, many friends, good social life, opportunity for relatives to visit, friendly local population and admiration of destination country's society, culture, low crime rate, etc'. These motivators can be seen as being related to the image of those destinations and so illustrate the effect of the image of those locations on people (see following section). For permanent tourists, these are listed as being 'lower living cost; housing, food, heating, lower taxes' (see Table 2.2). These features fall under the classification of 'income gain' in these locations.

Also related to lifestyle, Benson (2010: 51) emphasises the statement 'We wanted to escape the rat race' to summarise the motives of these mid-life migrants. This group stated similar issues with life in Britain, such as pollution and the stressful lifestyle, but they were young professionals with well-paid jobs in UK and no children. Their main motive or push factor was that they did not want to sit in their office all day. Many had sold properties in UK in order to be able to afford property in rural areas of France, also

using the proceeds to launch their own businesses. This group of people also commonly expressed the view that life is more expensive in UK, they could not have opened their own businesses there and that they had gained more free time in the destination. Interestingly, Benson (2010) suggests that these migrants are the most integrated into the host community. However, they cannot be included in the permanent tourist category in this study.

The point remains, though, that in order to adapt to a new culture, the permanent tourist should have more functional reasons for integrating, such as needing to use local services. Yet, King, Warnes and Williams (2000) also claim that permanent tourists do not need to integrate with host communities because they do not have the motivations which apply to peripatetic migrants or social elite types. Similarly, O'Reilly (2007) claims that British permanent tourists who migrated to Spain, especially the social-elite type group, see integration is a meaningless goal or aim for them; they live within their own ethnic enclaves and make no effort to build relations with hosts. 'It seems the British people cannot escape their Britishness; they are an embodiment of the mobility-enclosure dialectic (King et al., 2000: 288). O'Reilly (2003) also states that the British community did not want to adapt their life in to host local culture; rather, they created a new British social community, with some standing in local elections to represent expatriates in the region.

Conversely, Benson states (2010) that the younger, professional group socialise more with their French neighbours. Indeed, they distance themselves from the English circles, making more effort to be involved in the local French community by joining local sports or art clubs, and using any other services which locals use. Other English groups, however, such as those who were retired or family oriented ones, did not integrate with the French community, and even though retired English migrants claimed that they had made an effort to be involved with French locals, this was not as evident as with the younger working migrants.

Other drive factors can be classified as being more personal or individual, such as 'Childhood or family links, including marriage to a local person; antipathy to the UK, often referring to high crime or poor social values; general wish to live abroad; long-term expatriate with no wish to return, UK work or business links to country before retirement' (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000: 93). Similarly, Bahar et al. (2009: 516) cite one British respondent saying that they feel more comfortable and confident living in Fethiye in Turkey than in London, because London has security cameras everywhere making them feel they are being constantly being watched.

To sum up, then, there are many factors which affect permanent tourists' decisions to migrate or settle long-term abroad. However, as can be seen from the above, the main reason for permanent tourists to move to and live in another country is 'the better quality of lifestyle' (Table 2.2). As discussed in the following sections, this can be linked to two issues: the image of the place and income gain

2.3.1 The influence of image in place and lifestyle

As stated above, one of the main attractions for people to settle abroad is climate. Indeed, King, Warnes and Williams (2000) identify climate as the most important reason for movement, citing a wide range of studies which support this view (Preamble, 1987; Rodrigez, Fernandez, Mayoralas and Rojo, 1998, cited in King, Warnes, and Williams, 2000). Most of the southern European regions, including the Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca in Spain and the Algarve in Portugal, as well as Cyprus and Malta, are chosen by northern migrants for this reasons. Myklebost (1989) provides an illustration of the role of climate as a driver in his investigation of Scandinavian migration to Spain, especially during the long winters. Hall and Müller (2004) also emphasise that climate can be seen as being a factor in the demand for economic gain as it can facilitate a lower cost of living (for example, with reduced heating bills). However, climate-related demand also suggests the desire for a more outdoor-based lifestyle; many commentators point out that the Mediterranean climate influences an outdoor lifestyle which pulls many migrants to these locations. Thrift (1987), for example, reports that middle class people in northern Europe 'idealise the landscapes, culture and rural lifestyles' of some parts of the south, such as the Algarve, Andalusia and Tuscany, often going to such places in search of a fantasised, lost rural lifestyle. The British Poet Robert Graves, cited in King, Warnes and Williams (2000: 33) explains the main reason for this 'I wanted to go where town was still town; and country still country; and where the horse plough was not yet an anachronism.' Buller and Hoggart's (1994) study also supports the above argument about British second home owners in rural France. According to them, in most of the locations where British people choose to settle, the main reason for choosing that place was the 'isolated property and scenic view and character of homes' (Buller and Hoggart, 1994: 201). Moss (2006) also states that people in this sort of category are those who retire or settle in rural areas for the 'quality of life' or the 'rural attractiveness' of those locations.

Importantly, it is the image of these places, the lifestyle that is linked to a good climate or a rural location, that is arguably their principal pull to potential permanent tourists.

Therefore, the following section briefly considers the concept of destination image creation.

2.3.2 Image

Destination image is a widely discussed concept in the literature and a detailed consideration is beyond the scope of this chapter (see Crompton, 1979a;1979b; Echtner and Ritchie, 1993; Murphy, Pritchard, and Smith, 2000; Pike 2002). Nevertheless, a number of key themes should be noted. Jenkins (1999) identifies that 'tourists' destination image' is a problematic term as it has been used across multiple disciplines and within a variety of contexts, including within the marketing industry which tends uses stereotyped images of a destination. Each discipline that addresses the concept focuses on different aspects of it; for example, Martin and Eroglu (1993: 63) define destination image in terms of more psychological and marketing aspects, stating that 'country image is defined as the total of all descriptive, inferential and informational beliefs one has about a particular country'. In addition to the above, Morgan and Pritchard (2010: 42) define a country's image as resulting 'from its geography, history, proclamations, art and music, famous citizens and other features'. This definition focuses on both tangible and intangible features, such as the characteristics of country or destination. Kleppe and Mossberg (2001) more broadly state that the destination image includes many features, from specific objects, events, politics and culture to international business. However, Lala, Allred and Chakraborty (2008: 62) observe that many marketing processes perceive a country's image more specifically as a consumer product or as marketing tools or products to promote destinations for investment.

The above definitions also point to the argument about whether destination image influences the product image or the other way around. For example, Jenes (2008) questions the relationship between the concepts of 'origin of country/destination image' or 'product country image', going on to state that, in most cases, product and country image are intertwined, such as in the case of the image of a German car where German manufacturing is associated with quality car products.

Destination image is, then a complex and wide ranging topic. However, for the purposes of this study it is important to discuss how destination image is created in the minds of tourists in general and to understand the factors that colour the perceptions of permanent tourists and hosts in particular. By way of introduction, Holloway (1994)

differentiates two concepts of destination image; *organic image,* which is uncontrollable and emerges naturally from the perceptions of individuals and information, and *induced image* which is the controlled image or image mainly created by the tourism industry for a particular destination through materials such brochures and websites. Similarly, Fakeye and Crompton (1991) state that destination image evolves from an organic image to an induced image, but then evolves into complex image. However, it is important to emphasise that each individual's knowledge and perception of information about a destination can be very different from that of others and therefore is unique. In other words, when tourists are visiting places and looking at things, the actual experience for each tourist is different (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 3). Every individual constructs an image of a destination differently because the image is related or linked to their background and a huge range of factors, such as social class, nationality, society, gender, age, culture, religion and the place where the individual grew up, may influence that image, as well as how they experience and, indeed, hold memories of a destination.

The question of how the image development process for a destination occurs then leads to a necessary investigation into what factors influence people to travel to another country or what Sharpley (2008: 56) describes as 'tourism demand process'. Early studies focused on tourist motivation theories, especially what factors influence tourists' decisions to choose a particular country (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981). These motives can broadly be seen as comprising two elements: push and pull factors. Push factors are what makes tourists leave their country of origin and may reflect personal, intrinsic influences or characteristics of the external environment, while pull factors relate to what the destination offers to draw tourists to it and how the choice of the destination is influenced by many different factors. Gilbert (1991: 79) describes these as 'filterers of demand', and classifies them under demographic or economic constrains. Most pull effects comprise the attractions in a particular destination. These have either been developed organically, or are based on individual previous experiences or are created through the marketing process and induced effects, which have been developed by the industry through advertisement. A further pull effect, identified by Dann (1981), may reflect an individual's desire based on what they lack in their normal life; for example, a lack of sunshine may translate into a someone seeking sunny images from the destinations or what Gilbert (1991:79) describes as an 'affector' demand.

More specifically, Urry (1990) adds that the image of a destination or place is constructed through signs. The tourism industry successfully redesigns the usual and

ordinary experience into more unusual and extraordinary images. Urry and Larsen (2011) state that tourist activity, or what they refer to as the 'gaze, involves a particular way of seeing images of a destination and also involves systematic selection of those symbols and the methods of selecting those images. Thus, according to Urry and Larsen (2011), the image of a destination is formed by the accumulation of these signs and when tourists decide to travel or settle in locations they look out for these signs.

To add to the above argument, Sheller and Urry (2004: 2) also use the phrase 'places to stay, places in play' to emphasise how tourism is transforming many 'real' places into virtual realities or fantasized places, for example as offering a 'performing paradise' concentrating on beaches or islands as places for tourists to play. According to King et al. (2000), people create particular scape images which have associations with certain values, suggesting that two good examples of travel image values are the Atlantic crossing which signifies arrival in New York harbour and the Orient Express which is associated with Istanbul or Venice and the notion of romance (King et al., 2000; Buller and Hogart, 1994).

With respect to permanent tourism in particular, Hall and Müller (2004) suggest that destination image has an influence on people who owns second homes, such as British second home buyers in France or Tuscany. These destinations are portrayed as idealised rural locations especially suited to British middle class aspirations for a rural lifestyle. Hall and Müller (2004) also draw on Muller's (1999: 68) study of German second home buyers being heavily influenced by Astrid Lindgren's writings about the image of rural Sweden, images of small towns, wooden buildings and red and white painted cottages. Others, such as Jaakson (1986) and Williams and Kalterborn (1999), also accept that second-home buyers are often reconnecting with an idealised destination and a lost (or imagined) rurality. Specifically, Jaakson (1986) argues that second-home owners not only see these destinations as ideal rural landscapes or places, but also desire the associated lifestyle which they cannot enjoy in their home country. Thus, this image-driven demand can be considered a form of escape motive.

Papastergiadis (2000) similarly proposes that the main motivation to settle abroad is that of creating an alternative, imagined lifestyle while Moss (2006) states that many Australian, Canadian and US amenity tourists seeking a natural environment and differentiated culture in a western rural lifestyle. However, Perlik's (2006) study in Switzerland reaches a different conclusion. That is, amenity migrants who settle in the Alps prefer the combination of city culture and rural location, of natural environments with easy access to the city. In addition, research into the motives of amenity migrants

in Santa Fe, New Mexico, revealed very different motives related to culture seeking as the region attracts American Indian, Hispanic and Western American 'haute culture' (Moss, 2006). In addition, the natural environment, the climate and perceived spirituality of the indigenous culture are also motives for moving to the region, motives which can be seen as similar to those of permanent tourists who settle in Turkey specifically seeking sunshine, beautiful landscapes, different culture and a memory of past times (Bahar et al., 2009).

Overall, then, the image of a place can be the main motivation of permanent tourists to settle and move there. These images often connect to the notion of seeking a better quality of lifestyle through features such as rural attractiveness, a coastal life style, or the spirituality of that culture. People recognise these signs, code them and create certain images in their minds and these images lead people to seek those experience in places to where they can live, retire or take long holidays.

2.3.3 Economic reasons

According to King, Warnes and Williams (2000), there are four main economic reasons for migrating to southern Europe amongst northern Europeans, the first being *personal finance*. Flowers' (1988) comparison of house and land prices between northern and southern Europe revealed significant differences, southern European house prices being far lower. This undoubtedly stimulated migration, although other financial considerations also came into play (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000). For example, general living costs were lower in Southern Europe, as was eating out, whilst lower heating costs during the winter months was an important factor. These differences were studied latter by Myklebost (1989) who claimed that amenity migration is quite common amongst Norwegians; during the winter months they migrate to Spain or the Canary Islands to avoid the long winters as well as for health reasons and other factors such as the price differences and cost of living. All of these factors were identified as encouraging Scandinavian migration to Spain.

Moss (2006) similarly suggests that the main reasons underpinning amenity migration are economic gain and the problems of living in large cities, although Müller (2006) notes that tourism development also increases in-migration to rural areas, often resulting in changes to the economic and social structures in rural areas which encourage populations to migrate into or out of rural locations. According to Müller (2006: 246), tourism developments in some situations encourage in-migration because the location can 'supply service jobs for outsiders, create business opportunities, upgrading rural environments and re-imaging the countryside'. He also states that out-

migration can increase for similar reasons as it may ‘generate employment, incomes for dwellers, broadening the service supply, re-shaping rural culture and traditions and re-imaging the countryside towards rural dwellers’ (Müller, 2006: 246). More generally, recent in-migration studies indicate that economic gain is one of the main motivators (Cohen, 2008; Dwyer, 2002; Hall and Müller, 2004; King et al., 2000).

Hall and Müller (2004) suggest that the main issues for potential second home owners to be concerned about are space-time issues and the accessibility of second homes, amenity values, real estate costs and government policies and procedures or some situation more personnel reasons

2.3.4 Second homes as a status symbol

It has long been recognised that objects of consumption or, more simply, the things that people buy, have a meaning beyond their utilitarian value or practical purpose (Appadurai, 1988). More specifically, ‘the utility of goods is always framed by a cultural context… material goods are not only used to do things, but they also have a meaning, and act as meaningful markers of social relations’ (Lury, 1996: 11). In other words, in a (post)modern world in which traditional markers of social status have dissolved, ‘goods can change from being relatively static symbols to be being more directly constitutive of social status (Miller, 1987: 135). In short, people buy things to create self-identity, to establish their social status (Holt, 1995).

In the context of this thesis, it has been claimed that, in many countries, second homes are acquired as a status symbol (Halseth, 1998; Jaakson,1986). King, Warnes and Williams (2000) similarly observe that repeat winter tourism to Mediterranean regions by Northern elites has influenced the social reconstruction of these areas, establishing them as socially preferred destinations. They also cite Reynolds Ball’s (1989) claim that the Mediterranean regions have become the world’s playground in winter season and the ‘pleasure periphery’ for northern Europeans (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000: 32). Consequently, according to Hamilton (1982), permanent settling in these regions based on social status has been continuing since the mid-twentieth century.

Belonging to a certain social class is also one of the main drivers of purchasing a second home along with the aim of gaining more prestige and financial status. British retirement migrants in Tuscany, for example, enjoy a social and cultural status higher than those in Malta (King et.al., 2000). Thus, it can be observed that the social classes of migrants and their characteristics are also different from each other. However, gaining status can be related to economic gain. People may find that they are able to

purchase better houses in cheaper locations or see the move as an investment when they are able to buy property for relatively cheap prices. There are, though, other issues which push people to buy properties abroad, such as marketing activities and the role played by estate agents.

2.3.5 The role of estate agents in encouraging home purchasing

According to Hoggart and Buller (1994), second homes in France were significantly promoted by agents who, post-purchase, acted almost like gate-keepers. These agents carry out many promotional activities to maintain demand for second homes in France, a phenomenon highlighted by others (Barou and Prado, 1995).

Benson (2010) claims that estate agents influenced many British people to invest in properties in France and, as a consequence, by the end of the 1990s, not only had a large proportion of the properties available for renovation in this market been sold but comparatively few became available after this period. O'Reilly (2007) also highlights the role of estate agents and promotional activities on these movements based on interviews with many British people who migrated to Spain. In particular, she identified the influence of British TV programs such as *Get a New Life* and *A Place in the Sun* in promoting coastal areas of Spain as desirable, beautiful places with a cheaper cost-of-living, attractive climates and a better quality of life.

2.3.6 Legal and institutional barriers

The removal of legal barriers has allowed people to buy or own property abroad and to live abroad (King et al., 2000), particularly within the European Union since the 1970s. In particular, the democratisation of Greece, Portugal and Spain removed barriers, whilst free movement within the European Union more generally has facilitated the increase in semi-permanent tourist migration.

Hall and Müller (2004) also point out that the state's role is an important agent in encouraging home owners to purchase second homes internationally as in the case of the role of the European Union in influencing migration movement. Similarly, increasing political and economic stability within the EU, at least until more recently, has supported increased second home ownership and tourist migration in Europe (Hall, Smith and Marciszweska, 2006). Living standards have risen and more liberal democracies have emerged and, alongside this, the region has become more heterogonous than previously. It can be seen that home owners are more comfortable buying properties or living in another country if they are under the same legislation

such as is the case for countries within the European Union (Hall, Smith and Marciszweska, 2006).

Interestingly, many retired British citizens have settled on the coast of Turkey which remains outside the European Union. As a result of this, they are not covered by EU legislation and protection while they are living in Turkey yet this has not dissuaded them from migrating to Turkey.

2.4 Issues related to the permanent tourist: integration and language

As considered earlier in this chapter, permanent tourists can be differentiated from temporary or holiday tourists by, amongst other things, the duration of their stay, their level of commitment to the area and, by implication, the period of time that they are in contact with the local community. In other words, both temporary and permanent tourists interact with or, in a sense, have a relationship with members of the host community. This issue has long been considered within the tourism literature (Doxey, 1975; de Kadt, 1979; Mathieson and Wall, 1982) and is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three of this thesis. For the purpose of this chapter, however, it is interesting to explore the extent to which the longer contact that permanent tourists have with the local community has any bearing on the nature of what may be referred to as their 'host-guest' relationship (again, see Chapter Three).

2.4.1 Contact situation

Sutton (1967) claims that the typically superficial nature of the relations between tourists and hosts is related to their short-term interactions and the inherent inequality in the tourist and host relationship. Thus, given that the contact time between permanent tourists and hosts is likely, by definition, to be relatively longer than temporary tourists (although perhaps still inherently unbalanced), the question arises as to whether this increased contact time and, indeed, the different status of permanent tourist has any influence on the nature of relations with host community.

In addition, it is also pertinent to consider whether the increased frequency and / or duration of encounters between permanent tourists and local people may enhance the potential for so-called acculturation, an issue also considered in more detail in Chapter Three; and if so, in which direction does acculturation occur? As discussed earlier, Westernisation, the global economics-driven homogeneity of tourism destinations and the Western origins of many tourists are often seen as resulting in tourists assuming the dominant role in relationships with local people. However, does the length of stay of

permanent tourists and their reasons for being in the host destination make any difference? The following section focuses on these particular issues.

2.4.2 Permanent tourists' integration

Berry (1997: 29) states that:

> Similarly, members of ethnocultural groups who do not attempt to understand and accept the core values and basic norms of the society of settlement risk irritating members of the larger society, again stimulating social conflict. The management of pluralism depends both on its acceptance as a contemporary fact of life, and on the mutual willingness to change.

Berry (1997) suggests that successful multicultural societies are those which have made an effort to integrate and in which different groups have shown a willingness to adapt to other cultures or at least to understand the other cultural groups with which they live. If multicultural societies are not able to respond in this way, then either segregation or separation between groups may occur, often viewed as discrimination by dominant nations or as the marginalisation of issues in the society.

However, in the specific context of permanent tourism, as previously noted, O'Reilly (2007) suggests that for some types of British permanent tourist, in particular the social elite types, integration is perceived as a meaningless goal or aim. As a consequence, they remain mainly within their own ethnic enclaves and make no effort to adapt to or integrate with the local culture. Similarly, King et al. (2000: 141) refer to a British respondent in their study who, although claiming to be well integrated with the local community in Tuscany, emphasises that some of the British community's behavioural patterns reveal a colonial mentality, as follows:

> We… have lots of Italian friends. We are not in the category of those who retire to the sun-belt. .. integrated in to Italian society as compared to those who came out on retirement in the UK…There is sense that they act a bit superior, they don't really try to speak Italian properly and have a tendency to run down Italians… They go back to the UK regularly to recharge their batteries. They float around, do not stay here long enough to become integrated…[and]… have a kind of colonial mentality.

King et al. (2000) also suggest that this type of colonial attitude is common amongst permanent tourist communities in other locations, such as the Algarve and the Costa

del Sol, whilst O'Reilly (2003) also states that the British community in Spain does not want to adapt their life to local culture, even going to the extent of creating a social group to stand for local elections to represent expatriates in the region. At the same time, however, O'Reilly (2007: 288) also identifies some types of British permanent tourists who make extremely good efforts to speak and learn fluent Spanish. Nevertheless, despite these attempts, these permanent tourists found it difficult to integrate because they were not accepted by the host community.

More generally, Benson (2010) states that there are *symbiotic*, or mutually beneficial / supportive relations between permanent tourists and hosts. Benson (2010) also argues that (i) the motivation level of migrants, (ii) the hosts' acceptance and (iii) shared interests between hosts and permanent tourists are the main factors contributing to integration (Benson 2010). Similarly, O'Reilly (2007) states that many previous studies have examined the case of European migrants to Spanish coastal areas, particularly the Costa del Sol, Mallorca and the Costa Blanca, arguing that these migrants can be described as archetypal post-modern transmigrants in as much as they are migrating and moving freely between European regions. These movements can be conceptualised as lying between temporary tourism and permanent migration, and can be described as circulating between their primary home and the host countries. This lifestyle is a combination of staying mainly in a new home, sometimes working in one place and travelling to other places and sometimes migrating and sometimes visiting host countries for longer, more extended, holidays. Unless they are peripatetic migrants, these people have very modest incomes and they settle in Spain looking for a different lifestyle.

O'Reilly (2007) also points out that it is mainly intra-European transmigrants who take advantage of their situation, especially younger peripatetic migrants, or those who work and live in one country and spend their leisure and holiday time in another one. These people live in both countries, taking the positive experiences of both places. However, even though utilising local resources and taking advantage of low property prices, cheaper living costs and good infrastructure, they do not commit themselves or make an effort to invest in the local economy. They also move on very easily when the area becomes more expensive and look for new cheaper places to which to move. Many of this group of migrants see themselves as expatriates and they seek to retain their own culture within the host country.

In the specific context of Spain, O'Reilly (2003) and King, Warnes and Williams (2000) conclude that there is little social integration between the British and local community.

Not only do they do not typically seek work or, indeed, register as local residents, but also the host countries make no demands on them to assimilate into the local community. King, Warnes and Williams (2000) also state that the retired population have no need to integrate because they are surrounded by the English lifestyle in the Mediterranean regions. As stated above, they are living in an English neighbourhood, mainly their own enclaves, most people speak English and most of the local services provide English lifestyles, such as English pubs, supermarkets and so on.

Generally, then, most studies support the case that integration with the host community only occurs where permanent tourists depend financially or socially on host community services. Where people do not need any services from the hosts they put little if any effort into integrating with the hosts unless required to do so owing to particular personal circumstances or if an individual actually chooses to do so.

2.4.3. Issues of social integration: host displacement and tourist enclaves

> Low-to-moderate tourism development is perceived as beneficial to the community, but as development increases, residents' perceptions can quickly turn negative. (Harrril, 2004: 13)

As considered in more detail in Chapter Three, Doxey's (1975) widely cited 'Irridex' theory proposes that the attitudes of the local destination community changes according to the stage of tourism development. More specifically, as tourism development becomes more intense, and as the number of tourist grows, the local community, it is suggested, becomes increasingly annoyed about, if not antagonistic towards, tourism. In the case of permanent tourists and second home owners, such annoyance and / or antagonism may emerge as a result of local community displacement.

On the one hand, such displacement can be cultural. For example, both Halseth (2004) and Moss (1994), in their studies of amenity migrants, revealed that the phenomenon may have negative socio-cultural impacts on the destination by introducing a new way of life to the location. That is, the more traditional way of life can be displaced. This, however, need not always be the case. For example, Flognfedt (2006) identifies examples of this in Norway where local people are concerned about a decline in support for their traditional farm festival, a decline in the use of local dialects and folk music. However, the local municipalty, by encouraging traditional arts festivals as well

as a number of other initatives, have used the incomers to support the local culture. As a similar example, Buller and Hoggart's (1994) study suggests that that the impact of British second home owners on social and economic aspects of local communities in France is mainly positive.

On the other hand, displacement may be physical. Marjavaara (2009) explored the displacement issues caused by an influx of second home owners in rural areas, specifically on the Swedish island of Sando. The principal consequence was that second home owners effectively forced the locals out of the region through raising property prices. This has, of course, been a long-recognised outcome of increasing second home ownership in desirable rural and coastal areas (Coppock, 1977; Gallent. Mace and Tewdwr-Jones, 2017) whilst recent events in the town of St. Ives in south-west England, where a ban on the building on new houses for second home ownership, is evidence of an increasing need to respond to the problem (Willgress, 2016)

Conversely, permanent tourists may, in a sense, displace themselves from the local community by creating enclaves. For example, Bahar, Laciner, Bal and Ozcan (2009) report that in Turkey the residents of luxurious developments make their residence more convenient for themselves through features such as 24-hour security and having doctors on the site. These types of apartment complexes result, inevitably, in limited interactions with local Turkish residents. Bahar et al., (2009) also suggest that British people who bought properties in Fethiye seem to prefer to buy properties where members of their social class are and, in particular, where mainly British people have already settled. As Bahar et al. (2009: 516) suggest: 'it could be said that, whilst they did not buy/rent in an area advertised as being exclusively for Britons they are, perhaps subconsciously, creating their own ghettoes'.

Sagir (2011) similarly states that the luxuries demanded by permanent tourists or second home owners in Finike,Turkey, not only cause the displacement of locals from the region but also gives rise to social and cultural issues in the host community. He goes on to suggest that this situation leads to the establishment of permanent tourist enclaves and segregation and not surprisingly, verifying Doxey's (1975) 'Irridex', also causes antagonism amongst local people towards permanent tourists. By way of illustration, Nurdali and O'Reilly (2009) report that the local Turkish host community in Didim feel they are less important than tourists to most businesses and services in the area because the non-Turkish community is often prioritised by such businesses.

Similar cases have been also observed by O'Reilly (2003: 310). In the case of relations between British and Spanish people, many British residents are concerned about not fully living a Spanish lifestyle. They are unable to speak Spanish and some complain that 'they do not even meet any Spanish people because there are none living in their residential area.' They also pointed that even if they are willing to learn the language, they hardly ever hear the Spanish language spoken in their social or work environments as many of their co-workers are British and the Spanish people they know are usually fluent in English.

A further interesting point raised by O'Reilly (2003) is that most British communities try to be accepted by locals in the region rather than seeking to dominate them. Nevertheless, some British residents make no effort to integrate with locals, whilst some go as far as attempting to prevent even more British people moving to their area in order maintain their adopted culture and lifestyle. A similar phenomenon has been witnessed in Turkish coastal areas inhabited by international second home owners. Sagir's (2011) studies of permanent tourists in Finike found that British residents there do not want more international second home owners to settle in their village because they thought the location would become spoilt and that the village would lose its quality if even more British and other European people settled there.

According to Sagir (2011), permanent tourists prefer to live together in the same residential areas in Dalaman in Turkey. The example of the Ontur residence is provided; a building with 22 flats in which only English people live. These residents are reported as saying that even though Turkish people are nice and friendly towards them they prefer to live together because they understand each other and their needs more. Sagir (2011) states that these types of residence, especially those housing only one nationality, create more distance between the two cultures and render integration more difficult for both sides. Benson's (2010) study identified similar problems for British migrants in rural areas of France, pointing out that if permanent tourists or migrants choose to live in their own ghettos or isolated areas, then problems of limited integration with the local population will inevitably arise. Although many British people are keen to integrate with local society and culture in France, others are not. Those who prefer to live in their own enclaves are considered by local people to be strangers However, even those who do wish to integrate find that it is more difficult than they imagined (Benson, 2010).

To sum up, whether or not permanent tourist enclaves are purposefully created by permanent tourists or are unconsciously created reflecting the convenience of living

together, or whether or not some permanent tourists choose to live separately or distant from their fellow nationals, the evidence suggests that enclaves or ghettoes are almost inevitably created in host destinations. As Sagir (2011) says, these ghettoes cause social problems for the two communities and can be seen to be increasing polarisation in the community, resulting in limited integration or negative relations between the local community and permanent tourists.

2.4.4. Learning the local language

One indication of the degree of integration with the local community is the extent to which permanent tourists learn the local language. King, Warnes and Williams' (2000) survey results show that a wide range of factors impact on whether this occurs. Some of these factors are integral to the permanent tourists themselves, such as their age, gender, social class and profession, and the duration of the stay in the destination, while other factors may be related to the host destination, such as the size of the location, opportunities for language classes and so on. Other studies downplay the importance of learning the language. In Turkey, for example, Sagir (2011) reports that many settled foreigners or permanent tourists who settled in Finike claim to be content as they have learned how to live in the location. In other words, although in the early years they had some problems with language and other issues, they were able to overcome these as a result of help and support on the part of local people; Finike is a small place and life is authentic and they learned how to satisfy their needs over the years. So it can be said that some permanent tourists overcome language issues because of the characteristics of the location and local community. Nevertheless, others stated that learning the language was important for them to be able to integrate into Turkish society. However, the age of permanent tourists in Finike is in many cases over 60, causing problems for those seeking to learn the host language or adapt to the new culture in Turkey.

King, Warnes and Williams's (2000) survey results show that in some locations such as the Costa del Sol, it is easier for the British population to live in the region because most of the services and facilities support the British community in the region. For example, respondents stated that the apart from the police station most of the services, such as hospitals and town halls, always provided an interpreter for permanent tourists.

Bahar et al. (2009) state that permanent tourists who have settled in Turkey also seek some accommodation from the local authorities with respect to language difficulties, such as the provision of traffic signs in English and English-speaking guidelines for local events, such as festivals, or for water or electricity services. By way of illustration,

Bahar et al. (2009) relate how Didim council started to send invoices in English to foreign settlers. However, this practise was discontinued after the council thought they should encourage them to learn Turkish. Bahar et al. (2009) add that there are a number of local newspapers published in English, such as the Bodrum Observer and The Post, whilst national English language newspapers include the Turkish Daily News. The examples above show that the British community demand services and other facilities to be provided for them in their own language. Bahar et al.'s (2009) study also showed that local employers also started to employ German and English speakers to assist their customers.

King, Warnes and Williams (2000) argue that language barriers affect the social life of permanent tourists in various cities in Portugal, Spain and Malta. Their survey results also showed, however, that in locations such as the Costa del Sol where there are many British nationals, communication is less of a problem in most daily life situations as many local people speak English. O'Reilly's (2007) study suggested that in most situations, permanent tourists from northern Europe live in tourist enclaves where they are surrounded by the English language, so it is not crucial for them to learn the host language. King et al.'s research (2000) also suggested that these tourists do not need to integrate or learn the host language because most services, restaurants and supermarkets provide their services in English.

Overall, then, the research reveals that, apart from when there is a personal interest in learning the local language, in most cases permanent tourists do not believe it is necessary to learn the host's language. However, Benson (2010) and Bahar et al. (2009) also state that there are social factors other than the language issue involved in the (lack of) integration.

2.4.5 Sociocultural differences between two societies and host acceptance

The degree of socio-cultural distinction between two societies is one of the main problems for integration (Buller and Hoggart,1994). Factors such as the permanent tourist's age, occupational status and the reasons for buying a particular property, including issues such as price, view, and size of property, as well as their level of education and their preferred social activities and interests are all factors that affect their motivation to integrate with locals. In their case study, Buller and Hoggart (1994) point out that the main integration problems in France between British and French communities relate to social class, age and ethnicity differences. This point is particularly important because the main social and cultural issues are caused by differences between lifestyle and nationality.

Specifically, Buller and Hoggart (1994) explored permanent tourist and host relations in a study focused mainly on British migrants who had settled in a rural part of France. They concluded that even though British second home buyers believed that the local communities in rural areas were very friendly and welcoming to them, they felt they would never be accepted by them as part of the French community. The authors reported that even though the second home owners might stay for long holidays (up to 6 or 7 weeks) they never pursued the possibility of living there all year round because of these issues. In the words of one British homeowners quoted in the study:

> The French are very family and nation oriented, less receptive to foreigners. There is a very strong national identity and one could never integrate wholly. In short, we are happy being there 7-12 weeks a year. No more!' (second-home owner, Lot, in Buller and Hoggart,1994:208)

Buller and Hoggart (1994) maintain that the main integration problems arise because of social class and other differences rather than from not being accepted by locals. They also state that host acceptance is also related to lifestyle; if the lifestyles of the permanent tourists and hosts are similar then the hosts are more likely to accept the newcomers. Buller and Hoggart (1994) also point out that where British permanent tourists settle in rural areas in France, the local community mainly comprises farmers whose social life and cultural background are is very different from those of the permanent tourists seeking the rural lifestyle. As Shaw and Williams (2002) stated, Italian rural areas have now become a playground for British tourists and, as such, these permanent tourists are regarded as outsiders by the locals with demands which are not seen as being real or relatable to the community.

Marjavaara (2009) also points out that there are some social differences between those demanding second homes and the rural community areas in Sando in Sweden. Second home ownership and the demands of the permanent tourists can be seen as luxuries. For example, second home owners in Sweden create a social gap because most of the second homes are luxurious properties. This has also been illustrated by King, Warnes and Williams (2000) in their survey of British people who moved to southern European region. British retirees are mainly well-off; they have more than the average level of education and they come from professional backgrounds dominated by areas such as business, management and other similar professions. Buller and Hoggart (1994) also add that a similar situation can be found among some elderly groups of people in Britain who, for amenity reasons, retire to the south coast of England and French Midi.

Buller and Hoggart (1994) and Bahar et al. (2009) also state that social background and social class are cultural issues which impact on host and second home owners' relations. However, host acceptance also plays an important role.

O'Reilly (2003: 310) cites Korac's (2003) view that integration is not just about using the local facilities and sharing 'education, health and welfare and political representation; it is also feelings of home and belonging, and especially about communicating'. Elsewhere, she points out that respondents feel that they are constantly reminded by Spanish people that they are guests (O'Reilly, 2007: 288). Indeed, she goes on to reveal that some British respondents also claimed that even though they had learnt Spanish and had made much effort to be accepted into the Spanish community, the hosts did not allow them to integrate. Indeed, some said that they were not even liked by the local Spanish community hosts. O'Reilly (2007) also adds that British and other foreign nationals often remind each other that they are only guests in the country, whilst Spanish people believe that British people do not want to mix or integrate. In short, both communities see British permanent tourists as guests in Spain.

In Benson's (2010) study, the main driver of integration was the motivation on the part of permanent tourists to build relations with members of the local community. Moreover, the degree of integration was found to vary relative to the permanent tourist's expectations of the place. In other words, it was found that if tourist-migrants have high expectations of the place (and lifestyle) that they have moved to, then they will put in more effort into achieving their goals. More specifically, if they have high expectations of a different way of life, they make a longer term commitment to changing their daily life. Nevertheless, their success in integrating remains, of course, dependent on the extent to which local people open their doors to newcomers, and whether they are accepting of them or not.

Generally, Shaw and Williams (2002) suggest that if there are more socio-cultural similarities between local people and tourists, then their relations or encounters will be more positive. Conversely, if a social or cultural gap exists between the two groups then these relations and encounters may be less positive. However, even when the host and the guest share similar social and cultural characteristics, other factors may come into play that influence the nature of their relations or degree of integration. For example, in a study of English tourists visiting Wales, Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) found that encounters between tourists and local people varied (or were

predetermined) according to the sense or strength of nationalism felt by each party. Hence, a strong sense of nationalism resulted in less positive encounters.

2.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to critically explore permanent tourism as a specific form of migration, and to define the permanent tourist as the focus of this study on semi-permanent foreign (British) residents in Didim, Turkey. Highlighting a variety of factors, such as motivation to settle overseas, duration of stay and so on, permanent tourists are, for the purposes of this thesis, defined as:

> *People who take up semi-permanent residence in another country, in a property they may or may not own, for relatively periods of time for lifestyle purposes other than employment. They may or may not demonstrate commitment to the destination, but identify themselves as distinct from both permanent immigrants and temporary tourists.*

The chapter then went on to consider a number of factors that determine the nature of permanent tourism; that is, the extent to which tourist-migrant becomes part of the host community as determined by, for example, their social and cultural commitment or willingness to learn the hosts' language. It revealed that, generally, British tourists tend neither to learn the local language, nor to integrate into the host community, albeit with notable individual exceptions (King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2003). However, in order to fully comprehend the factors that determine the nature of the relationship between local people and permanent tourists and, in so doing, establish a conceptual foundation for the empirical research in Didim, Turkey, it is necessary to review the literature on host-tourist-host relations and host perceptions of tourism. This is the focus of the next chapter

Chapter 3

Host-guest relations

3.0 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, the overall purpose of this thesis is to examine critically the relationship between members of the local community and so-called permanent tourists in Turkey. More specifically, it seeks to establish the characteristics of foreign (particularly British) nationals who rent or purchase second homes and reside semi-permanently in Turkey and the nature and extent of their inter-relationship with the local community as a basis for suggesting if and how this form of tourist migration might be better planned and managed. Given this focus, Chapter Two considered in detail the phenomenon of permanent tourism, defining and exploring the characteristics of the permanent tourist, whilst this chapter now turns to the conceptual underpinning of the research in this thesis, namely, host-guest relations

Unsurprisingly, the relationships and interactions between local communities (hosts) and tourists (guests) have long been the focus of academic attention, not least because it is widely claimed that the successful development of tourism is dependent upon positive perceptions of, and support for, tourism on the part of the local community in destination areas (Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson, 2006). Putting it another way, an understanding of host-guest relations may support tourism development inasmuch as giving voice to local residents may facilitate what has been termed ‘resident responsive’ tourism planning’ (Vargas-Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía and Porras-Bueno, 2009) potentially resulting in happier (Snaith and Haley, 1999), more satisfied hosts and, consequently, successful tourism practices on the part of both tourists and local residents and, ultimately, the successful and sustainable development of tourism.

The importance of understanding host-guest interactions and relations in general is, therefore, widely accepted (Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004; Pérez and Nadal, 2005). Equally, such an understanding is fundamental to this study in particular which, as noted above, aims to explore and evaluate the relationship between international permanent tourists and the host community in Turkey, as well as considering specifically their perceptions, interactions and experiences. Hence, the purpose of this

chapter is to review critically the relevant literature as a framework the empirical research into the relationship between permanent tourists and the local community in Didim, Turkey, as discussed in subsequent chapters.

Broadly speaking, the relationship or interaction between 'hosts' and 'guests', terms that have persisted since Smith (1977) used them (perhaps inaccurately – see Aramberri, 2001) to refer to destination communities and tourists respectively, can be explored from two perspectives. On the one hand, and most commonly, the phenomenon is considered from the perspective of the host, with studies initially focusing on what are referred to generally as the impacts of tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1982) before more specifically addressing how local communities perceive tourism and identifying the factors that influence their perceptions, or what may be summarised as the 'host gaze' (Moufakkir and Reisinger, 2013). On the other hand, it can be considered from the perspective of tourists, or the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990; Urry and Larson, 2011), with the nature of the relationship being inferred from an understanding of different types or typologies of tourists and their varying motivations. Hence, this chapter commences by adopting the first perspective, reviewing the development of the research from impact to perception studies as well as addressing limitations in that research as a basis for justifying the methodology utilised in this thesis. It then goes on to consider the extent to which the concept of tourist typologies informs an understanding of host-guest interaction.

3.1 Host-guest relations: foundations of the research

It has long been recognised that a relationship exists between hosts and guests, although not only will that relationship vary according to the roles of both the host and the tourist**,** but it may also determine the longer-term success of tourism in the destination. As McGehee and Anderek (2004) observe, systematic research into and understanding of host perceptions are key to successful tourism development. It is not surprising, then, that host-guest relations, embracing studies of impacts and resident perceptions and responses, have long attracted academic attention and, as consequence, an extensive and varied literature now exists. A full review of that literature is beyond the scope of this chapter (see for example, Deery et al; 2012; Harill, 2004; Nunkoo et al., 2013; Sharpley, 2014) but, nevertheless, a number of key themes evident within the literature are of direct relevance here.

Deery et al. (2012) suggest that there have been two principal two stages in the research: first, studies tended to focus on the environmental, economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism and, second, they then turned to an exploration of how local

residents perceived those impacts and the development of tourism more generally. These two stages are discussed in more detail below, but one of the earliest studies is Doxey's (1975) widely-cited 'irritation index', which proposes that host perceptions transform along a continuum as tourism develops and grows. Specifically, from initially expressing euphoria or delight to be in contact with relatively small numbers of visitors, local residents then display apathy as they become increasingly indifferent to larger numbers of visitors who become taken for granted. As visitor numbers continue to rise, however, residents become irritated as a result of price rises, increasing crime and rudeness on the part of visitors, eventually becoming antagonistic towards them. In short, Doxey (1975) suggested that a negative correlation exists between host perceptions and the increasing development of tourism, a correlation that is also explicit in Butler's (1980) seminal resort life cycle model. Adapting the traditional product life cycle model, Butler (1980) traces resort development from the exploration stage, through development, consolidation and stagnation to either decline or rejuvenation. As tourism develops, with larger numbers of tourists and a loss of local control, local residents hold increasingly negative perceptions of tourism, a process also identified by Smith and Brent (2001).

These early and rather simplistic linear models have been widely criticised, not least for assuming homogeneity amongst the destination community, but also for the claimed inevitability of negative reactions to tourism as it develops – although recent protests against tourism in cities such as Barcelona and Venice suggest some validity in the models (Sharpley and Harrison, 2017). However, they are considered by some to be the foundation of the subsequent host perceptions research although, as now discussed, other early research focused on the nature of contact between tourists and members of the destination community.

3.1.2 Tourist - host contact characteristics

Two early studies explored the characteristics of contact between tourists and local residents or hosts. Sutton (1967) identifies five characteristics, suggesting that (i) contact is transitory; (ii) both the host and guest demand instant satisfaction; (iii) relations are unequal because what is a new and unusual experience for the tourist is business as usual for the host; (iv) contact lacks spontaneity because the occur in organised tourism spaces; and (v) a cultural distinction exists between the tourist and host. Similarly, a study by UNESCO (1976: 82) identified that host-guest contact is transitory and, hence, superficial and lacking in spontaneity; it is constrained in time and space; it is typically based on economic exchange; and, it is unequal.

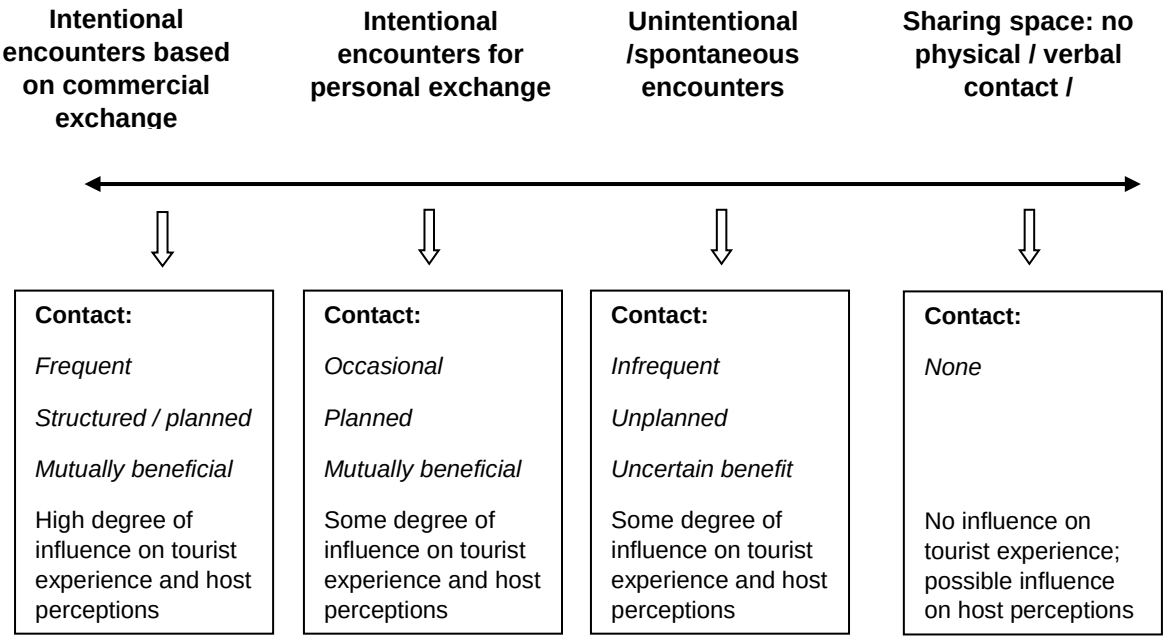
Essentially, both Sutton (1967) and UNESCO (1976) view tourist-host encounters as occurring within organised tourist spaces and between tourists and people working formally or informally in the tourism sector. Similarly, de Kadt (1979: 50) suggests that one of the settings for such contact is 'where the tourist is purchasing some good or service from the host'. This theme is continued by Krippendorf (1987) who adopts the arguably more realistic position that hosts, even those directly or indirectly working in the tourism sector, are not a homogenous group. He identifies three forms of business-based encounter: (i) continuous contact between tourists and people working in tourism businesses; (ii) irregular contact in non-tourism businesses; and (iii) regular contact with people who only partially depend on tourism for their income. Krippendorf (1987) and Andrassy (1987) also identify a form of encounter which may in fact be the most common, namely, where there is no contact or communication; that is where tourists and hosts are simply sharing space.

Inevitably, not all contact between tourists and local residents or hosts is based on commercial exchange; nor is it necessarily planned or intentional. Thus, de Kadt (1979: 50) proposes two further forms of contact: where tourists and hosts 'find themselves side by side' and where they purposefully meet to exchange 'information or ideas'.

This variety of contexts of tourist-host contact is conceptualised by Sharpley (2014) as a continuum (see Figure 3.1). At one end of this continuum, contact is frequent and based on commercial exchange – in the context of this thesis, such contact is most likely to occur when permanent tourists are purchasing goods and services from local businesses. It is also the context where perceptions of each other might be most influenced. At the other end of the continuum, there is no actual physical or verbal contact between tourists and local people; they just share the same space. In this situation, local people may develop perceptions of (permanent) tourists based on observations of their behavior or, in the case of popular holiday resorts, simply on the volume of tourists.

Sharpley (2014) goes on to make a number of points. First, for those encounters which are based on commercial exchange, the terms 'host' and 'guest' are inappropriate, 'customer' and 'service provider' perhaps being more appropriate (Canziani and Francioni, 2013: 20; also Aramberri, 2001; Reisinger, Kozak and Viser, 2013).

Figure 3.1: A continuum of tourist-host encounters



Source: Sharpley (2014: 39)

Second, certainly in normal short-term tourism / holiday contexts, though not necessarily in relation to permanent tourism as the focus of this research, tourists are, according to Jafari (1987), in non-ordinary time whereas the host is in ordinary time and place. In other words, contact occurs in what is described as a liminal tourism culture (Reisinger and Turner, 2003), an artificial social context in which the culturally-defined behaviours and perceptions of both actors are temporarily suspended in mutual recognition of the significance of the encounter. Specifically, the host's perceptions of tourists may be suppressed or influenced by the opportunity to make a profit, a factor of potential relevance to this study. And third, the nature of encounters between tourists and local people is infinitely variable; therefore, it is not possible to make generalised assumptions about the perceptions of tourism amongst heterogeneous groups of local people. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the factors or variables that determine host perceptions of tourism and the nature of tourist-host interaction, hence the extensive literature on the subject.

The following section introduces some of theoretical frameworks within which the host-guest relations research has been located before the development of that research is reviewed in subsequent sections

3.2 Theories of host-guest relations

According to Ap (1990), much of the early work exploring resident or host perceptions of tourism lacked theoretical grounding and were, hence, largely descriptive. He later proposed social exchange theory as viable theoretical framework for the research (Ap, 1992), a suggestion adopted in a number of subsequent studies. The relevance of social exchange theory is considered shortly but Ap (1990) also noted that the concept of dependency was implicit in many studies, not least because of the imbalanced nature of contacts between tourists and local people referred to in the previous section. Hence, the notion of dependency is explored in the following section.

3.2.1 Dependency and host-guest relations

Arguably, by its very nature tourism creates a situation of dependency. Dependency or, more precisely, dependency theory emerged in the 1960s as a response to the continuing gap between richer, industrialised countries and poorer, peripheral nations (Telfer, 2015). It sought to explain why many developing countries were failing to achieve economic development, suggesting that this failure reflected global economic and political structures in which wealthier Western nations draw on their political and economic power to exploit poorer countries, in so doing restricting their development. As Dos Santos (1970: 231) explains, dependency is:

> a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies...becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand only as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries.

The relevance of dependency theory to tourism is quite evident. Not only do destinations in both the developed and developing world depend on tourists to travel to and spend their money in the destination (their spending power alone arguably putting them in a dominant position), but also destinations often depend on organisations in the generating countries (e.g. tour operators or airlines) for their supply of tourists, as well as financial investment in the sector. Thus, as Crick (1989: 321) observes in the context of tourism to less developed countries in particular;

> many of the specific relations between ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’ in tourism are only comprehensible in the context of these wider international relations between the developing world and the affluent West…Indeed, for some critics of standard

> international tourism…the piecemeal analysis of tourism without the political-economic overview is typical of bourgeois social science and is a strategy often used to avoid real social science'

In other words, for Crick (1989), the impacts of tourism and host-guest relations can only be understood if explored within the context of wider political economic relations.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, a number of commentators have emphasised the dependent relationship between developing countries and the West (Britton,1982, Hall, 1994; Nash, 1996; Smith, 2009). One of the earliest to establish this view was Britton (1982: 1):

> When a Third World country uses tourism as a development strategy, it becomes enmeshed in a global system over which it has little control. The international tourism industry is a product of metropolitan capitalist enterprise. The superior entrepreneurial skills, resources, and commercial power of metropolitan companies enable them to dominate many Third World tourist destinations.

Because of the economic dependency of developing countries on tourism, opening up their regions to the global tourism market brings many negative economic, social and cultural impacts to the destinations. Hall (1994) stated that the consequences of tourism dependency are well-managed in developed countries, where state or regional policies are designed to minimise such impacts. Conversely, destinations in the developing world may not have these types of policies, or may view them as barriers to profit. Additionally, they may lack the knowledge to formulate policy, or issues such as centralised government may prevent policy responses to regional issues related to tourism, such as in the case of Turkey (Tosun,1998; Tosun and Jenkins,1996). Hence, Cetinel and Yolal (2009) argue the need for more civil organisations to support sustainable tourism policies.

Britton (1982) argued strongly that the developing world depends financially on tourism companies in the developed world, suggesting that much of the economic benefit of tourism remains with or is returned to wealthier Western nations because not only do they generate most international tourists but they are also home to many international travel organisations, such as travel agents, tour operators, insurance companies, airlines and hotel chains. When tourists visit the developing host-country, they mainly stay, according to Britton (1982), in tourist enclaves with little or no contact with locals.

so the benefits for local people are minimal. Moreover, profits are returned to the developed countries rather than to the host destination, so the notion that the locals are deriving benefits from the tourism industry is questionable.

It is important to note that Britton was writing some forty years ago and that, even then, his views were arguably extreme. Since then, not only has the global poltical-economy transformed, but also the Internet has served to revolutionise the tourism system (Buhalis, 2003). However, developing-developed world relations in tourism continue to be discussed in the literature. Canziani and Francioni (2013), for example, argue that tourists can take the dominant role in host-guest relations owing to their financially dominant position and the dependence of the host upon them. In a similar vein, Shaw and Williams (2002: 43) comment that

> international tourism is characterised by asymmetrical power relationships, which are dominated by the more developed countries. This is symbolised by nature of the unequal exchange which takes place: tourists form the developed countries demand high level of services at prices below those which they are willing to pay in their home countries.

Shaw and Williams (2002) also add that in most situations, developing destinations have high levels of unemployment and many companies take advantage of this situation for their own benefit rather than for the good of the community, causing unequal power relationships in the tourism labour market. Conversely, tourists from the developing world may not always find themselves in the same dominant position when they visit a country such as the USA. Either way, however, host-guest relations tend to be unbalanced because of the host's financial dependency on the tourist whilst Erisman (1983) suggests that, in some contexts, the imbalance may be heightened by sense of cultural dependency.

3.2.2 Social exchange and social representation theories

Both social exchange and social representation theory have been adapted to explore host-guest relations, and are of potential value to this study. Sharpley (2014: 39) states that 'social exchange theory is, by definition, concerned with the exchange of material or symbolic resources between people or group of people; that is, it is relevant primarily to the analysis of implicitly voluntary exchange process between two parties – in this context tourists and local people'. Fundamental to social exchange theory is the idea of rational negotiation; each party (in the case of tourism, the host and the tourist) enter the negotiation in the expectation of beneficial outcomes and, hence, act in a rational

manner to achieve the desired outcome. Importantly, the exchange must also be reciprocal. 'Reciprocity suggests that the resources exchanged should be roughly equivalent' (Ap, 1992: 675) suggesting that neither party should feel they are being exploited.

A number of studies have applied social exchange theory to the study of host perceptions and host-guest relations, albeit unconvincingly. Woosnam (2012), for example, observes that most studies focus only on the host rather than on the interaction between tourists and local people, hence negating the value of applying social exchange theory, whilst Sharpley (2014) suggests that although it intuitively supports the argument that if residents perceive that the costs outweigh the benefits then they will have negative perceptions of tourism, it does not explain why this might be the case. Pearce et al. (1996) also offer a number of other criticisms, including the fact that perception is mainly influenced and formed within wider socio-cultural and historical contexts.

Given these limitations, social representation theory has also been proposed as a means of understanding how individuals and / or groups (tourists and hosts) make sense of their world. In other words, social representations are the 'influences within a particular society (and shared by members of that society) that determine how and what people think in their day-to- day lives, in effect a set of ideas, values, knowledge and explanations that comprises a social reality' (Sharpley, 2014: 45). Fredline and Faulkner (2000) emphasise that these representations or sets of frames are not fixed, but can change and are dynamic, and are determined by people's experiences and interaction. Hence, social interaction is also fundamental to social representation theory. Fredline and Faulkner (2000) go on to criticise social representation theory on the grounds that although it identifies people's perceptions in a particular situation, it does not indicate why people hold the perceptions they do. Thus, as with social exchange theory, social representation theory may be useful in framing exploration of tourist-host interaction, but its explanatory role is limited

3.3 Early research on impacts of tourism

As already noted, early research on host perceptions of tourism was concerned primarily with how the impacts of tourism were perceived by local residents in destination areas (Deery et al., 2012: Harrill, 2004). Initially, studies revealed positive perceptions towards tourism in terms of its economic benefits. However, subsequent studies from the 1970s onwards turned attention from considering economic benefits towards the social-cultural consequences of tourism on host communities, frequently

coming to negative conclusions (Cohen 1988a; de Kadt, 1979; Pizam,1978; Pizam and Pokela, 1985). Studies from the 1980s and 1990s then focused on both the negative and positive impacts of tourism (for example, Andereck and Vogt, 2000; Ap and Crompton,1993). King, Pizam and Milman (1993), for example, found that those who derive more personal benefits from tourism can differentiate between its economic benefits and its negative social costs. Hence, even though residents are aware of the negative social costs to the society, often they do not oppose further tourism development in their region because the perceived economic benefits outweigh the social costs.

Broadly, the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) (2014) identifies the positive impacts of tourism on the host community as being the generation of employment, improved infrastructure and services for residents as well as increased income. Var, Brayley and Korsay (1989) also assert that in some cases tourism may even contribute to world peace as it brings cultures together in the same destination. Not surprisingly, Deery et al. (2012) point out that impact studies often report positive resident perceptions towards tourism owing to the predominant economic benefits to the host destination. Conversely, with regards to the cultural impacts on host communities, the results are often negative. The socio-cultural impacts of tourism have been widely examined (Kozak, 2007; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Smith, 2009; Urry and Larson, 2011). Ratz (2000: 37) states in particular that 'the main impacts of the host-guest relations are demonstration effects, when hosts' behaviour is modified in order to imitate tourists'. More recently, Marjavaara (2009) has added other social problems to the list, such as the displacement of the region's local population. Most of the social and cultural impacts on host communities reflect negative or at least more cautionary perspectives.

According to UNEP (2014: 1), the main negative social and cultural issues fall under a variety of headings, as follows:

i. Commodification of culture
ii. Standardisation of host destination (homogenisation)
iii. Loss of authenticity in the host culture: staged authenticity
iv. Cultural adaptation to tourist demands
v. Change and loss of indigenous identity and values.
vi. Culture clashes: economic inequality, irritation due to tourist behaviour; carelessness of culture of hosts and fail to respect locals' morals.

vii. Level friction, income inequality, physical influences causing social stress in destination
viii. Ethical issues: crime generation, child labour and prostitution and sex tourism.

Shaw and Williams (2002: 97) have also identified these issues but classify them from two different perspectives: cautionary and advocacy perspectives. Cautionary perspectives are those which generate stereotypes of hosts and guests and which lead to xenophobia, social pollution, the commodification of culture which threatens the traditional way of life, including traditional family life, in the host communities, and contributes to prostitution thereby creating conflict in the host community.
Advocacy perspectives, conversely, are those which broaden education, promote international peace, break down racial and cultural barriers, reinforce preservation of heritage and traditions and enhance an appreciation of cultural traditions. It is important to look at host-guest relations from both perspectives in order to view the relationships objectively. Others have also detailed these issues (Dann, 1981; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993; Látková and Vogt, 2012; Smith, 1989; Urry, 2002; Ward and Tracy, 2011).

As already noted, most earlier studies of guest-host relations have tended to focus on the concept of the impact of tourism on the host community. This is rather a narrow interpretation of what was defined above as being a complex and inter-connected set of issues. Often, social and cultural impacts are seen to have negative consequences for the host community. This can be seen in particular in situations where host population numbers are less than the incoming tourist numbers or when the developed tourist industry impacts on developing and indigenous populations. Issues are further exacerbated if the two cultures are very different from each other. Of particular potential relevance to this thesis however, are demonstration effects and the commodification of the host culture

3.3.1 Demonstration effects and commodification of the host culture

Sociocultural issues in general, and the commodification of culture in particular, are key themes in tourism impact studies (Cohen,1988b; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Wall and Mathieson, 2006). Many agree that these negative socio-cultural impacts mainly accrue in very popular tourist destinations and where the local community is dominated by mass tourism in developing countries. Cultural impacts on host communities have in

particular been a major research area for scholars (Shaw and Williams; 2002; Smith, 2009).

To understand socio-cultural issues related to tourism it is first necessary to define what culture is. Middleton and Clarke (2001: 461) usefully define it as:

> ……the heritage and traditions of communities that created the way that places look and feel and the way that local people conduct their lives. It embraces the present as well as the past and includes the characteristics of landscape and townscape, architecture, language, ... all aspects of life, from religion and politics to the theatre and cuisine, representing all that makes places unique and of interest to visitors.

Seen from this perspective, culture embraces the everyday life and activities of people. The dynamic of the host culture may be impacted upon in a number of ways

One of the most common and visible impacts is, according to Smith and Brent (2001), the so-called demonstration effect. In simple terms, this is manifested in the manner in which local communities begin to adapt and change their own values and modes of behaviour in an attempt to emulate those of tourists, a process which may be more evident if significant economic and cultural gaps exist between the two groups. Such wide gaps are particularly exacerbated in luxurious tourism developments situated in developing host countries. Yet, such a process is, up to a point, inevitable. Tourists unwittingly demonstrate levels of affluence that are usually beyond the reach of local people, not only simply by being in the destination in the first place but also through conspicuous displays of wealth. This may often lead to resentment amongst local communities, particularly if they believe that they will be unable to achieve a similar level of affluence themselves. This resentment might be increased by the symbols of tourist development, such as expensive hotels or tourist zones, beaches or clubs which are ‘off limits’ to local people.

More generally, it is suggested that tourism may lead to the commodification of local culture (Cohen,1988b). This reflects the fact that, as a result of mass demand, host-tourist encounters are designed artificially by the tourism industry to meet the needs of large numbers of tourists (Urry and Larsen, 2011). As a consequence, authentic environments may be commodified; art becomes mass produced as souvenirs, or local culture is ‘staged’ (MacCannell, 1989). Three concepts are of specific relevance here,

namely, authenticity in general and staged authenticity in particular and, third, acculturation

3.3.1.1 Authenticity

Dann (1996) observes that the word ‘authenticity’ is part of the language of tourism, whilst more generally Sharpley (2008) observes that the relationship between the concept of authenticity and tourism has attracted attention for almost as long as tourism has existed in its modern form. Nineteenth century commentators were critical of early mass tourists, Henry James, for example, describing them as ‘vulgar, vulgar, vulgar’ (cited in Pearce and Moscardo, 1986: 121) whilst in the mid-twentieth century, Daniel Boorstin (1964) decried the ‘lost art of travel’ and the inauthenticity of the modern tourist experience as a ‘pseudo-event’.

It is neither possible nor relevant to consider the relationship between authenticity and tourism in detail here (see Cohen, 1988b; Sharpley, 2008) although, in the context of tourism as an agent of commodification, it is important to note that authenticity is interpreted in two distinct ways. On the one hand, it is often used to describe the tangible characteristics of a cultural product or performance; specifically, it is considered to be ‘genuine’ or authentic if it is made, produced or enacted by local people according to custom or tradition. Cohen (1988b) goes on to add that in order to be entirely authentic, something must be created without the use of modern materials or processes; anything that has been influenced, adapted or (using an anthropological description) contaminated by the modern and Western world, then it loses its authenticity.

On the other hand, the term ‘authentic’ is used to describe particular experiences and is frequently employed as a marketing tool to sell them, whether specific types of travel and particular destinations or entire holidays. Typically, however, authenticity is a label attached to products or experiences that are distinct from mass tourism; that is, it is generally used to distinguish specialist or niche-market tourism products, the implication being that mass tourism is, somehow, inauthentic. In other words, authenticity in tourism typically implies something ‘real and unique’, whereas the word inauthentic refers to something fake, false or, more generally, commodified.

Conversely, MacCannell (1989) considers the concept of authenticity from a more sociological perspective, linking it to the cultural condition of modern society in which, he claims, people feel a sense of alienation. That is, modern society is, according to MacCannell (1989), inauthentic and, hence, tourists seek reality, or authenticity, in

other places. Yet, modern, mass tourism cannot satisfy this need for authenticity, created as it is and being emblematic of modern, inauthentic society. Hence, authenticity can, in principle, only be found in other more traditional places although, as discussed in the next section, such a quest for authenticity may end in failure.

Sharpley (2008) also considers the meaning of authenticity, differentiating between the characteristics of modern and pre-modern, traditional societies. He asks why tourists often seek out traditional societies, why is it that they wish to experience a life or culture which no longer exists in the modern developed world. Referring to his earlier work (Sharpley and Sharpley,1997), he offers a possible explanation in the phenomenon of many people in contemporary British society seeking to move to and live in the countryside, believing that they may find a more traditional, authentic lifestyle in Britain's 'green and pleasant land' (Newby, 1980). In other words, he suggests that the modern tourist seeks authenticity in the past and, hence, 'the past is a foreign country' Lowenthal (1990). For de Kadt (1979: 16), however, authenticity can also lie in the present; in other words, authenticity is not necessarily rooted in the past but, reflecting the dynamism of culture, is emergent in the present.

Overall, Sharpley (2008) summarises the debates surrounding authenticity, suggesting that it is a more complex phenomenon than simply the antithesis of modernity, whether in terms of products, performances or tourist experiences more generally. Nevertheless, it can be viewed from two perspectives in the context of tourism (Sharpley, 2008: 7-5):

i. it is a description of the tangible quality of something (for example, an artefact, a meal, a festival, a building) which is associated with production methods or cultural foundations that are perceived to be pre-modern or traditional.
ii. it is a socially constructed, intangible perception of destination societies and cultures, of forms of travel, or of overall tourism experiences that appear to be pre-modern or traditional.

As now discussed, however, much depends on the attitudes of tourists themselves as to what is or is not authentic.

3.3.1.2 Pseudo events and staged authenticity

As noted above, organised, modern mass tourism has long been criticised for being inauthentic, particularly in contrast to pre-modern, traditional travel. Perhaps the most vociferous critic is Daniel Boorstin (1964) who claims that contemporary Western or,

more specifically, American society is contrived, illusory and unreal and people thrive on what he refers to as pseudo-events. In other words, contemporary Americans cannot experience reality directly. Consequently, modern tourists are satisfied with contrived, meaningless or pseudo events. The tourist:

> has come to believe that he can have a lifetime of adventure in two weeks and all the thrills of risking his life without any real risk at all. He expects that the exotic and the familiar can be made to order… (Boorstin, 1964: 80)

Significantly, the tourism industry is, according to Boorstin, complicit in the creation of pseudo events or experiences; it creates an 'environmental bubble' in which tourists experience more familiar western-style hotels and other facilities and, as a result, they are isolated from the host culture and the authentic environment. Moreover, both Eco (1986) and Baudrillard (1988), cited by Urry and Larsen (2011), add that with the establishment of the tourism industry, entrepreneurs and host communities started to arrange inauthentic, commodified shows and activities to meet the needs of tourists, although such a process is, perhaps, inevitable. Given the spatial and temporal constraints of the holiday, tourists seek instant culture and, from the host society's point of view, if the most is to be made of culture as a commercial product, it must be 'available and presentable; packaged for consumption into easily digestible and, preferably, photogenic chunks' (Simpson, 1993: 166). In other words, pseudo events are offered to tourists as representations of the destination culture; cultures are transformed into a commercial activity and become seen as a commodity to be exploited.

In contrast to Boorstin, MacCannell (1989) argues that, far from being satisfied with pseudo events, tourists seek authenticity in times and places that are distinct from their everyday (inauthentic) life. In essence, he claims that tourists are modern-day pilgrims and that tourism is a modern means of seeking reality and meaning. However, MacCannell (1989) goes on to suggest that tourists are frustrated in their search for authenticity; they are offered pseudo-events or what MacCannell refers to as 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973; 1989). What tourists actually experience is what the host community allows them access to; the host's 'real life' occurs backstage, hidden from the tourist's view. MacCannell draws on Goffman's (1959) work study to explain tourist-host relations and, specifically, how tourists experience staged authenticity in tourist settings which, he suggests, has six stages (MacCannell, 1989: 101):

Stage One: this is Goffman's front region, the setting which tourists attempt to penetrate or get behind.

Stage Two: although still a front region, this stage has been given the superficial appearance of the back region by, for example, having wine racks on display in a restaurant.

Stage Three: this stage is still firmly embedded in the front region but it is totally organised to resemble a back region.

Stage Four: moving into the back region, tourists are permitted to see this stage. For example, tourists may be taken into the workshops to see the production process of local goods.

Stage Five: this is a back region to which tourists are occasionally permitted entry, such as the flight deck on an aeroplane.

Stage Six: this is Goffman's back region, the ultimate goal of the tourist but one which is rarely, if ever, reached.

Sharpley (2008) states that even though the framework is useful, it can be criticised for ignoring the ability of tourists to understand, assess differences or recognise the degree of authenticity or inauthenticity. More specifically, Cohen (1979) identified four different relationships between tourists and the setting based on the nature of the setting and the tourist's understanding of it:

i. The setting is authentic and the tourist recognises it as such.
ii. The setting is staged but the tourist, believing it to be real, fails to recognise its contrived nature.
iii. The setting is real, but the tourist believes it to be staged and is, therefore, suspicious of its authenticity
iv. The setting is staged and the tourist recognises it as such.

A later study by Pearce and Moscardo (1986) identified nine different settings (backstage or frontstage) in relation to tourists and hosts, concluding that that backstage and frontstage distinctions are not relevant. In other words, Pearce and Moscardo (1986) suggest that it is more important to look at the total holiday experience, and to understands authenticity in the context of the individual tourist's experience, knowledge and expectations. That is, authenticity is, in short, 'negotiated' between the individual tourist and the setting, a conclusion that is undoubtedly of relevance in the context of this thesis.

3.3.1.3 Acculturation

Finally, another key issue relevant to tourist-host relations is that of acculturation. Murphy (2013 :131) states that 'when two cultures come into contact for a length of time an exchange of ideas and products will take place. This exchange process, however, will not be even because the stronger culture will dominate and began to change the weaker culture into a mirror image'. In other words, the theory of acculturation posits that when two different cultures come together, over time they will become more like each other (Nuñez, 1989) although, when such joining of cultures occurs in the tourism context, the sharing of ideas, attitudes, values and behaviours may be more of a one-way process, particularly when one culture is stronger than the other. However, the extent to which this may occur is dependent on a variety of other factors, such as relative social and economic characteristics, the numbers of people involved and of course, the nature of encounters between local people and tourists. Nevertheless, as an economic activity based upon interaction between different societies and cultures, tourism inevitably results in some form of acculturation and is hence, a potential outcome of interaction between permanent tourists and members of the local community.

3.4 Factors influencing host perceptions

As the research into host perceptions of tourism became more sophisticated and theoretically grounded, its focus shifted from exploring local residents' recognition of the impacts of tourism to identifying and explaining their perceptions of tourism. That is, as it became acknowledged that although it is 'important to know which impacts are of concern to residents… [this]… does not provide insights as to why residents perceive them in a particular way' (Deery et al., 2012: 67). Hence, as McGehee and Anderek (2004: 132) summarise, the research shifted from a 'tourism impacts' to a 'tourism perceptions' approach. The latter is widely considered and reviewed in the literature (see, for example, Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; Draper, Woosnam and Norman, 2011; Kuvan and Akan, 2005; Sharpley, 2014), and adopts a number of approaches. Harrill (2004: 4), for example, states that resident perception studies can be classified under five different headings: socio-economic; spatial; economic dependency; resident and community typologies; and, residents' attitudes towards tourism development. Generally, however two distinctive approaches are identified in the literature. On the one hand, many studies are concerned with proposing and testing variables that might determine or predict how local residents perceive tourism and tourists, or what might be referred to for the purposes of this thesis as 'variables studies'. On the other hand, in recognition that host communities are not homogenous, a smaller number of studies

seek to segment local residents according to their varying degree of support for tourism, or what can be termed ‘segmentation studies’. Each of them is now reviewed briefly below.

3.4.1 Variables studies

Harrill (2004:4) states that resident perception studies can be classified under four different headings, namely, (i) socio-economic, (ii) spatial, (iii) economic dependency and (iv) resident and community typologies, and that residents’ attitudes towards tourism development can be measured against these. Harrill also suggests that most studies identify socio-economic factors as the principal group of variables that enable understanding of residents’ perceptions towards tourism, such as income generation, the ethnicity of hosts and their length of residency. Regarding the latter, he adds that most researchers found that the longer residents live in a tourism destination, the more negative are their perceptions towards tourism development. This concurs with Doxey’s (1975) irritation index theory discussed above (1975). Harrill (2004) concludes, however, that studies conducted in different locations report different outcomes and that there is limited consistency in findings.

Similarly, Nunkoo et al. (2013) reviewed 140 host perception studies published over a twenty-six year period, and concluded that many different variables or factors have been found to influence hosts perceptions. However, most research emphasises the hosts’ financial dependency on tourism as being one of the important factors in tourism, with other variables being less consistent and of varying influence.

In general, however, most of the variables identified in host perception studies can be considered as either external or internal factors, or what Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) refer to as ‘extrinsic’ which relate to broader factors within the destination, and ‘intrinsic’, which are factors specific to the individual. Sharpley (2014:43) also briefly summarises studies under the extrinsic and intrinsic headings and differentiates them according to identified variables. These are explored below.

3.4.1.1 Extrinsic variables

Extent/ stage of tourism development: These models explain that perceptions change negatively when tourism development increases. One of the better-known concepts is Doxey’s irritation index (1975) which has already been referred to in this chapter. To summarise, in the initial ‘euphoria’ stage, host-tourist interaction is at a minimal level and the local people are happy with hosting tourists. In the subsequent early stages of tourism development, host communities are more apathetic to tourists

and tourism development, particularly when they become involved in tourism-related economic activities. However, in the later stages the locals begin to be irritated by tourism development and tourists especially when they start to face numerous negative impacts of tourism development, such as expanded infrastructure, the development of franchise hotels and so on, which has the effect of pushing up property and product prices. This stage results in antagonism towards tourists and tourism development. However, the extent to which this linear process occurs in practice is debateable.

***Nature/ type of tourism/tourists*:** Factors included in this group include types of tourism, the character of tourists, their nature and nationality. All of these are factors which can influence host perceptions negatively or positively. An example of this type of study is Smith (1977; 1989)

Density of tourists and tourism development: The density of tourism can also influence and increase negative perceptions amongst hosts. For example, Vargas-Sachez et al. (2011) focused on understanding whether the behaviour and density of tourists as well as the level of tourism development influences resident perceptions or not. Similarly, other studies suggest that host perceptions become more negative when they have to face a greater concentration of tourism development and services in a destination (Pizam,1978; Gursoy and Jurowski, 2002).

***Seasonality*:** High and low seasonality also influence host perceptions. For example, Vargas-Sánchez et al. (2014) also reported that residents' attitudes to tourism change according to the low and high season in a destination. Not surprisingly, in the low season, tourism impacts, including the tourists themselves, are perceived more favourably. Hosts also have a more positive attitude towards further tourism development during the low tourism season.

National stage of development: Sharpley (2014) states that there are few studies which investigate the relationship between overall stage of socio-economic development and host perceptions. Those that do suggest that less economically developed nations are more positive about tourism development opportunities (e.g. Lepp, 2007). Andereck and Vogt's study (2000) suggests that there is a correlation between resident attitudes and tourism development and that residents generally support most tourism development. However, residents' attitude towards tourism development is dependent on each community, their economic inequality, and host irritation with tourist behaviour.

3.4.1.2 Intrinsic variables

***Economic/ employment dependency on tourism*:** Where people are financially dependent on the tourism industry they tend to be more positive towards the tourism industry. Indeed, many studies have examined residents' perceptions of tourism development and concluded that there is a significant relationship between resident perception and the level of economic dependency on tourism (Nunkoo et al, 2013; Pizam, 1978; Var et al.,1985; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000). For example, Vesey and Dimanche's (2000) study in New Orleans reported positive perceptions towards tourism because tourism supports the neighbourhood economically and also supports historical preservation in the region. Harrill (2004: 5) states that the studies he reviewed lead to the conclusion that 'the more a person or community depends on tourism dollars, the more positive his or her attitude is toward tourism development'. Tatoglu et al. (2002) also found that most residents' perceptions were positive regarding tourism's socio-economic impacts in Kusadasi, Turkey, because tourism supports the local economy. Not surprisingly, their study found that there is a direct relation between those whose income depends on tourism and more favourable views of tourism compared to residents who do not depend on tourism. However, residents also worried about tourism's role in pushing up house prices, and the cost of goods and services. Similarly, negative community perceptions have also been identified by Harill and Potts (2003) in Charleston's historic district where residents were worried about losing their collective investments, primarily housing. In addition, Martin et al. (1998: 1) state that 'growth machine theory posits that individuals who do not receive benefits from the tourism industry will not support its expansion'. For that reason, their study focused on the retired population in South Carolina who do not receive economic benefits from tourism activities, finding that this group was opposed to further tourism development in their region.

***Community attachment*:** Length of residency and property ownership are factors falling under this heading. For example, Girard and Gartner (1993) found that both long-and short-term second home owners in Wisconsin had very positive perceptions of tourism and cited benefits such as the increase in services and the availability of goods to the community. However, the same study stated that long-term second home owners were not in favour of more tourism development in the region. Conversely, McCool and Martin's (1994) study in Montana and Virginia found that long-term residents had more negative perceptions towards tourism than short term residents in the location. Um and Crompton's (1987) study of German attitudes towards tourism identified ethnicity, birth place and longer residence in the community as influential factors, their study concluding that the more residents commit to regions or places the

more negative they feel about the impacts of tourism. However, in Liu and Var's (1986) study of Hawaiian locals, the results were the opposite, while Allen et al. (1993) also concluded that ethnicity and length of residence had no effects on perceptions of tourism.

Distance from the tourist zone: Residence distance from tourism development is considered in this type of study. Harrill and Potts (2003) found that in Charleston, South Carolina, residents who live in the core areas affected by the tourism industry have more negative attitudes while other residents who live some distance from the tourist zone have more positive attitudes. Harrill also cites Korca's (1998) study in Antalya, Turkey which reported that most residents who support tourism do not live in the core areas for tourism. So, based on above studies, Harrill (2004) argues that residents who experience more impacts of tourism as well as those who do not depend economically on tourism have more negative perceptions towards tourism. This issue makes it necessary to discuss economic dependency of residents in tourism areas and the impact that this has on their views and relations with tourists.

***Interaction with tourists*:** Most studies conclude that when residents have more contact with tourists, positive perceptions increase. Moreover, Andereck et al. (2005) report that better education about tourism does not change the view of negative impacts, but does make people more aware of the potential benefits that the industry brings to the area.

***Personal values*:** Sharpley (2014) states that recent studies in particular have attempted to understand and correlate personal values and tourism relations. One example is Nunkoo and Gursoy's (2012) study which found that residents' occupational, gender and environmental identities influence support toward tourism development and their impacts but may not directly correlate with their attitudes. Other personal values such as age, gender and education are also classified as intrinsic factors (Cavus and Tanriverdi, 2002; Tomlijenovic and Faulkner, 1999).

Social identity and social status: These studies investigate how residents' social status and identity influence their perceptions and support for tourism in their destination. For example, Sheldon and Var (1984) report that residents' attitudes towards tourism development is largely dependent on the natives' culture. The study highlights the concerns of Welsh native speakers who are more concerned about tourism's socio-cultural impacts on society than non-Welsh speaking residents are.

***Demographic variables - age, gender and education*:** A study by Cavus and Tanrisevdi (2002) concluded that people who were older had more negative opinions about tourism; however, Tomlijenovic and Faulkner (1999) found the opposite. In addition, Cavus and Tanrisevdi (2002) also identified a significant relationship between the age of hosts and the length of their residency in Kusadasi, Turkey. They point out that many residents in Kusadasi have positive attitudes towards supporting additional tourism development but they are also concerned that this development has to be controlled by the authorities and effectively managed to ensure that it is sustainable.

To summarise, studies which focus on what factors influence host perceptions, are able to explain and identify variables in how hosts perceive and how hosts think about tourism development in their destination. However, these studies are also criticised as they tend to assume that the hosts are homogenous (Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003). Hence, a number of attempts have been made to segment resident populations according to their varying perceptions of tourism.

3.4.2. Segmentation studies

As stated above, segmentation studies recognise that resident populations are not homogenous, but socially and culturally heterogenic. Hence, segmentation studies seek to classify local residents according to how they perceive tourists and tourism. One example of this type of study is Davies et al. (1988), which analysed host perceptions of tourism and tourists in Florida. The study identified four clusters of residents: Tourism Haters (those who possess negative opinions toward tourists and tourism); Lovers (who hold extremely favourable positions); Cautious Romantics (a group recognising the benefits of tourism while also holding anti-growth opinions); and In-Betweeners (who hold moderate opinions and who 'love 'em for a reason'). This study supports the common argument that residents' opinions of tourism and tourists can change according to how great their dependency on tourism is. This suggests that any effective research into host community views of tourism must explore a wider slice of society than simply those who are dependent upon tourism for their livelihood.

In another study, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) undertook research at the Australian Gold Coast Indy race event, focusing on exploring differing perceptions of the event amongst the resident population. They identified five distinct clusters, ranging 'Lovers' or those who agreed that tourism highly benefits the community, economy, international profile, to 'Haters', or opposition groups who disagreed strongly with the above benefits.

Sharpley (2014) observes that, irrespective of terminology, most segmentation studies identify groups of residents rather simplistically along a continuum from 'lovers' to 'haters' of tourism. He also suggests that these studies segment the host community based on how they perceive tourism but are unable to explain why different groups think about tourism in the way they do (Sharpley, 2014; also, Deery 2012). Thus, although these studies attempt to make explanatory links between clusters and variables, they suffer the same limitations the variables studies. In other words, neither type of study can explain why particular hosts, 'collectively ascribe to particular perceptions of tourism' (Sharpley, 2014: 44). In part, this can be explained by the fact that the majority of host perception studies are mainly quantitative studies based on 'attitudinal-scale' questionnaires (Sharpley, 2014).

Sharpley (2014) is also critical about the focus on host perceptions as opposed to other behavioural positions, such as the responses of residents to perceived impacts, suggesting that perceptions do not necessarily lead to particular behaviours. For example, a study by Reisinger, Kozak and Visser (2013) found that although a group of hoteliers in Turkey had negative perceptions of Russian tourists, these perceptions were not reflected in their behaviour towards their guests as they were their customers. Hence, hosts' real/ actual perceptions and attitudes may not be reflected in their commercial settings especially among those who work in the tourism industry. This issue should be seen as a key starting point from which to consider host-guest relations. Sharpley (2014) goes on to assert that other than Carmichael's (2000) study, most research does not explore the behavioural responses of hosts in sufficient detail.

A number of other limitations have been identified in host-guest relation studies. In general, most studies have been criticised for being based on case studies (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988; Van Doorn, 1989). Van Doorn (1989: 89) states that there is no question about the quality and the validity of the research, yet it does not go beyond 'small talk' in social gatherings. Alternatively, Huh and Vogt (2008) also identify that these studies are based on pre-determined, specific variables which limit their validity or generalisability to broader application. More generally, despite the significant amount of research and its increasing sophistication, the influence of identified variables differs across cases; much depends upon the geographic or the degree of social, cultural and economic dependency on tourism. Thus, even though the most common and significant factors can be identified, such as density of tourism development or financial dependency of tourism, each case varies significantly from others. Indeed, both Sharpley (2014) and Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) note that most of the research is

based upon ‘one-off’ case studies, often in untypical tourism destinations and usually countries such as North America, UK and Australia. In addition, most of these studies focus on domestic tourism. Conversely, with few exceptions, countries in the developing world have been overlooked while some of the world’s most popular touristic regions, such as the Mediterranean and Caribbean, especially those which depend significantly on tourism, have not benefited from host perception research.

3.5 The need for a qualitative approach to the research

As noted above, a number of limitations have been identified in the extant research into host-guest relations and host perceptions of tourism, not least the fact that most, if not all studies are one-off and quantitative research method-based. As a consequence, they generate only limited understanding of the phenomenon of host-guest relations, leading a number of commentators suggest that an alternative approach to the research is required. For example, Deery et al. (2012) summarise that most perception studies tend to focus on the more visible side of host perceptions, and conclude that they need to focus more on the underlying issues of residents’ lifestyle, questioning why hosts perceive tourism in certain ways. Such questions can, according to Deery et al. (2012) only be addressed through qualitative, ethnographic research. Similarly, Moufakkir and Reisinger (2013) identify the need for a deeper understanding of what they refer to as the host gaze, suggesting that most studies have tended to quantify hosts perceptions. As they note, ‘perception studies tend to reduce the reality of the ... [host] ... gaze to what is visible; yet we know what is visible is not the whole truth’ (Moufakkir and Reisinger, 2013: xiii), hence the need is again highlighted for a more nuanced understanding based upon qualitative research.

A number of other reasons can be proposed in support of adopting qualitative methods in exploring host-guest relations and host perceptions, as is the case in this thesis. First and, perhaps most importantly, not only do destinations change and develop, but also it is almost inevitable that destinations and communities within them are influenced by the demand for global tourism, which is itself dynamic (Urry, 1994), and adapt to it (Ritzer, 2011). Hence, those studies which are cross-sectional and focus on each case at a particular point in time identify variables which influence host perceptions that may change over time. Thus, the outcomes of these studies may become inaccurate or, as Moufakkir and Reisinger (2013) argue, most host-guest relations studies are now out of date.

Second, as discussed previously in the context of social exchange theory, host perception studies typically focus on a particular social exchange situation and

therefore often fail to consider the wider socio-cultural context of host-guest relations (Pearce et al., 1996). In other words, many other variables may affect perceptions, decisions and expectations, variables that are distinct from, or more influential than those in the specific tourism context.

Third, it is important to consider the cultural nature of relations between tourists and local residents, particularly when encounters are, as is often though not always the case, based on commercial exchange. These, as previously suggested, may be better thought of as 'service provider' and 'customer' relations rather than as host-guest encounters (Aremberri, 2001; Canziani and Francioni 2013; Reisinger, Kozak and Viser, 2013). Moreover, Moufakkir and Reisinger (2013) also point out that host communities are culturally dynamic; and, in particular, local residents may adopt varying culturally-influenced roles in their encounters with tourists. For example, Canziani and Francioni (2013) emphasise that their research focuses on the social impacts of tourists on the host community as individuals, employing what they term 'role theories' when examining the different roles of the host and tourist when they meet each other. Drawing on Wearing et al.'s (2000) work and referring to Foucault's (1973) notion of the clinical gaze (upon which Urry's (1990) widely-cited concept of the tourist gaze is also based), Canziani and Francioni (2013) suggest that when a host community meets a tourist community, the hosts see themselves from the tourists' perspective, particularly with respect to the social and economic demands that emanate from the tourist community. This may give rise to social encounter context in which the guest / customer is perceived to be more powerful than the host/service provider, particularly in cases where the tourists are richer and have a stronger currency than the host community. The balance in the encounter is firmly on the side of the tourist, who adopts more of a 'patron' role, whilst the host adopts more of a 'servant' role.

Such a situation is, arguably, most likely to arise issue in the tourism sector in the developing world where legal protection of workers' rights is minimal or does not exist (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Without formal, institutional protection, workers in the tourist industry in the developing world may regard themselves as lower status and, indeed, tourists may view them in a supply or subservient role. More generally, however, Canziani and Francioni's (2013: 21) use of 'role theories' suggests that host communities directly or indirectly take on expected, or culturally determined, roles in their encounters with tourists. In some situations, these roles are determined by occupational or residential influences; that is, by tourism organisational/business roles or sometimes by social pressure. Hence, it is suggested that, broadly, there are two

major expected roles from host communities, namely, hospitable behaviours and cultural behaviours. With regards to occupational situations, Canziani and Francioni (2013: 23) cite Blanton (1981:119-120) as follows:

> Tourism jobs replicate colonial relationships and obligate hosts to display pseudo or commoditised cultures; workers are the first to encounter stereotypes and misconceptions about history and culture; tourism work is demeaning, low in status and tends to routinize and commercialize interpersonal relationships.

Canziani and Francioni (2013) emphasise that when tourists and residents meet in a situation when they are in consumer/service provider roles in occupational settings, tourists attempt to treat residents as occupational workers rather than as other ordinary residents. To support this view, Smith (2009) cites examples from Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 54), who suggested that tourism destinations and local people are effectively turned into museums or theme parks for the benefit of tourists. Nevertheless, those hosts who have to interact with tourists in service or supply roles such as working as waiters, shopkeepers or hotel managers, are required to have close contact with tourists and to engage in interpersonal relations with them. Yet, Canziani and Francioni (2013) add that such face-to-face relations have not yet been analysed deeply through role theory, in particular the extent to which such encounters may influence the host's self-image. Therefore, according to Canziani and Francioni (2013), further research is needed to focus on how hosts re-create their self-image from their encounters with tourists and how they manage their role in such situations.

The issues raised by Canziani and Francioni (2013) are important because they illustrate that tourism roles may replicate colonial relationships, that tourism occupations are often low in status and tourists tend to generalise and see all hosts in the same position, expecting to encounter all local people in an occupational situation. However, to say that tourists always adopt the stronger or more dominant role in their interaction with the host community would be incorrect, as other elements and factors influence these roles. Specifically, the strength of the tourist or host role depends to some extent on the social or national background of each participant in the interaction. It may be suggested, for example, that an imbalance between the roles is most likely to arise if the tourist originates from a developed country and is interacting with a host in a developing country, a situation that may differ if the tourist and host both originate from developed countries. However, the roles may be reversed if tourists from a developing country visit a developed country, as the following illustration suggests.

Yoo and Sohn (2003: 64) argue that 'tourist role conflicts and tourists' characteristics' need to be considered in host-guest relations. Specifically, they found that many Korean tourists who travelled to developed countries experienced 'diffidence as a stranger' (Yoo and Sohn, 2003: 62); that is, they felt a national and cultural inferiority. The research revealed that the Korean tourists felt shy and hesitant in tourism settings because they felt like strangers in developed countries as well as recognising cultural differences and being aware of the level of the national economy of their own country. These issues are also linked with problems of linguistic incompetence, cultural inferiority and racial discrimination. Yoo and Sohn (2003) add that in some extreme examples, respondents felt nervous because they [tourists] believed that hosts might look down on them. Yoo and Sohn (2003) add that these types of diffidence are more of an issue when tourists visit developed countries rather than other developing countries, suggesting that the respondents suffer, in extreme situations, a type of inferiority complex in the new environment, particularly when faced with the economic superiority of developed countries. Yoo and Sohn (2003: 62) state that:

> After the interviews it was found that most informants went through the process of learning new cultural norms inadvertently while they were trying to satisfy other desires and achieve the goals related to their travel to the destination. This seemed to happen more frequently with travellers visiting places with more strikingly different cultures, such as the U.S.A, Australia and Europe, rather than by Koreans traveling to other Asian countries.

Another issue identified by Yoo and Sohn (2003) is that of 'commercialism', in as much as they found that tourists felt that they were being used primarily as a source of income and as part of a commercial activity by the hosts, that they were simply seen as someone to sell more products to. Indeed, their study's main finding was the Korean visitor's experience reflected 'the limitations of relationships with locals… [finding]…themselves as objects of commercialism and…[experiencing]… the feelings of diffidence as a stranger (Yoo and Sohn, 2003: 63). They also state that when the tourists encounter locals they became stressed because of 'inequality in getting information… [the]…temporary and one-off nature of relationship, limitations in places and people …[and the]… unexpected nature of encounter and environmental insecurity' (ibid: 63). Yoo and Sohn (2003) also point out that these types of issues arise when tourists from developing countries visit developed countries which have more established and professional touristic settings. The tourists are aware of themselves as being within a professional host environment rather than interacting with an ordinary local host.

Yoo and Sohn's study findings are important as they illustrate two issues, first, that of the 'professionalisation' of host-guest interactions in developed nations as part of the management-style of tourism. These types of professional settings are arguably less likely to be found in the developing world or in natural settings. Second, their study illustrates that due to the increased professionalism of tourism settings in developed countries, tourism workers in these places are protected by legal regulations and sustainable policies which also protect these cultures. This has become more important in the twenty-first century worldwide.

The above studies clearly show that tourist-host relation issues cannot be framed only as being tourist-dominant. Issues of equality are more related to the culture and nationality of participants in tourist-host encounters, particularly if one of the groups is made up of people from a developed and financially or culturally dominant country. Indeed, other studies have emphasised the importance of national characteristics in host-guest relations alongside the roles of individual tourist (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012; Urry and Sheller 2004; Yoo and Sohn, 2003). For example, Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) state that host-tourist relations are multi-dimensional and dynamic, and each individual encounter is unique in terms of the actual people involved and the societies they represent.

At one level, the nationality of both the host and the tourist and their resultant socio-cultural distinctions may influence their attitudes and responses to each other in their encounters (Pizam and Sussman, 1995). At a more complex level, however, Griffiths and Sharpley's (2012) findings suggest that nationalistic values and prejudice play an important role in how both hosts and tourists see each other. Though acknowledging that in order to understand host community attitudes towards tourism and tourists it is important to understand who the tourists are encountering, the similarity or difference in cultural backgrounds, age and life style expectations and nationality. Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) suggest that an important yet under-researched issue is nationalism. In their study of English tourists encountering Welsh hosts in Wales, they identified that the nature of host-guest interaction can vary (or be prejudiced) depending on the strength of the sense of nationalism held by each party. This is not to say that encounters are not also influenced by the motivations of tourists, their expectations of the host nation and their previous travel experience as tourists. However, tourists' needs, demands and their attitudes to the host community also depend on their nationalistic identity and this can change the nature of their interaction with hosts. Equally, host reactions also depend on their own previous experience of relations with

tourists and the extent of their dependency on tourism. Hence, Griffiths and Sharpley (2012: 2069) conclude that 'tourist-host encounters are dynamic and involve not only the tourist and host functioning 'their role', but also their respective sense of nationalism in terms of both 'self national identity' and the 'other'. That is, host attitudes towards tourists, and vive versa, depends on how strongly each party protects their own nationality.

More generally, encounters between tourists and local people are influenced by the degree of similarity or contrast between their respective cultures and lifestyles (Shaw and Williams, 2002: 99), and can be mediated by the adaptation level of these two groups. In other words, similarity of cultures makes interaction easier for those involved. Factors in the host culture, such as displaying a welcoming attitude, friendliness and traditional hospitable values have a positive effect, along with aspects such as the whether the host culture is mixed or multicultural in outlook. Therefore, the host community and its characteristics are key to understanding tourist-host relations. In the same way, tourists who are experiencing a non-ordinary world in terms of time and place, also have their experiences structured by their culture of origin and the tourist culture of the industry

Overall, then, the limitation of current research into host-guest relations, as well as the broader issues and challenges considered in this section, suggest that a deeper, more nuanced understanding can only be achieved through the adoption of qualitative research that enables an exploration of the wider socio-cultural context of host-guest relations. In other words, while quantitative methods focus on what is visible, qualitative research may reveal the invisible. Therefore, the research in this thesis is based on a qualitative investigation of the relationship between permanent tourists and the local community within a popular tourism destination in Turkey.

As previously noted, one of the criticisms of the extant research is that it focuses primarily on the host's perceptions. In other words, in most if not all studies the perceptions and expectations of tourists are not taken into account. On the one hand, this reflects the fact that much of the research is concerned with exploring local residents' perceptions of tourism as a broad phenomenon rather than of tourists themselves. On the other hand, it is a surprising omission given that host perceptions are inevitably influenced directly by tourists, tourist behaviour and their interactions with them. Of course, tourists generally (and permanent tourists in particular) vary significantly in their motivations, expectations and behaviours and, hence, to

understand host-guest relations more completely, for the purposes of this thesis it is necessary to consider what are referred to in the literature as tourist typologies.

3.6 Tourist types and their role in host-guest relations

The word 'tourist' is commonly understood yet to describe the millions of people who engage in tourism simply as 'tourists' is to disguise the enormous diversity of those who participate in it, their different practices and behaviours, their varying motivations and expectations and so on. Putting it another way, 'tourists are not alike. In fact, they are staggeringly diverse in age, motivation, level of affluence and preferred activities' (Pearce, 2005: 2). Consequently, attempts have long been made to identify different types of tourist, to categorise them according to various criteria, as a basis for explaining and predicting their behaviour (Lowyck, Van Langenhove and Bollaert, 1992). In other words, numerous attempts have been made to create typologies of tourists. In recognition that the socio-cultural problems which occur in a destination may reflect what tourists are seeking and what motivates them (Cohen,1979; Dann, 1996; Murphy,1985; Smith, 1977), some of these typologies implicitly segment tourists into different groups in order to explain how they interact differently with hosts. For example, in one of the earliest attempts to distinguish between different types of tourist, Gray (1970) proposed the terms sunlust and wanderlust tourists, the former referring to those seeking resort-based sun-sea-sand experiences, the latter to those purposefully traveling to and experiencing different peoples and cultures. Hence, wanderlust tourists would implicitly seek out more meaningful and balanced relations with the destination community than sunlust tourists.

Tourist typologies, then, are conceptually important in understanding tourist-host relations. Perhaps the most widely-cited typology remains that created by Cohen (1972). Developed 'on the basis of [the tourist's] relationship to both the tourist business establishment and the host country' (Cohen, 1972: 164), his typology is framed within a familiarity-strangerhood continuum. That is, Cohen established categories of tourists based on their desire for either the familiar or the novel, in so doing creating his seminal four categories of organised mass tourist, individual mass tourist, explorer and drifter. Interestingly, Wickens (2002: 838) drew on Cohen's Individual Mass Tourist Types to classify tourists who visit Chalkidiki in Greece into five different categories:

- *The Cultural Heritage Type,* who seek native culture
- *The Raver Type,* who are usually of a younger age, mainly male tourists who seek sexual experiences and 'sensual and hedonistic pleasures'

- *The Shirley Valentine* types, similarly to the 'ravers' but more mature female tourists who seek romance and the possibility to meeting a 'Greek God'
- *The Lord Byron Type,* who often seek to return and stay in the same place as they want to build deeper relations with hosts and create a familiar atmosphere and home for themselves.
- *The Heliolatrous Type,* or tourists seeking sunshine and a relaxing holiday.

However, of greater relevance to this thesis is an early typology created by Smith (1977; 1989: 12), in which she identifies seven different tourist types and their level of interaction with the local community. This typology is further developed by Smith and Brent (2001), theorising how these tourist types adapt to the local environment and community. The seven categories are summarised as follows:

(i) *Explorers*: very small in number and constrained by the diminishing supply of places to be explored, these fully engage in local lifestyles and culture.

(ii) *Elite tourists*: These tourists are relatively small in number. They are experienced and frequent travellers who like expensive tours and prefer deluxe resorts and cruises, but adapt fully to local culture.

(iii) *Off-beat tourists:* Again found in relatively small numbers, these individuals adapt well to the host community and prefer to get away from other tourists. Examples are typical backpacking tourists who travel in more distant or exotic, undeveloped destinations

(iv) *Unusual tourists*: More numerous than the first two categories, unusual tourists occasionally go on organised special interest tours to experience the local culture; they van be considered as being special interest or niche tourists and take part in events such as small group walking tours, wine tasting or music tours.

(v) *Incipient mass tourists*. These tourists travel in greater numbers to popular tourism destinations but prefer places where the tourism industry is not too dominant. Their demands are very similar to the unusual tourist in that many of their activities fall into niche tourism but they prefer to have western-style amenities.

(vi) *Mass tourists:* Occur in large numbers. These tourists travel to and stay in established resort areas on package tours. They expect Western amenities and products to be available.

(vii) *Charter tourists:* The numbers of this group are massive and they demand western-style amenities. These tourists are not interested in the destination

itself and mainly desire entertainment and home standards of food and accommodation.

As can be seen above, the behaviours of the different groups vary significantly from each other. However, it is tourists from the explorer, elite and off-beat categories who are most interested in the local culture and are most likely to adapt to it in some form. Indeed, Woosnam, Norman and Ying (2009) argue that tourist-host relations can go beyond the superficiality that is distinctive of mass forms of tourism. They specifically focus on intimate relations and dynamics in tourist-host relations and emphasise that there is often an emotional solidarity between the tourist and host. To some extent, this may reflect a need on the part of tourists to seek out more meaningful relations with local destination communities or, in a sense to 'centre' themselves in the destination culture.

Such a possibility is recognised by Cohen (1979b) in his second tourist typology which, still reflecting a strangerhood-familiarity continuum, is based upon the extent to which the tourist's spiritual centre is located in their normal home environment – in other words, the extent to which the tourist has a sense of place, meaning or belonging in their home environment – or elsewhere, in other places and other cultures. In the latter case, the tourist be looking for meaning or a sense of place in other places, a concept that is of evident relevance to the phenomenon of permanent tourism. Cohen (1979b) thus classifies tourists adopting a more phenomenological perspective, identifying five types of tourist experience that implicitly suggest increasing levels of engagement with or immersion in the host society:

i. *The Recreational mode:* tourists who travel for pleasure / recreation. Their spiritual centres firmly located in their home society an environment and they are not interested in authenticity, meaningful encounters with the destination community. They are likely to be satisfied with pseudo-events, as discussed above, whilst more generally 'the people and landscapes he [sic] sees and experiences are not part of his "real" world' (Cohen, 1979b: 184). The recreational tourist seeks a tourist environment which is enjoyable, entertaining and relaxing; their travel is most meaningful when they return to their normal home environment.

ii. *The Diversionary mode:* An intermediate category, the diversionary tourist is alienated from their home environment and searches for difference through travel experiences, yet is not seeking authenticity or meaning. Cohen (1979b:

186) explains that travel for these tourists is akin to a ‘therapy’; essentially, they are simply seeking an escape from the boredom of their everyday life and, hence, are in some respects similar to the recreational tourist.

iii. *The Experiential mode*: These tourists are searching for meaning in their life. They have lost their spirituality in their own society and have found themselves alienated from their environment. As a result, they seeking meaning elsewhere. Cohen (1979b: 189) cites MacCannell (1973) who identified that this group comprises two types of people: those who believe that they should change their society through revolution and those who believe in finding meaning in the life style of others. However, the experimental tourist inevitably returns home and is, hence, perhaps most conceptually close to the permanent tourist as defined in this thesis.

iv. *The Experimental mode.* Cohen (1979b) suggests that these tourists are seeking alternatives lifestyles in other places yet never entirely commit to any of the opportunities they identify. He characterises them as having a ‘decentralised personality’ (Cohen, 1979b: 189) and identifies various types, such as ‘drifters’, who are more adventurist, and non-institutionalised tourists (Cohen, 1972). Again, there are evident commonalities with the permanent tourist.

v. *The Existential mode:* According to Cohen (1979b: 190), tourists who have fully committed themselves to the local culture and immerse themselves can be classified as existential tourists. Alienated from their own home society, they can be seen as ‘switching worlds’. Cohen (1979) adds that these people find fulfilment and spirituality in other cultures and societies.

Other behavioural / phenomenological typologies have been proposed in the literature (for example, McMinn and Cater, 1998; Ryan and Sterling, 2001; Wickens, 2002) and all play an important role in understanding host-guest relations. Nevertheless, they have attracted significant criticism. For example, Dann (1996) criticises Cohen’s (1979) phenomenological typology, observing that all tourists have the desire to seek out something that they are lacking at home, adding that tourist intercultural engagement with hosts will vary for all types and that no tourist will become an existential tourist, the most likely extreme being the experiential tourists, reflecting the fact that that they are unable to go beyond the commercial settings of their interactions.

Indeed, from Dann's (1996) perspective, the role of tourists in these relations is passive. Conversely, Selstad (2007) argues that while the literature has often presented tourists in a passive role, their role is in fact more active. Selstad (2007) thus criticises the host-guest relations literature for not paying attention to tourist experiences and the role of these experiences in understanding encounters been tourists and local people, and argues that studies have mainly focused on the product, the host community and tourism organisers rather than on the tourists themselves. In a similar vein, Yoo and Sohn (2003) observe that the tourist is now seen as a more interactive player in host-guest relations, suggesting that more recently the literature has begun to focus on tourists and their interactive roles in forming relations with a host community. This issue is returned to shortly but, more generally, tourist typologies have also been criticised because the classifications tend to be descriptive and one dimensional, based on the observations or theorising of the researcher within a particular conceptual framework They also tend to be static, inasmuch as they do permit choice on the part of the tourists; for example, a tourist may be experimental in outlook but by necessity engages in recreational tourism, for example, for family commitments. Thus, Sharpley (2008) suggests that tourist typologies should be examined in a more multi-dimensional way through features such as demographic and economic factors which influence holiday choice. Sharpley (2008) also criticises the methodology behind the classification of tourist typologies because they are based primarily on an 'etic' perspective; that is, from the researcher's point of view. Conversely, tourist classifications constructed from an insider's (emic) perspective might be more objective in character.

Sharpley (2008: 4-29) also adds that tourists have become more experienced and mature, demanding many different types of tourism and experiences. To an extent, this evolution of the tourist renders tourist typologies 'meaningless' in terms of classification because tourist demands are dynamic and evolving, although 'typological distinctions are important for analytic purposes' (Jafari, 1989: 27) in as much as they provide a framework for considering host-guest relations from the tourists' perspective. Nevertheless, it is also important to consider the evolving role of the tourist beyond the confines of typologies

3.6.1 Evolving tourist roles: The 'new' tourist

It has long been claimed that the 'old' traditional mass tourist has been, or is being, replaced by the 'new' tourist (Poon, 1993), that the passive tourist more akin to Boorstin's (1964) stereotype discussed above is being transformed into a more active tourist seeking authentic, meaningful experiences and, by implication, having more

balanced, meaningful and satisfying encounters with local people. These modern tourist demands are seen as being manifested in a different style of consumption that is broadly post-Fordist in character. According to Uirely, Reichel and Ron (2003), from a post-Fordist perspective, tourism can be seen as having two dimensions: 'simulational' experiences, which include more alternative, responsible or ecological forms of tourism, or 'hyperreal' experiences, such as visiting theme parks.

Shaw and Williams (2002) suggest that these new types of consumption are generally considered to be alternatives to mass tourism, although care needs to be taken in defining what is meant by 'mass tourism'. For example, Harrison and Sharpley (2017) argue that most forms of tourism, alternative or not, follow the model of mass tourism production. Consequently, when referring to mass tourism, debates implicitly discuss the mass tourist or, more precisely, behaviour associated with the mass tourist. Hence, given that tourists 'can always find someone more touristy than themselves to sneer at' (Culler 1981: 130) or, putting it another way, that part of the game of tourism is to look down on other tourists, it is not surprising that tourists are increasingly seeking forms of tourism (and labels) that are alternative to mass.

Urry (1990) similarly states that tourists are now looking for different types of experiences, emphasising that post-modern types of tourist demand are more balanced in terms of host-guest relations. According to this argument, post-modern tourists are seeking more authentic or real interaction with hosts. Urry (1995: 151) also suggests that these tourists or consumers are dominant in the production-consumption process; that is, that the tourism industry is having to respond to demand 'volatility' in tourism, leading to greater market segmentation and demands for new products which have a shorter life. There is less interest in mass production, with consumption becoming more concerned with aesthetics than with function, frequently reflected in the demand for greener, environmentally-sound cultural, sport-or hobby-based experiences. Poon (1993) suggests that what she coins as the 'new' tourist has what might be termed and anti-sun syndrome; they no longer demand sun, sea and sand beach tourism as used to be the case, but now seek real, natural, authentic experiences. These tourists are also concerned about environmental issues, and they are more knowledgeable; they avoid mass consumption package-products and are looking for more personalised tailor-made tourism products which meet their special interests (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: 'Old' (mass) tourism vs. 'new tourism'

The Old Tourist	The New Tourist
Search for the sun	Experience something different
Follow the masses	Want to be in charge
Here today, gone tomorrow	See and enjoy but not destroy
Just to show that you had been	Just for the fun of it
Having	Being
Superiority	Understanding
Like attractions	Like sports
Precautions	Adventurous
Eat in hotel	Try local fare
Homogeneous	Hybrid

Source: Adapted from Poon (1993)

Shaw and Williams (2002) state that many different terms have been used in the literature to describe these 'new' tourists, such as eco-tourists (Dingle, 1995) or green tourists (Valentine, 1993) while, other terms, such as the 'good' (Wood and House, 1990) or 'responsible' (Goodwin, 2011) tourist are also commonly used. These new or post-modern tourists are considered to be less harmful to the host culture as their primary motivation is, arguably, to engage with and protect the destination environment and culture. In other words, these tourists are thought to be interested in a more sustainable form of tourism (Shaw and Williams, 2002). However, many criticize these ideas. Mowforth and Munt (1998), for example, argue that these allegedly green and more sustainable tourist demands are just another type of consumerism, whilst Wheeller (1992a, b) has long argued that alternative tourism is a 'deceptive ploy' and that eco-tourism is better described as 'ego-tourism'. Similarly, Sharpley questions the role of the 'responsible' tourist (Sharpley, 2012). More specifically and of relevance to this thesis, at the Stockholm IGU conference (2014) it was pointed out that environmentalists or ecotourists are more likely to demand the building of second homes in locations which are in more rural (and hence environmentally fragile) areas.

Another critical issue regarding the assumption that tourism is post-Fordist in character is that, in reality, the demand for package and mass-tourism is still very popular (Sharpley, 2008). More specifically, so-called post-Fordist demands are little more than recent trends mainly driven by a tourism industry maintaining more Fordist, mass production methods (Harrison and Sharpley, 2017). Thus, despite claims that the production of tourism is transforming in response to new tourist demands, there remains currency in the neo-Marxist arguments, initially espoused by Britton (1982)

and discussed earlier in this chapter in the context of dependency, that emphasise the power of the tourism suppliers in creating tourist demand (e.g. marketing or controlling the image and generating tourist demand). Such a viewpoint is relevant to this study in as much as in terms of permanent tourist mobility, the demand for overseas second-home ownership and permanent tourism has been to a great extent been created as a result of mass Fordist tourism to popular Mediterranean resorts and exacerbated by the efforts of estate agents as well as being promoted by many TV programs, especially in the UK (Hall and Müller, 2004) as discussed in Chapter Two. The importance of marketing and image should not be underestimated.

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that many other factors influence tourist behaviour and host-guest relations. Neither the host nor the tourist is passive in their encounters; at the micro-level, both tourists and hosts play dynamic roles in their relations whilst, as discussed in this chapter, the nature of tourist-host encounters is determined by a variety of influences, including: the length of encounter; the type of contact (commercial or social); the degree of superficiality of their relations; the equality of these relations; and, the type of tourists a destination attracts, their character and motivations and the type of experience they are seeking. Equally, the host's identity and their previous experience of tourism are also major issues which influence these relations. Indeed, such is the depth and complexity of the phenomenon of host-guest relations that, as argued in this chapter, to be able to understand such relations and to learn the 'whole truth', there is a need for deep, qualitative research.

3.7 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to review the literature on host-guest relations and host perceptions of tourism as the conceptual framework for the primary research in this thesis. As the chapter has revealed, attention has long been paid to the topic and the research has evolved from relatively simple impact studies to more theoretically informed perceptions studies. Nevertheless, a number of limitations exist within the extant research, not least a reliance on 'one-off' quantitative studies that consider specific variables that influence host perceptions of tourism and tourists, not only producing outcomes that are not transferable (Woosnam, 2012) but that also fail to take into account the fact that, as Pearce (1996) observes, people's perceptions are influenced by wider social issues and contexts. Hence, a number of commentators have called for qualitative research that explores host-guest relations more deeply within an understanding of wider social and cultural contexts (Deery et al, 2012; Moufakkir and Reisinger, 2013; Sharpley, 2014).

Therefore, as discussed in the following chapter, the research in this thesis responds to this call by adopting a qualitative approach, critically exploring the relationship between British permanent tourists and the local Turkish residents in the town of Didim. In so doing, it also adds an additional dimension to the literature by bringing together and drawing conclusions from research into the perceptions and behaviours of both tourists and the local community within the same study. The research also responds to the call for an understanding of the wider social and cultural framework within which tourist-host encounters occur; in other words, local community perceptions of tourism and tourists are inevitably influenced by wider social and cultural factors. Therefore, following a discussion of the research methodology in the next chapter, the research setting and, in particular, the heterogeneous character of the local community in Didim considered within the context of contemporary political and cultural polarisation within Turkish society more generally, is then presented in Chapter Five.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

4.0 Introduction and justification of the qualitative methods of the study

The purpose of this chapter is to explain and justify the research philosophy adopted in the thesis and, in particular, following a re-statement of this study's research objectives and questions, to set out the methods of investigation.

As discussed in Chapter Three, much of the existing research into resident perceptions of tourism and host-guest relations is limited by a number of factors, in particular the common reliance on quantitative methods (Deery et al, 2012; Sharpley, 2014). Whilst quantitative methods offer an apparently robust academic approach to research, Woosnam (2012) suggests that, as a means of critically exploring local residents' perceptions of tourism and tourists, quantitative method-based studies are simplistic and theoretically fragile. As a consequence, such methods are unable to explain, rather than simply identify, the factors that influence or determine host perceptions. Similarly, Moufakkir and Reisinger (2013: xiii) criticize quantitative studies as they focus mainly on structured surveys and quantification to test the theories (for more detail, see 4.3.1 and 4.3 below). However, human based, sociological, anthropological and behavioural studies are principally concerned with people's behaviour and, hence, those working in these areas emphasise the importance of utilising interpretive and qualitative studies in order to foster a deeper understanding of that behaviour (Canziani and Francioni, 2013; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Pearce et al.,1996; Sharpley 2014; Woosnam 2012).

More specifically, the aim of qualitative studies is to collect rich, thick data through qualitative methods. Such studies do not aim to test any theory, so the nature of the qualitative research is not confirmatory (see 4.3.1 and Table 4.3). Qualitative studies also involve naturalistic, self sustained involvement thorough observation or interviews, which allows researcher to understand or explain the phenomenon based on the data generated (Denzin and Lincoln,1994). The strength of qualitative methods lies in ability to recognise context and background and therefore recognise complex phenomena (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil, 2002). Moreover, as they do not attempt to test theory and, hence, do not rely on quantitative predictions, qualitative studies often employ a relatively small number of data sets.

The current study, aiming as it does to understand the relations between and experiences of local people and permanent tourists, is exploratory in nature and, hence, lends itself to a qualitative methodological approach (Woosnam 2012; Canziani and Francioni 2013; Sharpley 2014). As discussed in more detail later in this chapter, a combination of semi-structured interviews and focus groups were used to address five research questions. The main reason for the collection of semi-structured interview data was that such interviews allow participants to respond freely and openly, generating rich data whilst ensuring that the conversation deos not depart from the research objectives (for further discussion of the semi-structured interviews in this study, see section 4.8). In addition, focus group discussions allow for the elicitation of a wide range of critical views and perceptions amongst participants, particularly through their responses to each other's views to each other, in so doing introducing and discussing issues which might not have been originally considerd by the researcher.

In short, then, and as noted earlier in this thesis, this study adopts a qualitative approach to the research, such an approach being deemed more appropriate for this study given the nature of the research questions below.

4.1 Main aim and objectives of the study

As stated in Chapter One, the main aim of this study is to understand, examine and evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between the British population buying property in Turkey and the local host population.

More specifically the objectives of this research are:

i. to establish the views of permanent tourists and their engagement with the local society and culture in Turkey;
ii. to establish the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations);
iii. to critically assess the impacts (economic, environmental and socio-cultural) of tourists buying property in Turkey;
iv. to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on tourists who buy property in Turkey;
v. to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population.

In order to meet these aims, the following research questions will be addressed:

4.1.2 Research Questions:

i. How do permanent tourists in Turkey view and engage with Turkish society and culture? (Phase two)
ii. What types of motivations are there for those who choose to settle in Turkey permanently? (Phase one and two)
iii. How does the Turkish population view and engage with the permanent tourists' social-culture? (Phase one)
iv. What is the nature of the relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourists and hosts types? (Phase one and two)
v. What are the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population? (Phase one and two)

The first task in this chapter is therefore to consider the main differences between qualitative and quantitative methodologies and to clarify their philosophical approaches as a basis for justifying the qualitative approach adopted in this study. Hence, the following section contrasts qualitative and quantitative methodologies and their underpinning mainstream philosophical approaches, or research paradigms, such as positivism and interpretivisim.

4.2 Research Paradigms

In the past, tourism research has typically been based on quantitative methods, (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Riley and Love, 2000), reflecting a positivist approach to research. Whether the research in general continues be dominated by quantitative studies is debateable – journals such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, for example, now publish many qualitative studies – but as already noted, host perceptions studies in particular continue to be based predominantly on quantitative methods. In contrast, this study adopts an interpretive approach. In order explain this choice of methodology, it is necessary to discuss the main philosophical differences between these approaches. Therefore, the following section discusses the positivist and interpretivist paradigms and investigates the philosophy of these approaches from epistemological and ontological perspectives.

4.2.1 Ontology, epistemology and methodology

In order to consider the main differences between positivism and interpretivism, it is important to explore the terms ontology, epistemology and methodology (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Smith, 2010). Each paradigm has its own pathway to discovering the world

and achieving knowledge, though from different perspectives. That is, paradigms such as constructivism/ interpretivism, positivism or more realist approaches are all based upon different ways of understanding the world. For example, positivism focuses on relationships of cause and effect and, in so doing, aims to use objective methods (empiricism) to understand the world. This is an approach closest to that adopted in today's scientific research. By way of contrast, constructivism starts from the belief that the world can be only be understood by the interpretation of things. Thus, the approach adopted to understanding the world, to discovering knowledge, is entirely dependent on the researcher's main philosophy.

According to Lee (2012), ontology refers to the theory of existence; it is a branch of philosophy that is concerned with the nature of reality and of human beings. According to Scott (2014), it is 'any way of understanding the world or some part of it'. Epistemology, conversely, is mainly concerned with questioning the nature of relations between subjects (the knower or inquirer) and objects (the known) (Guba,1990); it is the philosophical theory of knowledge, of how we know what we know. There is, therefore, a direct link between ontology, epistemology and, subsequently, methodology; ontology is the nature of reality, epistemology is the way in which that reality is understood and, hence, methodology is the manner in which that reality is investigated or addresses the question: how does one examine what is real? (Guba, 1990; Guba and Lincoln 1994; Lincoln and Guba,1985; Milman, 2010). Putting it another way, the relationship between ontology, epistemology and methodology is that:

> ontology is the 'reality', that researchers investigate, epistemology is the relationship between that reality and researcher, and methodology is the technique used by the researcher to investigate that reality. (Healy and Perry, 2000: 119)

Overall, then, different research paradigms reflect different assumptions about the nature of reality and how that is understood and, consequently, can be thought of as belief systems that guide the approach (methodology) adopted by a researcher. There are four principal paradigms in research, namely, positivism, post-positivism, constructivism and critical theory. These, and their associated ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies, are summarised by Guba and Lincoln (1994: 109) below (see Table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms

Item	***Positivism***	***Post positivism***	***Critical Theory et al.***	***Constructivism***
Ontology	naive realism- "real" reality but apprehandable	critical realism- "real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable	historical realism- virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic,ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time	relativism-local and specific constructed realities
Epistemology	dualist/ objectivist; findings true	modified dualist/ objectivist; critical tradition/ community; findings probably true	transactional/ subjectivist; value mediated findigs	transactional/ subjectivist; created findigs
Methodology	experimental/ manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitavive methods	modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	dialogic/ dialectical	hermeneutical/ dialectical

Source: Guba and Lincoln (1994: 109)

4.2.2 Positivism

Science can be divided broadly into the natural and social sciences. Natural sciences focus on natural phenomena while social sciences focus on social life and human behaviour. Since Auguste Comte (1798-1857) first established positivism, the social sciences have attempted to apply the rules and laws of the natural sciences (Scott, 2014). Stiles (2003) states that the characteristics of positivism are generally seen as being compatible with empiricism, which is concerned with the collection of facts and observation. When adapted for use in the social sciences, positivism mainly focuses on collecting deductive data, is theory driven and employs quantitative methods (Davies, 2003; Healy and Perry, 2000; Stiles, 2003). While building theories, positivists use surveys and other multivariate techniques and focus on objectivity in the research. According to Healy and Perry (2000: 119), positivists deal with an 'ideal world' rather than 'real world': 'positivism research views reality through a "one-way mirror" where

the researcher is removed from the object or phenomenon under study' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 110). That is, for positivists, 'reality is out there to be discovered objectively and value free' (Neuman, 1997: 64).

Ontologically, as Healy and Perry (2000: 125) point out, positivisms' philosophy about the world is that 'reality is real and apprehensible'. Thus, 'positivism predominates in science and assumes that science quantitatively measures independent facts about a single apprehensible reality' (Healy and Perry, 2000: 119) so the data can be observed objectively.

Epistemologically, positivists view data and its analysis to be value free because they believe that the data has been observed. Similarly, for Clark (2009), positivism places an emphasis on testing, observation, experiencing and generalisation to achieve the truth. According to Stiles (2003), positivism's main principles are as follows: firstly, the positivist researcher believes that 'the world is independent of our interpretation', which is opposite to the interpretivist perspective. Secondly, positivist researchers believe that their representation of reality is objective. Thirdly, its methodology centres on deductive data collection and is theory driven. When positivists are examining the world they focus on quantitative data collection rather than qualitative in-depth data collection. More specifically, Stiles, (2003) characterises the positivist process as using techniques such as questionnaires for data collection and statistical analysis to test hypotheses. Thus, to summarise, positivist methodology accepts 'absolute truth'; a view in which the world can be observed objectively through deductive methods (Davies, 2003; Hughes and Sharrock, 1990).

4.2.3. Post- positivism

Post positivism has become an alternative paradigm that responds to criticisms of positivism; it is a positivist approach which adopts an ontological position of critical realism **(**Guba,1990). Specifically, Guba (1990) argues that post positivism takes reality as a central concept, but is more critical about it, acknowledging that the researcher's work contains bias and that the researcher cannot achieve the absolute truth.

Epistemologically, the paradigm recognises that the researcher (knower) cannot be entirely independent from the object (knowing). Despite this, researcher objectivity remains a central goal for the paradigm. It is, in effect, a more moderate approach to positivism but moves from a natural sciences perspective to a stance more akin to that of the social sciences.

Methodologically, the paradigm adopts a more critical approach to the methods employed and often uses the principle of triangulation, whereby multiple methods are used to achieve objectivity including the possibility of utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods (Denzin, 1978). Triangulation allows a researcher to focuse on the case from different perspectives, in so doing reducing the potential for bias. Post positivists argue that mixed methods reduce researcher subjectivity and interpretation (Creswell, 2009).

4.2.4 Interpretivism / constructivism

In contrast to positivism, constructivism (interpretivism) differentiates itself from the natural sciences and from positivism and post positivism. Ontologically, the interpretivist philosophy acknowledges subjectivity as the researcher believes that objectivity cannot be achieved owing to their interaction with the phenomenon being studied. Putting it another way, one of the principal differences between interpretivist and positivist approaches is the subjectivity of the interpretivist approach which focuses on 'specific constructed realities' and 'maintains that social processes tend to be culturally, spatially and historically specific in contrast to universal natural laws' (Clark 2009: 30). Truth, for interpretivists, is a belief system that reflects the ideologies and values that lie behind the researcher's findings. So, the researcher has to be actively involved and has to find and select reality from 'multiple realities' (Healy and Perry, 2000).

Ontologically, interpretivism adopts a relativist approach; according to Clark (2009: 29), it is 'based on anthropological or sceptical relativism'. Citing Williams (2001: 10), interpretivism 'holds that social differentiation gives rise to distinct "ways of knowing" between which there is no way of according common standards.' Importantly, the inherent subjectivity of interpretivism does not devalue it. As Reed (2008: 116) explains:

> From an interpretive perspective, the 'pragmatics of research' would be reconceived as the project, inherent in any attempt to explain social action, of rendering other subjectivities intelligible. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways, and I would propose that several qualitative methodologies are designed explicitly for this task, including ethnography, participant observation, and in-depth interviewing. But the philosophical basis for this possibility is much more general. It is this, a key point for any interpretive sociology: The subjects of social science have the same essential capacities for coherent thought and intentional action as the investigator does. Thus, insofar as people act in a way

> that ‘makes sense” to themselves (or deviates in a discernible way from sensible action), it is possible for the investigator to come to an understanding of their action.

As noted, the epistemological position of the interpretivist paradigm is subjectivist and it accepts multiple realities and truths. Interpretivism focuses on more subjective meanings of human behaviour, such as empathy and interpretation. Two methods commonly utilised in the paradigm are hermeneutics which focuses on interpretations, and dialectics which mainly focuses on comparing and contrasting viewpoints (Stiles, 2003).

Methodologically, according to Stiles (2003) and Saunders et al., (2007), the interpretivist research philosophy focuses on inductive methods and uses qualitative data collection such as ethnography and in depth interview techniques. Fish and Purr (1991), Whiteley (1992), and Miller et al. (1994) add that that the interpretivist paradigm is especially well-suited to small-scale intensive studies, so methodologically the paradigm tends to adopts qualitative evaluation of research.

4.2.5 Critical theory

Critical theory is also a paradigm which has subjectivist viewpoints (Guba and Lincoln 1994; Smith, 2010). It centres on ideological differences and, for this reason, focuses on universal power relations. More specifically, the paradigm emphasises conflict, inequality and power struggles in societies whilst also acknowledging that these social forces influence researcher values. In other words, recognising that these external forces, such as social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender issues, influence the research, the researcher’s aim is to be critical (Healy and Perry, 2000). In this sense, knowledge is influenced by external forces so the research is not ‘value free’ (Healy and Perry, 2000: 119) and the findings are ‘value mediated’ (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110).

Methodologically, the critical researcher utilises dialogue with participants. This dialogue has to be a form of dialectic, of thesis and antithesis, and should encourage engagement with the participants as well as empowering the participants’ contribution towards the transformation of the society (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

4.2.6 Research paradigms: A summary

Epistemologically, interpretivism and critical theory are more focused on subjectivist findings than a positivist approach, which claims an epistemology based on objectivist

findings. Post-positivism can be seen as being an 'in-between' as it adopts mixed qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Moreover, interpretivism and critical theory are based on the researcher's subjective findings and accept that the researcher is actively involved within the world being investigated. However, commentators draw on Russell's argument (Ayer, 1982; Marcuse, 1972); from a philosophical perspective there is no single truth. Thus, the choice of the research paradigm and subsequent methodology depends upon the researcher's hypothesis and understanding of the area under investigation.

Having clarified that there is no hierarchy of research paradigms and their constituent methodologies, this chapter now turns to focus on the principal methodological differences between quantitative and qualitative studies, as well as the main reason for the widespread adoption of quantitative methods in tourism research. It then goes on to justify the employment of an interpretive approach in this study.

4.3 Research approach

As discussed previously, different research paradigms require the use of either quantitative or qualitative methods or a combination of both, depending upon the main aim and objectives of the study. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between these methods.

4.3.1 Distinctions between qualitative and quantitative studies

As noted above, quantitative methods are often associated with positivism as they aim to collect value-free data. Other paradigms, such as post positivism, often apply mixed methods and sometimes employ triangulation, which aims to combine two or more data collections together. Critical theory and interpretivist approaches mainly apply qualitative methods, but in some cases both (Guba, 1990; Lincoln and Guba, 1985) the character of quantitative and qualitative methods approaches depends on how the world is perceived ontologically and epistemologically (see Table 4.1 above).

However, one major difference between them is their methodological structure. Quantitative method research structure is deductive, testing theory (see Table 4.2, top to bottom); the method is based on theory and develops a hypothesis to test that theory. Qualitative methods, conversely, are inductive and build theory (see Table 4.2, bottom to top) and, based on observation or the outcomes of research, develop theory (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Table 4.2 Deductive and inductive research structure

Deductive ↓	**Inductive** ↑
Theory ↓	theory↑
hypothesis↓	Tentative hypothesis↑
observation↓	pattern↑
Confirmation or rejection↓	observation↑

Source: Adapted from Skinner,(2005)

Quantitative methods mainly apply experimental methods to test hypotheses and seek to establish cause and effect relations between variables to achieve generalisations as in the natural sciences (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). As such, statistical tools are often employed to test the theory between variables. In contrast, however, qualitative research does not aim to quantify the findings, but, rather, focuses on developing a deeper understanding about the information or data. Thus, qualitative research often applies interpretivist approaches to investigate the data (Saunders et al., 2007). More specifically, qualitative methods aim to understand human perceptions and experiences deeply and focus on understanding the different experiences of individuals (McGregor and Murnane, 2010; Silverman, 2006).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), quantitative data has long been accepted as being high in quality and validity. However, the suitability of quantitative methods for social sciences have also long been questioned by scholars, particularly as establishing cause and effect is less valid in the social life context (Stiles, 2003). Table 4.3 below summarises the differences between qualitative and quantitative research.

4.3.2 Why this study follows the interpretive approach

As observed in Chapter Three of this thesis, a number of recent studies criticise previous quantitative studies and their limitations for understanding host-guest relations. Unlike research in other industries, the tourism process is highly heterogeneous and characteristically highly complex to research. Both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used in this sector and both research models can be viewed as being equally valid, the most important factor being what the researcher intends to find out.

Table 4.3: Some common contrasts between quantitative and qualitative reseach strategies

Quantitative	**Qualitative**
Numbers	Words
Point of view of researcher	Points of view of participants
Researcher distant	Researcher close
Theory testing	Theory emergent
Static	Process
Structured	Unstructured
Generalization	Contextual understanding
Hard, reliable data	Rich, deep data
Macro	Micro
Behaviour	Meaning
Artificial settings	Natural settings

Source: Bryman and Bell (2011;410)

As outlined in the introductory chapter, the main aim of this thesis is to understand and evaluate the nature of the relationship between the host community and permanent tourists. It also seeks to consider in depth the overall effects of the interaction rather than to test a hypothesis and create generalisable truth. In other words, the study's main focus is on understanding permanent tourist-host relations, such as their encounters and experiences and their behaviours. For these reasons, an interpretivist approach is more appropriate.

McGregor and Murnane (2010) and Silverman (2006) point out that qualitative research aims to understand other people's perceptions and experiences. The use of such methods in this study should allow the researcher to arrive at a deeper understanding of permanent tourists and to address the issues of what is happening. According to McGregor and Murnane (2010), interpretive paradigms see phenomena more subjectively and the proponents of this view believe the world cannot be seen without interpretation because the researcher's view cannot be separated from the phenomena under observation. McGregor and Murnane (2010: 423) identify interpretivism as follows:

> The intent is to understand what is happening [in the case of this article], how people who are in debt feel about it, how these conscious and unconscious feelings came to be, and how new, shared meanings affect their lives. The

researcher designs the study in such a way that dialogue ensues with and among those in debt to identify patterns of behaviour that lead to indebtedness, as explained by those experiencing this event. Methods could include case studies, story telling, or content or thematic analysis of interview transcripts. Results are used to help the indebted person gain a better understanding of his or her lived experiences with being in debt. With these new insights, humans are capable of intentionally changing their behaviour, given the right circumstances, but behaviour change is not the intent of the research.

This philosophy has become popular in the social sciences in particular. In contrast, and summarising the discussion in this chapter thus far, ontologically, positivism accepts that reality can be observed separately from the researcher. Objects or phenomena exist outside of the researcher's perspectives. On the other hand, interpretivists or other post-positivists accept that there is an objective truth to be researched but they also recognise that to examine complex social scientific phenomena, integrated techniques have to be used to achieve more meaningful results. Moreover, the post-positivists or interpretivists also accept that, inevitably, there are contributions from the researcher during the investigation process. Qualitative research is therefore the most suitable research method to achieve an in-depth understanding of the issues as it seeks to understand other people's perceptions and experiences, including their feelings, patterns of behaviour and their attitudes. The method allows the researcher to scrutinise the issue under investigation in-depth through the following techniques: case studies, focus groups, story-telling, or content or thematic analysis of interview transcripts (Creswell, 2009; Foddy,1993; Lacey and Luff, 2001; McGregor and Murnane, 2010; Silverman, 2006).

A further reason for the adoption of a qualitative approach in this study is that, as observed by Sharpley (2014), many of the limitations in the extant host-guest relations studies reflect the widespread use of quantitative data, resulting in knowledge of 'what', but not 'why'. Hence, this study responds to the call for more qualitative research in this area (Deery et al., 2012).

4.3.3 Thesis design: Case study

Yin (2003) states that case studies have become more acknowledged in recent years because their use allows researchers to understand complex issues within a single case adopting an holistic approach and multiple sources (Robson 2002; Saunders et al. 2007; Yin, 2003).

Yin (2003: 13) defines a case study as an 'empirical investigation that studies a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context'. More specifically, a case study can take several forms. For example, the study can focus on a society, culture, community group and any other phenomenon, as in the case of the current study which focuses on a particular society and relations in single place (i.e. UK permanent tourists' experiences in Didim, Turkey.) The advantage of a case study is that it allows for the collection of rich and detailed data (Morris and Wood, 1991). It also allows for mixed data collection methods. For example, quantitative and qualitative data can be utilised. More specifically, it facilitates the employment of a variety of research tools in the data collection process, including questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, observation and documentary analysis. Therefore, the case strategy and tools are most appropriate to this study in that allows the use of focus groups and semi-structured interviews (Creswell, 2009; McGregor and Murnane, 2010; Silverman, 2006).

Creswell (2013: 99) classifies case studies into three types; 'the single instrument case study; collective or multiple case studies; and, the intrinsic case study'. Creswell (2013) also emphasises that single cases can be investigated over time to collect in-depth data. Therefore, to classify this study based on Creswell's classification, it uses a single case study as the focus is on host community perceptions and British migrant community perceptions and focus group discussions.

Dyer and Wilkins (1991) argue that single case studies are better for theory-building as they allow the researcher more observation time and provide a better representation of the situation so that the researcher can be more confident that the picture which emerges is true. Multiple case in contrast, focus on more variables and the cases can be very different from each other so that the results tend to focus on comparison of the cases. Single cases are, thus, better for considering theoretical relationships because they tend to result in more careful study than multiple cases and allow for a deeper investigation within which the researcher can describe and understand the context.

From the principle set out above, it can be seen that if a researcher is aiming to study just one single thing, such as a specific group of people (as in the case of this study of UK permanent tourists), a single case study is more suitable as it can be explored in more detail; the researcher can question previous theorical relations and at the same time explore new ones, as the single case allows the researcher to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Dyer and Wilkins,1991; Yin, 2003). Single case studies are also more suitable for this study as they allow for embedded units under

one case (Yin, 2003). By this, Yin means that the researcher is able to explore and analyse the data within the case analysis, undertaking cross-case analysis such as in this study. This allows the researcher to look at subunits within the larger case. The number of cases and the length of the field study mainly depend on the researcher's saturation level, in order to answer the research questions comfortably. A case study includes detailed empirical investigation where data is collected, if necessary repeatedly over a period of time, as in the current study which took place over three years (2013, 2014 and 2015) to collect rich data and able to answer the main research questions from cross cultural perspectives (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991).

4.3.4 Axiology, values and ethical considerations for the study

Killam (2013) emphasises that research is rooted in the researcher's philosophical beliefs, concepts and values regarding the nature of knowledge. Similarly, Hartman (2011) describes axiology as value-based realities. So, 'theoretical axiology is the score of the value realm; through it the feeling for value becomes rationally structured' (Hartman, 2011: 8). According to Guba and Lincoln (2005), axiology is part of a paradigm's integral considerations. Killam (2013) states that axiology addresses the ethical behaviour of the researcher as well as defining the researcher's values and value judgments particularly in ethical consideration of the research. In short, Killam states that different types of research stand on different sets of beliefs so that to be able to understand a piece of research the philosophy behind it must be examined.

Philosophically, axiology is convcerned with the ethical, aesthetic and religious aspects of the research and that the axiological stance of the researcher determines what is valuable or ethical for the study. It can be seen from this that the values of the researcher and the ethical considerations guide the researcher's decision-making process in regard to his or her research (Bell and Bryman, 2007). The purpose exploring of axiology is to make explicit the researcher's values and other ethical considerations while they are conducting their research. This is of particular importance for this study as both host and permanent tourists are sharing their experences and opening up their values and perceptions to a researcher. Therefore, the ethical stance and objectivity of the researcher are fundamental for this study.

The researcher has been a staff member of the University Central Lancashire since 2008, meaning that there is a high level of professionalism required in the workplace as well as in the researcher role. More specific details of the ethical considerations of the data collection and analysis can be seen under the following sections: 4.3.5, 4.5.1 and 4.5.3.

As stated in Chapters One and Seven, the researcher's Anglo-Turkish background was of particular value in the development of this study, particularly while collecting data from British permanent tourists and interviewing members of the Turkish host community. Both sets of participants openly expressed their viewpoints; the British interviewees were able to connect with the researcher owing to her long-term commitment to living and working in the UK at a British university. Similarly, since the researcher is of Turkish origin and grew up in Turkish culture, respondents amongst the host community appeared and acted in a comfortable and relaxed manner as they recginised that she was able to understand their culture and their issues. More specifically, as the study was qualitative in nature, the role of the researcher and her background was very important.

A number of other steps were followed by the researcher. Being a professional in the HE sector, she was concerned that participants might be worried about her values and that this might influence their perceptions and responses. Therefore, building empathy with the all the participants was a key concern to collect accurate and rich data. The researcher showed close and professional understanding to all participants so they should not hesitate to share their experiences. Having close links with both societies through the investigator's Anglo-Turkish background facilitated process significantly. Second, it was important to show patience, to be fair to participants' and to accept their experiences, all of which were of importance in the generation and subsequent analysis of the qualitative data.

During this study, the researcher generated and had to analyse a significant volume of rich qualitative data. A particular issue was how values influence the data collection stage. As a result, the Schwartz theory of the basic values (1994) was adapted to achieve a consistent and accurate research process. The study adapted a number of human values to conduct the research, namely: *benevolence*, being helpful honest and responsible behavior which helped to gain trust of the participant; *universalism*, one of the main considerations, necessitating concern for the welfare of everyone involved in the study, and understanding and encouraging participants to speak about their experiences; *self-direction,* which concerns creativity, exploring and choosing one's own goals which was also crucial to be able to answer the main research questions; *security and conformity,* which guaranteed the safety of the information; and *sense of belonging* to the environment during the interview was also crucial so both parties did not hesitate to share their perceptions. The power of social status and respect to *all traditions* and showing respect to each participant's culture, values and religion were also key principles for the collection and analysis of data for the study.

The fluent use of the participants' own languages faciliated the entire research process, from building trust in the selection of participants, through conducting the data collection to analyzing the participants' perceptions. This included behaving authentically, expressing surprise at novelty, and daring to ask about the participants' lifestyles as well as enjoying listening and having conversations about the participants' daily lives before the interviews commenced. This rendred the participants more comfortable when it came to conducting the interview and supported the study by encouraging an ethical and accurate research process.

4.3.5 Validity and credibility

As discussed previously in Chapter Three and at the beginning of this chapter, validity or credibility is one of the main considerations in research for both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Validity concerns the analysis of the relations between variables and confidence in the result and is essential in qualitative studies. It focuses on aspects such as trustworthiness, authenticity, dependability and confirmability assessment criteria (White and Rayner, 2014).

Validity is often a concern for inductive methods because the context meaning from qualitative data is often rich and high in validity (White and Rayner, 2014; Saunders et al., 2007). Therefore, the focus of the assessment model was to reduce biases which might undermine the credibility of the research. In order to reduce the threat from this:

- clear instructions were developed for both the researcher and the participants
- the research questions were clearly and accurately prepared for all the phases
- the style of the interview questions was clearly and accurately set for all phases

These measures were carried out to minimize research errors and faulty procedures, poor samples and any inaccurate and misleading measurement or judgement before, during and after the interviews.

Reliability

Reliability is mainly concerned with consistency of research and, for this reason, is more associated with deductive (quantitative*)* research because of the concern that results should be similar or consistent on different occasions. In contrast, inductive research also seeks to establish reliability based on the researcher's observations and issues of whether similar observations or interpretations have been made by different researchers on different occasions. However, inductive research is not merely concerned about achieving similar research results on different occasions; it is also

concerned with the comparison of different researchers' observations to achieve similar interpretations for the results or not (Hussey and Hussey,1999; Saunders et al., 2007; White and Rayner, 2014)*.*

Dependability

This criterion is similar to research reliability in quantitative studies. It is mainly concerned with the coherence of the study with regards to issues such as research consistency and stability over time between researchers (Miles and Huberman, 1994). To address this issue, the study considered each research stage clearly from the design of the research questions to the construction of the interview question, and included evaluation of these before and after interviews. This was achieved by ensuring that the questions were confirmed and examined by supervisors and the ethics committee at UCLan. Additionally, after the transcription stage, all the coding was examined by the supervisor to get a second opinion to achieve coherence in the study (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

Transferability relates to whether results can be applied to another context or not and is more associated with the concept of external validity and quantitative studies. However, qualitative studies tend to question the interpretation of data and whether this is consistent with those observations made by other researchers or not (Streubert and Carpenter, 2010).

To meet this criterion for the study, the general concepts, interviews, the findings, coding stage, emerging themes and issues were described as objectively as possible by the researcher. The authenticity of the research was considered by the researcher at every stage.

4.4 Sampling: Introduction to the research phases

In order to collect qualitative data for the study, triangulation of methods was employed to achieve better reliability and validity. The research had three different phases (see Table 4.4) during the overall data collection period between August 2013 and 2015. The first two stages were designed to explore host and permanent tourists' perceptions about their experiences, their impacts and their relations in the Didim region of Turkey. Phase One focused on the Didim/ Altinkum region and Phases Two and Three focused on Didim and Akbuk, where many British permanent tourists have settled. The focus groups at Stage Three were designed to explore further the issues identified in the preceding phases as well as to allow more discussion of the issues emerging from the

first and second phase findings, and to allow the participants to confirm previous issues or discuss the issues further.

Overall, the sampling size was small because the study focused on the details of the information rather than the on quantity of the participants (Silverman 2006). The data was sampled purposely at all three stages so that it reflected a reliable, adequate sampling size as the quality of the participants had to be representative of the entire population. As discussed in 4.4.1, the researcher's familiarity with the culture and society of both the hosts and British permanent tourists allowed her to select participants deliberately and also allowed the study to reach the saturation level objectively (for more detail, see 4.5; 4.6.1; 4.7. and Table 4.4).

Because the study aimed to collect in-depth information via the interviews, the researcher focused on understanding semi-structured interview methods more deeply. An important point also raised by Silverman (2006) is that qualitative research aims to understand other people's perceptions and experiences. However, he also states that, in reality, many researchers try to 'get inside people's heads' as well. Further, the proposal needs to address the role of the researcher: past experiences, personal connections to the site, steps to gain entry and sensitive ethical issues

Table 4.4: Phases of the Research

Phases	Subject	Method's tool	Date
Phase 1	Hosts' perceptions of permanent tourists	In-depth semi-structured interview (13 host participants)	2013
Phase 1	Hosts' perceptions of permanent tourists	In-depth semi-structured interview 1 host participant	2014
Phase 2	British permanent tourists' perceptions of the host community and their experiences	In-depth semi-structured interview (24 British permanenet tourist participants)	2014
Phase 3	Critically explore permanent tourists perceptions and experiences and the local community's perceptions of permanent tourists	Focus groups discussion; 2 British groups (between 4 to 6 participants) and 1 host group (2 participants)	2015

4.4.1 Saturation level in qualitative studies

The demographic of participants and their current occupational status is provided in Table 4.5 for both members of the host community and permanent tourists. As discussed earlier, a wide range of participants were interviewed to generate greater knowledge about the perceptions of both communities. Ando et al. (2014) and Quinlan (2011) describe the saturation level or point as being when the researcher has interviewed sufficient participants to be satisfied that further interviews will not uncover new ideas or information and therefore decides not to conduct more interviews. Quinlan (2011) states that while conducting the interviews, if the information provided by participants has been repeatedly mentioned by previous participants, then the researcher has arrived at saturation level. This study reached the saturation level after the collection of thirteen hosts' perceptions in 2013. However, during the interviews with British home owners in 2014, one more host was interviewed as he was the husband of one of the British home owners.

The second phase, conducted in 2014, involved interviews with 24 British home owners, some of whom were interviewed as couples. Saturation level was reached with British permanent tourists when the number of respondants reached 21 and 22 but the interviews continued with another couple who wanted to participate.

Phase three of the study comprised focus group discussions conducted in 2015. Two focus groups of British home owners and one of hosts were used to elicit rich data as well as to either confirm or refute the previous information from previous interviews in 2013 and 2014. This also served to demonstate and confirm that saturation points had been reached. The following section will give more details of each phase and the charecteristics of the participants.

4.4.2 The details of the characteristics of the respondents

As can be seen in the tables above and below (4.4 and 4.5), 14 members of the host community were interviewed. All of the host participants were either born in or had lived in Didim for more than a decade. Two female and 12 male participants were interviewed.13 host participants were interviwed in 2013 and one more host participant in 2014 as his British wife was being interviewed and he wished to contribute his perceptions. All the hosts lived in Didim all year around and six of them were retired and over 50 years old. Eight of the host participants were still working and their age was between 30 to 49 years old. Their occupational situations and individual details can be seen in Table 4.5 below.

24 Permanent tourists were interviewed. All were British in origin and had migrated from the UK; some of the permanent tourists were couples. Apart from one 18 year old British female, all were aged over 50 and, aside from one couple, second home owners living all year round in Didim. None of them were working in Didim; they were all either retired or pensioners from UK and all of them were interviewed in 2014.

Three focus group discussions were carried out in 2015. The first focus group (FG1) had four British participants; two female and male participants. They were couples and aged over 50, retired and living in Didim all year round. The second British focus group (FG2) consisted of six British female participants who were also living all year in Didim and aged 50+. The final focus group (FH1) comprised two male host participants, both retired and living all year around in Didim. More specific details are also given in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: The details of the characteristics of the respondents

Age of the participants								
age 18-20	age 20-29	age 30-39	age 40-49	age 50-59	age 60-69	gender	occupation	duration of stay
		H1				female	estate agent	all year
			H2			male	property developer	all year
				H3		male	imam	all year
			H4			male	imam	all year
					H5	female	pensioner	all year
				H6		male	self employed in Germany	all year
				H7		male	muhtar/elected regional representative	all year
			H8			male	retired from civil servant ministry of justice	all year
				H9		male	retired	all year
		H10				male	council worker	all year
		H11				male	restaurant owner	all year
			H12			male	chef	all year
			H13			male	restaurant owner	all year
				H14		male	retired	all year
				G1		male	retired	all year
					G2	male	retired	all year
					G3	male	retired	all year
				G4		male	retired	all year
				G5		female	retired	all year
				G6		female	retired	all year
G7						female	student both parents are British	all year
				G8		female	retired	all year
				G9		male	retired	all year
				G10		male	retired	all year
					G11	male	pensioner	all year
					G12	female	pensioner	all year
					G13	male	pensioner	all year
					G14	male	retired	all year
					G15	female	retired	all year
					G16	male	pensioner	all year
					G17	female	pensioner	all year
					G18	female	retired	all year
					G19	male	retired	all year
				G20		female	retired	all year
					G21	male	retired	all year
					G22	female	retired	all year
					G23	male	retired	second home owner
					G24	female	retired	second home owner
				FG1		male	retired	all year
				FG1		female	retired	all year
				FG1		male	retired	all year
				FG1		female	retired	all year
				FG2		female	retired	all year
				FG2		female	retired	all year
				FG2		female	retired	all year
				FG2		female	retired	all year
				FG2		female	retired	all year
					FG2	female	retired	all year
				FH1		male	retired	all year
				FH1		male	retired civil servant	all year

4.5 Sampling for Phase One

The research location was on the coast of Turkey in a town where permanent international tourists are settled. According to Creswell (2009), interviews should be conducted in natural settings; that is in the locations where the people involved would normally be. For these reasons, the Phase One interviews were carried out in Didim, Altinkum, in the western part of the Turkey where British people have bought properties.

The main aim of the Phase One interviews was to investigate the local community's attitudes with regards to British second home owners, as well as to evaluate their relations with British permanent tourists in Didim. As discussed above, the choice of qualitative methods did not necessitate the participation of large numbers of participants to generalize data. As long as the researcher achieves satisfaction from the depth and detail of answers being given by the participants, even a small sample can demonstrate validity and reliability (Cresswell; 2009; Saunders et al, 2007; White and Rayner, 2014)

According to Welman and Kruger (1999), purposeful sampling (or selection) is the most suitable for qualitative studies because it allows a researcher to select the participants and meet the aims and the objectives of the study. Therefore, purposeful sampling was employed to identify and select appropriate participants, comprising those who had lived in the Didim region for more than 10 years.

Purposeful sampling and snowball techniques were used by the researcher to select participants using the researcher's background and familiarity with the host society and culture and acknowledging the hosts participants' heterogenous cultural background. The study purposely selected a wide range of participants from the host community (see table 4.5) to achieve more objective and valid results.

More specifically, the researcher used her existing contacts in the area in order to select members of the local community who would be able to discuss their relations with British home owners in the region. In order to ensure generalizable results, respondents were selected from people from different backgrounds in the local Turkish community in Didim. To achieve this, the research also utilised snowball sampling techniques to select participants who were then asked to suggest additional respondents who could be interviewed. Consequently, Phase One comprised interviews with a total of 14 host members, including one host participant interviewed in

2014, to elicit their perceptions of permanent tourists in their town. These people represented different age groups as well as people who were either born in Didim or who have lived in the town for more than 10 years. The sample included a mix of genders and ages and political backgrounds, as well as different professions, including stakeholders in the second (home) property sector, local government officials, the religious community (e.g. imams) as well as the coach of a local football team and other businessmen and workers from the region. One of the main considerations for the selection of hosts from many different backgrounds in the community was to avoid the dominance of one host group as a criticism of previous hosts perception studies is that host perception changes depending on their level of financial dependency on tourism and age or distance from the tourism industry (see Harill, 2004).

The research yielded detailed data with regards to residents' views of permanent tourists' demands and their adaptation level within the host community in Didim. The interviews explored the views of the different stakeholders with the aim of understanding and establishing the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey, as well as critically assessing the impacts (social, cultural and political) on the region.

4.5.1 Phase One: Validity and reliability

The first phase of the research represented only a limited number of the perspectives of the host population and was not generalizable to the whole population in Didim. Secondly, without interviewing British permanent tourists, the study only represented the views of one section of the population. Therefore, the most important aim for the second phase of the study in terms of establishing research validity and reliability, and thereby addressing the limitations of previous studies into host and guest relations, was to further investigate the relations between permanent tourists and the native population from the perspective of the British permanent tourists.

4.5.2 Main aims and research questions for Phase One

In the light of above discussion, the first phase of the study focused on the following main aims and research questions:

Aims:

i. to establish the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations);
ii. to critically assess the impacts (social, cultural and economic) of tourists buying property in Turkey;

iii. to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on tourists who buy property in Turkey;
iv. to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population.

Research Questions:

i. What types of motivations are there for those who choose to settle in Turkey permanently? (phase one and two)
ii. How does the Turkish population view and engage with the permanent tourists' social-culture? (phase one)
iii. What is the nature of the relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourists and hosts types? (phase one and two)
iv. What are the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population? (phase one and two)

To generate in-depth data, semi-structured interview questions had to be designed in order to allow sufficient flexibility to enable the researcher to explore issues raised while keeping the respondents on track during the interview. According to Wengraf (2001), in-depth semi-structured interview questions are the tool which best enables this flexibility while providing sufficient structure for responses to be compared. Cresswell (2009) establishes that there is a need to learn about qualitative methods before writing qualitative interviews; the choice of strategy needs to be presented and defended.

4.5.3 Limitations of Phase One of the research

A number of limitations were evident in the interview process. Specifically, the hosts' responses were often unclear in differentiating the impacts of permanent tourists as opposed to those of temporary tourists. Although there was a good range of ages and backgrounds among these participants, these people may not represent most host community viewpoints and the study has not yet interviewed any permanent tourists. Therefore, the second and the third phases of the research focused on clarifying and directing host respondents to focus on whether there are any additional permanent tourists impacts in Didim.

Triangulation

To improve validity and trustworthiness of the research the study moved on to second and third phases. Triangulation or multimethod approaches methods are mainly used in qualitative studies to improve validity and trustworthiness through the combination of

two or more methods in the research (Streubert and Carpenter, 2010). To achieve this, the study utilised both semi-structured and focus group interviews. Therefore, the second phase of the study interviewed permanent tourists in order to confirm, or challenge the results from Phase One whilst Phase Three focused on both hosts and guests to further clarify the findings.

4.5.4 Implications for Phases Two and Three

It was determined that interviews would need to be conducted with permanent tourist second-home owners in order to compare the findings from the first phase of the study as well as to investigate issues in the study from the viewpoint of these second home owners. The aim was to explore the identity of the permanent tourists as tourist expectations, background, characteristics and motivations are major factors in encounters between hosts and guests.

Many issues were raised by locals in the first phase of the study. However, all the issues required more clarification:

i. Lack of adaptation to the new culture (including learning the language)
ii. Inability to form close relations with members of the host community
iii. The declining number of permanent tourists and understanding the motivations behind any flow away from the destination and to where these permanent tourists are going (i.e. back to their own country or to other destinations in the host country or other countries).
iv. It is possible that the main reason behind the superficial interaction between hosts and guests is due to the different expectations of the second-home owners and the native population with the former focussed on extended holidaying while the latter are living day-to-day and working in the destination.

In summary, the study aimed to critically appraise permanent tourists in Turkey and their relations with local communities by exploring issues relating to how these permanent tourists see themselves and whether they adopt or adapt to the new lifestyle.

At Phase Two of the research, the aim was to conduct interviews with 20-25 permanent tourists.

4.6 Phases Two and Three: Main aims and research questions

The Phase Two interviews were conducted in August 2014. The interviews involved 24 British home owners in the Akbuk area in Didim.

Aims

The purpose of these interviews was to investigate and evaluate permanent tourists' experiences, motivations and relations to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the local population. Specifically:

i. to establish the views of permanent tourists and their engagement with the local society and culture in Turkey;
ii. to establish the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations);
iii. to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on tourists who buy property in Turkey;
iv. to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population.

Research Questions for Phase Two:

i. How do permanent tourists in Turkey view and engage with Turkish society and culture?
ii. What types of motivations are there for those who choose to settle in Turkey permanently?
iii. What is the nature of the relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourists and hosts types?
iv. What are the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population?

4.6.1 Research Methods and Sampling for Phase Two

Semi-structured interview tools were developed in Phase one and the same methodology and tools were utilised in Phase Two. The sampling techniques used for Phase Two were also a combination of purposeful and snowball sampling. The researcher aimed to collect data from home owners in Didim who originated from the UK.

The researcher approached members of the host community to ask for contacts amongst British home owners in the region and then snowball sampling was employed

when British permanent tourists who were initially contacted were asked for other potential contacts in the Didim region. Most British permanent tourists were sampled based on home ownership in Didim in order to differentiate them from temporary tourists. The researcher was directed by British home owner participants who had previously been interviewed towards further interviewees. The nature of the participants was relatively homogenious compared to the host participants. The sample reached saturation level after 21 and 22 interviews partly because many of the participants were couples and their perceptions were very similiar. (See 4.4.1).

This second set of interviews explored the research questions from the perspective of the British permanent tourists. The great majority were British (English or Scottish couples), aged 50+, and were retired and drawing an income in the form of pensions from the UK. The interviews had the aim of understanding and establishing the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey as well as critically assessing their encounters with the Turkish host community.

4.6.2 Limitations of Phase Two

The main limitation related to qualitative research in general is that the data are collected through questions which seek the subjective opinions of respondents and, hence, may elicit answers on issues which may be sensitive to the respondents. Thus, Lacey and Luff (2001) recommend the 'anonymising of sensitive data' whilst Silverman (2006) also identifies that sensitivity on issues can generate a problem for qualitative research. This may represent a limitation on studies in some cultures, whilst some respondents may not provide details or information they consider to be sensitive, hence limiting the richness of the data

A second limitation relates to sampling because the respondents in the study were mainly selected from a small village in which most of the British community socialise together and know each other, thereby potentially influencing or limiting the viewpoints expressed. In addition, a further limitation lies in the nationality of the researcher. Being Turkish, she is the same nationality as the host population and, therefore, the British permanent tourists may not have been comfortable or open when discussing issues related to the local community.

These limitations were addressed by the researcher adopting at each phase either an *emic,* insider perspective*,* or an *etic*, external perspective dependent on type of respondent (local or permanent tourist), as follows:

- Emic approach: as the researcher has the same ethnic origin as the host population and lived in Turkey for many years, it was possible to show the participants empathy and understanding with respect to issues related to host participants;
- Emic approach: as the researcher's mother tongue is Turkish it was possible to communicate with host participants and to put them at ease linguistically;
- Despite being familiar with the hosts' culture, the researcher had lived in the UK for over a decade and was able to bring an external (etic) perspective and objective view to the research;
- Similarly, as the researcher had lived many years in UK it was possible to empathise and show understanding of the issues relevant to British participants;
- Being fluent in English allowed the researcher to interact with the British participants and to put them at ease without the need for a translator;
- Having lived in the UK for a long period, as well as having a Turkish background, allowed for a more objective (etic) perspective on the relations between the two communities.

4.7 Phase Three: Justification for focus groups and sampling

Phase Three was conducted in August 2015 in the Akbuk area of Didim. This phase involved the formation of three focus groups comprising four to six British second home owners in each and a further focus group comprising two members of the host community. The focus group research was conducted for two principal purposes: first, to explore the issues identified in Phases One and Two in more detail; and second, to improve the validity of the results from the previous phases.The two British focus groups, which comprised some of the respondents from Phase Two, were formed to examine whether the views expressed previously were consistent and whether any attitudes had changed in the course of the year since Phase Two. All three focus groups were selected to obtain a wide, rich range of heterogenous data.

The first focus group, FG1, comprised two couples, two female and two male participants, who owned property in Akbuk in Didim. The second British focus group, FG2, comprised six British female participants who also owned properties in Akbuk Didim. All the British participants were aged over 50+ and retired and some of them were pensioners (for more details, see table 4.5). The final focus group, the host focus group, was selected to examine whether results were consistent and to either confirm or refute the issues previously identified by the semi-structured interviews at Phase One. The host participants initially comprised three local people; two male and one female. However, the female participant did not attended and the group was therefore

conducted with the two male host participants, who were also home owners and retired and had lived for a long time in Akbuk, Didim.

As is required in focus group research (Krueger, 2002), the researcher played a minimal role in the discussion, introducing topics for discussion and maintaining an environment whereby respondents openly discussed the issues raised.

4.7.1 Main objectives for Phase Three

Phase Three sought to investigate the experiences of both the local community and British permanent tourists and their relations, exploring the outcomes of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the local population.

The following aims for the focus groups were set by the researcher:

- to explore the British home owners' social relations with the host community and their experiences
- to understand the British home owners' main motivations for living in Didim
- to confirm or refute the previous findings from the interviews
- to investigate and evaluate the nature of the relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourist and host types.

4.7.2 Focus group research

According to Krueger (2002), focus group discussions have two distinct stages: the pre-discussion stage and moderation during the discussion stage.

The pre-discussion stage involved the preparation of the discussion topics and the careful selection of participants. For all focus groups, participants were purposefully selected from amongst respondents in the earlier phases of the research.

At the second (discussion) stage of a focus group, the role of the moderator is crucial to lead neutral discussion that meets the research aims (Krueger, 2002). The main consideration is to avoid leading the participants by, for example, avoiding verbal confirmation such as 'excellent' or 'well said' during the discussion. The researcher also needs to pause and probe if it is necessary to elicit more detailed information through the use of phrases such as: 'would you explain further?', 'would you give an example?' or 'I don't understand'.

Despite each focus group being asked similar questions, each discussion may lead into different themes and issues – indeed, an advantage of focus group research is that new themes not previously considered by the researcher may emerge as a result of participant interaction.

At the end of each focus group, the discussion should be summarised by the moderator to ensure there are no misunderstandings (Krueger, 2002).

4.7.3 Limitations of Phase Three

The focus groups were successful in their aims and collected richer data than at Phases One and Two. That is, the group discussions provided the opportunity for respondents to discuss issues more openly and in more detail than in the semi-structured interviews, and new points and issues also emerged. Nevertheless, there were also limitations, such as the influence of group psychology which meant that being in a group may have influenced or limited the opinions that participants were willing to express.

4.8 Research tools: The characteristics of semi-structured interviews

According to Smith and Osborn (2008) and Howitt and Cramer (2011), an interpretive approach (see section 4.9 below) requires a particular form of data collection and analysis and relies mainly on in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, diary notes and focus group studies. Because of this, at Phases One and Two the interview questions were designed to be open-ended to encourage detailed interviewee responses and to generate many different perceptions and perspectives. The third stage was the focus group research. The vital feature of such qualitative data is that it allows the researcher to understand the themes and issues in detail; by using qualitative interviews, the method enables respondents to provide rich data and provides the researcher with the flexibility to follow up on interesting features as well as building empathy with the respondents while asking questions.

Lacey and Luff (2001) also note that qualitative research has mainly been used for the in-depth analysis of topics, hence the necessary use of questions which ask *why*, *what* and *how*? Therefore, before writing qualitative semi-structured interview questions the above research words were considered as these types of questions would potentially allow for a deeper investigation into the research topic.

4.8.1 The development of the semi-structured interview questions

According to Wengraf (2001), in-depth semi-structured interview questions have to be well-designed in order to allow the researcher to conduct the semi-structured interview effectively. That is, it is important to ensure that the interview can be carried out without changing the route of the topic. During the interviews in this study, the researcher found it challenging to keep to the main subject as it was easy to start discussing a different topic not central or relevant to the research. However, the semi-structured interview should also be designed to leave the interviewer some space and gaps to fill in, which can allow for greater exploration of the interviewee's views or allow them to be more at ease. This space can also allow interviewees to sometimes put forward crucial views or ideas to the researcher. So, within semi-structured interviews it is important to keep the interview on track, while allowing some space for the interviewee to lead the discussion at times.

A second issue is that the questions have to be designed carefully, and should be broad in character to give some space and flexibility to the researcher.

Lacey and Luff (2009: 6) state that:

> The question may require the researchers to seek relationships between various themes that have been identified, or to relate behaviour or ideas to biographical characteristics of respondents such as age or gender. Implications for policy or practice may be derived from the data, or interpretation sought of puzzling findings from previous studies. Ultimately theory could be developed and tested using advanced analytical techniques.

To summarise, in-depth interviews firstly allow the researcher to gain insight into the participants' views, which allows for emergence of themes relevant to the aims of this study. Secondly, they enable the researcher to identify and understand the issues that are of most significance to participants (Gratton and Jones 2004; Yin, 1994).

This section now moves on to consider the issues outlined above. First of all, it is essential in order to ask target questions, to find out exactly what needs to be learned from the interviewee. To prepare for this, relevant topics literature were reviewed to identify the most suitable people to interview with regard to age and gender and other relevant factors.

According to Cresswell (2009), in-depth semi-structured interview questions have to be designed and prepared in order to elicit deeper understanding. Similarly, Wengraf (2001) and Lacey and Luff (2001) also point out in-depth semi-structured questions require proper preparation and that in addition, these types of interviews are also reliant on the interviewer's skills as well as their ability to analyse the resulting data Wengraf (2001). Analysis is a crucial part as it is more time consuming and requires effective interpretation. Therefore, in the light of above arguments, the question topics were structured carefully prior to the the interviews.

Although the interview questions were pre-prepared, during the actual interview, the style of the questions was changed to make the interview more fluent and less formal. This was done in order to create a more comfortable environment for the person who was being interviewed. This issue is also mentioned by Wengraf (2001) who acknowledges that the style can change according to the interviewer's level of skill, which is also why semi-structured interviews give some flexibility for the interviewee to explain themselves more fully to the interviewer. This is another important issue to be considered because such flexibility can provide crucial information to interviewer. Even though semi-structured interviews have guides, or interview schedules, which are prepared before the interview to keep to the topic, side topics must also be focused be directly related to the research questions. Wengraf (2001) and Cresswell (2009) also observe that qualitative interview questions are usually designed to cover broad understanding. So the questions are designed ask about broader areas and so leave the interviewee to give their views and experiences. As a result, semi-structured interview questions should be broader and more open-ended, yet also sufficiently focussed so as to prevent that researcher from going beyond the main aims of the research.

Another issue which also needs to be very carefully considered is that questions have to be designed to avoid being leading (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). That is, questions should not lead the respondents' answers or knowingly or unknowingly seek to influence the interviewee's responses. Such questions would limit the objectivity of researcher. According to Shreder-Frechette (1994), even though it may be very difficult to be value free in qualitative research, it must be achieved if the data are to be both reliable and valid. Thus, questions were designed to avoid being leading.

4.8.2 Content of the interview questions: pre-writing themes

One of the most essential areas for consideration before holding interviews is the content of the questions. Most of the questions for the study were developed from

themes which emerged from the literature review. Previous studies have discussed issues related to permanent tourists or second home owners, thereby establishing concepts which could be explored in the interviews. In the interviews, these themes mainly focused on aspects such as host acceptance, integration and language learning, although more specific questions on the motivations of permanent tourists to settle and their impacts on the host society were included. The study also included questions regarding specific religious and cultural issues to elicit more detail based on the findings of previous studies (Sagir, 2011; Tosun, 1998, 2002; Tosun and Jenkins, 1996) – see Table 4.6 below.(see Appendix 3 and 4)

Table 4.6: Questionnaire pre-writing themes

Themes	King, Warnes and Williams (2000)	Hall and Muller (2004)	Cohen (1974)	Bell and Ward (2000)	O'Reilly (2003, 2007)	Benson (2010)	Sagir 2011 & Tosun (2002)	ISRO (2008)	Bahar et all (2009)	Buller & Hoggart (1994)	Griffiths & Sharpley (2012)
Migration types	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			
Duration of stay		X	X	X							
Integration with host community	X				X	X	X			X	
Language learning	X				X		X	X	X		
Motivation of permanent tourists	X	X	X		X	X				X	
Health and Welfare issues	X							X			
Religion issues							X				
Hosts acceptance							X			X	X

Digital-voice recorders were used to record the interviews. Respondents were informed of the anonymity of the information provided and that it would only be used for academic purposes. To fulfil ethical requirements, consent was obtained from the interviewee once the researcher had explained the types of questions the respondent would be asked, how the information would be used and what the purpose of the interview was. This stage was important not only to meet ethical standards, but also to ensure the comfort of the interviewee and reduce any anxiety or any other potential worries. Such measures can improve the quality of the interview. Following Smith and Osborn's (2007) recommendations, the semi-structured interview was not always conducted in the same sequence of questions in order to build rapport with the respondents. The interviewer probed areas of the respondent's interest and followed up on interesting points that arose.

As bio-data, the interviewer collected the interviewee's name and profession.
The research tools were submitted to the University of Central Lancashire's ethics committee and approval was received.

4.9 Qualitative data analysis methods: Thematic analysis

A variety of strategies can be adopted for the analysis of data from semi-structured interviews (Cresswell, 2009; Lacey and Luff, 2001). Cresswell (2009: 17) states that 'narrative research… [is] …a form of inquiry in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives. This information is then retold or restoried by the researcher into a narrative chronology.' In analysing the narrative, it is possible to simply count the number of times a particular word or concept occurs or is used by interviewee. Indeed, Marks and Yardley (2004: 57) suggest that the main advantage of narrative analysis is that it allows a researcher to carry out systematic coding and, thus, the method appeals because there is a clear procedure and the investigator can count the frequency of the content. However, they also accept that narrative analysis also been criticised by scholars such as Silverman (1993), who refers to narrative analysis as 'trite' as it focuses on coding and frequency rather than on the different meanings for each instance a word is used by respondents. Thus, Silverman (1993) suggests that, on many occasions, the analysis may exclude the meaning of data.

Similarly, Marks and Yardley (2004: 57) state that the method establishes categories and then counts the number of times a word or a symbol has been used by researcher. Hence, the method is seen as qualitative data analysed quantitatively. Equally, they observe that thematic analysis shares many principles and procedures of narrative

(content) analysis because the method focuses on both ‘code’ and ‘themes’, though a particular strength of using thematic analysis is that themes (specific patterns) or coding categories allow a researcher to use either deductive coding which can be built from theory or inductive coding which allows the researcher to build coding from raw data.

Therefore, thematic analysis would be more suitable for this study because in-depth interviews provide more detail, which requires a deeper level of analysis than permitted by the narrative method. That is, thematic analysis facilitates a greater degree of interpretation; the researcher tries to understand every code in relation to other issues and to develop superordinate and subordinate themes. Thus, as Bernard and Ryan (1998: 15) suggest, ‘applied thematic analysis as we define it comprises a bit of everything – grounded theory, positivism, interpretivism, and phenomenology – synthesised into one methodological framework’.

Boyatzis (1998) describes thematic analysis is a model for encoding qualitative data. Encoding processes require explicit codes to highlight the themes which are patterns that can be found in the data. These codes can be anything from a complex set of themes to a list of themes, or simply indictors. Themes can operate at both levels of interpretation in that they can be created to indicate directly observable information or can function at the latent level and used to code underlying phenomenon. These themes may be generated inductively from the raw data or may be the ones generated deductively from the theory or prior research. Boyatzis (1998) states that these themes are generated via a process of compilation or integration of codes. These codes are called a code book.

According to Boyatzis, (1998:4) thematic analysis has number of purposes:

- A way of seeing;
- A way of making sense out of seemingly unrelated material;
- A way of analysing qualitative information;
- A way of systematically observing a person, an interaction, a group, a situation, an organization, or a culture;
- A way of converting qualitative information into quantitative data.

Thus, thematic analysis allows observers or practitioners to use the types of information in a systematic way to increase the accuracy and sensitivity of observations of people, events, situations and organizations. Coding is essentially a method of relating the data to ideas. Thematic analysis is regularly used by scholars in variety of

disciplines, such as literature, psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, political science and history, art, economics, mathematics, physics and many other disciplines (Denzin and Lincoln,1994; Silverman,1993). Many of these disciplines use thematic analysis under different names. In short, thematic analysis enables scholars to use the qualitative method to more easily communicate their observations or findings and turn them into more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. The method enables scholars to bridge or translate their methods to wider fields while interepreting and constructing meaning from the case being investigated (Boyatzis, 1998). Data can be investigated in different settings and analysis conducted based on a model of applied consistent and reliable judgements.

4.9.1 Epistemology of thematic analysis : Realist and constructionist

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis does not have any pre-existing theoretical framework, so the model can be used and wedded into different theoretical frameworks or not all, allowing it to be used in a versatile manner for a wide range of purposes. For example, the model can be applied to an essentialist or realist approach which report experiences, meanings and participants' real world views in a straightforward way. Alternatively, the model can fit into constructionist approaches, as it is used in this study to examine the realities, meanings and experiences of participants and the impacts of these on society. In contrast to a realist approach, the constructionist perspective focuses on experiences as being more socially produced and theorise the data in a more sociocultural context. Thematic analysis works both to reflect reality and unravel the surface of reality (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis,1998).

Braun and Clarke (2006) state that a number of decisions need to be taken even before the data collection stage and certainly before the analysis stage of thematic analysis. The steps they outline include explaining and identifying what a theme is. They summarise that a theme captures something important in relation to the research question. These themes represent patterns of meaning in the data. Therefore, the researcher's judgement is essential to determine what should be highlighted as a theme. Guest et al. (2011) point out that thematic anlysis requires the involvement and interpretation of the researcher. Themes can be topics that arise from the data or the prevalence of ideas or words often repeated in the data set. However, the key feature of a theme is that it is not necessarily a quantifiable measure, but is important in addressing the main research question/s. Although the identification of themes can be done flexibily and can be achievede in a number of ways, Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasise that the analysis has to be undertaken consistently. They provide guidance

for researchers, but make clear that any approach adopted needs flexibility and that rigid rules are neither necessary nor work. Guest et al. (2011) also suggest that the model is more cultural and that a thematic analysis model goes beyond than counting explicit words or phrases. The model identifies and describes ideas within the data, around which themes are created. From these themes, codes are then developed to represent the identified themes and applied to the raw data. herefore it is important that the researcher collects data primarily to assist him or her in identifying the themes or patterns.

4.9.2 Thematic analysis: Inductive or theoretical

Braun and Clarke (2006) state that themes and patterns can be identified in two ways: inductively and theoretically. The Inductive approach is commonly identified as being bottom up and was discussed earlier in this chapter (see 4.3.1 and the Table 4.2). The themes in the inductive approach are strongly linked with the primary data itself. Inductive analysis identifies themes with very little relation to the specific question/s and the themes are not driven by the researcher's theoretical interests in the field. The inductive analysis process emphasises the need to avoid using or fitting the themes in with pre-existing coding frames such as are used in grounded theory. Therefore, this form of thematic analysis can be considered to be data driven.

The theoretical approach, by contrast, is deductive and top down. Thematic data analysis accepts that a researcher cannot be totally value-free when they collect information. The researcher has theoretical or epistemological commitments as discussed earlier in this chapter. Therefore, in contrast to inductive thematic analysis, theoretical thematic analysis tends to be driven by the researcher's theoretical and analytical interests. According to Braun and Clarke (2006:84), the model is more 'analyst driven than the inductive thematic analysis'. This model of thematic analysis tends to provide less rich description of data and more detailed analysis of what the researcher considers to be the key aspects. Braun and Clarke (2006:84) state that

> You can either code for a quite specific research question (which maps onto the more theoretical approach) or the specific research question can evolve through the coding process (which maps onto the inductive approach).

For example, if a researcher begins with the data and repeatedly re-reads the data first until the themes came up purely from the primary data, this is inductive thematic analysis. If the researcher is in interested in and focuses on a particular feature in the

coding which is related to or expands other themes around in the field, this is theoretical thematic analysis.

4.9.3 Thematic analysis: Latent or interpretive model

As was mentioned above, thematic analysis also has different levels of analysis: the latent, semantic or interpretive levels, and the explicit level (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis,1998). Thematic analysis focuses on only one level with researchers following either the latent or interpretive level. The latent, semantic level of analysis identifies the surface meanings of the themes which arise from the data. The researcher is not seeking or looking for anything beyond than what the participants or data reports. In contrast to the latent level, explicit interpretive analysis, as the name suggests, allows for more interpretation and analysis and not just a description, which is already theorized. The level goes beyond the description of the data and starts to identify and examine the underlying ideas and conceptualise the data. The interpretive level of analysis often used by a constructionist paradigm.

4.9.4 Thematic analysis: a step-by-step guide

According to Guest et al. (2011), In order to develop and refine a codebook, the analysis process involves two stages. These stages begin with inductive approach to develop the code book based on a thematic analysis of some of the transcript, and then the rest of the transcript needs to be examined including any necessary modifications of the codes as well as definitions. These modifications take place in several stages as set out by Braun and Clarke, (2006: 87), as follows:

1. 1 Familiarizing yourself with your data: Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes: Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes: Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes: Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes: Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report

Based on the above information, this study adapted thematic analysis. The following section now discusses how the data was analysed and organised, conceptualised, refined and interpreted.

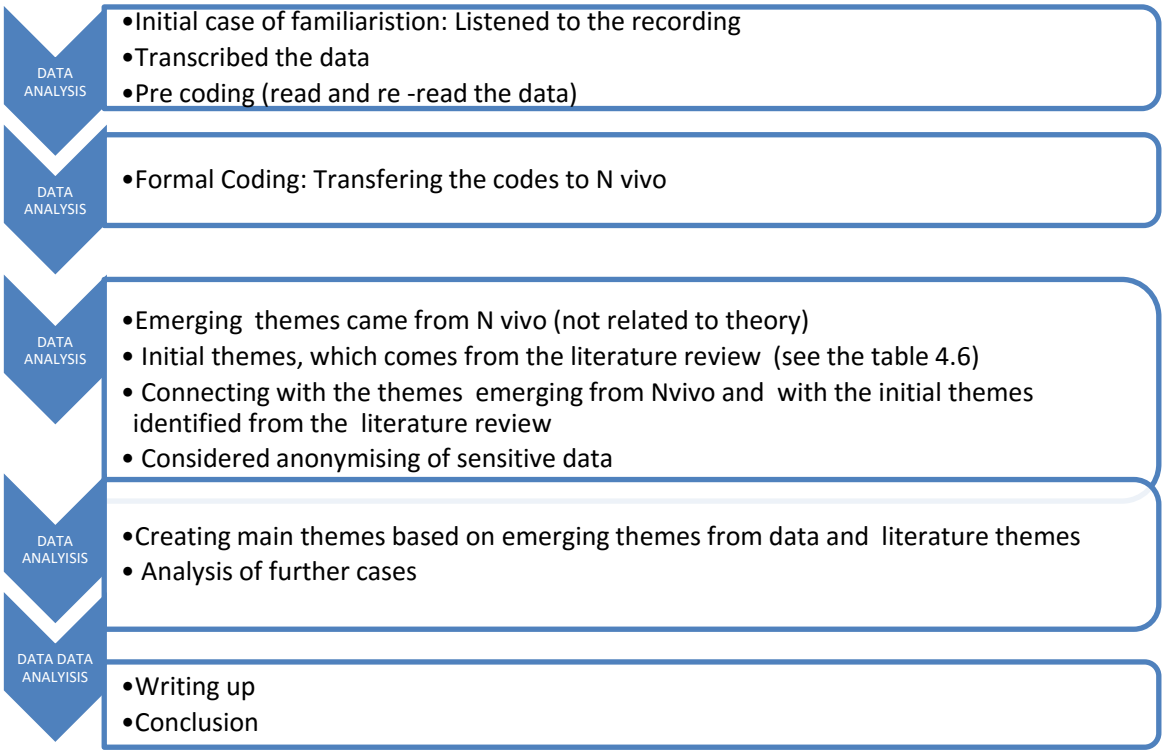
4.9.5 How this study utilised: Thematic analysis

Silverman (2006) states that qualitative research should avoid 'social problem directed research' while 'thinking theoretically and types of sensitivity in generating a research problem', issues that demanded considered. However, the main issue is centred on analysing the data. Silverman, (2006) states that the most important thing in qualitative research is to ensure the quality of the data analysis and that this may be as important as the composing of the questions to elicit the data, especially in semi-structured interviews. The main focus of such interviews is to allow access to the interviewee's perceptions while maintaining objectivity as well as understanding and interpreting what has been said. The analysis must carefully consider the details of the data to explore the interviewee's perception of reality based upon those responses. **T**he data collection and data analysis processes in this research are summarised in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 below.

Table 4.7: **Data collection process**

DATA COLLECTION	•Before the research questions the literature reviewed and prepared the content and considered the following questions : •Why, what and how
DATA COLLECTION	•Sampling Plan: considiration of how many people and how many phases neccesary to achieve reliable data •Writing the semi structured question consideration of validity and relibility of the reserach and the initial themes (see the table 4.6)
DATA COLLECTION	• Consideration of initial list of themes, which emerged from the literature review and after each phases of the data collections (see the table 4.6)
DATA COLLECTION	•Interview phase 1; mainly focused on experiences perceptions of the host population •Interview phase 2; mainly focused on experiences perceptions of the British permanent tourists population •Focus group phase 3; focused on both experiences perceptions of the British permanent tourists and the hosts populations
DATA COLLECTION	•Interview transcription (verbatim)

Table 4.8: Data analysis process



Source: Adapted from Howitt (2010: 283) and Jarratt (2014)

4.9.6 Stages of analysis of the interview data

The data analysis used content driven (exploratory) coding and constructed themes from the data consistent with thematic analysis (as set out above) rather than using a confirmatory (hypothesis-driven) approach.

1.First stage (pre-coding): **Initial case familiarization.**

Lacey and Luff (2009) state that the first step of analysis should be familiarisation with the data through review, listening to the recording. To reduce any misunderstandings and to avoid misinterpretation, recordings of interviews were listened to several times to identify information which stands out as being related to the research questions and to eliminate data that were not. This listening also carefully considered features such as tones and style of the respondents' language and terminology. This process was carried out with the researcher showing empathy with the views while being as objective as possible and focused on familiarisation with the data.

2. Transcription of the data: The second step in the process is the translation of information from the recording (audio file) to a written transcript (Gibbs, 2007; Lacey and Luff, 2009). The translation and transcription took around four to ten hours per interview and the process was carried out by the researcher in order to allow for a

thorough understanding of and familiarity with the data. This stage assisted in constructing the meaning of the interview.

3. Organisation of the data: According to Gibbs (2007), the researcher needs to organise the interviewee's speech. At this stage, each interview was given a unique number as well as a letter in order to separate the data from hosts and British permanent tourists. Some of the intervieewers were interviewed as couples, so such documents were given two numbers to reflect this. For example, the main findings from the Phase One interviews, which involved 14 hosts, were analysed and organised under Host, H1 letter. The couple interviews were given H1 and H2 symbols. Due to the language barrier between Turkish hosts and British permanent tourists, the focus groups were conducted separately. The host focus group was differentiated as (FH1). 24 British permanent tourists' experiences and perceptions were organised under Guest, G letter. he two British focus group interviews, were listed as Focus Guest (FG).

4. Read and re-read the data

To gain more familiarity with the data, reading the transcribed data was the third step for the study. All the transcripts including the focus group interviews were read and re-read by the researcher until she was sufficiently engaged with the data to be able to understand deeply all the themes, so that coding could begin. To generate the first draft of the themes, the researcher highlighted important issues in general before moving on to record detailed meanings.

5. Formal Coding: Transferring the codes to Nvivo and the themes

Cresswell (2009: 21) states that researchers should 'begin detailed analysis with a coding process'. Coding or indexing is a crucial stage in which all aspects of the viewpoints need to be highlighted (Lacey and Luff, 2009). The process involved uploading the respondents' transcriptions to Nvivo and highlighting meaningful words, issues and ideas. Each of the highlighted words, sentences, issues and ideas were given a code (see Appendix 5 and 6). In this stage, many of the themes emerged from the process as the researcher identified the main codes, picking up on anything meaningful for the respondents in addition to the themes anticipated by the researcher from the questions used for the interviews and focus groups which had been drawn from the literature review (see Table 4.6).

6. Connecting the themes

Once all of the individual cases had been analysed, the researcher looked for links between different subjects' responses. Nvivo was very helpful in this process since it allowed the researcher to organise the different codes.

7. Analysis of further cases and anonymising of sensitive data

The transcribed and coded data was read with the researcher paying attention to the meaning of the content and any sensitive issues. This method of analysis assisted in integrating and engaging with the interpretation of the transcript. It was the interpretation stage which focused what was underlying in the respondents' words. This lead to the analysis of further cases**.** Each case was analyzed and interlinked with the themes and patterns from the initial table and evaluated.

8. Master table of themes for the group

The researcher read the transcribed data again and evaluated the key concepts. A table was produced which clarifies the framework established from the coding and the themes from the literature review and the new themes from the current study. The following table was used to structure the results section in this study (Table 4.9)

9. Writing up

The results were reported using the table framework (Table 4.9). The main concern at this stage was to focus on further meaning of the themes and to turn them into a narrative account and expand the analysis.

10. Conclusion

With the analysis and the write-up complete, the findings could be summarized in a conclusion section.

Table 4.9 The table of emerged themes for the study

Bio data	Environmental impacts
Demonstrational effects	Business prioritises permanent tourists
Migration types who are they?	Tourist exploitation
Duration of length	Main reasons for leaving Didim; Economic gain, climate and better social life better quality of lifestyle
Integration with host community	Financial issues
Language learning	Social division between the two communities
Health and welfare issues	Nature of the relations between hosts and P.Ts; Superficial / symbiotic and colonial
Using the local services and general issues	P.Ts seek nostalgic view and rural family oriented culture
Religion issues	How the local business adapts to the Permanent tourists' needs
Host acceptance	Heterogeneous sociocultural characters of hosts
Nationality and cultural differences	Social impacts
P.T enclaves	Adaptation to local lifestyle
Motivation of permanent tourists	Early retirement options

The overall research methodology is summarised below in Table 4.10

Table 4.10 Summary of research methodology

Research paradigm	Interpretivist approach
Research method	Qualitative/inductive
Research Epistemology	Interpretivist
Research Design	Case study
Data collection	Stage 1: In-depth semi-structured interviews with 14 Hosts population Altinkum/Didim Stage 2: In-depth semi-structured interviews with 24 British permanent tourists (home owners) Akbuk / Didim Stage 3: Focus group (discussion) with 3 groups (one host and 2 British permanent tourists groups) Akbuk / Didim
Data analysis	Stage 1: Nvivo and Thematic Analysis Stage 2: Nvivo and Thematic Analysis Stage 3: Nvivo and Thematic Analysis

4.9.7 Summary of the three phases of the research

Phase one focused on the perceptions of the host community. Given the specific purpose of the research, that is, to explore critically the local community's perceptions of permanent tourists, respondents were purposefully sampled from the local Turkish community in Altinkum in Didim. They were identified and contacted through the author's existing contacts and, in total, fourteen members of the local community participated in the research including representatives of different age groups as well as people who had either been born and always lived in Didim or who had lived in the town for at least ten years. The sample also included a mix of genders and political backgrounds as well as different professions, including stakeholders in the second home property sector, local government officials, the religious community, the coach of a local football team and other businessmen and workers from the region.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted (in Turkish) during August 2013 and one interview was conducted 2014. Each interview took approximately 50 to 60

minutes; all interviews were, with the respondents' consent, digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated into English.

The second phase of research focused on British permanent tourists. The research was conducted in August 2014 in Akbuk in Didim Interviews took place in Didim, Turkey, in August 2014, consisting of 24 British permanent tourists (these included second-home owners and other lifestyle migrants). The research mainly focused on understanding the experiences of members of the British as well as their main motivations for living in Didim. This second phase also aimed to contrast the views of the permanent tourists with those of the host community in order to confirm or counter the findings from Phase One.

The final phase of the research was the use of focus group discussions. The research was conducted in August 2015 in Akbuk in Didim. To improve the validity and reliability of the research, three focus groups were held with four to six British second home owners and one focus group made up of two members of the host community.

Generally, previous host and guest relation studies are considered to be limited by the predominant employment of quantitative data collection methods. Hence, the use of qualitative interviews sought to generate a deeper understanding of the local community's perceptions and experiences of permanent tourists in Didim (McGregor and Murnane, 2010; Silverman, 2006). As discussed in the following chapters, this approach indeed yielded rich data with respect to the local community's perceptions of permanent tourists as well as the permanent tourists' expectations and the level of adaptation to and integration with the host community in Didim.

Chapter 5

The research setting

5.0 Introduction

Having established the conceptual framework for the research in Chapters Two and Three and, subsequently, establishing in Chapter Four the methodological approach adopted, the thesis now turns to a consideration of the outcomes of the research. These are considered in detail in the following chapter (Chapter Six) but first, it is necessary to devote a brief chapter to discussing the setting of the research. More specifically, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the location of the case study, Didim, and to consider its geographic and demographic features, its sociocultural and historical background, as well as providing an overview of tourism development in the town.

In particular, as the main aim of the research is to explore critically international permanent tourist migration and its impacts on Didim, it is important to understand the demographic character of the host community. Therefore, this chapter briefly reviews the history of domestic migration in Didim and the general character and structure of the host society, as well as highlighting the proportion of properties owned by British permanent tourists. Moreover, in order to contextualise the study of host interactions with British permanent tourists, the chapter also reviews briefly the social, cultural and political historical background of Turkey as a whole, and the process of Westernisation and social polarisation.

5.1 An introduction to Didim

Didim is popularly known in Turkey as Altinkum (Goldensand). Covering an area of 402 km. sq., it is a small town located on the Aegean peninsula in the Western coastal part of Turkey, and is one of a number of districts of Aydin City which is located approximately 123km (76 miles) away (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below). According to Didim's local council website (Didim Council, 2017), the town's population in 2014 had increased to a total of 73,835. Tourism provides the main source of income for the town and the surrounding areas, although fishing and agriculture are also significant economic activities in the region. Didim is located close to two International airports: Izmir Adnan Menderes (165 km away) and Bodrum Gulluk Airport (87km from Didim).

The town is also close to other popular tourist resorts on the Aegean coast, such as Kusadasi and Bodrum.

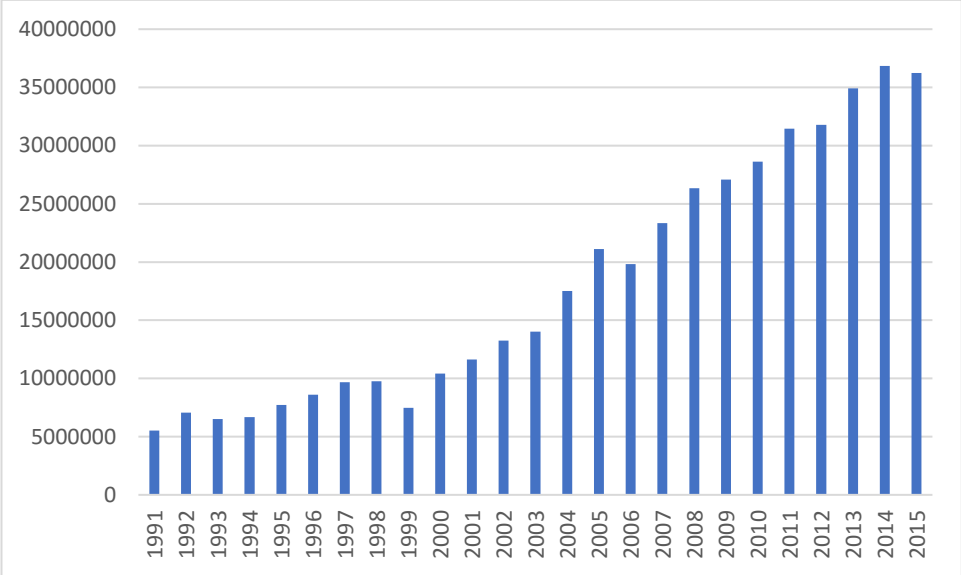
Overall, Didim boasts some 90 km of coastline Altinkum (Goldensand) beach in particular is a major tourist attraction in Didim (Didim Council, 2017). According to Nurdali (2007), the former Mayor of Didim, Mehmet Soysalan, stated that international tourism development in the region has long been influenced and encouraged by tourism policies within the public sector. More specifically, the development tourism in Turkey was firmly established after the launch of the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TURSAB) in 1972 (Yolal, 2016). TURSAB is a non-profit organisation in Turkey and, according to its president, its main role is to ensure the travel agencies work cooperatively and professionally (Ulusoy, 2017). Since the creation of TURSAB, existing and new travel agencies have been to operate in Turkey (Yolal, 2016).

Figure 5.1: Photo of Altinkum/Didim

Source: Didim Council (2017)

Following the establishment of, TURSAB, policies for tourism supported the significant growth and development of the sector from the 1980s onwards, including the development of the two airports referred to above and other major infrastructure development. On the basis of this, the Aegean coastal area of Turkey has enjoyed rapid growth in tourism, as indeed has Turkey as a whole (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: The number of tourists visiting Turkey between 1991 to 2015

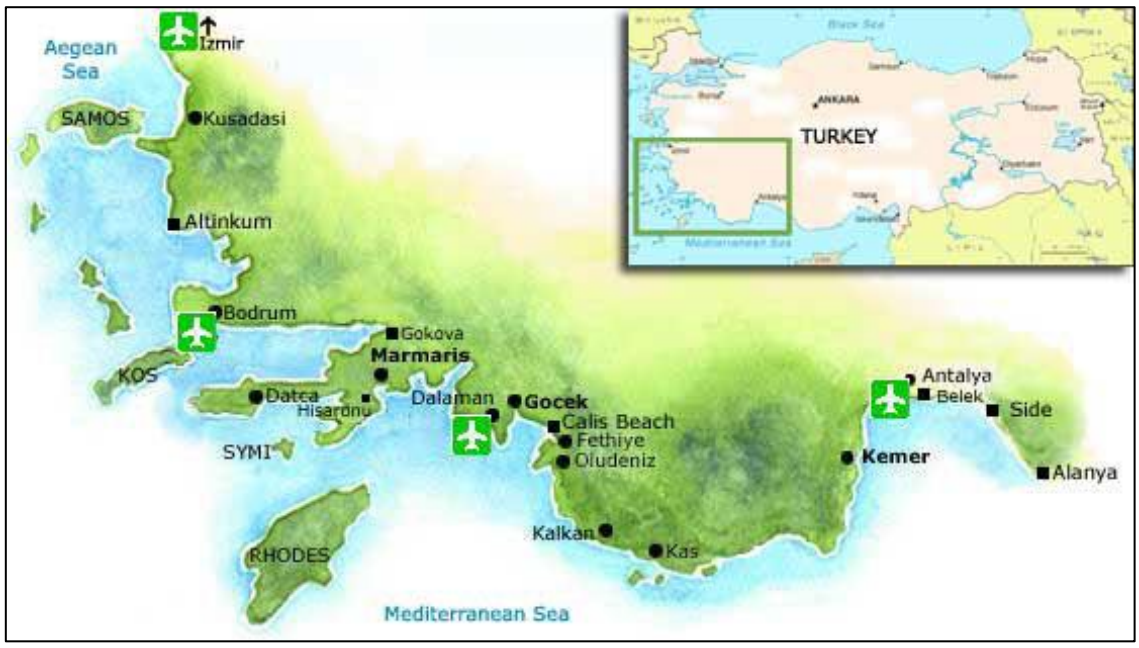


Source: Adapted from Turkish Union of chambers and exchange commodities (TOBB) and Turkish hoteliers federation (TUROFED) Rapport (2017)

In particular, since the start of the new millennium, Turkey has experienced a remarkable expansion of its tourism sector. In 2005, the country attracted more than 20 million international tourism arrivals, ranking the country tenth in the world. By 2015, arrivals had almost doubled to more than 36 million, ranking the country sixth in the world in terms of arrivals. Since then, however, political events and the threat of terrorist activity have reversed the growth trend, with the number of international arrivals falling back to approximately 25 million.

With regards to Didim in particular, the first architectural plan was set out in 1983 (Toprak, 2007) and Didim officially became a town in 1991(Nurdali, 2007: 25). Subsequently, the area gained a reputation for being the 'second home holidaying' region of Turkey for domestic tourists, the town being especially popular with second home holidaymakers from Ankara, Soke, Nazilli and Denizli. The resort of Didim (Altinkum) was 'discovered' by British tour operators in 1987 and, since then, it has been particularly popular amongst British package tourists (both on holiday and as permanent tourists).

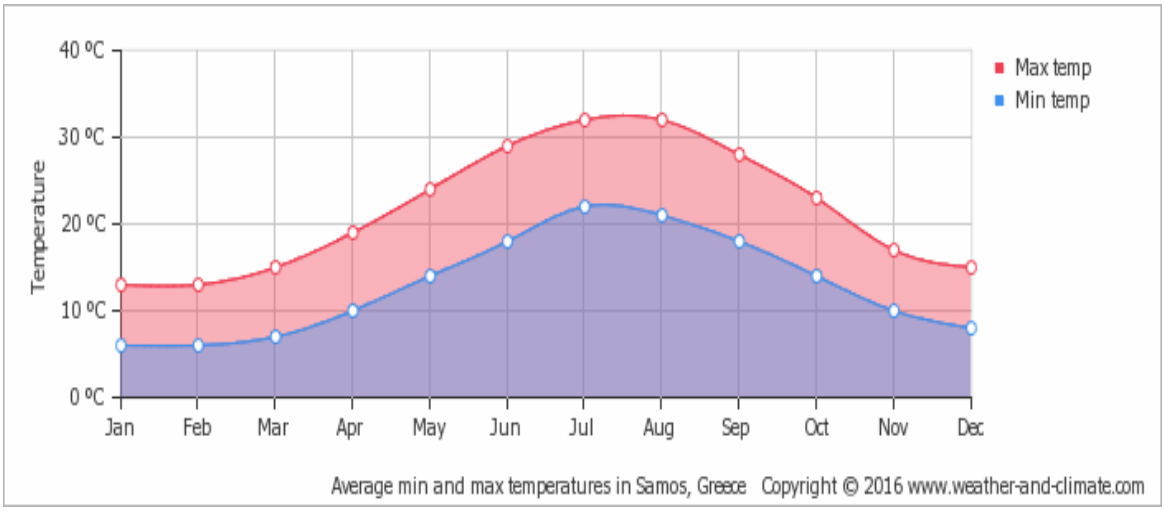
Figure 5.3: Location of Altinkum/Didim in Turkey



Source: Didim Council (2017)

The area in which Didim is located town enjoys a typical Mediterranean climate, hot and dry in the summer months while the winter is moderate in terms of temperature but rainy (Figures 5.3 and 5.4)

Figure 5.4: Minimum and maximum temperature in Didim



Source: www.weather-and-climate.com (2016)

There are a number of rural villages around Didim (Akbuk, Yalikoy and Yenikoy) in which where there are many second home developments which are also popular with British home owners. Akbuk village in particular, which is located to the north of Didim, has many villas and other types of properties aimed at the second home property

market. Consequently, it was here that the second phase of the research (interviews with British permanent tourists) was undertaken (Figure 5.5)

Figure 5.5: Photograph of Akbuk/Didim

Source: Didim Council (2017)

5.1.1 A short history of Didim (Didyma) and incoming domestic migration

According to Didim Council (2017), settlement in the region dates back to the Ionian period (B.C. 8000), since when the area was colonised by many civilisations including the Lycians, Persians, Seleucidle, Attalidle Romans, Byzantines and Turks. Indeed, this varied and long history is a further reason its popularity as a tourist destination.

Didim itself was previously known as the village of Yoran/ Yeronda, and was populated by Greeks along with a small Muslim Turkish community called Islam Yoran village. However, following the War of Independence in 1922, the region was included in the population exchange agreement between the Greek and Turkish governments as part of the Lausanne Convention (20 October 1922 - 24 July 1923), through which both governments agreed to exchange their populations. According to the Ministry of Turkey's Language and History Research Institute (LHRI, 2017), some 200,000 Christian Greeks who used to live in Aegean costal parts in Turkey and 350,000 Muslim Turks who used to live in the city of Salonika (Thessaloniki) were exchanged and most of the Turkish population who moved from Thessaloniki settled in Yoran village, which today is Didim. In addition, some Muslim Turks who used to live other Balkan states also were relocated to Turkey (Didim Council, 2017).

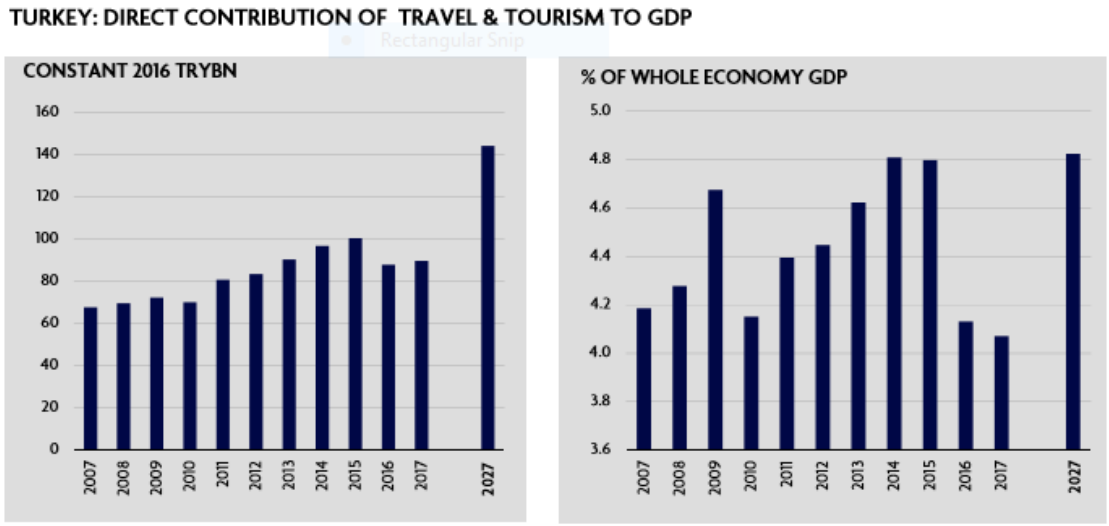
Figure 5.6: Historical map of Didim

Source: Didim Council (2017)

According to Nurdali (2007), the town municipality was established in 1967 with the construction of housing in currently known as the Altinkum and Mavisehir neighbourhoods. Nurdali (2007) also adds that during the 1980s, the town experienced in-migration from the eastern part of Turkey, mainly from the Kars and Adiyaman regions where land had been expropriated for the construction of the Ataturk and Karakaya dams.

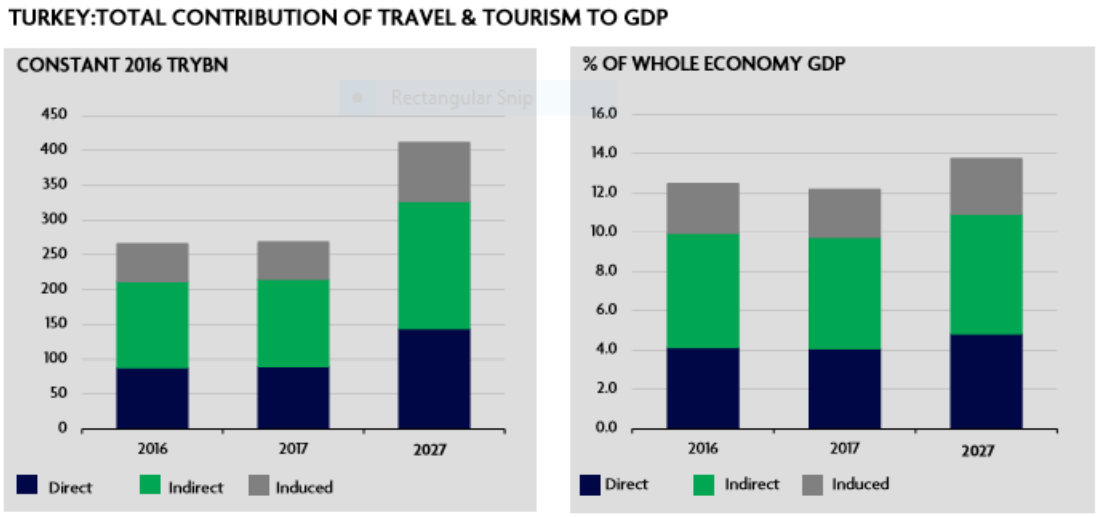
Since becoming a popular tourism zone, the economy of the region in which Didim is located has mainly relied on tourism (Çankaya, 2006: 23). Although data for tourism in Didim specifically are not available, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council (2016), tourism's economic contribution to Turkey's GDP as a whole in 2016 was TRY 87.9bn (4.1% of GDP) and the organisation also estimated that 2016 figures would rise 0.2% to TRY 89.7bn in 2017 (see Figures 5.7 and 5.8 below).

Figure 5.7: Travel and Tourism industry's direct economic contribution to Turkey



Source: World Travel and Tourism Council (2016: 7)

Figure 5.8: Travel and Tourism industry's total economic contribution to Turkey



[1] All values are in constant 2016 prices & exchange rates

Source: World Travel and Tourism Council (2016: 7)

5.1.2 The population of Didim

According to TUIK (2014), the total number of residents in Didim increased dramatically between 2009 and 2014. A comparison of the total population, including that of surrounding villages, between 2009 and 2014, reveals that the total population increased from 52,589 in 2009 to 64,475 in 2013 and to 73,226 in 2014 (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: The population development of the core town and its villages in Didim in 2014

Name	**Status**	**District**	**Population** Estimate 2009-12-31	**Population** Estimate 2011-12-31	**Population** Estimate 2013-12-31	**Population** Estimate 2014-12-31
Akbük	Quarter (environs)	Didim	3,841	4,386	4,402	5,664
Akköy	Quarter (environs)	Didim	1,076	1,095	1,092	1,092
Ak-Yeniköy	Quarter (environs)	Didim	2,585	2,445	2,480	2,487
Balat	Quarter (environs)	Didim	1,084	1,092	1,066	1,087
Denizköy	Quarter (environs)	Didim	996	997	962	975
Didim	City (core)	Didim	41,246	46,571	52,444	59,864
Yalıköy	Quarter (environs)	Didim	1,761	1,976	2,029	2,057

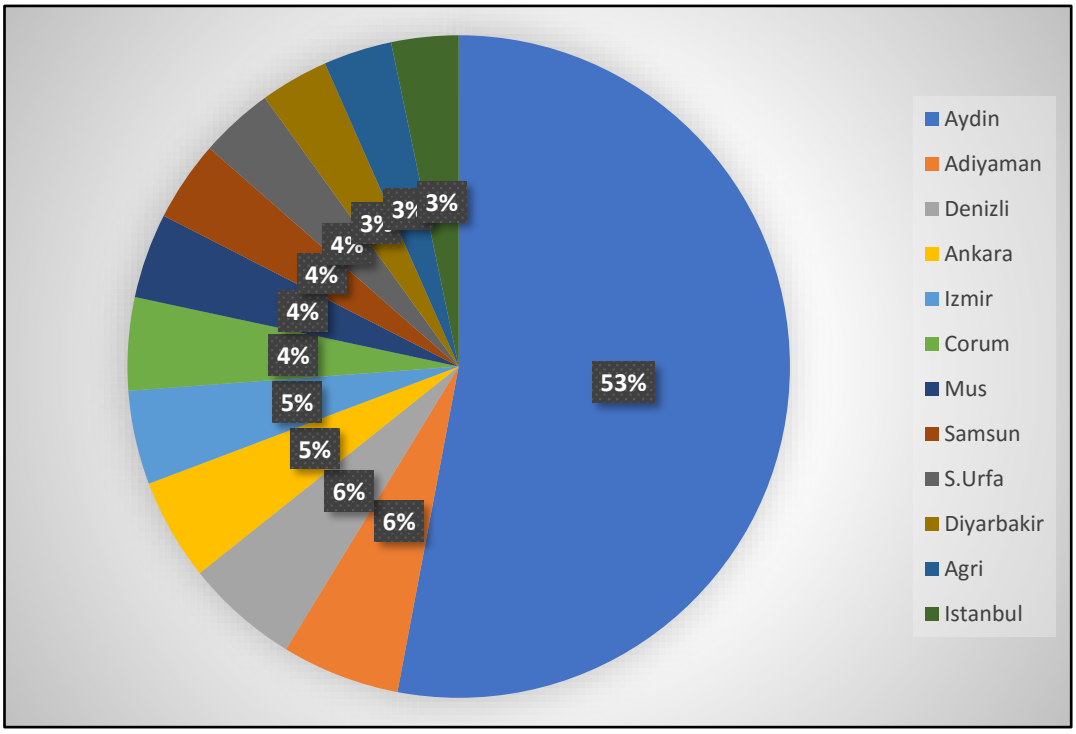
Source: State Institute of Statistics, Republic of Turkey (2017)

According to Nurdali (2007) the town's rapid development, particularly as a tourism destination, has attracted much low-skill labour migration from the eastern and south-eastern parts of Turkey, whilst incoming domestic migration more generally is quite high. As a consequence, the number of local people originally born in Didim is quite low, resulting in the town's host community being quite cosmopolitan. Indeed, Nurdali cites Tempo (2006), a political magazine, which refers to the cultural differences between different ethnic groups amongst incoming domestic migrants, mainly of Kurdish and Turkish origin, and the potential for increased social tension in the town. Conversely, Sahin (2013), writing in the newspaper *Milliyet*, cites Turkish Statistics Association (TUIK) figures that reveal the mixed background of domestic migrants residents in Didim, but he suggests that these groups have integrated well and learnt how to live together. This is, however, unsurprising as the relative balance between groups in the town ensures that, apart from a relatively high number of migrants from Aydin, which is in the same province with Didim, there is no ethnic majority amongst incoming domestic migrants from other cities in Turkey. Most are mainly of either Kurdish ethnic origin or are Turks from the Western cities (see Table 5.2 and Figure 5.9)

Table 5.2: Origins of domestic migrants to Didim, Turkey (raw numbers)

Aydin	Adiyaman	Denizli	Ankara	Izmir	Corum	Mus	Samsun	S.Urfa	Diyarbakir	Agri	Istanbul
18292	1992	1918	1715	1584	1565	1434	1358	1244	1151	1153	1132

Figure. 5.9: Birth place- previous residents of domestic migrants to Didim, Turkey (Percentages)



Source: Sahin, Milliyet newspaper (2013)

5.1.3 International migration: Foreign property ownership in Didim

As noted above, Didim's population increased from 42,266 in 2007 to 73,226 in 2014. Tourism development is one of the principal reasons underpinning incoming migration to Didim from other parts of Turkey although, according to Londra Gazete (2016), the demography of the town has also been transformed as some 25% of the town's population are originally from Britain.

More specifically, Turan and Karakaya (2005), citing general Directorate of Land Registry statistics, note that 12,749 English nationals bought properties in Turkey in 2006 whilst, with specific reference to Didim, Nurdali (2007: 28), also citing the

Directorate of Land Registry for 2006, states that that 'the share of the European Anglophones in foreign property ownership in Didim rose to 97.6%'. Nurdali lists these 2006 figures as being 3,138 properties in Didim owned by 4,362 foreign nationals of which 2,731 were held by 3,871 British nationals, which is about 88% of the total. The second largest foreign property owning population in Didim is from the Republic of Ireland, who collectively own 166 properties.Indeed, as well as being popular with British permanent tourists in particular, Didim ranks eighth amongst Turkish towns where foreigners in general have bought property (Erdoganars et al., 2004) (see Figure 5.11: Didim is located in Aydin Province)

Figure 5.10: Regions popular amongst international permanent tourists buying properties in Turkey

Source: Erdoganaras et al.(2004)

Rather confusingly, Ozcan and Tezcan (2008: 23) observe that the official figures from registration figures in Turkey show that 7,940 English people lived as residents in Turkey. However, they go on to acknowledge that there are many British citizens residing in Turkey who are not registered as residents and, hence, the real figures are much higher. Ozcan and Tezcan (2008: 23) also state official UK documents which suggest that 34,000 English people live in Turkey all year around and, interestingly, claim that countries like Britain and Norway encourage their elderly citizens to migrate to other countries as they do not have to support them financially when they do so. There is, however, no evidence to support this assertion.

It should be noted that some English migrants not only buy property in Didim but also marry Turkish nationals. Ozcan and Tezcan (2008: 47) state that there were 237 marriages in Didim in 2005, of which 85, or approximately 30%, were between local Turkish men and English women. The figures show that the youngest bride was over

40 years old. Nurdali (2007) similarly suggests that there is a new social engagement between some older British ladies and local men in Didim. It is, therefore, pertinent to revisit Wicken's (2002) observations of British tourist types in Chalkidiki in Greece and her identification of what she termed Shirley Valentines types; that is, mature British ladies who seek romance in Greece. This trend shares similarities with the case of Didim. However, the situation in Didim is more interesting as British women not only seek romance, but also marry local Turkish men.

Significantly, however, recent newspapers reports suggest that the number of properties owned by British nationals in Didim is now in decline. For example, Gulec (2017) reports in *Gazete Duvar* that estate agents in Didim are saying that 'especially over the last three years, there has been an intensive return' of British property owners. In addition, Haberturk (2017) stated in a headline in 2011 that 'The English are returning home'. The same article also quoted Didim's deputy local mayor, Ahmet Karaoğlu, as follows:

> There are returns but not intensive. These are due to the world economic crisis and the UK mortgage crisis. This has influenced the demand for second home summer houses. There was an intensive property demand in our town during 2003-2004. We understood that from the application numbers of property selling in our council and that demand impacted the market positively but now that demand is not there.

Although it is suggested in the above statement that the fall in demand has not been drastic, another quote in the same article reported the Head of the Tourism Association in Didim, Deniz Atabay, arguing for the situation to be investigated to discover why British permanent tourists arrived in the region and why they have begun to return to the UK. The current study result will also investigate this issue, seeking to identify the main reasons for the exodus of British permanent tourists.

However, to understand the broader context of host-guest relations in Didim, particularly between the members of the local community and British permanent tourists, the next section provides a necessarily brief overview of Turkey's social and political history and the key relevant issues today. Specifically, modern Turkey is a Islamic yet secular country and is, therefore, untypical of other Middle Eastern nations. This is especially noticeable in big cities (Boniface et al., 2005).

5.2 History of modern Turkey

An exploration of permanent tourism in Didim and, in particular, of the relationship between permanent tourists and the local host community in the town must be located within a brief history of modern Turkey and, in particular, the role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in transforming Turkey into the modern state that it is today.

A definitive account of Atutürk's life's can be found in Kinross (2012). For the purpose of this chapter, however, Atutürk was the founder of modern Turkey, establishing the independent Republic of Turkey and becoming its first president in 1923. He served the country in this role until he died in 1938. Before he established the modern state of Turkey, he was well-known as a successful commander in Ottoman Empire. He cemented his reputation leading the Turkish forces against the attempted invasion of the Dardanelles in Gallipoli in 1915. Later, he successfully led the Turkish War of Independence (1920 to 1922), which resulted in a new agreement between modern Turkey and the entente states under the Lausanne Peace Treaty (24 July 1923). The Lausanne Treaty created the borders of modern Turkey and the new Turkish State based on national solidarity (Ministry of Turkey, 2017). Of particular note, it was following the First World War and the declaration of the new Republic in 1923 that Turkey began its own revolution under Atatürk and that the process of modernisation, westernisation and secularisation began (Arat, 2008).

5.2.1 Westernisation policies in Turkey

Although the modernisation of Turkey is generally considered to have started with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, policies of westernisation can in fact be traced back to the Ottoman period of the 19th Century (Lewis, 1955). Specifically, western influence was evident in the development of the Ottoman parliament and the Ottoman Constitution of 1876, whilst westernisation policies were further advanced by the Young Turks in 1906, a political movement that restored the1876 Constitution and established democratic, multi-party politics. In other words, Turkey in effect recreated itself in its own image with the establishment of Republic in the 1920s (Erdemir, 2007, Kasaba, 2008; Lewis, 1996).

After becoming president, Atatürk introduced many reforms in order to transform Turkey and to lift it to the level of contemporary civilizations. These reforms can be categorised under five main headings: (i) political; (ii) social; (iii) cultural; (iv) economic; and (v) judicial. Political reforms began with the abolishment of the Sultanate (1922) and the Caliphate (1924) and declaration of the Republic in 1923. He launched many social reforms such as equal rights for women 1926 -1934 (Ministry of Turkey, 2017)

An important identifier of this was when Turkish women gained their legal and voting rights in 1934, earlier than in countries such as Switzerland (1971) and just fourteen years after such rights were achieved in the USA. Of particular importance, Turkey's

Figure 5.11: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk introducing the Latin alphabet.
Source: Ministry of Turkey (2017)

secularism (laicity) policies, which separated the state from religion (that is, the Turkish state neither recognises nor promotes an official religion), were introduced in 1924 and encoded in the Constitution in 1928. Judicial reforms included the abolition of Canon law and the creation of the new Turkish civil code and legislation to suit a secular country (1924 to 1937). Atatürk also oversaw a revolution in clothing, closed dervish lodges, abolished nicknames and introduced legal surnames. In light of his influence, the new republic gave Mustafa Kemal the name Atatürk, meaning 'Father of the Turks' (The Ministry of Turkey's Language and History Research Institute (LHRI, 2017).

Atatürk also made many educational and cultural reforms, such as developing a modern, integrated education system, including universities. He also introduced the Latin alphabet, replacing Arabic letters, and established Turkish language, historical and fine arts societies between 1924 and 1933. He also adopted the modern international calendar, time and measurement.

The implementation of economic reforms was also undertaken by Atatürk between 1933 and 1937. These introduced new, modern taxation schemes and encouraged farmers to adopt modern farming methods. The reforms also included legislation for the organisation of industries and corporations and the implementation of the first and second development plans 1933-37. New highways were also built, stretching across the country.

Internationally, Atatürk pursued a policy of neutrality, adopting a friendly approach towards relations with Turkey's neighbours; indeed, while touring Anatolia on 20th April 1931 he made his well-known pronouncement: 'Yurtta Sulh Cihanda Sulh' or 'Peace at Home, Peace in the World'

Ataturk died on 10th November 1938 in the Dolmabahce Palace in Istanbul. He had established the modern state of Turkey and a single party regime which lasted until 1945 (the Ministry of Turkey's Language and History Research Institute (LHRI), 2017). Since then, democracy in Turkey has been well established and the country has experienced relative stability for sixty years (Lovell, 2009). As Noi (2016) summarises, Turkey has followed a political journey and multiparty system since 1946, much longer than in many neighbouring countries and even than in some EU member states. Turkey is also a founding member of the Council of Europe (1951), the organisation for the guarding of democracy and human rights. The country has been a member of the OECD since 1961 and committed itself to democracy, the market economy and fundamental freedoms. Despite the interruption of military coups (1960, 1971 and 1980) the country has achieved significant progress in democratisation particularly in the early 2000s.

5.2.2 Secular policies and polarisation issues in Turkey

Turkey is a country with heterogeneous and often polarised sections of society, and the lifestyles of different groups within communities vary significantly. Erdemir (2007) observes that diverse ethnic, political and cultural identities have always existed in Turkey and that, for these reasons, there are many political parties in the country. He goes on to suggests that these diverse identities can be seen as weaknesses of the country; in particular, the conflict in identity between Westernisation and a historical background rooted Islam and a conservative lifestyle are issues which are the source of many social and cultural problems in Turkey.

Erdemir (2007: 159) takes the view that 'Turkish governments have always pursued pragmatic and realistic policies, according to the demands of the region and the wider world, mostly the West'. Culturally and legally, the country's modernisation history is very different from that of other Islamic nations. As discussed above, Atatürk's reforms replaced Sharia law with the Swiss Civil code, introduced secular education, banned Islamic robes and the fez and introduced western clothing and a free market economy (Lewis, 1955: 199 Lovell, 2009; BBC2, 2013; Summer and Boray, 2013). However, Erdemir (2007: 69) is critical of the Turkish government's secularisation and westernisation policies which he asserts have long caused social issues, arguing that

> …in order to sustain Westernization in a society consisting of a Muslim population, social life had to be secularized to facilitate the adaptation of

> Western social morals. This was a precondition of establishing a new national identity for a Westernized society. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk also launched a series of reforms dealing with social relations. In the first stage, while he put education under the control of the government, the political and economic power of religious establishments was eliminated by the closure of Evkafs, Medreses, Tekkes and Zaviyes. Mosques were either neglected or sold. If not used for other purposes, they were turned museums like Ayasofya [Hagia Sophia Church]"

In short, Erdemir (2007) is critical that Islamic social life was replaced by museums, cinemas and theatre houses and Islamic identity was subsumed by the concept of a 'civilized world'. For example, many Islamic symbols, such as the wearing of headscarves in any public sector role such as schools, universities or public offices, was forbidden until 2013 (Lovell, 2009). Lovell (2009) is also critical of Turkey's secular approach, emphasising that Turkey's secular policies, rather than promoting freedom of belief like in Western countries, are more focused on state control of Turkish Islamic institutions and on bringing many religious associations under the control of the government so that imams are employees of the Turkish government. Lovell (2009: 10) further analyses differences in secularism in Turkey between Europe, as follows:

> The Turkish attitude towards secularism is, however, puzzling to those with a historical understanding of the Western separation of church and state. Secularism in Turkey has not meant freedom of religious expression. …And while the state itself professes no religion, and citizens are not required to be Muslims, the state nevertheless exercises considerable control over Islam in Turkey by ensuring that all imams are, in effect, employees of the state. The Directorate of Religious Affairs 'regulates the country's mosques and employs their imams, who are civil servants and are occasionally instructed on what to say by the government' (Freedom House, 2007: 11). The Directorate aims to protect the peace and stability of Turkey against radical Islamist ideas by warning against – in its own terms – 'various destructive, harmful and sectarian movements'. It insists that it does not contradict secularism because it remains separate from all political views: 'The state is given supervisory powers over religious rights and liberties as the guardian of public order and public rights' (Presidency of Religious Affairs, 2009).

It has, however, been the case that state control of secularism also leads to issues of polarisation in local society. Turkey's modernisation in the past century has created a

disjuncture where state power and social forces have been pushed apart, and the civilian and military elite that controlled the state has insisted on having the upper hand in shaping the direction and pace of Turkey's modernisation. The following quote from Kasaba (2008: 2) clearly emphasises the main reason for polarisation issues in Turkey:

> The major reason for these wild swings is that Turkey has been pursuing a bifurcated programme of modernisation consisting of an institutional and a popular component which, far from being in agreement, have been conflicting and undermining each other. The bureaucratic and military elite that has controlled Turkey's institutional modernisation for much of this history insists that Turkey cannot be modern unless Turks uniformly subscribe a same set of rigidly defined ideals that are derived from European history, and they have done their best to create new institutions and fit the people of Turkey into their model of nationhood. In the mean time, Turkey has been subject to world-historical processes of modernisation, characterised by the expansion of capitalist relations, industrialisation, urbanisation and individuation as well as the formation of nation-states and the notions of civil, human and economic rights. These have altered people's lives and created new and diverse groups and ways of living that are vastly different from the blueprint of modernity that had been held up by the elite.

As some observe (Kasaba, 2008; Lovell, 2009; Yashin, 2002), many Turkish people, including much of the social elite, believe that Westernisation is equivalent to modernisation. Conversely, there are many other Turkish people who believe that Islam and its conservative lifestyle should be the country's future direction. Despite Atatürks' efforts, these ideas have created strong political differentiation and cultural and political clashes in Turkish society since the 1920s (Lovell 2009; Yashin, 2002). Inac (2004) states that Westernisation as an idea is seen as a means of civilising society in Turkey, a viewpoint shared by those who support the ambition of becoming a member of the European Union. More specifically, as Inac (2004) states, since Turkey became a candidate member of the EU, most policies adopted by recent governments have been done so with an eye to integration with the EU. However, not all the population share the same viewpoint (Yashin, 2002). Lovell (2009) and Yashin (2002) note that there are two dominant cultures in Turkey: Secularism and Islamist. Yashin (2002) also states that there has been a long political battle between Islamists' and secularists' , as evidence in daily life and in the newspapers in Turkey since the 1980s. Yashin (2002: 189) states that: 'secularism is studied in the self-referential terms of

secularism and is associated with other supposedly derivative terms such as "modernity", "nationality" and "democracy"'.

Given the importance of the political and social conflicts between people in Turkey, it is necessary to consider the two competing paradigms which underpin the positions of the pro-Westernisation and the pro-Islamic groups (Gulalp,1998). The two schools of thought are both strongly established in Turkey and represent the two main current polarisations of the country's society today. On the one hand, the nationalist position is mainly derived from modern nationalism ideas of the 1930s which were established by Atatürk and which, from the 1980s, were combined with ideas of multiculturalism, modernisation and Westernisation. The nationalist developmentalism position also incorporates ideas such as industrialism and economic growth. On the other hand, however, the Islamist position runs counter to the nationalist position; Islamist thought mainly believes that it is essential to retain authenticity in their culture. As Gulalp (1998: 959) states, 'the issue for Islamic countries is not industrialisation; it is the struggle for (authentic) civilisation'.

More recenltly, the polarisation argument has become even more political (Keyman (2010), particularly since the rise to power of new leaders with strong Islamic leanings, such as Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gul, founders of the Justice and Development Party (JDP/AKP) which became the majority government in Turkey in 2002. Since then, the party was re-elected in 2004, 2007, and 2009 and is currently still in power. The party has played a crucial role in transforming the country both politically and economically at the national and international levels. However, Keyman (2010) and Lovell (2009) report that the social elite and the middle classes have become increasingly sceptical of these transformations and increasingly concerned for country's future secular constitution, particularly since the referendum of 2017 when the government won the vote to change the Turkish constitution of Turkey (Burcak, 2017; Morrison, 2016). The political conflict between secular and Islamic views were also highlighted by several news reports such as Hansen (2014) and BBC2 (2013). In addition, Lovell (2009:11) also summarises Beary's (2007) survey which reported a slight increase in religious beliefs in Turkey, with 34% of Turkish people classifying themselves as 'totally religious' in 2007 compared with 28% while in 2006. However, Lovell (2009: 11) cites Stenhouse (2007) to argue that most Turks believe that religion is a private matter, support a secular state and do not support Shari'a law: 'While there does not seem to be deep support for the end of the secular state and the introduction of Shari'a law, there are voices that caution against Turkish religious extremists (Stenhouse, 2007).'

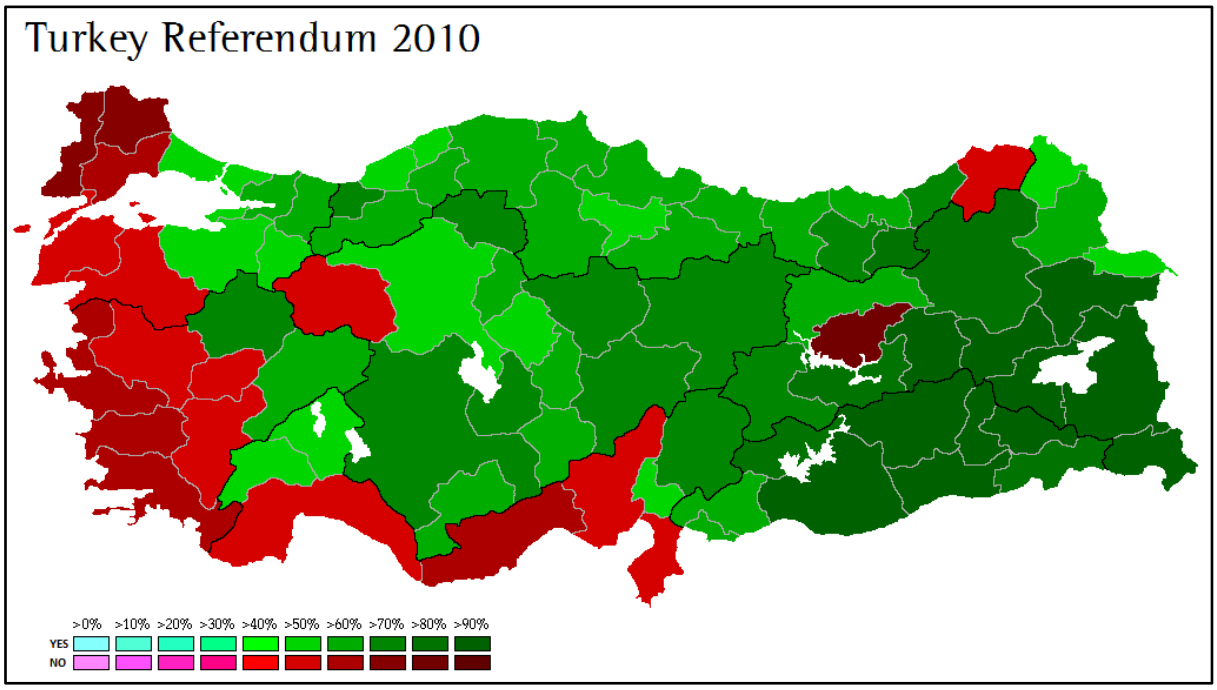
5.2.3 Polarisation: The role of tourism

Buller and Hoggart (1994: 198) refer to many studies that explore the consequences for social cohesion between different social classes when new incomers arrive. They examined such issues as newcomers 'taking over' of existing village institutions and social events (Forsythe, 1980) or seeking formal political positions (O'Reilly, 2003). Newby (1980) believed that these forms of social integration often ended with 'polarisation' issues between communities. Thus, the role of tourism and of tourists can be very important in host-guest relations, particularly in a country such as Turkey in which the political position is reflected in an already polarised society, as discussed above.

From this perspective, the impact of tourism and permanent tourists cannot be seen as independent from wider political and social polarisation, particularly as the western social and cultural lifestyles of permanent tourists may further challenge conservative ideals amongst the local community. Indeed, as Tosun and Jenkins (1996) emphasise, while tourism may be used as a panacea for social development, it may also widen cultural gaps. By way of illustration, Broeck's (2001:172) study identified rapid social and cultural change and increasing Westernisation in the well-known village of Pamukkale in Turkey since tourism was introduced. Another interesting example which supports the argument that tourism has an impact on the culture or, at least, on political perceptions can be seen in the election results of 2010 and later. These reveal that even although the Justice and Development Party (JDP/AKP), the conservative and Islamic party, won a majority (Figure 5.12, below), the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal regions where most tourism takes place and where most permanent tourists also settle, did not vote for the winning party (JDP/AKP) (red colour).

It is, of course, simplistic, to assume a causal relationship between international tourism and political voting given other factors, such as Didim's history of domestic migration from other regions in Turkey (Nurdali, 2007; Sahin 2013). One possible explanation for that is that such regions may attract people who prefer coastal areas or a more cosmopolitan lifestyle or work opportunities in tourism or service sector which also help to transform the destination to a more western lifestyle. Equally, the western fringes of Turkey, including the city of Istanbul, may be culturally more secular or Western. Certainly, however, this is an issue that requires further investigation.

Figure 5.12: Map of election results in Turkey (2010)



Source: www. welections.wordpress.com/category/turkey/

Smith and Brent (2001) argue that tourism has often been used by political leaders to create an image for the purpose of international relations and this is arguably the case of Turkey (Tosun and Jenkins, 1996). According to Bahar et al. (2009), poor impressions of the country were prevalent in the 1970s, with Turkey suffering from a negative image for many years. Hence, Tosun and Jenkins (1996: 519) state that 'Turkey adopted tourism not only as an alternative economic growth strategy, but also as a tool for social change to encourage Europeanization and as an international political strategy to create a favourable image in the eyes of European people. This is supposed to help acceptance of the country for full membership of the European Union.' Thus, employing tourism both as a driver of socio-economic development and as a means of creating an external image may increase social pressures within local host communities, particularly in those who are culturally resistant to such change.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has established the geographic, historical and social background to Didim, the setting for the research in this thesis. In particular, it has highlighted the heterogeneous socio-cultural structure of the host community in Didim, a town that has long attracted migrants from elsewhere in Turkey as well as becoming a popular destination for British permanent tourists who represent a significant proportion of the population. The chapter has also introduced briefly the wider socio-political context of

Turkey as a whole, particularly the tensions between its traditional Islamic culture and the processes of modernisation, Westernisation and secularisation that have been occurring since the 1920s. It is within this context that research into the relationships between British permanent tourists and members of the local community have been undertaken, the outcomes of which are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

Research: Findings and discussion

6.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the results of the empirical research. As discussed in Chapter One, the overall aim of this thesis is to examine critically the relationship between the host community and permanent tourists in Turkey. More specifically, it seeks to explore the manner in which British permanent tourists in Didim, Turkey, enage with local society and culture, how they perceive the local community and, indeed, how the local community in Didim perceives and interacts with them. As such, it adds a new dimension to the relevant literature in as much as the great majority of related studies address the relationship between tourists and the local community from the prespective of either the tourist or the host but rarely from both perspectives contemporaneously (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012; Woosnam, 2012).

More specifically, as established in Chapter One, the thesis has the following aims:

i. to establish the views of permanent tourists and their engagement with the local society and culture in Turkey;
ii. to establish the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations);
iii. to critically assess the impacts (social, cultural and economic) of tourists buying property in Turkey;
iv. to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on tourists who buy property in Turkey; and
v. to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the local population.

In order to meet these aims, the following research questions are addressed:

i. How do permanent tourists in Turkey view and engage with Turkish society and culture?
ii. What types of motivations are there for those who choose to settle in Turkey permanently?

iii. How does the Turkish population view and engage with the permanent tourists' social-culture?
iv. What is the nature of the relationship with the host community according to the different permanent tourists and hosts types?
v. What are the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population?

The methods adopted to address these research questions were considered in detail in Chapter Four. Here, it was noted that the empirical research was conducted in three stages, involving interviews with members of the local community, interviews with British permanent toursists and, subsequently, three focus groups comprising, separately, permanent tourists and local residents. However, for both convenience and clarity, the results of the research in this chapter are presented thematically, with each theme being considered from the perspective of both groups of respondents. In the following discussions, individual local community interview respondents are identified as H (host) and permant tourist interview respondents as G (guest). Similarly, focus group respondents are identified collectively as FH (focus group host) and FG (focus group guest).

The analysis firstly considers the types of British permanent tourists in Didim and their main motivations for moving to the town, discussed in terms of pull and push factors. The chapter then goes on to explore both host and permanent tourist perceptions of how the latter have adapted to the daily lifestyle and, indeed, why some British permanent tourists have returned home or left Didim. It also considers the extent to which the local community is perceived to have accepted permanent tourists into their society and culture, again from the perspective of both groups and according to three aspects: religion, local business and cultural differences.

Subsequently, the perceived environmental, economic, social and cultural impacts of British permanent tourists on the host community are discussed, followed by a specific focus on the relations between the two communities, in particular exploring the extent to which any social relations exist between them, the nature of this relationship and the factors that influence their relations.

6.1 The types of British permanent tourists in Didim: Permanent tourists and second home owners

The results of this study, perhaps not surprisingly, corroborate the findings of much other work in the field, particularly with regards to the type and character of

international retired migrants (King at al., 2000) and lifestyle migrants (Bahar et.al. 2009; Benson 2010; Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Nurdali 2007; O'Reilly 2003; 2007). More specifically, there are many similarities with the observations of King et al. (2000) and Dwyer (2002) who focus on the demands of northern European international retirement populations who have migrated to Mediterranean regions. The majority of respondents in Didim stated that British permanent tourists are mainly aged fifty and above, one participant describing British home owners as:

> Retired, above fifty years old. But there are some English families from different age groups as well. (H8)

Most British participants interviewed similarly confirmed this; only one British participant, G7, was younger, an 18 year-old who was living with his parents in Didim.

The research also revealed different home-purchasing behaviors amongst British respondents. Some, for example, stated that they had sold their properties in the UK and live all year around in Didim. For them, the UK is a place to go periodically on holiday. Thus, these respondents cannot be described as second-home owners; they are full-time residents in Didim and refer to the towm as home:

> I live here all the time...I used to come on holiday in Altinkum and my wife's brother bought property here and after we stayed here for holidays with them this give us the idea to do it…I don't own a home in the UK…The motivation was myself and my wife does not like the cold, she likes the heat. We always talked about retiring somewhere warm. We used to come here on holiday so my brother came here and lived here and then we thought why not here? (G1)

> We permanently live here…now and again…. Four times in the last five years [visited the UK]… yes for holidays… no, no property in the UK, solely in Turkey…resident, yes. (G12)

However, although others live all year round in Didim they still retain their properties in UK, possibility to have the option of returning in the future. These home owners often indicated that they had age concerns:

> No, I am not going to sell it [property in UK]… it is not easy to leave here... I have been here for 8 years now, this place like a home, as like home. Probably when we get older we might go back…We have got a family there, you know, to

see family. I only see them once a year, you know… Well. We still will try to keep the place here. (G3)

Most British respondents also indicated that they are retired and that their income originates from the UK, thus matching Cohen's (1974) permanent tourist category.

Nevertheless, some differed from this group in that they had purchased properties for semi-permanent residence or seasonal holidays in the Didim region, thus more closely reflecting the motivations more typical of second-home owners discussed by Hall and Müller (2004). For instance, one couple stated that even though they did not have work attachments to the UK, they did not live in Didim all year round because they had a family in UK and had bought the property for holiday purposes, enabling them to take long and frequent holidays in Didim. They also described themselves as long-term tourists:

Interviewer: Do you still hold your property in UK?
G23: yes
Interviewer: How often do you come to Turkey?
G23: every year just for a holiday kind of thing… [it] varies…probably a month, some times a week or 6 weeks all depending…
Interviewer: so are you long-term tourists?
G23: yeah
Interviewer: when did you buy a property in Didim?
G23: 6 years ago
Interviewer: So I believe you are still working in UK?
G23: no, no
Interviewer: are you considering living here one day?
G23 and G24: no, no
Interviewer: why not?
G23: family at home, can't leave my family

Interestingly, some participants from the local community revealed that there used to be other types of British home owners in Didim, specifically younger people of working age who wanted to live in the region all year around and a group recognised by Nurdali (2007). However, it was stated that most had either had to return to the UK or left the region for alternative places, such as Bulgaria, in the late 2000s and early 2010s.

6.2 Main motives for migrating to Didim: Push and pull factors

6.2.1 Pull factors

Host perceptions

As considered in Chapter Two, most commentators refer to economic, health and other social-cultural and life-cycle factors as factors influencing northern European nationals to move to Mediterranean regions (Ackers and Dwyer 2004; Casado Diaz et al., 2004; Dwyer, 2002; Hall and Müller, 2004; King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2003, 2007) whilst many retire to southern European regions specifically for the better climate and the cost of living, especially during winter months (Dwyer 2002; King et al. 2000; O' Reilly, 2007). Cohen (2008) similarly suggests that retired populations from Western developed nations specifically choose to move less developed countries for economic reasons as most products and services represent better value for money, leading to a better quality lifestyle in a warmer climate. From the perspective of the local community in Didim, 'outsiders' buying properties in Didim are primarily British people of retirement age and, to a lesser extent, Turkish retirees who do so for similar reasons. For example, one local respondent claimed that:

> They're mainly British and Turkish middle and lower middle class people who buy properties in Didim. The upper middle class prefer towns around Bodrum and Fethiye. (H7)

Both groups are described as being from lower income groups (H2, H7, H8), the main reasons for British migrants choosing Didim being that property there is relatively cheap compared with other touristic regions in Turkey, such as Bodrum and Fethiye. Indeed, one host participant, H2, an estate agent, said that up-market properties in these touristic destinations sell at prices of about £500,000. He added that some properties in Didim are bought by British investors seeking rental income as the location is a popular seaside resort:

> The majority, perrhaps 80% of people who bought property here, had previously holidayed here and knew the place very well. They used to stay in hotels and now they are staying in their own homes. The other 20% of foreign people did not know the place very well. They were property investors and mainly bought property for rental income and as an investment. These investors are mainly English nationals… Most of the people who bought property in Didim are mainly middle and working class (H2)

This concurs with Nurdali's (2007) study which also focused on Didim and found that it was mainly blue collar, working class British people who bought properties in the town.

As discussed previously, the phenomena of tourism and migration are difficult to separate; one flows from the other (Hall and Williams, 2000, 2002; O'Reilly, 2003; 2007). In other words, a continuum exists from traditional, short-stay tourism through to permant migration to tourist destinations (Hall and Müller, 2004). This study supports this view, many host repondents (as H2 above) being of the opinion that most permanent tourists had previously holidayed in the region before deciding to buy a property there. At the same time, however, they felt that the small size of the town and its relaxed atmosphere also attracted permanent tourists whilst, overall, Didim's poularity amongst permanent tourists, from the local community's perspective, is perhaps best summarised as follows:

> Mainly retired people who want a peaceful environment…. Turkish and foreigners, mainly English people… the main reason they settle here is that it's a cheap and affordable holiday place. Mainly middle and working class people are able to afford to live here. People who have more money usually buy property in Bodrum and other places… There are some rich English people who have villas but they do not live here year long. They stay here three or four months and then go…. (H8)

Permanent tourist perceptions

Confirming the perceptions of the hosts, British participants revealed that, primarily, they had often holidayed in the Didim region and then bought properties when they retired in order to enjoy a better quality of life than that in Britain, particularly as they believed their retirement income goes further in Turkey (Cohen 2008; King et al, 2000). One important factor was that that moving to Turkey allowed them to retire early (G12, G13, G16; G17, FG2). For example, one couple explained that in Didim:

> It's a better standard of living, money goes further than it would in England, and it's good weather; I like it warmer… And we did not want to work anymore. (G16, G17)

More generally, the desire to retire somewhere abroad was a dominant reason for many British people migrating to Didim:

> this is [the place] we always wanted to come and retire abroad; the only other place I considered was Gambia. (G12)

Similarly, another British participant, a 50 year-old female, expressed the same reasons when she explained why she and her partner chose to settle in Didim:

> We looked at a lot of countries ...property prices.. we did not have enough money in Malta. That is more than 40,000 [pounds] for a house and ours [budget] was to spend 20 to 25,000 [pounds] for a house and we did not want an enormous place. And we went off that [Malta] and we looked at Bulgaria but the mafia… The property prices are very very cheap there compared to here. A 15,000 pound house in Bulgaria, the same house in here is £65.000. (G8)
>
> *Interviewer*: is that the main reason you chose to buy property in here? Apart from the price?
>
> G8: well, the weather, interest rates in the bank. When we came here it was 22%; now it is 5%.

Generally, the research amongst Bristish permant tourists revealed a strong link between tourism, holiday experiences and subsequently settling in Didim (G3, G1, G12, G13, G14, G15) whilst the attraction of a better climate was a dominant pull factor (G1, G4, G8).

Dann (1996) argues that all tourists have the desire to seek out something that they are lacking at home, and the responses of the British permanent tourists in this study certainly support this view with regards to climate. Similarly, other studies emphasise the role of climate in driving lifestyle migration amonss northern populations moving to Southern European regions (Hall and Müller, 2004; Hall and Williams, 2000, 2002; King et al., 2000; Nurdali, 2007; O'Reilly, 2003, 2007).

As already noted, lower costs and consequential opportunities for a better lifestyle were poplular reasons for British permanent tourists choosing to settle in Didim, as revealed in individual interviews and also in the focus group discussions. In addition, the fact that most other permanent tourists in Didim are British was also an attraction for British people to settle in the town, an observation made by several participants (e.g. G1). Regarding the cost of living and, in particular, the opportunity to retire ealier, one

British female participant summarised many typical pull factors above when describing her reasons for settling in Didim:

> …because I fell in love with Turkey when we were on holiday here. When we had a holiday in Greece when they had entered the Euro, we had a only two weeks holiday but in Turkey we could have four weeks holiday with the same money … Yes, the cost of living is better and we knew we could have a nice lifestyle living here, retired, sun not rain everyday. When we came here for a holiday I did not want to go back to work and did not want to go back. So when we had a chance to retire, my husband was 53 and I was 55… we had the chance to retire rather than waiting until 65 and the children had grown up and they don't rely on me anymore, they have got their own lives that's why we came to Turkey. (G5)

Most participants in one permanent tourist focus group, comprising six female respondents, also confirmed the importance of the pull factors discussed above. For example, it was commonly stated that it was mainly the better weather and the opportunity for early retirement owing to the fact that their money goes further than in the UK that attracted them (GF2):

> My husband and I retired because we moved here; we wouldn't have retired early in the UK 'cos we didn't have the money to live on. We did have the money to live on but not not as great a quality of life as we've got here. We can't afford to do in the UK what we can do here.
>
> The cost of living is so much more in the UK than it is here.
>
> *Interviewer:* So your retired income goes further in Turkey?
>
> A lot further
>
> Much further
>
> A lot further
>
> Oh yes a lot further….
>
> I retired at fifty-five with a pension from my work and that's what we live on here

Interviewer: So you wouldn't be able to live in England?

In England I couldn't afford to do it

Interviewer: So I think that's very clear. Is everybody agreed on that?

Yes, yes (GF2)

Another focus group respondent (GF1) also agreed that they were drawn by the lifestyle in Didim that was believed to be much slower and, being more outdoor-based, better quality. They also agreed that they have a better social life in Didim than in UK, indicative of the need to support each other as an expatriate community, thus supporting the outcomes of studies by King et al. (2000) and Benson (2010), particularly the role of climate and a slower and better quality of lifestyle in creating demand.

Almost all the British homeowners interviewed in the research stated that they were very happy with their lifestyle in Didim and considered the place to be home. Nor did the majority consider going back to the UK, feeling settled in Didim. They also enjoyed some of the roles they had taken on in their new lives, such as being involved in a charity organisation looking after street animals. For example, one British permanent tourist stated that:

> We have an organisation [called] STRAYS ….What we're doing, we raise money. We have tables, we raise money to buy the food for street animals like cats and dogs. (G4)

Another British participant also emphasised that they were very settled and would not consider returning to the UK...

> …because I love the life I am having here, I love the people. We live over in Yesiltepe… a lot of olive trees, a lots of open space… and animals and outdoor life. I do a lot of fishing I love it, sea fishing and river fishing. (G9)

Others similarly suggested that the outdoor lifestyle made them healthier than they would have been in the UK and that there was a lot more to do in Didim than in the UK:

> I love Akbuk.. I think we will stop here and then maybe in time we will look for somewhere else but I don't think anybody can take that away from you. It is…is beautiful…yes the weather, the sea, the view and the air quality is much better because of the pine forest…I feel more healthier here than I did in the UK. (G5)

> Yes, very much so. It more suits me. The weather in the UK is indoors, the lifestyle in Turkey more outside, more outdoors. I think this is healthier…Yes, more healthy, and you do more, you know, rather than sitting at home all day like in the UK. Here you can go to restaurants and sightseeing. A lot more to do in Turkey. (G2)

One permanent tourist focus group (FG1) compared their lifestyle and experiences in the UK and Turkey. They agreed that they were not interested in going back to UK and stated that a few days' holiday in the UK was enough for them. Two members took issue with the notion of 'going back home' as they considered that Akbuk was their home and almost all of them stated that their health was much better in Didim than in the UK. One individual in the focus group said that he used to take blood pressure tablets but he did not need to take these anymore because he faced less pressure in his life. One respondent stated that the weather in the UK was quite depressing and two other respondents stated that they eat more fresh vegetables and fruits in Didim, that they used to get packaged food from the supermarket in the UK but they did not do that in Didim as there was no convenience food there.

According to King et al. (2000), the perceived benefits to health is a common motivating factor for retirees to move to southern Europe. Similarly, respondents in this research cited both their health better and improved social life within the community as pull factors**.** However, one British female participant expressed an opposing, critical viewpoint:

> We have been experiencing this and watching it getting worse for the last twenty-five years, not just five years. Twenty-five years, yeah, and you know all you get is negative. (G20)

Primarily, this respondent believed that the lifestyle of the British homeowners in Didim was more akin to being on holiday, and she expressed disapproval of their drinking habits, claiming that as they start drinking very early in the morning and spend a lot of money on activities such as dining out in restaurants. She suggested that, as

pensioners, this should be a luxury for them and she wasn't surprised they were not able to cope financially and, in some cases, were forced to leave Didim and return to the UK. She suggested that many returnees had overspent and failed to budget properly, and also that many permanent home owners still live in Didim as if they were on holiday:

> Lots of British people here come over here, erm, with well they come over with their rose-tinted glasses on and they come over and a lot of people that we either know or we know through acquaintances and friends, well, it's been a short-lived experience for them. And one of the main rea… well there are two main reasons, but one the major factor being, erm, they've don't, they didn't budget properly and they come over and it's, oh we live at the seaside, oh we've got the sun, and they come over and it's like they're in holiday mode for twelve months of the year, which is fine. But when they're in holiday mode that means that they're going, they've spending at the restaurant, they're drinking. They're doing this and we know, and it saddens me and it disgusts me and my husband and other people and we've walked along Altinkum front in the daytime, early in the morning, and British people are sitting there drinking beer at [*her husband*: eight o'clock in the morning]…. eleven nine o'clock in the morning. Why? You can't do it in the UK. And they sit there and they get …and they drink more and more. What do the Turkish people think about British people?
>
> *Interviewer*: Are home owners still doing that? Are they?
> Yes, they are
>
> *Interviewer*: Not just the tourists?
>
> No no ... They didn't budget properly. It's a great idea; oh, let's go and live in the sun. For the first two or three years it's lovely; what a great life we've got, we're on holiday, and then all of a sudden they come unstuck and so a lot of them have returned to the UK, and a lot of them have gone to Bulgaria
>
> *Interviewer:* They might still think they are tourists?
>
> Yes, yes, that's like what I was saying earlier. They come here for the first two or three months or the first year and it's like it's one long holiday. And you know, if you're living in the UK, my parents are pensioners, they don't go and eat at a

> restaurant very often. It is the same for us. It's a luxury, same as for us. So people have come unstuck. I don't feel sorry for them, I really don't because it's their own fault. It's their own fault.

It is interesting to note that, even though the respondent's nationality was the same as the permanent tourists, she was worried about how the hosts perceived the British population, in particular the way that many overspent and treated their lives in Turkey as an extended holiday rather than living economically. As noted later in this chapter, many respondents from the local community shared this view.

6.2.2 Push factors

Permanent tourist perceptions

Most interviewees reported that they referred to Didim as home, stating that they were very happy living there and were certain of not going back to the UK. The majority confirmed they were retired and, while some of them were pensioners, others were younger and had taken the opportunity to retire early because they did not want to work anymore. Respondents were often of the view that they had chosen not to retire in UK because of financial reasons. For example, one couple saw the inability to retire in the UK, as well as the work culture, as push factors in migrating to Didim:

> Retirement, early retirement, not to have to work until I am 65. You know, with retirement age changing in UK it could have got worse. We could afford to retire now so we did…I am 65 [*wife*]..yes no more stress.. we were both professional people in very stressful jobs and we had enough money to say, ok time to retire. I didn't want to retire in England. Now my reasons for that is that where I lived I only knew one neighbour the rest of people I didn't know because….so because everybody works different hours, erm, they come home from work and I am going to work. (G16 ansd G17)

Another critical push factor revealed in the interviews, reflecting those identified by O'Reilly (2003, 2007) and Benson (2010), relates to lifestyle in the UK. That is, most respondents stated that the main reason for them leaving and not wishing to return to the UK was that life mainly involved long hours of work with no time for a social life. Participants stated that they had wanted to escape from a stressful life and believed they now had a better quality of lifestyle in small town such as Didim.

> No, I don't miss the stress of the rat race. We all have to work to live, to eat, to provide for our families, and sometimes it is very easy to get caught up in your work and for it to overtake your life. It can give you lots of stress and, er, erm, it's not many people that are able to retire early. But also I also know that people with children, for example, my sister and my brother-in-law, they have a company but the stress and the strains of that job finally caught up with him at a very young age and he is missing quality time with his wife and children. (G20)

However, some findings differ from those of some previous studies. For example, Korpela (2009: 4) suggests that most Western-origin lifestyle migrants in India were negative about Western society in general, typifying it as the 'big, bad West'. In contrast, many of the British permanent tourists in this reseach were not critical about Western lifestyle and their culture; rather, they complained about social change in the UK, claiming that they did not feel that the UK was home any more. Specifically, they were critical about changes resulting from what they perceived to be the British government's mistaken migration policies, particularly what they considered to be the its open door policy and how this had changed Britain both culturally and socially (G18, G19, G23, G4, G5 and FG1). They were also critical about foreign immigrants taking advantage of the British system, expressing the view that immigrants to the UK get all the benefits and do not give back anything in return (Waller, 2017). According to these permanent tourists, there are too many foreign people in their home towns in the UK and they are not happy to live there anymore as they feel like strangers in that society. As one participant in FG1 stated, 'personally, I'd rather be a foreigner in a foreign country than a foreigner in my own country.'

Similarly, in discussion with one couple:

> *Interviewer:* It is interesting after you had lived for twenty years in Saudi Arabia you are now settling in Turkey instead of other western country…
>
> No ..the problem is… I should not say too much… England is not England anymore to me.
>
> *Interviewer:* What do you mean by that?
>
> England is not the country I remember not at all.

Interviewer: Where about are you from in England?

….well …Surrey..

Interviewer: So, Fred, what did you mean by England is not England anymore?

So, last time when I went to London…10 years ago for a job… I did not recognise the place …. English people in London… absolutely no English. We went out for a late night meal; we tried to find a car park but could not find anybody late at night who spoke English. (G18)

While such views and experiences might appear extreme, other participants expressed similar views. For example, one British male participant also emphasised that although the main reason they lived in Didim was the climate, he had also wanted to escape from the place where he had lived in UK because, in his view, too many other foreign nationals lived there: 'In the UK now, particularly where we used to live, there are more people like …. Yugoslavian, Latvian, eastern Europeans' (G4). Another British female participant also suggested that she did not want to go back to the UK because 'especially in my home town, too many foreign people live there and I feel I don't belong there anymore. I feel foreign there'. When it was pointed out that she was a foreigner in Turkey, the respondent continued: '… yes, I feel foreign there and I am foreign here' but, when asked how she thinks local people in Turkey see them, she stated that 'I like to think we are seen as locals by the hosts' (G5). Moreover:

Interviewer: Do you think in your mind you might go back to the UK one day?

Never, never go back to the UK, no…I think it's changing so much, as my husband said (G4), especially where we lived. (G5)

Similarly, Focus Group 1 (FG1), comprising four British respondents, also criticised the presence of foreign immigrants in the UK and expressed the view that these immigrants took advantage of the UK benefits system. These respondents held the view that, as permanent tourists in Turkey, they were different as they were financially beneficial to the society, supporting local businesses. They seemed in general to be angry about the UK system, especially the government's immigration policy, and saw themselves as the victims of the system. They also appeared resentful that they had not enjoyed a lifestyle they might have expected in the UK, particularly two who agreed that they woud not return to the UK 'because there's nothing for us'.

It is paradoxical, then, that although these participants lived in Turkey and were surrounded by Turkish hosts who mostly did not speak English, they stated that they were quite happy to live in Turkey while being quite angry about the situation in the UK. Nevertheless, they believed they were justified in living abroad. For example: 'Personally I'd rather be a foreigner in a foreign country than a foreigner in my own country', perhaps indicating they felt as if they had been pushed out the UK rather choosing freely to live abroad.

To summarise, then, first, studies of lifestyle migrants (Benson, 2010; Benson and O'Reilly, 2009) suggest that a strong push factor for British home owners is to get away from the stress of working life and escape the long working hours in Britain. Most British participants in this research study expressed similar reasons; they had 'escaped' from UK and the stressful working life to a smaller, quieter and affordable town like Didim. Moreover, most respondents emphasised that they had not wanted to wait until the age of 65 and moving to Turkey was an affordable opportunity to retire early.

A second factor which emerged from the research was the unexpectedly strong commentary on UK immigration policy. Most British permanent tourists who stated that they would not go back to UK said that this was because they felt uncomfortable and foreign in their own country. Paradoxically, however, Turkey, although a country which is culturally distinct from the UK (Sagir, 2011; Tosun,1998; 2002) had become *home* for many retired British home owners. Hence, the majority of respondents might be best described as lifestyle migrants. Consequently, the following thematic section explores factors relating to respondents' lifestyle in Didim, discussing whether these permanent tourists fit the lifestyle of Turkey and how they manage to live there. This provides a foundation for a subsequent consideration of why, as revealed by both respondent groups, many British home owners have left Didim in recent years.

6.3 How British migrants adapt to the local life style: Host perceptions

From the results of the interviews with members of the local community, it is evident that British permant tourists are perceived to have adapted their behaviour to reflect the local lifestyle. However, such behavioural adaptions are primarily at a practical level; that is, they are evidence of British homeowners learning how to live in the location, for example, obtaining better value products and services through using local services and locals markets, sending their children to state schools or visiting places frequented by local people, rather than adapting culturally, a phenomenon revealed in other studies

(King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2007). For example, participant H5 stated that the British community use local services, such as 'English people… send their children to the local Turkish schools but there aren't any different options, just state schools.'

Previous studies go further, suggesting that particular groups of British migrants take advantage of local services, but do not return anything to the host society (O'Reilly, 2007). This is not, however, the case in Didim, as local people consider that most British permanent tourists do support the host community and contribute to society financially in Didim. That is, although some are not registered as residents and every six months pay for a tourist visa (H13), perhaps mirroring those in O'Reilly's (2007) study, those who are registered are happy to use local services and contribute more widely to society. For example, some host participants (H12, H13, FH3) acknowledged that British home owners contribute to the local community by, for instance, organising social charities.

Most respondents in the research stated that, in terms of general lifestyle, such as shopping habits, eating local cuisine and other everyday activities, British permanent tourists have learnt how to live in Didim alongside the local community, but did so in their own manner. For example, it was revealed in the interviews that permanent tourists go to the local village Pazar (open village market) and had learnt practical behaviour, such as taking sufficient small change with them:

> Their lifestyle looks exactly like ours and they have learned how to live in Didim very well. They go shopping like us from the local markets and have learned bargaining and all the best places. They cook at home like us, exactly like us. They've learned and adapted to our culture….because English people know the region well and they live like us socially, they adapted themselves to Didim's life style so there is no problem. They must be happy…We are also very happy with these English people and we want even more of them to come. (H7)

Nevertheless, the reseach also revealed that, contrarily, some local businesses had adapted to the British lifestyle, even in the centre of the town away from traditional tourist areas. For example, many local businesses have responded to opportunities offered by the British community; prices are displayed in British currency and products such as fish and chips are widely available. Indeed, a local Turkish bakery produces steak and kidney pies for foreign residents (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2)

Figure 6.1: Local bakery, Didim

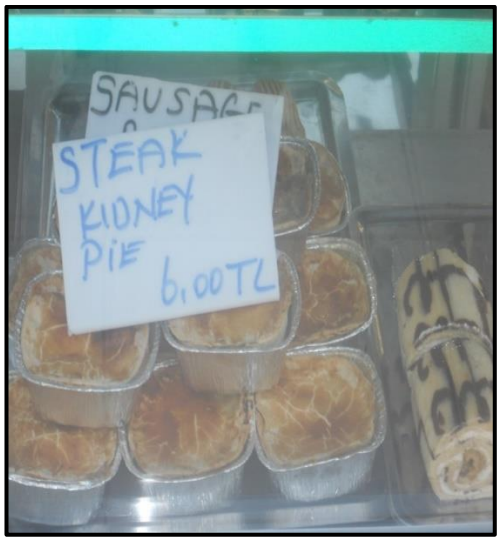


Figure 6.2: Local bakery, Didim

Source: Photos by the author

Similarly, another host participant also explained how permanent tourists had adapted to the local lifestyle, going to local markets and sending their children to local schools. However, they it was pointed out that they tend to socialise and frequent particular places with their own community:

> …they hang around certain pubs and places and mainly they spend their time in those sorts of places. Apart from that, they go to local markets, butchers and so on like us…yes they live like us… yes, we have English families and children in our local schools and they seem fine and happy enough. (H10)

To summarise, the host respondents' perception was that permanent tourists are able to adapt to the local lifestyle, learning how to live in the region but, at the same time, remain socially and culturally distant, preferring to socialise amongst themselves. To many, this was not an issue although some host participants were critical of British permanent tourists' lifestyle, particularly of what they considered to be excessive spending for a retired community. One respondent was critical of how they always go out for lunch and dinner in restaurants rather then cooking at home, as though they were on holiday:

> These people [permanent tourists], now they are earning two pensions [the couple] from the UK. Two thousand pounds… two thousand pounds probably. Not a lot of money. If the currency changes [the exchange rate] this is about three thousand five hundred [pounds] in a month but British people, eighty

> percent [of them], are still living like they are in UK. They never cook [or] eat in their home – breakfast in the restaurants, lunch in the restaurants and dinner in the restaurants. It is [a] luxury [for someone on a retiree's income]. (H14)

However, other members of the local community recognised there are different types of permant tourists who adapt to the local lifestyle to differnt extents. One respondent, for example (H2), differentiated the British permanent tourists into retired permanent tourists who have settled in Didim and live there all year around and second home owners who had bought the property for investment purposes, the latter using their homes for seasonal holidays. The retired home owners usually cooked at home and lived like the hosts rather than dining out regularly, whereas the lifestyle of second home owners was, in the view of H2, more like that of temporary tourists:

> *Interviewer:* What about their lifestyle? Such as cooking at home?
>
> Yes, they do mainly eat in their homes and cook there because the people who settle here are mainly retirees and they do not have much relation with England any more. There's about 5 percent of them who settle here all year round and, they want to be closer to the local culture. Their lifestyles are different from others, for example retired people cannot eat out every day. Financially they cannot afford it. Others, 90 percent of second home buyers, use here as a holiday home for them and their families and for investment purposes. (H2)

Nevertheless, from the research outcomes it is difficult to come to general conclusions regarding the British community's lifestyle. While some, especially the retired group who lived in Didim all year around, had adapted to the local lifestyle, living a life similar to that of the locals in terms of shopping, cooking at home, others were still consided by some hosts to live / spend excessively. Indeed, according to some host respondents, some British migrants who settled in Didim in the early 2000s had failed to budget their finances and, as a consequence, had been obliged to leave and return to the UK, an issue that is of potential significance to the phenomenon of permanent tourism more generally.

6.4 Why do some British home owners return to the UK?

6.4.1 Host perceptions

As noted earlier in this thesis, the deputy local mayor of Didim, Ahmet Karaoğlu, and the head of Didim's Tourism Association, Deniz Atabay, had asked the same in a

newspaper article questioning not only why the British came to Didim, but also why some had subsequently left.

From the results of this reseach, British permanent tourists returing home, at least from the locals' perspective, do so primarily for financial reasons. For example, one respondent (H6) explained that he had talked to foreigners about why they were selling their properties in Didim and they replied that it was mainly because of the 2008 financial crisis. H6 reported that these individuals had taken credit from banks at a cheaper rate and then when credit rates increased they were not able to pay back the money and so were selling up and paying back what they owed to the banks.

However, one host focus group participant believed that British home owners left Didim because of personal financial problems rather than because of the global economic crisis. Specifically, he believed that they had overspent, living more like they were on holiday rather than actually living permanently somewhere:

> *Interviewer:* Do you know when they started to begin to return home?
>
> I guess two or three years ago now; I think they left for economic reasons (HF3)
>
> *Interviewer:* Do you think possibility it was because of the 2008 economic crisis?
>
> I think it's more like their personal economic situation because you can tell by their look they they are more from the lower economic level [working class English people]. Yes, these people bought the houses, but they used their homes only to go to bed and they were always dining out. (HF3)

In other words, although wider, macro-level financial and mortgage issues in the UK economy may have had some impact on those who had chosen to live permanently in Turkey, it appears that it was mainly individual financial issues which caused their return to the UK. Many hosts stated that British guests were not permitted to work in Turkey without a work permit and the majority of them did not have any income but relied on their savings, and did not budget their finances properly, their lifestyle being more like an extended holiday (H13, H14, FH3).

Nurdali's (2007) study suggests that there were 3,871 British migrants in Didim in 2006. However, one host repondent (H14), suggested that there were 4,600 English families

in 2005, but this number had since fallen to 600 families. Stating the reliability of these figures on the basis of his dealings with the authorities in Didim, he claimed that some 4,000 British families had had to leave because they had mainly relied on the interest on their savings in Turkish bank accounts and, when the interest rates were reduced, none of these retired British families could cope owing to their touristic lifestyles. Only those reliant on income from British pensons could afford to stay.

The same respondent also added that because British migrants require permits to work legally in Turkey, most of them ended up doing causal jobs: 'Most people here, they expected to work and they end up [doing] duck[ing] and diving job[s]' (H14).

Other host respondents identified other reasons for, in their view, a majority of British home owners in Didim being unhappy. In addition to financial worries, they suggested that health issues, having to pay for tourist visas every six months and, for some, security and accessibility issues related to living in isolated areas, were causes of concern for those permanent tourists:

> I think 80 percent of [British] home owners are not happy here…(H13)
>
> *Interviewer*: Why are they unhappy?
>
> First of all health issues. They have issues and then because they don't have any earnings or income that also causes them issues. Every year they have to leave and come back; I think there are visa issues. That also costs them. I think that costs them quite a lot, like 1,500 to 2,000 Turkish Lira (app.£300). They also need to extend those. Another issue is that the [bank] interest rates have reduced. When they came here all of them put their money into banks and relied on the interest rates. None of them cooked at home, almost all of them were dining out all the time. They were also interested in knowing about who came here and to learn about them and very interested to introduce themselves and their relationships were very good, but now everything has finished. Now I keep hearing that every year eight to ten people have sold their houses and left here. We ask why… Some of them say it's because of burglars; some of them have health issues. And anyone who bought a house somewhere where nobody lives close by, they are frightened to live there by themselves, to live there alone, and they thought that the subway was going to come there before they bought…(H13)

… they didn't think how a doctor or an ambulance would get there or how easily the gendarme (police) could access it. The biggest issues in this place are health and burglary… (H13)

Interviewer: Didn't they think before they bought the property how they can live in the middle of nowhere?

No, because they didn't live here before, and the seller told them how good that place would be and what the place is going to be like in future just to sell the properties. They sold quite a lot of properties to them at very expensive prices, like 500.000 and 600.000 Turkish Lira. They lived there for three to four years and then they started to do jobs the same jobs as Turkish people, like they started to be estate agents and sell properties. They also did the jobs they had in England, like builders or tailoring…(H13)

Interviewer: You are saying they worked?

Yes, they did.

Interviewer: but it's illegal to work here.

Yes, illegal, but they worked for each other and their friends. They worked for their basic needs for a little income. Some of them even worked for credit for their phones.

Interviewer: So they lived in really difficult circumstances?

I know a lot of people like that. They could only afford two cups of coffee and they would come here and sit and order two cup of coffees. In most cases I don't charge them for it.

Interviewer: I see what about those people who had income issues. What did they do? Did they return home?

Yes, all the people who had financial issues, they went back home. Now the only British people able to live here are the retired ones. They retired from England and they live on their retirement income. I think these people have also

aged and they suffer from health issues and I think this is also going to finish because of the health issue. This is going to finish.

Interviewer: So you don't see any future for them?

No, because there is not any permanent thing to keep them here. This demand grows like a balloon and deflates like a balloon.(H13)

Overall, then, members of the local community believe that the main reason for former British permant tourists having to leave Didim and return home was financial, many of them not having a stable monthly income because of falling interest rates and being unable to work legally in Turkey unless they opened their own business. It is for this reason that the Bristish permanent tourist community now comprises primarily retired people living on pension income from the UK. Importantly, however, implicit in the comments of many host respondents was a perceived lack of planning or research on the part of many British migrants, resulting in them having unrealistic expectations, an issue that is discussued in the next section.

6.4.2 Permanent tourist perceptions:

Financial issues

For reasons discussed above, retired British home owners comprise the only group of lifestyle migrants who now remain in Didim. Many of these no longer own properties in the UK; they are not second home owners and identify Didim as home. However, permanent tourist respondents in the reseach explained that there used to be many more lifestyle migrants who had settled in Didim, including younger age working families. Confirming the perceptions of host respondents, they suggested that many had left becaue of financial reasons, although health issues and an inability to adapt to the local lifestyle had also been contributing factors (G21, G4, G12, G14, G15, G20). For example:

The problem is a lot of Brits came with the perception that they could live on interest rates… Ten years ago, interest rates were 25 percent in the bank, now it is 9 percent and they haven't got any other income to support them. So they sold the property and went back to work in the UK. (G4)

Interviewer: Do you think that the main reason people sell their property and go back to UK is interest rates?

> Yes. And another issue is health care. In the UK is free health care. if you have a cancer then a lot of people back to the UK for that reason…

Other respondents similarly stated that financial issues as well as other social issues, such as the so-called 'Brits abroad syndrome', had encouraged many former permanent tourists to leave.

> A lot of British came here when your average bank savings were 20 percent. We did. Two years ago it went down to 7 percent so a lot of these people didn't really have money enough money to live here. Then they get a bit bitter and they start talking about each other… what we called the Brits abroad syndrome; it is horrible and we don't have much to do with half of British people in Yesiltepe because we don't like them…but we have our friends (G14)

Benson (2010) argues that one factor determing whether migrants stay or not is their level of expectation. In this vein, participant G3 stated that for some people it is difficult to live in another country and to adjust to the lifestyle abroad, and that this could be related to having high expectations about the place. As he explained in an interview:

> We are expats here. Let's say out of every twenty British expats can find always three or four people don't find the lifestyle as it could be, as they expected it to be….My opinion is that as I did not expect a lot, so I was not disappointed. For some people, they can't settle unless this is their own country. I don't think this is anything to do with Turkey or Turkish people. Just some people can't.(G3)

Health issues

Similar to King et al.'s (2000) study which found that welfare issues were of significance to retired populations in the Mediterranean region, this research also revealed that health issues in particular are important to retired British permanent tourists. More specifically, most British respondents said they felt positive and happy about living in Didim unless their health forced them to go back to the UK. Indeed, some had taken the extreme decision never to return to the UK:

> …No, never, we declare ourselves non-resident in England…everything is finished with England, basically (G18,G19)

> *Interviewer:* Not even one day for a health reasons?

No, we have finance …. available when we need it.

Most respondents, however, acknowledged that they would only return to the UK if they were affected by serious health problems, in which case the National Health Service was a powerful pull factor. Other than this, they would stay in the destination for as long as they could. They stated that many people who had returned had not had health insurance:

Interviewer: What about the future? Will you sell your property and go back home?

Well, we are in an unusual situation. We bought the house and we can sell, but don't want to. As long as our health is okay and stays good we will stay here. Maybe healthcare problems might force us to go back to the UK…(G8)

Interviewer: Do you think that is related financial reasons, because you can get treatment here?

Exactly, financial obligations… yes, if you go… conditions prolong treatments and I think it is easier to go back to the UK for the NHS treatment.

Interestingly, British permanent tourists in Didim stated that they had been offered the opportunity to join the Turkish free health service scheme by the Turkish government through annual fee payments, but almost all had refused to join it. The reason they gave for doing so was that it required up-front payments, hence they preferred to stay out of it, preferring to pay for treatment as and when they needed it (G1). This issue could be associated with the fact that most respondents saw the British NHS as a major pull factor if they required medical treatment.

Both host and the guest participants in the reseach therefore agreed that health was one reason for some permanent tourists choosing to return to the UK. A number emphasised that Didim does not have much capacity in the local hospital and that it was necessary to go to the main cities for major healthcare. One host respondent went as far as suggesting that many of the retired migrant community still resident in Didim would eventually leave because of health issues owing to their age. More generally, however, most respondents were of the view that it was general economic conditions

that had attacted British home owners to Didim in the first place and subsequently influenced their decion to leave.

6.5 Permanent tourists: Economic impacts in Didim

From the interviews, a number of broad findings emerged which suggest that the host community in Didim have generally positive perceptions of permanent tourists in their town. All host respondents were positive about British permanent tourists as well as tourism more generally and its economic and environmental impacts. More specifically, the respondents claimed that although they recognised that the culture of the permanent tourists is dissimilar to their own, they are nevertheless happy to host them. This, perhaps, reflects generally positive attitudes towards tourism (both seasonal and permanent) and, in particular, its contribution to the local economy in Didim. This outcome is unsurprising; research has long revealed a correlation between economic benefits / dependency and positive attitudes towards tourism (Brougham and Butler,1981; Deery et al, 2012; King, Pizam and Milman 1993; Nunkoo et al, 2013; Pizam 1978; Var et al.,1985; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000).

Specifically, the perceptions of most host participants in this research towards permanent tourists were mainly positive owing to the fact that tourism in general had improved household finances and generated income, employment and the development of infrastructure in Didim (H1, H2, H5, H7, H8, H10, H13, FH3). In particular, as one participant, a restaurant owner, pointed out, the economic contribution of permanent tourists had reduced some of the town's seasonality issues, allowing him to keep his business open all year around:

> Of course, because they come here to my restaurant and contribute to my business. For example, before British home owners were here I closed my business at the end of August but now I have opened my business all year around for the last seven to eight years. (H13)

Another host respondent stated that the impact of British permanent tourists was both direct and indirect:

> First, it has increased the numbers of properties, and this is good for the sale of general goods like furniture. And it will improve and increase the local economy because all shops, butchers, greengrocers and the like, will be influenced by this because the numbers of people who live here will increase. (H10)

Nevertheless, not all perceptions of the economic consequences of permanent tourism in Didim were positive. As discussed in Chapter One (Bauman, 2013a; 2013b), the impacts of permanent tourists on goods and services is an good example of how globalisation has influenced people's daily lives as well as their working lives in Didim.

6.5.1 Social division: Economic and social pressure on hosts

In many other case studies from around the Mediterranean, it is argued that the influx of permanent tourists has tended to lead to an increase in house prices and the costs of products and services (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Hall and Müller 2004; Helderman, Ham and Mulder 2006; King et al., 2000 O'Reilly, 2003, 2007). Similarly, Marjavaara (2009) found that the demand to live in rural areas in Sweden and, in particular, an increase in second home ownership led to an increase in property prices, effectively forcing locals out of the region.

The research revealed that, to an extent, this had also occurred in Didim. Some hosts expressed unhappiness with regards to the manner in which the incursion of British permanent tourists had pushed up the price of the property as well as of other products and services. Moreover, some believed that as long as British people lived in Didim house prices would always be high, with implications for the ability of local people to stay in the town:

> Yes, they are. [English migrants] are pushing the price and we cannot buy a property… what can we do? Can we become English? Yes, I am angry because a flat isn't less than 100,000 Turkish Lira [app. £30,000] and even though I am working hard I can't afford that… A lot of things have changed. Didim has become more than Didim…this town has become a city. This place was a village before, now even I can't recognise some areas anymore…(H12)
>
> *Interviewer*: Are these changes good or bad?
>
> I can't say I am happy because I can't see the benefits to me.
>
> *Interviewer:* There are no benefits to you? Can you tell me a bit more about this?
>
> We can't do things how we want because everything is expensive in Didim. Do you know I can't even afford…

Interviewer: So life is expensive?

As long as the English people are here this place is always going to be like this, expensive. It will be even more so. This is my view.

In contrast, some of the British home owners believed that they were beneficial to the local economy because they were good consumers, regularly contributing income to local businesses so that they were, in their words, not like the immigrants in the UK who, as previously discussed, they judged to be exploiting the UK benefits system. For example:

That is what it is but here like anywhere else, we come and we don't ask Turkish people for anything (G23)

We do… (G21)

Yeah, all right, but they [Turkish] won't give you. All we do is give it to the country, we buy the house, we come here eating in the restaurants… (G23)

Interviewer: Yes, what about when you are buying all these houses, pushing up the prices, and the area is full of the properties?

But it's same in England, they are chopping all the green to accommodate all the people. (G23)

To add to the above, one of the respondents (G21) above also repeated a conversation he had with his Turkish neighbours:

They [Turkish people] don't resent English people buying all the property and [pushing the price up] doing that and they [his Turkish neighbours] said no, because you didn't need too much money for buying a house here. The only thing they said [was] that if people are buying a lot of properties [plots of land] that pushes the prices up. They resent that…

Interestingly, some host participants were more critical of British people's buying behaviour rather than the actual demand to live and purchase property in Didim. For example, one (H9) suggested that British permanent tourists did not do sufficient research and did not bargain. They tended to compare the price to what they would

expect to pay in the UK and quickly made a decision without researching property prices for locals in the region. As a consequence, local businesses then increased the prices as much as they were able to as long as British people demanded the property, thereby leading to excessive rises in property prices. H9:

> Yes, it has changed because now most services are more expensive for locals… they did increase the prices and living conditions for us because they do not know how to bargain and think in their own currency and they pay more for a product than we do… They think it's cheap here and for this reason they push our living conditions and the product prices become double for us.

Another host respondent (H14) expressed a similar opinion, stating that the main reason why local businesses exploited permanent tourists was that British home owners did insufficient market research before they committed to buying properties. He went further in his criticism of the attitudes of British home owners, suggesting that they even failed to ask each other about the values of the houses and, as a result, prices increased for both themselves and local people:

> In one block of flats, the first floor sold [to British home owners] for £15000, second floor sold for £45000 and third floor sold for £10000. They are all same flat, but see the differences. They [British home owners] don't communicate with each other; … all want to say, I am richer than you. (H14)

6.5.2 Social and economic division: Tourist exploitation by local business

Some host participants expressed discomfort about the ethics of local businesses, particularly the extent to which they exploit tourists which eventually results in economic and social pressure on the hosts. For example, one respondent pointed out that local businesses are quite opportunistic, and they overcharge tourists if they think that the customer is not familiar with the actual market value:

> Local businesses do not treat foreigners very well because they charge them more than the product is worth. Not just for properties but for everything. They charge more for property and other products than they do comparatively for locals. (H1)

Another, H10 (below), also stated that he was not comfortable about these business ethics and claimed that most businesses, especially those in the touristic parts of the

region, such as Altinkum, had narrow perspectives and did not have a long term commitment to the town or their business. These businesses occupied seasonally-rented accommodation and had no long-term business perspective. The same respondent also stated that British permanent tourists and home owners also distance themselves from these touristic places and go to more authentic places which the hosts themselves usually used.

> I have to say that as a local I am not happy with the [touristic] business in Altinkum because these businesses are seasonal; but there are better [local] businesses in Didim's [central town] local pub and entertainment areas. Usually these good business owners are native locals and know how to treat people and their needs. These businesses are also honest and treat people very honestly. However, Altinkum business are not as good because they open seasonally (and are too touristic). …So they [British permanent tourists] prefer to go where we go and they seem more comfortable in the places where native locals go instead of hanging around Altinkum's [touristic] businesses. In Altinkum and seasonal places tourist circulation changes everyday - the tourists come from everywhere and change every day. Because of that, the businesses here have a narrow perspective; …[not] investing in their business permanently. This leads to lower quality of their products and services but other places in Didim are different.. (H10)

The two interesting points to note from the above are, first, that the locals are critical of the short-termism of some aspects of the tourist industry and the impact that these have on the community. And second, that British permanent tourists distance themselves from the touristic areas, wanting to live in a similar fashion to the local host community and, therefore, choosing more authentic places and environments. This finding is interesting because, as discussed in the literature, temporary tourist experiences usually involve unauthentic settings and events and tourists are often unable to differentiate between the authentic and inauthentic (Boorstin,1964; MacCannell, 1989; Pearce and Moscardo 1986; Sharpley, 2008; Urry and Larsen, 2011). This distancing may reflect the difference betweeen the demands, needs and expectations of permanent tourists compared with temporary tourists.

One host respondent (H14) who had married an English lady and lived in London for many years before settling in Didim believed that the tourist exploitation issue was as much the fault of British permanent tourists themselves because they did not communicate with each other and learn or ask about market values, not least because

they were keen on showing off to each other rather than investigating the market. This respondent thought that British permanent tourists still believed that they were living in the UK when they bought properties and products (see 6.5.1).

The tourist exploitation issue, mainly reflecting the opportunistic behaviour of local businesses discomforting to the local community. Indeed, local people want the British community to discourage such practices as the higher prices affect them as well. Equally, some British permanent tourists do complain about the way business is done in Didim, claiming that they don't trust the businessmen in the town. More generally, some British participants in the research were critical of local people's professionalism because they were often not punctual, with workers and builders often arriving very late. One British participant (G18) stated that 'they have their own time – Turkish time'. Another British couple (G14&G15) were unhappy about doing business with local business because they had had a bad experience, such as with property developers who had not provided a title deed because they had been bankrupted, or in cases where the permanent tourists had become embroiled in bureaucratic issues. However, their cases also illustrated that many of those who had engaged in selling property in the region were not professionals and not estate agents. In many cases, they were bar owners or even waiters who saw an opportunity to act as the go-between to obtain a fee (see Appendix E).The same British couple (G14 and G15) also complained about one local businessman who had laughed at them when they had tried to return some tiles they had bought from him:

Interviewer: Are you happy here now?

Wife: I am.
Husband: Yes, yes. We have a few issues; it would be easy to dislike the Turkish for what they have done.

Interviewer: is that what happened before?

Husband: Two incidents. First one, we had a new kitchen put in our place. The kitchen builder man was excellent. All the work and everything what we wanted him to do, he did it very well. We bought tiles with the kitchen; we paid one thousand three hundred Lira [approx. £250] for very expensive mosaic tiles, you know, the little ones, and it turned out the he gave us four different batches of tiles.

Wife: They didn't take them back, and he laughed at us

As from the above example, it emerged from the data that some British home owners had lost their trust in local business people in Didim. In some cases, cultural differences and a perceived lack of professionalism amongst the business community created problems, the behaviour of business people typically being seen as very rude although culturally, such behaviour is normal. Indeed, it is important to note that distinctions exist between the business cultures of Turkey and the UK. For example, unlike the consumer protection culture in the UK, there are no official return policies or customer rights in general in Turkey. Moreover, most businesses are small and locally owned, especially in small towns such as Didim. Thus, other than larger chain businesses, usually located in big cities, few, if any, businesses willingly accept returns. Even property developers are not experienced professionals; as discussions in HFG1 revealed, almost everybody in Didim became involved in the property development business because the demand to buy properties, particularly from the UK, was growing. In general, therefore, the extent of professionalism and ethical practice amongst local businessmen depends upon the individual.

Neverthless, different views were expressed by Britsih respondents regarding the issue of exploitation. Some, for example, suggested that they should learn to distinguish between local people who were genuinely friendly and those who simply sought to make money, whilst others expressed the view that it was just part of life in Turkey:

*Interviewe*r: T…, one more question Do you trust Turkish people?

I do trust my Turkish friends but businessmen, no ….when we first moved to our apartment, apart from one neighbour, he was bit dull, I mean, asking for things money, tips .. but the other neighbour, he only came out for three months on holiday and there he was helping us if we needed an electrician, and [he] rings them and then the electrician comes and he stays with us [while the electrician does the job] and he talks to the electrician for us. And he was saying no [to the electrician for the price] and he became a friend. We've see him since then and he was a friend and he wasn't after our money. (G21)

But you meet some people and you believe they are nice friends (G15)

Interviewer: Yes I heard of some bad experiences with some people.

> Yes, that's why because all [British people], they come over here. They seem so friendly, so nice to you, but all they can see is pound notes, whereas actual neighbours, they don't see pound notes they want to be friends (G21)

However, another permanent tourist, a British lady who had lived in Didim for 25 years, and spoke fluent Turkish (G20), claimed that she had integrated very well with the host community and criticised the lifestyles of other permanent tourists in Didim. She claimed that they did not take advice of the local people, whether professionals or people like herself who were married to a local. As others note, (Nurdali, 2007; Ozcan and Tezcan, 2008), she emphasised that Didim is a cosmopolitan place with a very mixed society, not least with regards to the varied backgrounds of Turkish people who had migrated to the area, and also expressed the view that British permanent tourists should be more careful before committing to buying a house.

Specifically, she and her husband (H14) noted that although many amongst the British community complained about being ripped off, they should realise that many of the local Turkish restaurants, bars and other businesses in Didim were only open for six months of the year and had to make money:

> In the Voices, [local English newspaper] that you read every day, I read last week, er, a couple of days ago and I read these letters to the editor, and it's all the English people and all they do is moan, moaning about going to Didim market and we're getting ripped off by fake hand bags…and sitting in a restaurant and being ripped off for this and getting ripped off for that. Blah, blah, blah. And all they do is moan, moan about everything in this country. I have one simple thing to say: if you don't like it, pack your bags and go home. If you can't integrate and accept the country and the people for what they are, you do not belong here. I am sorry, it is simple is that. As for getting ripped off, don't forget this is a seaside resort. Are they forgetting when they go on holiday to Spain and Italy or France any other country in the world in holiday time? It is holiday season, the restaurants only open for six months of the year, well, they're open for most of the year but their best time and their best chance to earn money is the tourist season. Am I right or am I wrong? Right, okay.
>
> Turkish people don't flash their cash…British people flash their cash so, if they are flashing their cash and sitting and drinking loads of beers and getting absolutely plastered, I am sorry but people are going to take advantage of

> you…yeah? And then they sit there and they get chatting to a waiter or friendly restaurant people they think they know, and they love them. They only love them because they're taking their money. Let's face it, how many restaurants do you go to in London and the waiter comes up and be friends you within half an hour and, by the time you've eaten your dinner, he's sold you a property? How many people? Okay, that's it because that is what is happening. Yeah, how many people in the UK buy a property from a man in a restaurant or a pub? None. (G20)

The same respondents also said they were not very happy to read unfortunate stories in the local daily English newspaper about British tourists being assaulted, but added that most British permanent tourists started drinking very early in the morning, and they had to be more careful and listen to advice.

From the research, then, it is evident that in some cases, local businesses have been opportunistic and exploit foreign customers, yet it is clear that, as discussed above, business deals in Turkey are not protected by regulation. Neverthelss, some British people display their cash too publically, spend a lot and make impulse purchases without consulting local people or fellow permanent tourists who might assist them. Unsurprisingly, some amongst the host population are critical about this behaviour.

6.5.3 Social division: Businesses prioritise British customers

Another issue to arise from the research was that some local community respondents were critical of the fact that, owing to their stronger ecomomic position or buying power, British pernamant tourists were often given priority over local people by businesses. In other words, some hosts participants suggested that the local community feel less respected by local business which tend to prioritise British home owners who tend to be better (higher) spenders, thereby leading to social divisions between the two communities. For example, one respondent lamented that 'On the other hand, local businesses pay more attention to foreigners and they always have priority over Turkish people or locals' (H1), whilst another expressed the view that local businesses prefer English nationals as customers because they spend more money than local people:

> Yes, they have been. Look I have been renting my flat for more than ten years, I could not buy a house. I couldn't even get a mortgage for it because people can sell the house to English people for more and we come second … (H12)

In short, a social and economic gap exists between British permanent tourists and the hosts' community in Didim. One local businesman, a restaurant owner, confirmed the situation:

> I think the local community don't see them as tourists but other Turkish people who live here, who come from Istanbul or Ankara [Turkish second home owners] see them differently because they are more nationalist. For example, if we play English songs here, they say everything is for English people. They criticise the English signs but we also have them in Turkish. They are very critical about it, but English people when they come here they spend more than Turkish tourists. …They come here especially on Fridays. We do the quiz on Fridays in here and many Turkish people leave the restaurants because they're not happy about the atmosphere. They [Turkish] ask me, what is this? (H13)

6.6 Environmental and social impacts: Permanent tourism and property development in the region

As a consequence of the rapid growth of the town – its population grew from 42,000 in 2007 to 70,000 by 2010 (Nurdali, 2007; TUIK, 2016) – the capacity of the area to sustain such growth and absorb new arrivals has become an issue, in particular from the perspective of long-term residents. Generally, the environmental impacts of tourism are typically considered to be negative if development is not planned sustainably by the authorities (Richards and Hall, 2000; Sharpley, 2008; Smith and Brent, 2001) whilst, as discussed in detail in Chapter Three of this thesis, it is essential to take into account the views of local residents if tourism development is to be successful (Snaith and Haley, 1999; Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson, 2006)

In the research, some host participants (H8, H9, HF3) stated that they believed tourism had resulted in improved infrastructure, business and income in the region, particularly since the push to increase the number of new property developments after 2000. Nevertheless, concern was unsurprisingly evident among respondents regarding the increase in the number of property developments in Didim in response to the demand from permanent tourists, an increase that has, they felt, degraded the environment. Also not surprisingly, some suggested that the local authorities had not managed the demand properly, failing to plan for the needs of the population in general. For example:

> It's been badly managed. Too many properties are built without considering all the resources such as green areas, parks, carparks, roads and, most importantly, water. …some areas in Didim do not have a road. (H9)

In addition, some host respondents expressed the view that this problem has arisen because of poor practice on the part of property developers rather than because of permanent tourists themselves; that is, the local community do not 'blame' the permanent tourists for the excessive property development. Indeed, one respondent emphasised that the growth in population and housing had not resulted in necessary social developments; for example, the local community had expectations of the provison of more social services and more investment from central government. Specifically, H8 and HF3 were critical about the fact that they still did not have an MP to represent their town and they pointed out that they still needed a hospital with better capacity, as the existing hospital did not have specialist facilities requiring those in need of such services having to go to the nearest town, Soke, or to the central city, Aydin:

> Obviously the general income of locals has increased since English home owners became interested in Didim…I am sure it has changed. Property developers and land owners probably earn more. The place has changed economically but not culturally not. For example, why don't they have an MP here to represent the place? Compare it with Kusadasi, they have a lot MPs but Didim does not have one. The numbers of doctors are not adequate here. Even if a patient has small issues, the doctors have to send the patients to Aydin or Soke. .. The schools are good and adequate not like the hospitals. But hospitals are very important. Health is important and they need to sort this out (H8)

Because property development has been largely unmanaged and uncontrolled by authorities, there has been surplus property development in Didim, spoiling the environment. As already noted, this is consided by the local community to be the outcome of poor practices on the part of property developers:

> People buy properties here because they are so cheap, 40,000 and 45 000 Turksih Lira. But nothing is done properly; those properties and the city plan have not been done properly. The town has turned messy. Property developers have built too many properties and now there is an oversupply of property and they cannot sell them. They sell them very cheaply. (H8)

One participant in focus group who used to work as a representative of the local council in Didim summarised the situation:

> *Interviewer:* What I have found in Altinkum is that the market is declining and they can't sell their properties.
>
> I will tell you the reason for that. First, they built some low quality properties and they couldn't sell them to foreigners and then they developed better projects for them [British people], and that pushed up the property prices in Altinkum. Later, everybody began to get involved in the sector and became a property developer and they developed more properties than needed and now they have many extra houses. (HF3)

The over-supply of properties has caused problems for Turkish home owners. For example, one respondent (H8) stated that one of his Turkish friends had sold his property in Ankara and bought property in Didim at the peak of the market but, as the house prices fell, he found that he could not buy back the same property in Ankara.

Nevertheless, although some local people who owned properties had suffered financial loss, others were happy because they could now afford properties. Indeed, some local community respondents in the reseach claimed that the falling number of permanent tourists living in Didim in recent years had resulted in the local community taking advantage of the surplus supply of cheap buildings. Specifically, the Turkish retired population who wanted to buy a second home were now able to buy these properties as the prices had become affordable. Therefore, one interesting outcome of this study is that was that these properties are in use because local nationals are happy and able to buy them:

> It used to be mainly English people who bought property in here. However, in recent years this has turned into more locals buying property and the demand for property from English people has reduced so that it is not as much as it used to be…. Now, estate agents usually sell properties to Turkish nationals. (H1)

At the same time, however, this pull for Turkish retirees has also attracted more people to the location and caused more crowding and environmental damage from a touristic perspective. These changes have impacted on existing permanent tourists / second-home owners as it seems to have emphasized the divisions between the two

communities and created pressures owing to the different expectations of permanent tourists and the increasing Turkish population.

6.7 Local community acceptance of permanent tourists

6.7.1 Acceptance: The permanent tourist perspective

Benson (2010) emphasises that the extent of local people's acceptance of migrants, or permanent tourists, is an imporatnt factor in integration between the two communities. whilst others identify other factors, including the local culture and ethnicity, previous experience and their lifestyle, that may determine the degree of acceptance of permant tourists by the host community (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012; Buller and Hoggart, 1994; Shaw and Williams 2002). Typically, studies focus on this issue from the host perspective but, as this section reveals, it is interesting to consider how permanent tourists themselves consider the extent of their acceptance by the local community.

The research revealed that many British permanent tourist respondents believed that the host community accepted them as locals or neighbours, confirming that local people were very friendly and helpful to them. One, for example, claimed that they had been treated no differently to local people and that they (hosts) would do anything for them:

> I think they have accepted us. They are very helpful and to do anything for us… They see us neighbours…[they treat us] no different to [other] Turkish people really. (G4)

Similarly, another British permanent tourist stated that 'I think in this local community I don't feel like an outsider but, obviously, if you are not Turkish you have to be a foreigner. I am a foreigner, that is okay' (G1), whilst yet another stated that there is a camaraderie between the British and Turkish communities, by which most of them see that they have been accepted by the host community:

> Not really, not at all. I think we have been accepted actually. I think Turkish people like the British and British like the Turkish. So there is a camaraderie here, which is good. (G11),

Many confirmed that they saw themselves as locals, not as long term tourists, and that they felt they were accepted by the host community. For example:

> No, I feel very happy and accepted, we are accepted. Yes, I am an expat and we are all expats …it has to be local … we are locals. We have been here six years. I classify myself as local. (G5)

These findings can be compared those of Buller and Hoggart (1994) who, as discussed in Chapter Two, found that British second home owners in France never intended to live there all year around because, even though local people were very friendly, they did not feel accepted in the French community. This, according to Buller and Hoggart (1994), reflected the social and cultural differences between British second home owners and the local traditional rural French community. In comparison, however, Didim is an established international tourist destination where local people are used to contact with the foreign community and lifestyle in the town is not as traditional or authentic as in non-tourist locations Turkey (Nurdali, 2007; Sahin, 2013).

To summarise this section, then, despite the cultural distinctions between the local Turkish community British permanent tourists, the latter believe that they have been accepted by their hosts in Didim. The extent to which this is so, however, can only be fully determined by investigating host perceptions of British permanent tourists and their level of acceptance of them. Thus, the research on three aspects: (i) the local community's acceptance of British permanent tourists in their working and business life; (ii) the implications of religious distinctions between the two communities; and (iii) whether they accept them culturally. These are discussed separately in the following sections.

6.7.2. Acceptance: host perceptions

British home owners opening businesses and working in the location

All but two of those members of the local community participating in the research were comfortable with the notion of British people opening businesses and being able to work in Didim. The main reason cited was that they believe that the local businesses support and generate jobs and tax for the economy. They also believed that it was good to accept members of the British community as residents and that they should be involved in working life in the region:

> Of course they should be able to work and open business in Didim because this is very advantageous to our government and generates taxes. There are many English-owned business in Didim. (H7)

Another respondent expressed a similar opinion and accepted the British community as

a part of the wider society:

> Of course, if they are resident in here. They should be able to. They should feel like this is their place but most of them had problem with their properties - in court cases with their property developers. (H8)

One respondent further stated that he was happy for members of the British community to be involved in business life in particular, especially if they increased the quality and standard of the sectors they were engaging in:

> If they follow legal processes, I cannot not see any problem, especially if these businesses provide more jobs for locals and improve the quality in their sectors; and I support these. However, they should not be a threat to other businesses, or try to control standards or prices and so on. (H3)

However, some local people were opposed to the idea of British people opening businesses and being able to work in Didim, the main reason being that they saw this as competition. For example, one respondent stated that she was against the idea because she believed that there were not enough jobs in the town:

> To be honest, I am a nationalist so I don't approve of this. They should not be involved in work or in opening businesses here… because we don't have enough jobs and so on here. (H1)

Conversely, another stated that he was happy to see British permanent tourists opening businesses because this would have the effect of generating jobs for local people but, at the same time, he was critical of UK immigrant policies regarding Turkish nationals:

> For example, if I go to England, would I be able to open a business? It is very difficult… but here it's easy, you can open a business anywhere but to open a business in England is very extremely difficult… In my opinion it has to be equal. (H12)

Thus, it is evident that apart from a few members of the host community, the majority not only accept the British community as residents but are also happy for them to be involved in local businesses on the grounds that this will create more jobs and income, thereby contributing to tax revenues and to the economy in general. Indeed, some

supported the additional competition as they thought that this would improve business standards.

Religious distinctions

In the literature, it is suggested that cultural and religious differences may cause issues between tourists and local people in Turkey (Bahar et al., 2009; Sagir, 2011). In this research, however, most respondents (including both imams interviewed) indicated that they were happy to live alongside the British community and did not perceive religious differences as creating any conflicts. Some also claimed they would be happy for British permanent tourists to open or build their own churches, pointing out that the Turkish community were able to open their mosques in Europe so the British should be able to do the same in Turkey. This respondent also believed that the Turkish government was supporting the establishment of churches for the British community and added that as long as the newcomers did not attempt to push their religion on others, then they were welcome.

Another participant, an elderly Turkish lady, welcomed different cultures and religious practices, observing that the British community in particular were respectful of Turkish culture and adding that 'I don't think they influence us. They can open churches. We can go to their churches and they can come to our mosques. They are very respectful of our cultures'. (H5). One respondent even stated that space had been allocated for a church for the British community, partly because some British people had died and that it was necessary to provide Christian funerals for them:

> They are opening a church here. The local Council allocated a space for them. We respect other people's religion. In 2004, we realised that someone died and we didn't know what to do, with no vicar, and I told the council and told the British people they can come together and collect money and build a church here and organise whatever they wanted. Different religions do not cause any issue here and people accept any religion, Christian or Muslim. (H14)

Another responent, a participant in focus group HF3, also pointed out that there had been an orthodox church in the Akbuk which was now being used as a library, but he stated that if there was demand for it could be used as a church for the British community.

Two imams were specifically selected as participants in the research to elicit their perceptions of living alongside British non-Muslim communities; both stated that their

religion taught them to be respectful of other religions. ‘If a person is a proper Muslim they should not be uncomfortable in these surroundings because they should respect other cultures’ (H3). They were also happy to see churches being opened and other religions being practiced:

Cultural diversity

With regards to cultural distinctions between the two communities, the results of this research were similar to those of most others studies which focus on relations between Turkish nationals and foreigners which, in general, were found to be positive in general (Bahar et al, 2009; Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2002, Sagir, 2011; Waller, 2017). Most host participants were very welcoming of British permanent tourists, an unsurprising finding, perhaps, given the emphasis in the literature on hosts’ financial dependency on tourism as an important detrminant of host perceptions (Nunkoo et al., 2013; Pizam ,1978; Var et al.,1985; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000). However, financial dependency is alone insufficient to understand the relationship between the two parties yet, with the exception of a small number of studies (Buller and Hoggart, 1994; Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012; Yoo and Sohn, 2003) few attempts have been made to explore the influence of culture on host-guest relationships.

In this reseach, the following was a typical response:

> We have to be hospitable to foreigners. It does not matter who they are, what nationality or religion or whether they are a non-believer, they are our guests. We have to be hospitable to them in the best way and as friendly and as welcoming to them as possible. Especially business owners; they have to be honest and treat them honestly. (H4)

Interestingly, this respondent used the term ‘guests’ to describe the British community. This concurs with O’Reilly’s (2007) study in which permanent tourists accept this description by the local host community in Spain. It may be argued that the use of the term ‘guest’ implies that it is assumed that permanent tourists will one day leave; in addition, the Turkish concept of the guest is culturally significant, inferring obligations and kindness to them. Therefore, it is important to emphasise that the identity of Turkish nationals means that they may have a more welcoming attitude to newcomers in their society. At one level, this may be explained by the Westernisation policies discussed in the preceding chapter, as well as the nation’s political aim of joining the European Union (Lovell, 2009; Inac, 2004; Yashin, 2002); more important, however, is the traditional significance of ‘guest’ in Turkish culture:

> We [Turkish people] always help them and never treat them as foreigners. I am telling you that because I used to work in the council and we give them a space and time to come and tell us what they needed or expected from us especially as a local council. (HF3)

One respondent (H13) stated that he saw permanent tourists as neighbours, reflecting the views expressed by respondents from the British community. He stated that when the British arrived and bought properties, local people initially believed that the hosts they were simply tourists and would not stay. However, they later realised that they were not leaving and so began to learn their names and accept them as neighbours. As another respondent expressed:

> Turkish people always treat their guests in a very friendly and welcoming way. Our welcoming behaviour is not just for cultural reasons; it is also a requirement of our religion as well. (H2)

In contrast, one respondent, H14, who is married to an English partner, expressed negative perceptions about some British permanent tourists in the region, believing that some were involved in insurance scams or claimed benefits illegally from the UK and that some were criminals. He stated that the Turkish authorities had not checked their criminal records before new arrivals had bought properties in Didim and he was not happy to see them in the town. His views were, however, exceptional and, generally, most respondents were of the view that:

> Their culture is not similar but because they live here they feel they have to understand and accept some of our lifestyle. And it's the same for Turkish people; they learn to tolerate each other's life styles. (H4)

Similarly:

> Everybody is responsible for their behaviour; we cannot tell others how they should conduct their lives, just as we cannot tell our locals how they should live their lives. We respect every culture's lifestyles. (H3)

In particular, during the focus group discussion, one participant stated that local people accepted British permanent tourists living in Didim as part of their community, but that

the extent of this acceptance was questionable as he believed that locals fully accepted permanent tourists as being fully part of the local community:

> If we say yes to that, that we see them as one of us, that's not true. We have to be more realistic. To answer objectively, no, we never accept them fully as one of us, but we never push them away either. Because as Avni also said, we are very friendly and very welcoming people; this is our nature. I am very sure that every Turkish person treats them like that; there is no question about that, especially on the business side. I have never seen anybody ask why they are here or why they came here? I have never seen or heard of any possibility of that kind of approach being taken by anybody because, especially, they have really supported the local economy since they arrived here in Akbuk because there were no foreign tourists in Akbuk before they arrived. (FH3)

Thus, the research revealed that most hosts were quite welcoming of permanent tourists and believed that they accepted them fully into the community, attitudes that are certainly influenced by recognition that British permanent tourists contribute positively to the local economy. At the same time, however, they were also aware of cultural and lifestyle differences and believed in tolerance towards each other, as within their own native community. That is, given the varied background of the local indigenous community, as discussed in the preceding chapter, local lifestyles are also quite diverse (Bahar et al,2009; Kasaba, 2008; Yashin, 2002).

6.8 Permanent tourists: Impacts on society, culture and religion

As noted previously, whilst the economic impacts of tourism are generally observed as positive in the literature, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on host communities are typically considered to be more negative (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). For example, accoding to UNEP (2014), tourism generates 'xenophobia, social pollution, and the commodification of culture' which threatens the traditional way of life as well as traditional family life in host communities. The extent to which permant tourism in Didim creates such negative impacts, despite the general acceptance of the British migrant community discussed above, is the focus of this section.

6.8.1 Host perceptions of cultural differences

There is consensus in the literature that the more socio-cultural similarities exist between hosts and guests in destination areas, the more positive will be the encounters between them (Sharpley, 2008). Conversely, the greater the socio-cultural

distinctions, the greater is the likelihood of less positive encounters (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Unsurprisingly, most host respondents in this study confirmed that their culture was dissimilar to that of the permanent tourists. Nevertheless, most were happy to host the British tourists, suggesting that cultural differences were primarily based on British people having more individualistic perspectives, that they lived their lives the way they wanted to. They also emphasised that the Turkish community was more family oriented in general than the British community. One respondent suggested that he could not live in the same apartment complex as permanent tourists because he believed British people created problems, especially when they consumed alcohol:

> I like English people and they are very honest people in general. Their word is their word. I am sure they have some bad people but generally they are honest people… Now, our culture and their culture is not similar because they are very comfortable and free. We are not as comfortable as them because if we behave like that our family will be unhappy. For example, whenever they want to sunbathe around the swimming pool they can, but our family can't. This is the main difference; they are free socially and we aren't. To be honest, if we live together that causes problems. For example some people consume alcohol and some don't. (H12)
>
> *Interviewer:* So you are saying they aren't able to live in same apartment complex?
>
> No, they can't. In reality they don't create problems, but it is alcohol. As long as alcohol is involved whether we want it or not it leads to problems.

A similar viewpoint was expressed by another by host respondent, who drew attention to cultural differences with respect to alcohol consumption and the individualistic and isolated lifestyle of the British community compared to the collective Turkish culture.

> I think they are a bit bigoted. Their culture is very isolated and not very friendly like us; they are not really good hosts or welcoming people like us. They don't even go to each other's houses apart from weddings or religious ceremonies… particularly they drink too much. They start at 10am and continue into the late hours and their entertainment style is very different from ours. (H6)

However, other respondents had different opinions about British culture and their existence in Didim. Indeed, in contrast to the above comments, some suggested that the permanent tourists' culture was not too distinctive from their own:

> I think it is very similar; I have been together with them for many years and I understand their culture. Yes I, do feel their culture is near to mine. Even their religion is not too different from ours; they talk about God and we say tanri or Allah. Religion should not divide us…yes, I don't see any differences [cultural] between us… (H11)

Nevertheless, although cultural similarity is an important factor, it does not necessarily guarantee positive relations between host and guests of different nationalities. Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) found that if two cultures are nationalistic in outlook, then encounters between them may more difficult. The following respondent concurs with the above study:

> … there isn't any cultural problem but, sometimes, extreme Turkish nationalists and extreme foreign [British] nationalists can argue based on football games, but it never happens in my place, I don't let them. To be honest, I've settled in this culture in my place and local people in Didim have been also quite open to European culture for many years. However, it's possible there are some extreme nationalists or very conservative and religious people who may not be happy about it. (H11)

Another respondent similarly considered that although the culture of the Turkish hosts and that of the British community are distinct, the two groups share attitudes, values and habits:

> Culturally we are far away from each other… but this does not cause any issues. We live here together and we go to the same bars; our life style is similar here… yes, it is similar, especially when they have lived here they start to see inside our culture, they begin to like our foods and they enjoy our traditions and eat like us. They seem to like and want to live like us. (H10)

As illustrated in the above extracts, the local community has differing ideas about the lifestyle of British permanent tourists, observing both similarities and differences with their own. This ambivalent outcome is, perhaps, unsurprising, not only because of different expecations, values and behaviours on the part of members of the local

community, but also because, as identified by H10, some permant tourists assimilate into local culture. In general, however, it is the socially and religiously more conservative hosts who emphasise the differences in culture between the two groups, believing that British life is not as family-oriented as that of the hosts.

6.8.2 Permanent tourist impacts on the host society and culture

As considered earlier in this chapter, the local community is generally positive about permanent tourism in the region, respondents highlighting in particular the related economic benefits. Nevertheless, as argued in the literature, the 'tourism development dilemma' (Telfer, 2015) highlights the need to balance the economic benefits of tourism with potential social and other costs, hence one of the key concerns of this research: to identify the socio-cultural impacts resulting from the local population's interaction with British migrants in Didim.

In this context, the reseach revealed a number of issues, some positive, some negative. For example, by necessity, knowledge and use of English has become quite common amongst local people whilst, in response to British permanent tourists' requirements, some new skills have been acquired. For example, one respondent (H2) revealed that he had learned how to cook Indian dishes. On the one hand, this was seen by some as leading to Didim losing its cultural identity, in part becoming an English town. On the other hand, most respondents viewed such developments in a positive light:

> This has definitely changed… 70 percent of local people don't have any problem with English people because they have learnt to live together, and language issues are also no problem because we can communicate with them. For example, even though I only finished primary school, I can speak English fluently because life in Didim forces you to speak the tourist language. (H2)

Not surprisingly, the social issue most commonly referred to by the local community respondents was excessive alcohol consumption on the part of the British permanent tourists, as well as drinking from early in the morning. This resulted in problems such as neighbours being too noisy and being disrespectful towards the host community, whilst other behaviour, such as wearing swimming costumes and bikinis in town centre, also gave the local community the impression that even though they are home owners / residents in Didim, permanent tourists often behave no differently from temporary visitors on extended holidays.

Generally, varying and opposing perceptions were expressed by respondents with regards to aspects of permanent tourists' presence and behaviour in Didim. For example, one participant drew attention to some of the excessive alcohol consumption by British permanent tourists and their careless behaviour but, at the same time, also emphasised the need to recognise that not all the British residents behave the in the same manner:

> *Interviewer:* Do you mean they do not consider their neighbours when they are loud?
>
> Yes, they are thoughtless and they do not care about their neighbours. For example, one day after midnight they were drinking and being very loud. They live on the ground floor. One of the local neighbours upstairs told them he needs go work next morning and he wanted them to be quiet, especially because the family had a baby. However, instead of apologising they put their hands back to the person. You cannot do that to people in our culture, this is very rude. They cannot accept that! (H9)
>
> *Interviewer:* So you are saying that they do not respect families and their social life here, that they are disrespectful to the lifestyle of the locals?
>
> Yes, they are. For example, I live upstairs above one English family. Even though I move my chair I am careful about it so that I don't disturb them. So I wait for the same respect from them…But at the same time the English couple next door, opposite to the one I mentioned before, that English couple is cultured. They read their books and live in this residence block perfectly.
>
> *Interviewer:* So, shall we say in that case only, some English people's behaviour is disrespectful, not of all of them?
>
> ,
>
> Yes, of course I cannot say that all of them behave like that. (H9)

In addition, some British people were seen as being disrespectful to the hosts' cultural values in their behaviour: According to one respondent, an imam:

> For example, some English people bought a flat next door to my flat and I had a funeral. This traditionally involves one or more days when we have to pray (mevlut) in our house or flat. In this situation, while we are praying in our flat,

> the English person is on the balcony and is drinking alcohol. This type of situation makes us uncomfortable. They should know that but they do not know that this is not acceptable. (H4)

Another respondent also observed that there had been some social changes in the town but inappropriate attitudes and behaviour are not restricted to one community, specifically foreign people:

> However, in some situations even Turkish people cause problems for each other about society or the culture of religion. We cannot say these problems are or should be linked only to foreigners' culture. (H1)

Overall, however, the research revealed no consensus as to how the presence of permanent tourists was perceived to influence or impact upon the social lives of the local community. That is, opposing viewpoints were often expressed by respondents; even the local religious community offered different opinions, the town's two imams (both of whom participated in interviews) holding differing views on British permanent tourists in Didim. For example:

> *Interviewer:* What do you think about these people who bought property here? What type of needs do they have here and what should be done in response?
>
> Now… I have information about that when we compare England and here. I have been told that [here] we allow them more freedom than in England. For example, I heard that while they drink like that in England they can't go shopping or walk around the streets very comfortably in England and make people uncomfortable, but here they behave very comfortably while they are drunk. (H4)
>
> *Interviewer:* Do you think they have been given too much freedom here?
>
> Yes, too much freedom. I always hear that. [They have] been given too much. This is what I see and this is what I hear all the time. These things can make us uncomfortable and unhappy with this behaviour because they influence our families and children negatively.(H4)

The other imam, however, emphasized that these differences should be seen as adding cultural richness to local society rather than bringing about social change or problems:

> *Interviewer:* Do you think there have been any cultural changes in the region? [since British permanent tourists arrived?]
>
> No there haven't been any cultural changes [since they arrived]. I believe and see that this brings more cultural richness into our society…everybody is responsible for their behaviour we cannot tell others how they should conduct their lives just as we cannot tell our locals how they should live their lives. We respect every culture's lifestyles. …I believe Turkish nationals are very friendly and welcoming to people from foreign cultures. If we did not welcome them they would not come here. In most situations our nationals give foreign nationals a lot of respect and value them very much. That's why many people buy property here. (H3)

One of the interesting points to emerge from these exchanges is that even though both imams are religious leaders within the same community, their perceptions of international permanent tourists varied significantly. One explanation may be that one respondent claims that he was told by some British tourists about cultural life in Britain and hence, came to conclusions about their behaviour in Turkey. In other words, it is important to note that residents' perceptions are influenced by their own socio-cultural environment. Here, the respondent's individual social relations with British permanent tourists and the knowledge he has thereby gained appear to have influenced his perceptions. This supports Pearce et al.'s (1996) criticism of social exchange theory, often used to frame research into host community perceptions of tourism, that residents' perceptions are often derived socially rather than from individual knowledge.

6.8.2.1 The impact of permanent tourists on the cultural values of the younger generation

Another issue emphasised by some of the host participants regarding the social and cultural changes resulting from the presence of British permanent tourists was their influence on the lifestyle of local Turkish families in general, but particularly on the younger generation. Specifically, the findings of this research confirm that acculturation, seen by others as a consequence of tourism (UNEP, 2014; Murphy, 2013; Smith and Brent, 2001;) occurs as an outcome of permanent tourists'

behavioural patterns. Specifically, some host respondents suggested that British permanent tourists needed to be more aware of the host culture, particularly towards younger people who, they suggested, are more susceptible to foreign influences or acculturation. However, such acculturation is not seen as a problem. For example, one respondent stated that younger local people sometimes marry British permanent tourists but that this did not create any sociocultural issues:

> Mainly it is the young generation which has changed. They marry them… Even though there are language issues between the cultures we can understand each other. They never cause any problems to our society. We understand each other. All our aims here are to make them happy and to be welcoming. (H7)

It is claimed in the literature that tourists and tourism may impact on traditional family life in host communities (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). In this reseach, some respondents commented that social and cultural changes had occurred owing to the presence of British permanent tourists, particularly in terms of the lifestyle of local Turkish families. For example, one expressed disapproval of some female British permanent tourists' lifestyle and was criticial about his married female British neighbour's lifestyle and its impact on his family's lifestyle because he believed that married women should behave more ethically:

> There are other issues such as ethical issues. We are Muslims and in our culture we are not happy to see our neighbours, especially married women, involved in other relations with many different Turkish male partners because we know that they are married and this will make us uncomfortable. (H9)
>
> *Interviewer*: Yes, but this is her private life. You can't say anything?
>
> Yes, we do not say anything. But she is our neighbour. We like to have and see good neighbours around because our families are around. (H9)

Another host respondent, one of the two imams participating in the research, was also critical of British homeowners' excessive alcohol consumption and the impact that he saw this had on the hosts' lifestyle. He also commented on the dress code of British women, for example, wearing bikinis and swimsuits in the open food market, and that this, in his view, influenced and changed the hosts' culture. However, it is important to state that the issue was not the way these individuals dressed but that these garments

were not suitable for the town centre where most locals go and spend time and was, therefore, considered by him not to be a touristic place.

These dress issues were referred to by two respondents, one of them the imam mentioned above, other a local man, married to an English woman, who suggested that the behaviour of British permanent tourists usually influenced young hosts and local families. He stated that tourists needed to show more social awareness and respect towards the host community lifestyle and culture:

> Look, I will give you an example. You know today is market day here; three years ago, before we came here, not one Turkish girl comes into the market in a swimming costume. But all the British people come off the boat, day trippers all in swimming costumes in the market. Now Turkish people have started copying this. Young Turkish girls think it's OK to flash skin. Now more Turkish people stop coming because of all these bad things we're picking up. (H14)
>
> Interviwer: Yes, I see but ..they be told about about do's and don'ts?
>
> No, I think they know about where they're going because whenever you book a holiday you read about that country…
>
> You live in UK, don't you? (H14's wife, G20)
>
> *Interviewer*: Yes.
>
> Let me ask you a question. When you go to town, to a shopping center in UK, even when it's warm and we've got some sun in the UK, how many women when you say …Who in their right mind is going to go shopping in their swimsuits? Nobody does it in the UK, so why do you think you can come here and do it? Forget Muslim country. Anywhere. Let's be fair.
>
> *Interviewer:* Yes, I understand that you are saying they have to be more sensible.
>
> Respectful, or have some self-respect.

In the above extract, the mixed background couple set out their perceptions and the British female participant was of the view that the behaviour of other female British

permanent tourists was unacceptable. She is, in effect, suggesting that, when living abroad, many British permenant tourists suspend the normal rules of polite public behaviour.

6.8.2.2 Unbalanced marriages between elderly British ladies and young male hosts

In a widely cited paper, Wickens (2002) refers to some female British touirsts as 'Shirley Valentines', mature ladies seeking romance whilst on holiday in Chalkidiki in Greece. The same phenomenon is to be observed in Didim. Both Nurdali (2007) and Ozcan and Tezcan (2008) found that around two-thirds of the marriages between British ladies and Turkish men in Didim were between younger men and women aged over forty. In this study, whilst some host respondents recognised the potential positives of such marriages, others were uncomfortable as they considered the marriages to be unbalanced, especially in cases of marriages between older British ladies and younger causal male workers in the tourism sector. For example, H14 stated that the issue caused much disapproval within the host community; he and other local people were unhappy about mature British ladies marrying young boys of mainly Kurdish origin who worked in the tourism sector. He went on to explain that most marriages were between British ladies and young local men of Kurdish origin who hoped to obtain a British passport. Unsurprisingly, most of these marriages failed and ended with the woman's financial loss:

> Anything can happen. In 2005 and 2006, a lot of British women came here in their 50s and 60s; many married eastern Kurdish boys working in this area, waiters, builders, anything. A lot of people said they only do this to get British nationality to go to the UK.

With respect to the impact of permanent tourism on the younger generations, then, two principal issues emerged from the reseach. First, younger women within the local community are influenced by the lifestyle of British permanent tourists, specifically in the way they dress, perhaps because they are at an age when they are more open to discover their identity and alternative ways of doing things. Alternatively, they may be responding to the so-called 'demostration effect'. And second, younger men who work casually in tourist areas have been known to marry older British ladies. In both cases, these behavioural patterns influence and limit the local community's acceptance of some British permanent tourists who have bought property in Didim.

6.8.3 Host perceptions of religious issues and permanent tourism

As implied in the literature review in Chapter Three, it is essential to consider host-guest relations in Turkey from a religious perspective. In other words, it is essential to explore the extent to which relations between Muslim hosts and non-Muslim, specifically, Christian, British permanent tourists are influenced by their religious backgrounds (Sagir, 2011; Tosun and Jenkins, 1996).

Surprisingly, the research revaled that, contrary to arguments in the literature, most local community participants stated that they were very happy with the attitudes of British permanent tourists; more specifically, most claimed that British permanent tourists were respectful to of their religious rituals, such as during Ramadan when some hosts are fasting. For example, one, when asked whether British permanent tourists respected their religious rituals, he answered 'Yes, they do. They are always respectful about any religious activity' (H9). Another similarly stated:

> Yes, I am, and we are very happy living together with them. I believe, and most of us believe, that we should be respectful of everybody's religion. We are respecting their religion. Why should different religion cause problems? (H7)

Nevertheless, one respondent said that even though most British residents were respectful of local culture and religion, some of them complained about the Ezan, or call from the mosques, especially the very early morning ones:

> In some places, I saw English people behave respectfully when they heard the sound of the Mosque. They should behave like that, but not everybody does. Some of them are really respectful, especially during the month of Ramadan. Some of them even wait for you and service if they know you were fasting but some others don't care about it…Yes, especially the morning one [mosque call] but they should not behave like that because this is our country, not theirs. We do not say anything about their church bells. They have to adapt to our culture here, not us adapt to them. (H12)

The generally respectful acceptance of local religious partices amongst the British community can perhaps be explained in two ways. First, British society is a pluralistic society accepting of people from diverse religious backgrounds. And second, British culture is arguably conservative in terms of religion. At the same time, however, members of the local community adhere to a variety of religious practices and, in fact,

one respondent was more critical of those within his own society who were not religious and not respectful of their own society's religious rituals. For example:

> I don't think they influence us. They can open churches. We can go to their churches and they can come to our mosques. They are very respectful towards our culture… usually the people who complain about the Ezan mosques sound are other Turkish people here, not foreigners. Turkish people are not tolerating each other anymore, usually non- believers like that, but I don't want to talk about that issue more. (H6)

Similarly, another respondent claimed that there are few if any differences in the attitudes and observed behaviour of the British permanent tourist community and that of many local people. Consequently, for this respondent, the British population does not cause any problems:

> *Interviewer:* Turkey is mainly Muslim while the British are from a Christian culture; does this cause any cultural clashes or issues?
>
> No, there aren't any clashes or issues [related to this] because Turkey is not like that. For example, last month we had Ramadan. Some local [native] people were fasting and praying but others were also drinking [alcohol] and going to entertainment areas [bars]. So we can't have any clash with English people because our own nationals also drink alcohol; they do the same things as English people usually do …… So our nation drinks like them. Everyone lives their own religion the way they want to. (H10)

Thus, contrary to what might have been expected, this reseach revealed few if any issues related to religion in Didim. This perhaps reflects the fact that, as discussed in Chapter Five, Turkey is not a typical Muslim nation (Boniface et al. 2009); its society is culturally and socially polarised owing to Turkey's secular structure that has been established since 1923 (Kasaba, 2008; Lewis,1955; 1996; Lovell, 2009; Yashin, 2002). Moreover, the region has a tradition of tourism, further reducing the potential for conflicts relating to religious distinctions between the local community and permanent tourists.

6.8.3.1 Permanent tourist perceptions: Religious and political issues

Religious issues

The majority of British permanent tourists participating in the research recognised and accepted the different religious background of the local community and, similar to host respondents, did not identify and contentious issues arising from this. Moreover, most confirmed that they were happy living in a Muslim society. As one stated:

> I have been living in Turkey for ten years; I have not had any religious issues and never had any problems. No one speaks about it. My friends are Muslim and I am a Christian but no problem. (G3)

Another British permanent tourist also stated that she did not feel any social pressure from the religious differences:

> I feel no social pressure, no, not at all. I don't feel any pressure, not at all. We have a Christian Church. (G6)
>
> *Interviewer:* Do you have a church here?
>
> Yeah. It is a big celebration on Friday at the Holy Mary Church in Ephesus. Well, Catholics go. I am not Catholic, but everyone could go, and we can express our religion if we want to...No pressure, no. (G6)

Thus, in terms of religion, both community groups are respectful of each other.

Interestingly, some British participants started to differentiate between members of the local community. One British respondent (G13) also stated that even though he recognised that British and Turkish cultures were different in general, he divided people into two categories: those who went to the same bars and restaurants as the British and were culturally no different and those who stayed at home:

> *Interviewer:* Do you think Turkish culture is different from yours or British culture?
>
> Overall yes. I think in Akbuk a lot of people who we are involved with go to the same restaurants and bars and that sort of thing. I don't think they are all that different but I think that a normal person, living in a house, yes, I think they are different. (G13)

Interviewer: Do you think this causes you any problems socially?

> We came to Turkey and we need to fit in with Turkish people, and the fact that when the mosque goes on at five o'clock in the morning, that is not a problem with us. But we know people who complain about this, but my point of view is we have got to remember that this is their country. They own it. It is the same if somebody came to England; I expect the same in England… but here I think we have got to fit in with Turkish culture. (G13)

Another British female respondent suggested that they had thought about purchasing a property in Egypt but had decided not to settle there, choosing Turkey instead although it is also a Muslim country:

> but… for me Egypt is a Muslim country and women in Egypt … as second class citizens and [I said] I was not going to put up for that 'cause I am not used to that. (G17)

When asked whether she thought the situation for Turkish women was better, she replied 'yes it is better…not as good as in England, but it is better' and her husband (G16) added 'because [Turkey] is liberal'.

More generally, and similar to respondents from the local community, British permanent tourists had different viewpoints with regards to religion. For example, one respondent stated that he was not a very religious person, but believed that cultural and religious differences were a private matter and had to be respected:

> 'We respect religion although I am not a very religious person. I think everybody should have their own … to do … (G4)

All four British permanent tourist focus group members (GF1) also emphasised the religious and cultural differences between the UK and Turkey and clearly stated that they did not have any issues or feel any social pressure about their religious differences. They compared the situation with the UK and they came to the conclusion that 'they [the hosts] don't push their religion or any politics or anything on you'.

Political issues

As discussed in Chapter Four, westernisation and secularisation policies in Turkey have arguably resulted in more flexible and and tolerant attitudes amongst the host community, particularly with regards to politics. Very few respondents had opinions about the current Turkish government's policy of distancing the country from Western policy.

Most British permanent tourists either had no opinion about the political situation in Turkey or they tried to avoid to discussing it. For example, one British participant said he had many Turkish friends but, with regards to politics:

> 'at the moment it's not my business really…I am not a full resident so I am still a guest in the country' (G9)

6.9 Host perceptions of their relations with permanent tourists

6.9.1 Superficial relations and language barrier

As considered in Chapter Three, the extent to which permanent tourists are able to integrate with the host community is determined in part by their ability or willingness to learn the local language (O'Reilly, 2003; King et al., 2000). Hence, one aim of this research was to explore this issue in Didim.

Not surprisingly, perhaps (particularly given the increasing adoption of English amongst the local community as previously identified), a number of host respondents felt that permanent tourists did not want to develop deeper social relations with the local community because of their apparent lack of effort to learn the language. For example, one participant, an elderly Turkish woman, revealed that even though their British neighbour, who is of the same age and gender and had lived in the same apartment block for four years, had never learnt any Turkish. Hence, whenever there was a problem in her neighbour's apartment, she had to become a translator. She suggested that the relations were generally built on local people's efforts because British permanent tourists lacked the interest in learning Turkish:

> My neighbour, I don't think she has any social life … she walks around by herself and then goes to bed. Hello or good morning is all she has to say. She has learned these two words but not more but she cannot speak a word… four years by now, and all she has to learned are two words and asks [me] how are you? But she couldn't…… It is important to learn another culture's language, especially if you are living with them. (H5)

This finding of the research concurs with other studies (King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2003, 2007) which reveal that most British permanent tourists do not learn the host language, usually seeking help when necessary from someone who speaks English. Thus, another host respondent also raised the language issue, stated that he wanted to see British people learn Turkish and to familiarise themselves more with the host culture.

> First of all, when English people settle in other countries, they should have learnt about their [hosts'] culture. Secondly, if they come to my country, I believe that they should learn at least a basic level of our language in order to cope. (H9)

However, another male respondent had a completely different perception about the English community in Didim. He said that he had English friends because he visited English bars to hear their stories and that he had known some of them for ten years. He felt that they did not cause any sociocultural issues with the hosts and, instead, they contributed to the local economy. He also stated that despite the stereotypical image of being cold [reserved], the British are quite friendly people and interacted and integrated with the hosts. However, he also agreed that the British community did not learn the hosts' language.

> English people are known for being cold but they are not…… In most cases, English people's relations with local people are good, socially and culturally. Most English people interact with locals and go to restaurants and bring money to local businesses. They are integrating with locals. They don't separate themselves from locals or create their own enclaves. .(H8)

> *Interviewer:* Do they learn Turkish?

> No, they don't. Especially the English community are like that…They do not learn Turkish… I know of some who tried but most of them do not want to. (H9)

To summarise the above respondent's view, British and local Turkish people get on well with and accept each other. The British community are willing to learn the local lifestyle but language is an issue; they do not learn it. Generally, the use of language was seen as an issue for many hosts, believing that English people were nationalistic

because, other than some, they did not seem to put any effort into learning the host language.

The issue of language was also raised in hosts focus group discussions (HF3), during which it was revealed that the local council had even dedicated a desk in the municipal building for permanent tourists seeking help, and that the council had hired a fluent English speaker to support their needs:

> A: I think learning the language is very important. They are still insisting on not learning the language
>
> C: Yes, I agree with you one hundred percent on the language issue.
>
> A: Believe me, they insist on not learning even one piece of vocabulary. They have been coming here and we can't speak English very much and some of them have got their own accent. We don't understand them and they are still insisting on saying water instead of su [means water in Turkish]
>
> C: About the language issue they are [English people] very nationalist……
>
> *Interviewer:* So, to come back to what you said Mr A. The English are bit nationalist?
>
> A: I don't know about whether they are nationalist or not but they are inflexible on the language issue.
>
> C: It seems like they are bit like that [nationalist] that on the language.
>
> A: Yes, the way they behave is not right. They should learn a little bit.
>
> C: I think if they are dedicated to living here they should learn the language and yes, I think they seem a bit nationalistic on the language issue because, if I wanted to live here, I should learn at least the basic language and they seem to be insisting on not doing that….

Generally, then, although most host respondents, including those who were not working in the tourism industry, were positively disposed towards British permanent tourists, they still indicated that the language barrier meant that developing relations or

making friends was difficult: 'I don't have any [friends] because of the language issue' (H7), 'I do meet with them in some situations but, because I can't speak English, the language creates a barrier to making friends' (H3*)* and 'I have some [British] friends but not many. Not deep relations but as friends' (H1), were typical comments.

Some other host respondents stated that they had close relations with British permanent tourists but these tended to be more personal / formal (e.g. marriage). Most encounters, though, occurred if the hosts went to places where British permanent tourists gather regularly, such as pubs. Here, local people make an effort to develop better relations with permanent tourists, relations which worked mainly if the hosts were able to speak the English language and if they had contact with them regularly in touristic areas. Most of these host respondents had positive perceptions of the British community. Interestingly, they did consider not learning the local language an issue. Indeed, most did not expect permanent tourists to do so. Rather, some local people put more effort into speaking English to accommodate the permanent tourists. For example:

> I have many close English friends. First of all, my wife is English. These friendships are very long term ones. My friendship with them is deep and not just based on superficial things. This is due to my good level of English, but I believe if people cannot speak English properly then they cannot have deeper relations with tourists. I am also very familiar with the English lifestyle and I believe I have adapted to their culture. (H2)

The above respondent was however, an exception, the research revealing that, for the most part, only superficial relations exists between local people and the permanent tourist community. Moreover, the main reason for this is language barrier. Nevertheless, the following section also reveals other types of relations between the two groups.

6.9.2 British perceptions of relations with hosts and learning the hosts' language

Most British participants in the research, when asked whether they integrated with the host community, stated they could not do so as much they wished owing to the language barrier. Some believed that they were partly integrated into the host society because they were invited into local people's homes, to attend weddings and other social events, whilst others had more basic neighbourly interactions, such as greeting each other. However, reflecting the host perceptions discussed above, permanent

tourist groups also stated that deeper conversations were often not possible owing to the language barrier:

> *Interviewer:* Do you think you are integrated into local society and lifestyle?
>
> I like to think that I am; I'm not saying fully integrated. But I don't speak Turkish; a little, but mainly I know only a few words. Last year I went the classes and I tried a different class but it won't stay; goes in and goes out…Yes, I know enough to get by but I could not have a full conversation. You know, I would love to, I really would, that is why I tried the last couple of years…So not just Turkish. I couldn't learn any languages. I just get by in English. (G12)

Another British participant described how he saw his position in Turkish society and his relations with Turkish people: 'We are integrated here; we have been invited to Turkish weddings and so on, me and my wife' (G4). He described the hosts as being his long-term friends but, in terms of the hosts' language, he stated that he could speak very little that he was too old to learn. However, he managed and in some situations he was able to communicate with sign language.

Some others, however, did not describe themselves as being local, feeling apart from the local community. For example, one couple saw themselves as expats and not local: 'I would say so because we don't speak the language; if we did speak the language then I would say more local' (G14 / G15). In contast, another respondent stated that he believed they were integrated in the host society:

> Yes, we are integrated in here. No doubt about that. No worries about that whatsoever (G9).

Nevertheless, he admitted feeling guilty about his inabiity to speak Turkish:

> The trouble is if you want to speak Turkish you need to learn it and speak it all the time because otherwise it doesn't go in. So, we can do a bit. We can order a meal and drinks. And we can say hello and goodbye. We are polite. (G9)

In short, and common to many permant tourists in Didim, although this respondent has lived there for many years, his language ability did not go beyond requesting a meal and drink – in other words, the same level of language usage as some as temporary tourists. This reflects the work of Sagir (2011) and Bahar et al (2009) who also found

also that settled foreigners or permanent tourists in the southern part of Turkey were are not learning the language, either because of their age or because they expected to be served in English. Indeed, other than a few individuals, most permanent tourists were not able to speak Turkish, despite the local government providing free Turkish classes for them. Most permanent tourists stated that they had tried to learn Turkish but, finding it too difficult, had given up. Nevertheless, they believe they are able to survive with some minimal knowledge of the host language, whilst resorting to socialising with each other rather than with the Turkish community.

Overall, then, some British permant residents expressed the desire to engage with the local Turkish community, though only at a relatively superficial level. Many had friends within the local community but some felt that they were not fully accepted by their hosts, and seemed unwilling to make the effort, particularly by learning the language, to be so. This points to an important question regarding the motivation of those migrating to and settling in the region. Therefore, it is important to differentiate British permanent tourists' motivations from the place and what they want from the location and what they expect from each other. The following section examines more specifically, the different types of British people who have settled in Didim and their motivation and expectations of the place.

6.9.3 Symbiotic and colonial relations

Generally, this research revealed that good relations exist between the local Turkish community and British permanent tourists in Didim. However, in some cases the local community took responsibility for these relations, feeling that they needed to look after the British permanent tourists and that they needed to be supported and accommodated in the town. For example, one respondent revealed they helped to develop a symbiotic relationship between the two communities, who need and help each other:

> These [foreign] people live here and home owners live here. For example, one of my friends is called Gary and one day a friend of his had health problems; he asked me give him a lift and then I gave his friend a lift home. We do help each other like that. (H10)

Similarly, another host participant also stated that he had good relations with British home owners. He was a restaurant owner in Didim and British permanent tourists usually hung around in his restaurant and he believed that he had good relations with

them and helped. He gave an example of supporting one British permanent tourist over his mother's funeral:

> One of my English friends just came here. His mum was here and passed away due to breast cancer three years ago and in her will it said that after she died she wanted her ashes to be spread in Yesil Kent [a region in Didim]. We went together and sorted it out. This was the first time in my life I was involved in this experience. (H11)

This group of host respondents had good relations with British permanent tourists and have regular contact with them; they also saw British home owners as friends and were happy to assist them when needed. However, it is important to note that most of these respondents owned businesses and worked either in tourism or the property sector and that British home owners were their main customers. As such, the 'hosts' and 'tourists' are best described as 'service providers' and 'customers' (Canziani and Francioni, 2013: 20; also Aramberri, 2001; Reisinger, Kozak and Viser, 2013), their relations based on or developing from primarily commercial encounters (de Kadt, 1979; Krippendorf, 1987; Sharpley, 2014). Their relations are also symbiotic, a term used by Benson (2010) to describe encounters that are built on and satisfy both parties' needs.

However, the research also revealed that, although initially symbiotic, relations can subsequently become unbalanced. That is, some British permanent tourists demand much and expect hosts to do a great deal for them, reflecting what Walter Van Beek and Schmidt, (2012) Canziani and Francioni (2013) refer to as a colonial relationship. Canziana and Francioni (2013) argue that tourism occupations are often low in status and tourists generalise and tend to see all hosts in the same position, particularly if the tourist originates from a developed country and the host belongs to a developing country. In other words, tourists treat all the hosts as if they were occupational workers and, consequently, have particular perceptions and expectations from them.

Such a phenomenon was evident in this research, although not necessarily perceived as such by local people. For example, in the past some British people had given the title deeds of their properties to local people instead of to professional lawyers or solicitors. One stated that between twenty-five and thirty British home owners had left their title deeds in his name to sort out the rest of their legal documents on their behalf in a relationship based partly on trust, partly on need and dependance rather than equality:

When they came here to Akbuk, almost a quarter of the British people's title deeds were in my name. (H13)

Interviewer: Are you serious?

Yes, because they had to go through certain procedures, like checks with the gendarme [police] and they had to wait 6 months before the title deed was given to them.

Interviewer: How many British people did you say settled here?

A lot…

Interviewer: And how many of them did you say you held the title deeds for in your name?

I remember twenty-five to thirty people's title deeds were in my name.

Interviewer: That's very interesting… so didn't they think about it and gave their title deeds in your name?

Yes, and more than that. In those days I could not speak any English and we communicated with hand language. They were asking me for water and didn't know what were they asking for and they taught me. They took water from the refrigerator and showed it to me and taught the word in English to me … yes we did many activities in this place like English lessons. Turkish lessons. We had a very warm atmosphere here.

Interviewer: How many years ago?

2006 and 2007, when they came here first. This place was very warm and friendly and they said hello to each other [British community] and everything was very good and the relations between people were very good. But that is over now. That ambience and good friendship is finished.

Interviewer: Do you mean from the hosts? The Turkish people?

No, from them [British people]. Some people had settled previously and some others came and they created their own groups based on who they feel more close to.

Interviewer: So they divided into groups?

Yes, when the number of British increased they divided into the groups, like this person is doing too much gossip so they try to avoid him or her.

Interviewer: You said they gave you all those title deeds. Did you return their title deeds?

Yes, after they received ID checks. And I helped quite a lot to get their title deeds back from me and worked very hard for it in most cases. Most of the time I had to leave my business to sort it out and use my petrol and wait there for a long time. I spent quite a lot of time and money for them.

Interviewer: Didn't you charge them for it?

No, never. I wanted to help them. I know some British people here. There were six families and one day they argued and two of the families sold their properties and left here. I helped them a lot, those families, like they needed access to telephone connections and their houses needed electricity. I went there and sorted it out for them and these families, just because they fought with the other families, they stopped coming here [his restaurant]

Other host respondents were more aware and critical of the colonial-type attitudes of some British permanent tourists, especially those who did not want to learn Turkish or integrate into the local community but nevertheless expected local people to help them with everything:

Yes, they are very lazy. If you live in this country you must learn at least the language… just to manage and to explain yourself, like in a police station, hospital something. …But this lot here say, oh, I can find somebody do it for me… that attitude needs to be changed. Come here, integrate, communicate, ask for help. Turkish people are very generous; anybody will help them. But this lot, so cocky; they are looking down people … they think, we have got money we know everything. (H14)

In general, however, most hosts believe there are positive relations between local people and British home owners; locals tend to view the permanent tourists as their guests and they believe British home owners should be welcomed because it is in their culture to do so. Nevertheless, in many cases relations are quite superficial. As discussed above, most hosts are critical about the lack of interest displayed by British permanent tourists in learning Turkish which not only enhances the superficial nature of relations but also results in permanent tourists having to rely on those local people who can speak English. Most of those work in the tourism and service sector and, in the past, have taken on the responsibility for looking after their 'guests', particularly in the early days of migration to Didim. However, according to some respondents, the situation has changed; some permanent tourists have started to take advantgage of the 'hosts' and do not recognise the help given to them. Consequently, local people are now questioning their role in the 'host-guest' relationship.

6.9.4 British perceptions of their relations with local people

6.9.4.1 Attitudes to the hosts

As already noted in this chapter, the research found that most permanent tourists were happy living in Didim, enjoying the Turkish way of life in the town. During discussions in the permanent tourist focus groups, participants suggested that they like to mix with the host community, that they believed they lived within the host community rather than in their own specific enclaves. They also said that they are looked after very well by local people, particularly when they need help, such as being taken to a hospital or bringing food. More generally, they said they chatted with local people on the streets and one respondent stated that she had helped one young Turkish girl to improve her English for school. Thus, the permant tourists believed they got on well with local people. According to one female British participant:

> I do feel very very accepted by my neighbours. I really do, and they bring me presents, like at Bayram [eid] and they bring me sweets, and I am always getting… they always bring me, if they are cooking in the gardens and I try to return when I'm baking something English…something they couldn't buy here…Yes, I speak Turkish to communicate with them. I have a friend there too. She is 21 now. I have known her for six years. I help her with her English and she helps me with my Turkish. So we have a close relationship and I have a very close friendship with her parents as well. (G5)

Discussions in focus group GF1 also asserted positive relations and described the relations with hosts as being neighbourly. One member described how they had been looked after by their neighbours and as they kept bringing food and giving them lifts when needed. They stated that they loved the hosts' attitude and that they were very polite and welcoming to them. One member also added that her Turkish neighbours made sure they were looked after:

> GF1a: They're they're lovely people. They look after us…They come round to make sure we're okay. They bring us food round because they don't think we eat enough…And I had an accident and they took me to hospital… Brought me back. While I was in hospital … there's a hospital room but you don't get food and they would bring me food in for a couple of days just to make sure I was getting something to eat [laughs]…. And they then they came back and picked me up and dropped me back home … And they come round every day just to make sure you're okay. Not so much now now Roger's back but, erm, when it happened Roger was away so they're they're lovely people…Yes. Love the people
>
> GF1b: So do I. I like Turkish people as well

6.9.4.2 British perceptions: No enclaves

O'Reilly (2003), writing about British home owners in Spain, reported that many lived in their own enclaves did not even meet Spanish people in their residential area. Similarly, Sagir (2011) found that in the Finike region of Turkey some residential areas were only owned by the non-Turkish community. In Didim, however, the situation was found to be different, with most permanent tourists sharing residential areas with Turkish neighbours. However, though not living in physical enclaves and even though permanent tourists appeared to mix with local people, some lived, in a sense, in a social enclave.

Conversely, other permanent tourists denied the existence of such social enclaves:

> I think the cultures are very different, obviously for religious reasons and all sort of things, but I think the sense of humour of Scottish and Turkish people are very similar … Yes I feel at home…I, well, I probably think I am one of the local people rather than the disappearers. (G1)

Interviewer: What about Turkish people, how do they see you?

They sleep late and even though I cannot speak Turkish at least I go there to show my support. I would like to think that at least my neighbours feel and think that I am part of the community.(G1)

Another British participant also reported having good Turkish friends with whom he went out for a drink and who he found very helpful:

Interviewer: Do you think you are part of the society here?

For some Turkish people, yes we are. They are very friendly and thoughtful and always helpful, do it anything for you. Good friends. (G2)

The same person also said that Turkish people were not all the same, some being were more like British society, in that they went out and drank and socialised with British people. Focus group GF2, which comprised six British females, stated that they mixed with Turkish people and they lived in same residences and did not have their own expat enclaves like some British home owners in Spain. What the focus group described mainly consisted of neighbourly exchanges, suggesting that the British permanent tourists did not isolate themselves from the host community in Didim and that they have friends amongst the local Turkish community. However, the focus group also stated that there are sociocultural and language barriers between them and that they did not go out together with local families because of cultural barriers. For example, one participant in GF2 suggested that Turkish women were more subserviant than British women, though other members of the group disagreed with that viewpoint. They suggested that this was an over-generalisation and that some Turkish women were quite different, particularly those who are better educated. They also felt that it depended on the type of family that female hosts had grown up in.

Interviewer: Do you go out with them [Turkish ladies]?

No

No

No we don't

Interviewer: Why not?

The language barrier

Because Turkish ladies, how can I put this? English ladies, European ladies have a lot more freedom than Turkish ladies. If a man, if a man pushed in front of me, personally I'd say, hoi get behind me! A Turkish lady would put up with that I don't put up with that…

No I don't think they are…

I think they are more subservient than us

No I don't believe that, I don't believe that

As a generalisation…

Well, er, I think you might have got, er, older older women like your gran, but the generation that's coming up now will sort them out. They're totally different.

No I think it depends on the beliefs. I think some are more subservient than others

It depends on how you were brought up by the parents

I still think it's a generational thing. But I also think it's an educational thing, think it's an educational thing. Very much so.

Most of us are coming up to sixty but none of us here consider ourselves elderly

We're not old

Not we're not, no, ….

Interviewer: You do socialise with them but in a different way?

I mean we still mix. ..we still spend time with those Turkish neighbours now; even though we don't live in the village, we still meet them and we do actually socialise with them

Interviewer: So, you do say you do mix with the Turkish ladies, the Turkish families. You're not isolated …

We try..

The overall tone of this conversation was clearly positive with regards to relations with the local community, perhaps reflecting the dyanamics of the group discussion. A contrary perspective was voiced by another female British respondent who was married to a Turkish man. She believed that, by and large, the British community in Didim did not integrate or mix with the host community and emphasised that they mainly socialised together and created their own social groups and stuck together.

It is very interesting to watch from a psychological aspect, really, and I have been watching them many many years, but now I've noticed it more since we've been living here permanently, they all stick together. They all stick together. There are a couple of people we know that are very good friends of ours, they're an elderly couple, and they have integrated, let's say some of them integrated…but… very few of them are integrating

6.9.4.3 British perceptions of their relations as acquaintances

Previous studies reveal that British retirement migrants tend not put much effort into integrating with the local community (Benson, 2010; King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2003). The same was found in this research. Most British participants described their hosts as more like acquaintances rather than friends; one respondent in particular stated that they live in a small town and there was a large expatriate community and so she was closer to the expatriate community than to the hosts:

This place is a small town and there is a big expat community. I am very close to them and a lot of local Turks know me and are quite happy with me and I do feel quite welcomed. I am part of them. (G6)

Interviewer: So you do feel quite local then?

Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think they see you like that as well or do they see you as long term tourists?

I think Turkish people in here differentiate between tourists and residents.

Interviewer: How do you describe yourselves here? You said you are expats…

Yes, expats.

Interviewer: What do you think about Turkish culture and British culture, are they similar or different?

They are quite different but they rub along with each other quite nicely.

Interviewer: So, do you have any Turkish friends?

I would say acquaintances rather than friends.

Interviewer: Acquaintances? Can you explain that word for me more?

People are known quite well and get along with well, but not close friends. I would have them to my house for a dinner quite happily, or go to them for a dinner.

Interviewer: But you wouldn't cry on their shoulder?

No

Similarly, other permanent tourist respondents revealed that they spent most time around their own community and had many English friends, but also Turkish friends:

….one of the things I really liked about here [is] we have more friends here than we had in England, because in England we were working, so you don't get an opportunity to make so many friends there. (G17)

Asked about the nationality of her friends, this respondent added: '…obviously more English than Turkish'. Asked whether any Turkish people were close friends she responded with 'no' but her husband claimed that some were.

Similarly, another respondent described their relations with hosts in general as being friendly: 'We don't know them well enough to be invited to their house or whatever, but we do know enough people to talk to and say hello to'. (G13). He also stated that a local man who had lived in London for many years had good English and helped them with any issues and that they were able to ask him for translations whenever they needed, but again he described him as an acquaintance rather than a friend.

Two others participants, G23 and G24, who did not live in Didim all year and only went there for holidays, described themselves as being more like long term tourists so they did not know many people. They also described relations with hosts as being more like acquaintances 'because we are not here long enough to get involved'.

Generally, then, the majority of British permanent tourists saw local Turkish people as acquaintances rather than friends. There were a few respondents who differed but most admitted that they socialised with other expatriates in Didim. Indeed, two went as far as saying that they did not want to mix with local people, the only ones they knew were in business people who wanted to get money from them: 'generally just people who are in business who make money from us' (G14 and G15). However, the same respondents were criticised by others during the focus group discussion, saying they should separate their friends from business people who were there to make a profit (G14 and G15):

> Husband: I don't think we get too involved because we are in an expat community and most of our socialising is with the expats.
>
> Wife: And we don't get too involved with all them [expat] either because they are talking about each other, and we can't…
>
> *Interviewer:* So, do you feel you are an outsider, what you think?
>
> Wife: No, we like to keep ourselves to ourselves and a lot of them over there will be talking about each other.
>
> *Interviewer:* I see. So you can't really involve with them very easily

Wife: we don't want get to involved.

Interviewer: Do you have any Turkish friends?

Wife: Acquaintances.

Husband: Yeah, but generally just people who are in business who make money from us.

However, in some cases, relations were very different from the above examples, such as with British permanent tourists married to local people. Not surprisingly, these people were more integrated into the host community, their relations were deeper and they seemed to have a lot more empathy with host community, speaking the hosts' language well enough to communicate with hosts and having many Turkish friends and being accepted into the local community.

To summarise the above, most of the hosts and permanent tourists emphasised that their relations were mainly based on superficial relations owing to the language barrier and could not really be described as being anything more than acquaintanceships. However, these relations also differ in each interaction as some relations could be described as mainly symbiotic, where both parties need and support each other (Benson 2010). However, some of the hosts see that their interactions go further than supporting each other and are closer to being colonial, where permanent tourists display an attitude of superiority over the hosts. Examples of such colonial attitudes are those where the permanent tourists expect the hosts' main role to be to sort out their problems and the guests act as if this is the natural exchange between them (Canziani and Francioni 2013). However, some of the hosts question this behaviour as they believe this is not their job. Overall, however, host and permanent tourists' relations demonstrated symbiotic qualities; the two groups benefited from each other but, at the same time, were also happy to live together as two separate communities.

6.10 Host perceptions of permanent tourists' integration

A majority of host respondents in this reseach claimed that, in general, British permanent tourists do not adapt to or integrate with the host culture and social life in Didim. For example, one respondent, an elderly lady, responded to the question of whether British permanent tourist adapted to the host culture with 'I haven't seen any' (H5). More specifically, two others also stated that the British community mainly

socialised amongst themselves, organising activities like quiz nights and charity groups, and did not mix with the local community, whilst a host participant from focus group HF3 discussed British permanent tourists' integration with the host community and voiced the view that, apart from a few cases, most of them they did not put any effort into either learning Turkish or mixing with the hosts in general:

> I don't think they integrated or couldn't integrate with Turkish people. It may be because Turkish people might treat them in a very friendly way. For example, Turkish people, even though they don't know English, they are the ones who always try to speak a little English to communicate, even though these people settled and are living in this country … they have not learnt one or two words of Turkish and they never accepted or wanted to learn it…
>
> Yes, there are some very few English people who are trying, but most of them are not really trying to learn it [the language]….I think these people don't want to learn it or build relations with Turkish people.

Interestingly, however, most local people did not appear to expect the permanent tourist to integrate, one claiming they could not adapt to the host culture because of their age, as they were at the retirement stage so it was difficult for them to adapt to new cultural norms but, instead, influencing the hosts, especially the younger generations. The respondent added that some of the cultural values had already been changed so that hosts were now less willing to welcome their guests. He believed that the hosts' cultural values had been replaced with more [individualistic] Western values:

> English nationals cannot possibly adapt to Turkish culture. It's almost impossible because most of the people who bought property here are of retirement age and not from the younger generations. They are already settled and live their life in a certain way. I don't think they will accept the Turkish lifestyle. However, they can change us, for example how to treat guests and individualistic lifestyle like me and my family have priorities all the time. I think our younger generation has been affected by that type of life. For example, in recent years we have noticed that Turkish people do not want guests and I think we learnt that from western culture…(H4)

It is interesting to see how some local people linked social changes in their community directly to the British home owners' culture. Such changes may, of course, be related to other infleunces, such as the town's tourism development stages (Butler, 1980). When

rural small towns or small fishing villages develop, their family oriented culture may be replaced by a more cosmopolitan culture with more individualistic social structures. Equally, social change in Didim may be related to the more general socio-economic development of the town. In short, the changes can be seen as a consequence of globalisation as people become increasingly global citizens (Bauman 2013a;2013b Held and McGrew, 2003; Steger 2003; Urry 1999).

However, tourism development may encourage change; according to H2, the British population, rather than adapting to the host culture, demand change from the host community. For example, he explained that in their residential complex in Altinkum, the British home owners have tried to take over the complex management from local people:

> I don't think so [not adapting] because English people in particular are very nationalistic and they try to change the Turkish people here rather than adapting themselves to our culture, or they become closer to other English nationals and create one group… For example, they try to create English groups in their residence and take over that residence's management and want to control the residence and not leave the Turkish residents to rule their common or shared areas. In summary, instead of learning adapting themselves to Turkish culture they prefer to change Turkish culture for themselves…. (H2)

This respondent also had an English wife, and understood Britain and British people; he added that, in his view, British people do not adapt to the host culture because their main motivation for living in Turkey is to have a coastal lifestyle with the sun and the beach, to be able to retire early and have a laid-back, relaxed life; as such, the lifestyle of an extended holiday:

> They don't adapt themselves to the locals' culture because their main motivation is obvious. They come here to experience the sun, sand and the beach and they are mainly retirees with £700 income, which is not enough to live in England. However, their income gives them a better quality of lifestyle here. (H2)

This view echoes Benson's (2010) argument which sets out three criteria for permanent tourists to integrate with the hosts community. These are: (i) the motivation of the permanent tourists; (ii) the level of the hosts' acceptance: and (iii) shared interests between the hosts and the permanent tourists. The above statement clearly

suggests why permanent tourists do not integrate with the host community, their motivation being related neither to the hosts or their culture; it is, rather, related to climate and being able to retire in a place where their income takes them further. This is consistent with other research which found that many northern Europeans move to southern European countries to take advantage of the warmer weather (Dwyer, 2002), gain economic advantages (Cohen, 2008; Hall and Williams, 2002; Hall and Müller, 2004) and also supports Cohen's argument that migrants from developed, Western countries nations, particularly retired groups prefer to move to less developed countries to gain economic advantages.

In contrast, another respondent expressed his belief that British permanent tourists were also influenced by the host society's culture and that people who lived all year round in Turkey were generally more open to other cultures:

> In some situations they do [adapt to host culture]. They are normally very rude people, like not showing respect to elderly people. But now, when they see mum, they gave their seat to my mum in the bus. They learnt that from Turkish culture. (H6)
>
> *Interviewer*: Will they become closer toTurkish people?
>
> Yes, because I believe people who come here have sympathy for foreign nationals; at least, they are not against foreign cultures because the ones who are against foreigners, they usually choose places in their own home countries like in the countryside or mountains, they do not go to other countries to live.

Other respondents also stated that some British permanents tourists adapted to the host society, married local people and even changed their religion. This is, however, consistent with King et al.'s argument (2000) that these are exceptional, individual cases based on personal circumstances. The two imams from the religious community who participated in the research stated that they had met permanent tourists who had converted to Islam:

> There are some people who closely connect themselves with society and there are some foreigners who have married locals and learnt the language, and even some of them who have changed their religion. I believe they are adapting to our culture more because I observe that they have become Muslim. (H3)

The other imam also pointed out that British people often marry local Turks and a lot of British permanent tourists had changed their religion. He provided numbers based on their official records:

> A lot annually from our statistics; twenty to thirty people, some years forty people change their religion to become a Muslim in Didim. This figures are only the ones we know when they marry.
>
> *Interviewer:* Are they mainly male or female?
>
> Both.
>
> *Interviewer*: So they change mainly because of marriage?
>
> It is mainly marriage-related, but there are others who decide to do this independently as well.

Finally, one of the, participants in a focus group discussion (HF3) stated that British people do not adapt to the hosts' lifestyle in general but also emphasised that the hosts do not generally expect them to do so because they know how difficult to adapt to a new society, particulary when the permanent tourists are quite old. He stated that it was understandable that British permanent tourists sought others with cultural familiarity to mix and built relations with, as it is difficult to integrate within a new society and to learn new norms.

> It is not easy to integrate, let's empathise with them. If we go to England, what we do first is to learn from other Turkish people who can speak like us, or look for Turkish people to explain our issues.They do the same thing and look for other English people in the area.

6.10.1 British perceptions of integration with hosts

6.10.1.2 Lack of acceptance into the society

As previously discussed, with the exception of a few participants, most British respondents reported that the relations formed with hosts tended to be referred to as acquaintances rather than friends. They knew the names of some local people, such as their neighbours or others who they met, but language was the main barrier for their relations in general. Thus, their relations were neighbourly but superficial. For example, the British couple, participants G14 and G15, stated that they lived in Yesiltepe where,

aside from a number of Britsish people, many of the 160 residents are Turkish. They stated that despite attending the free Turkish language classes they were not able to learn the language, but also that other social reasons impacted on relations. For example, they observed that local people tended not to socialise with the British community. Equally, it is important to remember that Didim has many Turkish second-home owners who use their homes as holiday homes and may not know others in the region: 'so it is not the case of you know we won't mix with them. They [Turkish] don't really want to mix with us' (G14 and G15).

Another permanent tourist, a participant in focus group GF2, stated that she wanted to mix with the hosts and integrate more, but found that although the hosts are friendly they never fully accept her into their day-to-day lives. She gave the example of when Turkish women in the area were protesting against an increase in water prices they did not invite the British residents to take part. The British ladies also asked Turkish ladies to attend their knitting club, but they did not:

> *Interviewer:* Do you feel you are integrated into this community?
>
> Integrated to a certain extent….
>
> I don't think we're fully integrated. We've all got friends, we all speak toTurkish people, but I still think that there's some kind of divide…
>
> We all get invited to weddings and we all get invited to, er…
>
> But I suppose there are certain things…
>
> Family things …
>
> *Interviewer*: So it is integration, but not fully.
>
> Not fully. No.
>
> *Interviewer:* So, are you saying that they're not accepting you, then?
>
> Er, only that they accept that we're here and they're very friendly but, no I, don't think that we're accepted into their real life. Most of them, but you get some, I mean, I've got Turkish friends and I'm accepted into their lives but most of the

> neighbours they're only friendly.. my husband works away. I'm only asked over for tea when my husband's with me, when he's home. So they've watched and see when he's home and then they're "M…'s home", but they don't ask me.
>
> I'm not saying we haven't been accepted; it's just that sometimes I think they don't think about it. I don't think they are ignoring us. I just don't think that it's crossed their minds to ask us. I don't think they ignore us because, you know, my neighbours living here always say hello and how are you. I don't think they even think of 'why don't you join our group'.
>
> It doesn't cross their minds.
>
> It doesn't cross their minds. I think maybe they think we can't because they're not going to understand what we say either maybe it's things like that we can't speak to them. Maybe they think we'll make their conversations difficult or stilted or something like that

Thus, there is a clear perception amongst the British that the local Turkish community does not accept them fully into their real lives. As discussed earlier, the hosts also felt that the permanent tourists did not wish to mix with them and, hence, both groups assert that it is the other which does not wish to mix. Undoubtedly, there are cultural and social issues at play here, yet the outcome of this research is similar to Buller and Hoggart's (1994) finding that British people in France reported that their French hosts were nice and friendly but never accepted them into their real lives. O'Reilly's studies (2003 and 2007) also identified the same issue in Spain. Therefore, it may be unrealistic to expect full integration between such groups although, as Benson (2010) suggested, the extent to which permanent tourists attempt to integrate is dependent on a number of factors. Therefore, the following section considers the types of permanent tourists who seek such levels of integration.

6.10.2 British permanent tourists attempting to integrate with hosts

The research revealed that some British permanent tourists in Akbuk village in Didim integrated with hosts more closely than others. Specifically, these permanent tourists sought traditional and rural values and had generally adapted themselves to the host culture. Neverthless, they are in a minority; only four out of twenty-four British permanent tourists participating in the research had integrated themselves to such an extent.

The question of whether any particular (permanent) tourist types or motivations will lead to better integration has long been discussed in the tourism literature more generally (Smith, 1977, 1989; Cohen, 1979; Dann, 1996; Smith and Brent 2001; Wickens 2002). In the current study, it emerged that those permanent tourists who had chosen to adapt more to the hosts' culture tended to share more traditional values, and these made them more respectful of the host culture. For example, the British couple, G16 and G17, had settled in Didim to retire early and to escape their lifestyle in UK. They stated that they liked the hosts' culture because it was more friendly and more caring, although there were also features of life in Turkey they disliked, such as being overcharged and people throwing rubbish on the street.

However, the same respondents also stated that they had preferred Akbuk as it had been, when it had been more rural. The couple observed that two years previously the town had felt more local, and that they missed those days. They had good relations with local people; everybody used to know each other in Akbuk. But, they did not see themselves as locals anymore because the village had changed significantly; big hotels had been built and the village had grown and developed:

> *Interviewer:* How do you see yourselves? As long term tourists or local?
>
> *Husband*: I don't think I am local yet. In actual fact, I will say that two years ago, no three three years ago, I felt more local then because I used to walk down the road here when it [was] small and all of this didn't exist and I could walk down here, sit down in front of the shop and they [shop owners] said [to me], Keith come, cay! [tea] and I sit there on his balcony had cay with him we watch the road. Now it's big. Big hotels started to spoil the village. When it was a village [it was] better, Turkish, English and everybody used to get on. No, there were Turkish, English and German here, and we used to get on so well and people would stop you and say hi how are you, even if we had some problem with languages. But now when we come down hill, I don't see anybody I know .

Another British respondent stated that there were some British people who she knew, who had tried to integrate with hosts community:

> They have integrated and they have embraced the Turkish way of life and they love it. They love the people and they respect them and they understand them and I mean, how old are they now, they are 70. They aren't fluent in Turkish but they try, they really try it. They are genuine, they're real, and they communicate

> with people. All of the Turkish people that we know that live around them and know them they love them. They love them. They're not trying to rip them off. They help them. If they've got any problems they only have to they call them and they don't have that problem when they go to the market when they go shopping. (G20)

Some British permanent tourists, who were able to speak Turkish fluently, had integrated with the host community very well. Most of the British home owners in this category either grew up in the town and went to the local school, or had married local people and and were generally more open to other cultures. Mainly, these types of British permanent tourists believed that the host community was more family-oriented than British people and they liked that. For example, one eighteen-year old female British respondent said she had lived in Didim with her British parents for eight years and did not want to go to the UK, not even not for holidays:

> I grew up here … I'm used to here.. really, really different here, like, in Turkey everyone speaks to everyone.. [they] are happy all the time…in the UK you cannot go just go up and say hello to someone…

The respondent also explained that her British father shared her opinion, but her step-mum was not so certain about staying. She said her father and she had both integrated into Didim; she had many Turkish friends and she spoke Turkish fluently, went to a Turkish school and was preparing for the university exams in Turkey. When asked whether her Turkish friends treated her as a British girl she said no, and that she was treated as a local, that she had a Turkish name, and that she liked Turkish culture owing to their family life style.

> [I]think it [the culture] is nice.. I don't know…all the family speak and they are all so close together, but in UK everyone seems like mixed up so …

There were some British permanent tourists whose relations with local people were quite deep. One, for example, claimed that he spoke Turkish well and emphasised 'respect the host community and they return the same respect'. (G9). He also believed he was well-integrated with the host community also said that he had been accepted for who he was. He also reported going fishing with the village fisherman and being the only Englishman in their boat in winter time. When asked about the cultural differences between himself and his hosts he said:

> I have found it very similar because wherever I go in the world I don't think religion makes any difference to anybody because, at the end of the day, we all human beings, we all love each other, we all like to help people. (G9)

He added

> All you have to do is, I found if you respect people for who they are, they respect who you are…so for everybody who looks after each other respect is the first word.
>
> *Interviewer:* And how do you think local people see you?
>
> They used to see me as little bit of hero because I started the Yesil Tepe football team and we built our own field and then the local Turkish joined in, they put goal posts up they put white lines down and I cut the grass so we had maybe fifty English people, sorry British people, and fifty Turkish people and they [were] all coming to watch at the same time…and we had mangal (barbeque) afterwards

The same participant stated that the hosts probably saw permanent tourists not as locals but more like long-term tourists, something he did not consider to be a problem. However, his partner indicated that although she would like to be viewed as a local, they were in fact more like expats. Respondent G9 also said that he believes that he has many Turkish friends although, interestingly, although he sees himself as well integrated with local people, he described them as acquaintances rather than friends, similar to other respondents: 'a lot of Turkish… what we call acquaintances. A lot of people I know, but I don't know that, well, is to be …[friends]. (G9)

To conclude this section, then, the British residents who have integrated more share similar characteristics, particularly an affinity with the local culture, a desire to be involved with the local community and, significantly, an attempt to speak Turkish. As one respondent, who is married to a local man, noted:

> Obviously my husband is Turkish… it's nice that [local] people speak to me in Turkish; they don't talk to me in English and they always address to me as if I am Turkish not English.
>
> *Interviewer:* You must be very fluent then.

No, but before I open my mouth they see me and speak to me in Turkish and I respond to them in Turkish and we don't speak any English in the market or shops.

Interviewer: You must feel really integrated, then?

Yes, definitely.

The building of deeper relations with hosts often reflected the individual choices of permanent toursts, as identified by King et al (2000), with some having clear motivations for building closer relations (Benson, 2010). For many of the permanent tourists in this research, however, such relations were not desired. For example, participant G21 stated that 'all we want beer'. Others, however, were looking for different experiences and desired to be closer to the hosts' lifestyle. These types of people adapted more to the local culture because they valued the host culture more or because of the desire for a more traditional, rural or authentic lifestyle, as discussed by (MacCannell 1989; Lowenthal 1990; Sharpley and Sharpley 1997 and Cohen 1988b).

6.11 Chapter summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to consider the outcomes of the research amongst members of both the local Turkish community and the British permanent tourist community in Didim, Turkey. In so doing, it has identified a number of key themes that emerged from the research, including that most types of permanent tourists were early retirees and second home owners. Permanent tourists were motivated to live in Didim mainly for the climate, whilst many had taken the opportunity to retire early as their retirement income went further in Didim than in the UK. The study results also revealed, however, that many British permanent tourists had left Didim owing to financial or health reasons, and had either left the region, moved to cheaper destinations (such as Bulgaria) or returned to the UK. This outcome is an example of Bauman's (2013a;2013b) modern day demand; people are constantly changing to achieve more, they are always on the go and display signs of rootlessness, which is also considered to be an impact of globalisation on people's lifestyle (Bauman, 2013a, 2013b; Held and McGrew, 2003; Urry,1999).

The research also found there were a variety of economic, social and cultural impacts on local society. The presence of permanent tourists pushed up the prices of property and other products and services, as well as indirectly causing an oversupply of

properties in the region. However, many hosts believed that this issue was more related to property developers and the local authorities rather than a negative impact of permanent tourists' demands. Other social issues included an increase in the economic gap between the social groups in the region which resulted in division in society as many businesses prefered and prioritised British permanent tourists over the hosts as they were seen as being better customers.

There was also eveidence of tourist explotation by local businesses, causing discomfort amongst the local community as they believed this to be unethical. Most other identified social and cultural impacts were related to perceived excessive drinking on the part of permanent tourists as well as what was described as careless and disrespectful behaviour towards the hosts' lifestyle. It was also felt that the arrival of permanent tourists had influenced the younger generations in their dress codes in public places and other behaviours.

The study also found that many permanent tourists had, in practical ways, adapted to the local lifestyle. However, in terms of cultural adaptation to the hosts' culture, with a few exceptions the majority of permanent tourists lacked the motivation to do so, primarily because they had moved to Didim for egocentric reasons such as for the climate and for an affordable lifestyle in their retirement. Nevertheless, more generally, permanent tourists were accepted by the host community and, in the research, both groups of participants (hosts and tourists) clearly indicated that religious and cultural differences did not present any issues between them and that many hosts were also happy for permanent tourists to open churches and to be involved in the working and social lives of the destination. However, some permanent tourists and hosts also emphasised that the acceptance of permanent tourists by hosts was superficial and that they did not really admit permanent tourists into their real lives.

In terms of tourist relations with hosts, these were mainly perceived to be based on superficial relations which were, nevertheless, often symbiotic. Many interview participants from both groups also emphasised the lack of ability on the part of permanent tourists to speak the hosts' language as being the main reason for their superficial relations. Those who spoke the the hosts' language relatively well were the ones who were more integrated with the hosts. One of the most important characteristics of this better-integrated group of permanent tourists was that they were generally more open to other cultures. Most permanent tourists, by contrast, adapted to the local social lifestyle but did not integrate with the hosts and mainly socialised within their expat community in Didim.

Overall then, many findings from this research concur with earlier studies; equally, some contradict earlier studies. In both cases, however, a number of conclusions and implications can be drawn. These are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7

The research: Implications

7.0 Introduction

As revealed in reviews of the relevant research (Deery et al., 2012; Harill, 2004; Nunkoo et al., 2013; Sharpley, 2014) and discussed at length in this thesis, the subject of host-guest relations has long been the focus of academic attention. However, as Woosnam (2012) and Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) as well as others emphasise, most of the research into the relationships between hosts and guests has been concerned primarily with host perceptions only. In other words, the research typically explores the perceptions or attitudes of tourism destination communities in isolation from a consideration of the social interactions involved in host-guest relations, hence the need for a contemporaneous study of the perceptions of both parties (hosts and guests /the local community and tourists) within a single case setting. At the same time, reviews have also argued that the predominant quantitative approach to the research has resulted in a relatively limited understanding of host community perceptions of and responses to tourism and tourists. Indeed, Canziani and Francioni (2013) and Sharpley (2014) support Woosnam's viewpoint (2012) in relation to this, arguing that although previous quantitative research-based studies have identified positive and/or negative perceptions on the part of hosts, they have been unable to explain why hosts think the way they do. In a similar vein, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) are critical of the application of social representation theory to the research because although it faciltates the identification of people's perceptions, does not indicate why people hold the perceptions they do. In addition, Pearce et al.(1996) are also critical of previous host-guest relations studies as they fail to take into account the fact that perceptions are formed within wider socio-cultural and historical contexts.

Immediately, then, a strength and contribution of this thesis is that it addresses these limitations in the extant research, focusing as it does on the attitudes, perceptions and behaviours of both members of the local host community and of those referred to here as permanent tourists within a single context, the town of Didim in Turkey. Equally, through the adoption of a qualitative approach as called for by Deery et al. (2012), Sharpley (2014) and others, the thesis addresses Pearce's et al. (1996) main criticism, as outlined in Chapter Four, that previous host-guest relations studies are limited by a

lack of deeper social analysis of individual participants and of their wider world. As a consequence, such studies are unable to identify and explain how the participants' perceptions have developed socially. Putting it another way, the perceptions and attitudes of both tourists and local communities inevitably do not develop in isolation from extrinsic socio-cultural influences; their views are derived socially and, hence, it is important to understand their wider social world and their social historical background in order to analyse their perceptions. Again, through exploring this wider social context, this thesis not only addresses this gap in the literature but also, in terms of contribution, provides a deeper, more nuanced understanding of host-guest relations in the context of permanent tourism in Didim than is typically encountered in the literature.

It should also be emphasised here that, in the context of this study, the researcher's Anglo-Turkish background facilitated a deeper penetration into and understanding of both societies (local and tourist) under investigation, and of the individual perspectives of participants both during data collection and at the analysis stage. This also represents a unique feature of this study. Specifically, and as described earlier in this thesis, the researcher benefits from cultural roots in both communities, allowing for deeper understanding of the backgrounds of respondents. She has lived for more than a decade in the UK with family connections and roots in British culture and social life; however, being of Turkish origin and having grown up in Turkey, she is also deeply aware of and sensitive to the culture and social views of the host community. In particular, her background enabled her to recognise and understand cultural signposts as a basis for analysing an individual's perception of their society. For example, at the interview stage it was possible to gauge some of the hosts' social-cultural values by seeing a picture of Kemal Ataturk's hanging in their homes. Such a signal can immediately hint at the partcipant's political and religious views, leading to an expectation of more secular opinions to be revealed by those participants (Pearce et al.,1996).

Similarly, an individual's previous or current occupation, where they grew up, their actions, whether they drink alcohol or not or even their use a particular word collectively point to their social background, and understanding these social signs can be considered crucial in qualitative studies. Hence, in this study the researcher's Anglo-Turkish background enabled her to grasp quickly the wider socio-cultural and historical contexts of respondents in both groups whilst, from a more practical perspective, it also encouraged all respondents (both Turkish and British) to be more open and to talk more freely with the researcher owing to the use of their respective native languages and their shared cultural knowledge. Indeed, according to Killam (2013), the beliefs,

values, knowledge, concepts and experiences of the researcher can be highly influential in the research process. In short, the research in this thesis not only responded to calls for a deeper, qualitative and multi-dimensional approach but also benefited from the researcher's own socio-cultiural background which endowed it with a unique perspective, contributing to a number of significant outcomes and implications which are now discussed.

7.1 The types of British permanent tourists in Didim: Permanent tourists

It is important to start the discussion by examining the type of migration (or permanent tourists) found in Didim. With the exception of one British couple who were second home owners, all of the British participants in this study were aged above 50, they were all retired and pensioners, and they lived in Didim all year round; in brief, British permanent tourists in Didim are typically retired couples. This is one of the important findings in this study and corroborates those of other research, particularly King et al.'s (2000) study. Notably, it confirms that these people can be best categorised as permanent tourists as opposed to lifestyle migrants, a form of tourist-migration identified in a number of other studies (Benson, 2010; Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Nurdali, 2007; O'Reilly, 2003; 2007). Having said that, as revealed by some British participants, other types of British home owners who had settled in Didim had been obliged to leave the region for financial reasons; this particular group might better fit the lifestyle migrant category.

More specifically, based on the estimations of one host participant, there used to be some 4,600 British home owners, around 4,000 of whom had to leave the region for financial and health reasons in the late 2000s. Many respondents in the research expressed the view that financial pressures had led some permanent tourists to return back to the UK and others, as reported by some participants, to seek out and relocate to even cheaper locations, such as Bulgaria. The latter evidently moved on from Didim for some of the same reasons as moving to and settling in Didim in the first place; that is seeking a better climate as well as the cheapness of the location. It could be argued, therefore, that these people are perhaps 'rootless' (Bauman, 2013a; Perlmutter, 1991; Scholte, 2002; Steger 2003; Urry 1999). That is, their movement or mobility can be considered to reflect the increasing globalisation of society, one facet of which is increasing mobility and consequential 'rootlessness', as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis (Bauman 2013b; Cohen et al., 2015; McGrew, 1992; Scholte, 2002; Steger, 2003; Urry 1999). In other words, these peripatetic communities are made up of highly mobile global citizens, who appear happy to make a home somewhere overseas and then if necessary move on to a new home elsewhere in another country; the world,

rather than a particular nation, is their home. As such, this concurs with Bauman's (2013a; 2013b) claim that one of the consequences of globalisation is social, in that it influences people's lives and their social roots (see Chapter One). In other words, whilst in the past people might move house for financial and other reasons within national boundaries, they now happy do so internationally.

It is also clear, however, that such globalised migration is typically economically driven rather than a universal phenomenon. That is, those who display such mobility do so out of necessity; unlike retirees, such as those still resident in Didim, they do not enjoy a stable income (Bahar et al,. 2009; Dwyer, 2002; King et al., 2000). In other words, it is difficult for 'lifestyle migrants, who migrate to another destination to improve their quality of life style and seek fulfillment' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009) if they are without a stable income to allow them to survive in destinations other than their home country. In these cases, they need to find work and, thus, they can be thought of as economic migrants. Hence, not only can the concepts of permanent tourists, lifestyle migrants and other categories of tourist-migrant be challenged by more fundamental factors (wealth, health); so too can the influences on globalised mobility be similarly challenged.

7.2 The impacts of British permanent tourists

One particular aim of the study was to analyse and understand the impacts of permanent tourists on the hosts and the destination. As discussed in Chapter Six, host participants emphasised both positive and negative impacts which they had identified. Not surprisingly, economic benefits were among the most positive impacts while socio-cultural and environmental impacts were often more negatively reported, which is similar in character to most of the literature reviewed. However, it is important to briefly re-visit the key issues.

7.2.1 Environmental and economic impacts: Permanent tourism and property development in the region.

Nurdali (2007) and the Turkish Statistical Association (TUIK) (2016) reported a rapid growth in the town, with the population of Didim growing from 42,000 to 70,000 between 2007 and 2010. As a consequence of this rapid growth, a number of issues were reported in the host society, particularly as the number of properties increased and the town development plan had not been handled properly by the authorities to meet the needs of the locals. For example, some hosts were critical about the capacity of the local hospital and the incapacity of other public services in general as well as pointing to some infrastructural issues. As discussed in Chapters Three and Six, an

effective means of addressing and understanding local needs is, quite evidently, to consider the perceptions of the local population (Snaith and Haley, 1999; Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson, 2006). In this research, it was found that the principal environmental issue resulting from inward tourist migration was the increase in property development in the region and the subsequent degradation of the environment. It is unknown whether such property development stimulated or was in response to the demand for housing amongst permant tourists. Either way, and as illustrated in Chapter Six, the local community were mainly critical of the local authorities with regards to this issue rather than of permanent tourists themselves; that is, most respondents amongst the host population believed that the situation had not been managed appropriately by the local authorities, that there should have been a better development plan or, as suggested in the literature, such development should have been carried out more sustainably (Richards and Hall, 2000; Sharpley, 2008; Smith and Brent, 2001). This, in turn, suggests that despite the recognised need for it, effective planning and control may be difficult to implement, particularly when the potential for shorter-term profit outweighs longer-term sustainability issues, hence the increasing incidence of so-called 'overtourism' in destinations around the world.

The results of the study also revealed that the increase in demand for property in Didim resulted in economic and social pressures on the host population. As identified in Chapter Six, some respondents reported that the demand for properties amongst British permanent has led to an increase in prices in the region in general, an outcome noted in the literature (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Hall and Müller 2004; Helderman, Ham and Mulder 2006; King et al., 2000 O'Reilly, 2003, 2007). Significantly, however, some host respondents were particularly critical of the buying behaviour of some British permanent tourists (including British temporary tourists) as many of them pay higher prices than necessary having failed to investigate the actual value of products and services. In part, this was put down to permanent tourists seeming to still think they were in UK, with British prices in mind. This had resulted in the potential for conflict or resentment between the different groups in Didim society society as local people could not compete financially with permanent tourists. Indeed, some respondents amongst the local community even believed that as long as British people lived in Didim, living costs would remain high, with some even questioning whether they would be able to stay in the town. This again reflects a problem identified elsewhere, such as in Sweden where, in some regions, local people were displaced once second home owners had arrived (Marjavara, 2009). The implication is that, to an extent, such price inflation is inevitable; at the same time, however, it is clear that potential second home purchasers

should be encouraged to learn about (or be informed of) appropriate prices to pay for property.

Nevertheless, in the case of house prices in particular, the situation in Didim has changed considerably following the return of some British permanent tourists to the UK. Many houses which were built for British property buyers are now available to local people and the oversupply of properties on the market has resulted in falling prices, making many houses more affordable. However, one host respondent suggested that a reduction in property prices is not desirable in general as it results in financial loss for many local people and creates the danger that the region might move downmarket as a tourism destination, attracting fewer toursts (permanent or otherwise) who will spend money in the region. Given these findings, one issue that should be considered by the authorities is that external property demand is not always long term and, hence, again there is a need for more careful planning.

7.2.2 Tourist exploitation, destination image and social division

Theories related to destination image have long been discussed (see Crompton, 1979b; Echtner and Ritchie, 1993; Murphy, Pritchard and Smith, 2000; Pike 2002). In this context, this research identified a number of issues related to the exploitation of permanent and temporary tourists with implications for the image of Didim as a destination. Specifically, host participants expressed their disapproval of local business ethics as they believed that some local businesses charge both permanent and temporary tourists more than they do locals for the same products and services. As a consequence, they are concerned about their destination image as they realise that the exploitation of tourists by local businesses may damage the destination's image in the longer-term, concurring with a number of studies, such as Kleppe and Mossberg (2001) and Lala et al. (2008), which suggest that, amongst other factors, business culture may adversely affect destination image. At the same time, the exploitation of tourists has also caused deeper social issues within the community, particularly as many hosts reported that local business prefer and prioritise British permanent tourists as they value them more because they are better customers (or more precisely, spend more). Consequently, not only does the host community feel less respected, but also antagonism towards local businesses might increase. Hence, the need arguably exists for policies or processes to be implemented that ensure, through regulation or other means such as codes of conduct, that businesses charge similar prices to local people and tourists for goods and services.

7.2.3 Permanent tourists: Impacts on society, culture and religion

A number of other social issues and transformations in Didim were revealed in the research, notably with regards to the style of clothing being adopted by younger local girls and the marriage of members of the younger generation to permanent tourists. These can be classified as demonstration effects as well as a form of acculturation (Murphy, 2013; Wall and Mathieson, 2006).

Significantly, however, an important outcome of this resersch was that cultural and religious differences did not appear to be an issue for either permanent tourists or members of the local community. Indeed, respondents from both groups emphasised that problems did not generally arise from cultural or religious distinctions – certainly, both British permanent tourists and hosts stated that significant cultural differences existed between them, but both parties nevertheless reported positive inter-community relations. This has been found to also be the case in similar studies in Turkey (Bahar et al, 2009; Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2002, Sagir, 2011; Waller, 2017), and can be seen to reflect (or perhaps be explained by) the common finding throughout much of the host-guest relations literature that the host community's financial dependency on tourism is an important factor in host perceptions, leading to a willingness to accept newcomers (Nunkoo et al., 2013; Pizam ,1978; Var et al.,1985; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000).

In the context of this study, however, such an explanation might be simplistic, overlooking a genuine respect for each other's culture between the two communities. That is, some previous studies have emphasised the religious differences between hosts and guests as a potential spource of conflict (Sagir, 2011; Tosun and Jenkins, 1996) yet in Didim, a location where Muslim hosts interact and share social spaces with non-Muslim specifically Christian tourists, such conflict is not apparent. As discussed in Chapter Six, many interview respondents, both hosts and permanent tourists, regarded religious differences as almost a non-issue, with many anxious to point out how respectful of religious beliefs and practices they are. Interstestingly, a number of respondents from the local Turkish population pointed out that religious differences within their own community are often wider than those with the foreigners, with some members of the Turkish community being more disrespectful of their own religious rituals than permanent tourists. This issue is related to the heterogenous nature of society in Turkey, which is socially, culturally and politically polarised (see below). The host community is also happy to see members of the Christian community practise their religion and even establish a church should they wish to do so and, consequently,

most permanent tourists suggested that, from a cultural and religious perspective, they felt very happy and welcomed in Didim.

This outcome is contrary to what the literature in general would seem to predict. However, the finding is directly related to the discussions in Chapter Five of this thesis, in which it was explained that Turkey has a secular background (Boniface et al., 2005) and is not typical of a Muslim nation. This issue was also identified by some permanent tourists who emphaisised that that they found Turkey to be more liberal and that the position of women is also very different from that in other typical Muslim countries. As discussed in Chapter Five, this can be explained by Turkey's secular constitution and structure that has been established since 1923. At the same time, however, the country's society has become culturally and socially polarised owing to this secular structure (Kasaba, 2008; Lewis,1955; 1996; Lovell, 2009; Yashin, 2002) whilst, in the context of Didim itself, it is also of note that the town, as a burgeoning tourism destination, has since the 1980s transformed and adapted itself to tourism and the demands of the tourism industry (Çankaya, 2006; Nurdali, 2007) in the same way that many other Mediterranean communities have adapted to British language and culture (King et al., 2000). Hence, this study points to the need for a more informed, context-specific understanding of the role of religion in tourist-host relations; to assume inevitable conflict is erroneous and pejorative.

7.3 Permanent tourists' life style and authenticity

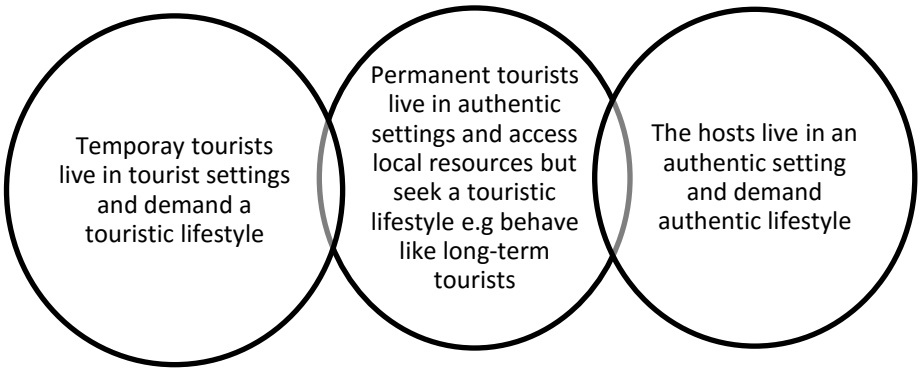
An interesting point to arise from the research is that the needs and demands of permanent tourists are different from those of temporay tourists. Specifically, permanent tourists have created their own social community in Didim and, as discussed in Chapter Six, they reported that they do not want to be seen as tourists. Indeed, they actively distance themselves from temporary tourists. Most of them have adapted to the local lifestyle and regularly use and seek authentic places; as one of the host participant stated, permanent tourists prefer to go to the places where the hosts go and they use authentic places as the hosts do, such as the local pazar.

Therefore, first, the study found that permanent tourists seek authenticity, as distinct from the demands of temporary tourists as identified in Chapter Three (Boorstin,1964; MacCannell, 1989; Pearce and Moscardo 1986; Sharpley, 2008; Urry and Larsen, 2011). Second, and in contradiction, permanent tourists also however distance themselves from the hosts' socially as they do not generally socialise with the hosts. The results of the interviews and focus groups found that permanent tourists socialise

within their own community and classify themselves as expatriates. As one British permanent tourist explained, there is large expatriate community in the region and they mainly socialise together.

Thus, the study found that that permanent tourists have created their own micro-society within the region which is culturally distinct from the society of the hosts. Their social lifestyle fits neither with British temporary tourists nor with the hosts but can be conceptualised as lying somewhere in between (see Figure 7.1). Most of them, apart from a few exceptions such as Anglo-Turkish married couples, live socially and culturally as a separate community within the host society, concurring with the findings of other studies (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2003, 2007).

Figure 7.1 Permanent tourists' lifestyle



This finding is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, permanent tourists do not wish to be seen as tourists, and they like to keep their distance from British (temporary) tourists. Secondly, they seek and demand access to authentic local places to consume better and more convenient products and services. However, they also demand a touristic lifestyle and facilities as they like to use touristic locations, such as bars and restaurants, as well as frequenting authentic places as a means of establishing their lifestyle in the region, and local producers respond to their demamds. For example, the local bakery shop, which mainly serves the local host population, also produces steak and kidney pies, hence offering a 'pseudo-authentic' service. Temporary tourists, in contrast, do not make use of such local bakery shops but dine in touristic restaurants and bistros. Therefore, in terms of impact on the host society, permanent tourists are involved, influence and impact on the hosts' lifestyle because they can access the

genuine areas of the hosts' community or what MacCannell (1989) terms the backstage; the areas which temporary tourists cannot access. Similarly, Pearce and Moscardo (1986) and Cohen (1979b) also identified different stages where tourists and hosts can interact and types of settings available to temporary tourists but in terms of permanent tourists, they can regualrly access the hosts' real life backstage.

7.4 Permanent tourists' motivation: Push and pull factors

Benson (2010) argues that the concept of integration is directly related to the types of motivation of permanent tourists; that is, the main motivation of permanent tourists either leads to integration or militates against it. As discussed in Chapter Two, Benson (2010) also argues that three factors need to be considered to understand the concept of integration. These are: (i) the motivation of migrants; (ii) the hosts' degree of acceptance; and (iii), shared interests between hosts and permanent tourists.

In this research, it was found that most permanent tourists are not integrated into the host community, primarily because many of them migrate to Didim owing to pull factors such as climate and a cheaper lifestyle rather than a desire for cultural affilation. This was recognised by one host participant who took the view that it was unrealistic to expect permanent tourists to integrate because that was not the reason why they came. In addition, many hosts also highlighted the difficulties facing permanent tourists wishing to integrate, mainly as a result of their age and established behaviours / identities. However, where the permanent tourists demonstated motivations similar to those identified in Korpela's study (2009), they were more likely to attempt to integrate. These permanent tourists are akin to lifestyle migrants and are critical of the lifestyle in Western societies. These migrant types are more likely to integrate into new cultures because they are escaping or have left their country's culture. In the current study though, many permanent tourists emphasised that they had left the UK owing to the long hours of work and because they believed that the country had socially and culturally changed as a result of many foreign people living in their regions (see also push factors below). Given these motivations, it is therefore unrealistic, perhaps, to expect these permanent tourists to integrate into something which, in a sense, they had escaped from in the first place. The next section will discuss permanent tourists integration and their pull and push factors in general.

7.4.1 Pull factors

As discussed in Chapters Two and Six, the reasons for permanent tourist migration vary. Moreover, it is difficult to establish patterns of demand in general as the

characteristics of each destination play an important role in its selection as a location in which to settle by permanent tourists (Girard and Gartner, 1993; Helderman, Ham and Mulder, 2006; King et al., 2000; McHugh, 2000). However, as revealed in Chapter Two, some common motivations are identified in the literature (Benson, 2010; King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2007, 2003), and this study sought to explore these, particularly the pull factors which lead the largely retired population to settle in the Mediterranean regions such as the better climate (Ackers and Dwyer 2004; Casado Diaz et al., 2004; Dwyer, 2002; Hall and Müller, 2004; King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2007, 2003). Other pull factors are classified by scholars such as Moss, (2006) under amenity rich destinations, for either retirement purposes or a better quality of lifestyle in, for example, rural areas in France. These demands also could be seen as push factors as some of them motivated the escape from urban lifestyles (Benson, 2010).

This study found that most permanent tourists in Didim had similar motivations to those in other studies. In particular, the climate of Didim and the better quality lifestyle were frequently reported by interviewees and they also repeatedly claimed that their income went further as Didim, so the location offers a better standard of living. These can all be considered pull factors, though the latter (income related) can be classified as what Gilbert (1991: 79) describes as a 'filterer of demand' - that is, demographic or economic constrains. The study found that most motives reported directly fit with the demographic and economic pull factors identified in Gilbert. The climate and seeking of sunshine is another common *affector* demand. These classifications also fit with Dann's (1981) definition which suggests that an individual mainly desires something that they lack in their daily life.

The results also concur with Cohen (2008) who stated that nationals from Western developed countries seek less developed countries because the destination provides cheaper products and services for them. Many of the permanent tourist participants in this study cited the cheapness of property values and lifestyle as compared to the UK. These demands can be classified under the pull factors of the destination and could also be classified as push factors for permanent tourists who left their country of origin due to these reasons. Moreover, the result of this research suggest that a better standard of living is the dominant pull factor.

7.4.2 Push factors and colonial relations

Push factors are those factors that lead or push an individual to leave their normal environment, and may reflect personal, intrinsic influences or be characteristics of the

external environment. In this research, most of the push factors reported by permanent tourist participants were similar to those also identified by O'Reilly (2003, 2007) and Benson (2010), and were typically related to lifestyle in the UK. In particular, the main issue identified in this study was the UK's tradition of long working hours, with many respondents emphasising that such long hours did not leave time for any social life and resulted in a generally stressful lifestyle.

However, a different factor repeatedly mentioned by the permanent tourists interviewed was that they believed the UK had changed socially and culturally. In particular, they were critical of UK immigration policy and many complained about there being too many foreign people living in their regions of the UK and that, as a consequence, British society has become very different from how it was when they were growing up. Some permanent tourists repeatedly mentioned this issue as a main push factor yet, interestingly, most of those who reported this issue in the UK also emphasised that, paradoxically, they were quite happy to live in Didim, even though the socio-cultural environment is a completely different (and foreign) culture for them. This links to another finding in this study, discussed above, which is that most host and British participants acknowledged the cultural distinctions between them but that most permanent tourists reported that they were happy to live in Didim and believed they had adapted to daily life in the town.

This paradox demands further questioning. That is, some respondents stated that they had escaped from the UK because of what they perceived to be an increasingly unfamiliar foreign culture and social environment; they stated that they were not happy to see too many foreigners living in their region and they had lost their social life in their home country. Yet, they were happy to live in a culturally very different society in Didim and they also expected the hosts to see them as being 'locals'. A number of explanations for this contradictory postion can be proposed.

First, it is possible that the issue is not UK immigration policy and the increasing number of foreign residents in the UK *per se* (many areas of the UK have remained relatively immune to larger-scale immigration), but dissatisfaction with the standard of living in the UK and the resulting lifestyle. Some of the permanent tourists reported that their retirement income would not allow them the same quality of lifestyle in the UK as they enjoy in Didim; their retirement income in the UK was a cause of disappointment for them, and it is possible to speculate that their low level of pension income is somehow perceived to be related to welfare spending on increasing numbers of foreign migrants.

A second interpretation of the reported findings is that the British permanent tourists have created their own social existence within the host community. Many stated that there is a large British expatriate community in the region and they mainly socialise within their own social enclaves in Didim. There are, in effect, two different communities established in Didim, both of which are happy and accept each other, though with limited interaction or interdependence but enjoying symbiosis. In other words, permanent tourists may feel less impacted upon by the local community than the did by the presence of increasing numbers of migrants in their former home community in the UK.

Third, however, in terms of their social engagement, it could be argued that the relations between permanent tourists and the local community in Didim could be described as being colonial. That is, as dicusssed earlier under social exchange theory (see Chapter Three), where hosts and guests negotiate their expectations to achieve beneficial outcomes for the both parties, their exchange must be reciprocal, and the resources exchanged should be roughly equivalent (Ap, 1992: 675). Thus, neither party should feel they are being exploited. However, this research found some issues potentially related to exploitation, or the dominance of one group over another in a manner that shares some similiarity with colonial relations.

According to Walter van Beek and Schmidt, (2012), post-colonial theory is a new concept in tourism that, to date, has not been widely examined by scholars. Nevertheless, some studies, such as that by Hall and Tucker (2004), have observed that post-colonial theory mainly focuses on areas such as language, identity and place. In terms of relations with the host, some permanent tourists' attitudes share similarities with colonial relations in as much as, for example, some permanent tourists consider the role of the host community is to support them (Canziani and Francioni, 2013). As such, their relations are not balanced, as the encounter is firmly weighted in favour of the permanent tourist who, owing to their buying power, adopts more of a 'patron' role, whilst the host adopts more of a 'servant' role. At the same time, the most reported issue in the research was the fact that that permanent tourists in Didim do not learn Turkish. Indeed, the attitudes of some permanent tourists went even further than that. As suggested by one British couple in the interviews, some permanent tourists who insist on using English take the view that if members of the host community want to conduct business with the British, then they should learn English to be able to do so. In other words, the potential exists for the attraction of living in Didim to be power-based, with permanent tourists enjoying a degree of (post-colonial) influence over the host

community that they did not have in the UK. It must be stated however, that there was little if any confirmed evidence in the research of this attitude, although it may be implicit in some permanent tourists' contradictory acceptence of living within a foreign community. In fact, as, more generally the relations between permanent tourists and hosts could be classified as being symbiotic in character.

7.5 Host-guest relations

This study found that a variety of types of relations exist between permanent tourists and hosts. However, overall the results suggested that the relations between the two groups in Didim are positive. As discussed earlier, many host respondents stated that they were happy to welcome permanent tourists, which is perhaps unsurprising as many of them recognised the financial benefits that permanent tourists bring to the town. This concurs with a number of studies that have found a significant correlation between positive resident perceptions and the level of economic dependency on tourism (Nunkoo et al, 2013; Pizam, 1978; Var et al.,1985; Var et al.,1985; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000). However, one of the permanent tourists described their relations as being good *camaraderie*, based mutual trust and support. Nevertheless, these relations do not go further than the symbiotic level as most participants reported that permanent tourists do not integrate into the host society owing to the language barrier (see also Bahar et al. 2009; Sagir, 2011).

7.5.1 Temporary and permanent tourists relations with hosts

Another factor differentiating the relationships of temporary and permanent tourists with their hosts is that the latter have frequent, even continuous contact with hosts. Many of the permanent tourists interviewed stated that they knew some local people, describing them as acquaintances and enjoying contact with them that is more long term, a pattern of relationship which differs from the usual continuum of temporary tourist-host encounters as discussed in the literature (Jafari,1987; Reisinger and Turner, 2003; Sharpley 2014). The study found that as most permanent tourists live all year round in Didim and because the location of their accommodation was intermixed with that of the host community, the permanent tourists are able to access and live more within the backstage than temporary tourists. As a result, permanent tourists have the potential to influence the host community's day-to-day life in the authentic setting in more ways than a tempory tourist would. In this way, the permanent tourists demonstrate more sociocultural impacts through their demand for more suitable products and services, such as local English language newspapers, the setting up of churches or the provision of English products in local shops. And it is the provision of

these products and services by the local community that contributes to the establishment of symbiotic host-guest relations.

When considering the different relationships between temporary and permanent tourists with the host community, the observations made by UNESCO (1976) and Sutton (1967) can be used as points of reference. UNESCO and Sutton stated that tourist-host relations and interactions occur within organised tourist spaces and that, on the whole, these interactions either happen where hosts are working formally or informally in the tourism sector. Sutton (1967) suggested that this contact was transitory; both the host and guest demand instant satisfaction; their relations are unequal because what is a new and unusual experience for the tourist is business as usual for the host; their contact lacks spontaneity because it occurs in organised tourism spaces; and, a cultural distinction exists between the tourist and host. in addition, UNESCO (1976) also defined these relations in very similar terms, describing the contact between tourists and hosts as transitory and superficial, lacking in spontaneity as their roles are defined. The contact is constrained in time and space; it is typically based on economic exchange; and therefore it is unequal as set above.

By comparison, the relationships of permanent tourists with their hosts show greater variety than those of temporary tourists as they do not seek instant satisfaction owing to the longer duration of the contact and the fact that their relations are not one-off but are more continuous. Rather than being superficial, the relationships therefore become more symbiotic in character. Therefore, based on the preceding discussion, Table 7.1 below distinguishes between temporary and permanent tourists' interactions with the host community.

Table 7.1 Comparison of host relations with permanent and temporary tourists

Temporary tourists relations with hosts	**Permanent tourists relations with hosts**
Temporary and transitory relations	Longer term and permanent relations
Instant satisfaction	More continuous satisfaction
Superficial relations with hosts	Symbiotic relations with hosts
No or minimum access to backstage	Able to acces to backstage for long periods
Contact lacks spontaneity- organised tourism spaces (staged authenticity)	Contact in real life: use of and access to authentic places (non-organised tourism space)
Unequal relations (new for tourists and usual commercial business for the hosts)	Relatively equal relations as both parties know each other (longer customer/business relations)
Limited impact on host culture and society as they cannot access the backstage	More impact on host culture and society as they are able to access the backstage

7.5.2 Symbiotic relations

As described above, from the evidence in this research, the relations between permanent tourists and the hosts are on the whole symbiotic and mutually beneficial for both parties. Most permanent tourist participants classified their relations with the hosts as acquaintanceships rather than as friends. Similarly, most host participants describe their relationship with permanent tourists in the same way. Many host respondents, when explaining their relations, spoke about how they helped permanent tourists as well as how they supported them to be able to manage their lives. Most of those hosts who helped permanent tourists also worked in the tourism industry or owned these types of business. Therefore, the study found that their relations were neither closely integrated nor antagonistic. Indeed, generally, the two parties' relations were to an extent interdependent, mutually beneficial and hence symbiotic.

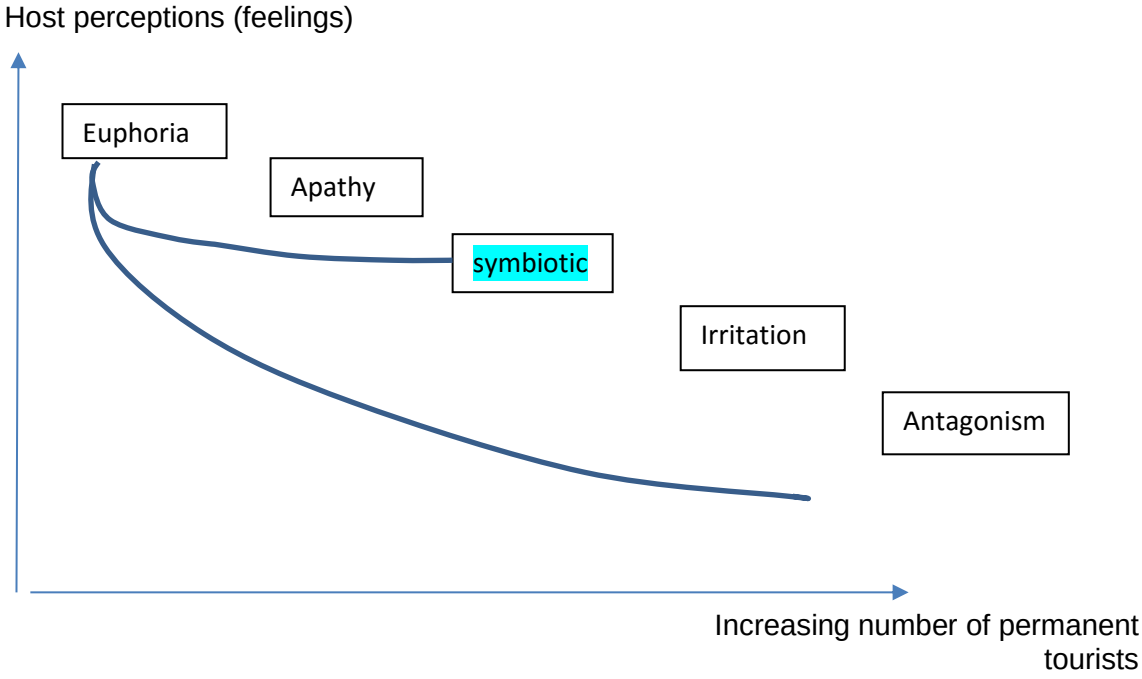
More specifically, the results of this research suggest that permanent tourist relations with the host community do not lead to the stage of antagonism as proposed by the Doxey's 'irritation index' or Irridex. Doxey (1975), somewhat controversially, argued that the perceptions of the destination host community change as tourism development

increases in the destination, following a linear path from euphoria through to antagonism (see Chapter Three for more detail). In other words, when tourism development as an activity becomes more intense and the numbers of tourists grow, the host community becomes more antagonistic towards the phenomenon in general and towards tourists in particular.

This research has identified that the arrival of permanent tourists and second home owners had some impact on property and product prices in the Didim region. It has also revealed that the local local community was not only critical about the issue but also that it has caused some displacement of local people (Marjavara, 2009), owing to second home owners effectively pricing locals out of the region. Previous studies in other locations have also found that the density of tourism leads to negative perceptions of tourism (Gursoy and Jurowski, 2002; Pizam,1978), findings which concur with Doxey's (1975) irritation index. Significantly however, the current study, by way of contrast, found that many hosts reported that they quite welcomed permanent tourists, in all likelihood because they recognise the benefits to the overall economy in the town. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Three, Nunkoo et al. (2013) reviewed 140 host perception studies published over a twenty-six year period, finding that variables or factors which influenced hosts perceptions varied considerabley. However, one variable consistently identified by studies is the hosts' financial dependency on tourism; the more they depend on tourism as a source of income, the more positive are their attitudes towards it.

Hence, the outcomes of this research suggest that host community perceptions in Didim cannot be classified as being antagonistic towards permanent tourists, not least because the local community recognise their economic contribution. In a similar vein, most permanent tourists also confirmed that the hosts' attitudes towards them was neighbourly, friendly and supportive. In other words, this suggests that symbiotic relations exist between the host community and permanent tourists as both parties, in a sense, need each other and have established mutually beneficial, symbiotic relations (Benson, 2010). This symbiotic relationship is conceptualised in Figure 7.2; here, host perceptions transform from euphoria to apathy, but then rather than becoming increasingly negative acheive a stable, symbiotic postion of equlibrium. Whether this is unique to the specific context of Didim would require further research but, nevertheless, this empirically-based challenge to Doxey's model is a significant outcome of this thesis.

Figure 7.2: Permanent tourist and host relations



Source: Adapted from Doxey (1975)

7.5.3 Duration and integration

Some researchers have found that the longer residents live in a tourism destination, the more negative their perceptions are towards tourism development (Harill, 2004). This increasing negativity may be related to the recognition by the hosts of changes in the destination brought by tourism, changes that are felt less keenly by those who have lived in the destination for shorter periods. A similar situation might be apparent in Didim in the case of temporary tourists; longer-standing members of the local community may have developed more negative attitudes towards them. However, the situation with permanent tourists may be different. Indeed, the research suggests that as the permanent tourists live in Didim for longer periods, their relations with the hosts are more positive, symbiotic and as many respondents from both groups reported, that they are familiar with each other. The nature of the duration of stay allows for both parties to build more long-term relations, which is the different from the case of temporary tourists.

As discussed earlier, most cases of contact between hosts and temporary tourists are based on commercial exchange and are described by scholars in terms of 'customer' and 'service provider' rather than as being host and guest relations (Canziani and Francioni, 2013: 20; also Aramberri, 2001; Reisinger, Kozak and Viser, 2013).

However, the case for permanent tourist and host relations found in this study suggests that the relationship goes beyond mere commercial exchange. As one permanent tourist stated, the relations may start in commercial settings but then evolve to be closer in the case of permanent tourists owing to the longer and more frequent contact with each other and more established and continuous relations. As established in the previous paragraph, the longer duration of the stays allows for deeper relations and time for the mutual benefits to both parties to emerge and be appreciated. For this reason, many permanent tourists preferred to describe and classify their relations with hosts as acquaintenceships rather than as friendships, perhaps seeing these relations as ones which exist to satisfy their needs rather than as preferred friendships. Many permanent tourists stated that whenever they need someone, they ask one person from the host community to assist them. Equally, many hosts claimed that they are helpful to the permanent tourists, particularly those who own businesses and who have frequent commercial and personal contact with permanent tourists, as illustrated by Sharpley (2014). Thus, this leads to symbiotic relations with each other.

To conclude, as discussed earlier, the claim made by Doxey (1975) that increased numbers of tourists lead to negative perceptions or, in the extreme, antagonistic perceptions towards tourists does not appear to be applicable in the case of permanent tourists in Didim. The relationships between hosts and permanent tourists are varied but, from the findings of this study, many hosts and permanent tourists rely on each other and, hence, symbiotic relations emerge. As noted above, whether a similar situation exists in other destinations with significant permanent tourist populations can only be determined through further research, yet this outcome also raises questions about the applicability of Doxey's model (and other such linear models) more generally.

7.5.4 Language and integration

Krippendorf (1987) identified that host communities are not a homogenous group and that it is difficult to generalise the perceptions of both host communities and permanent tourists owing to the heterogenous nature of their respective cultures (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012). The results of this study have shown that it is important to analyse the differences in relations between the two groups and, in particular, why some permanent tourists develop or enjoy closer or deeper relations with the host community than others.

As revealed in Chapter Six, the research found that a common factor identified by many respondents amongst both hosts and permanent tourists was the language

barrier. This outcome is not perhaps surprising, as the issue of langauge has been discussed by several authors (Bahar et al., 2009; Hou and Beiser, 2006; Sagir, 2011). Indeed, most studies related to retired migration populations (e.g. Casado-Diaz, 2006; King et al., 1998, 2000) and lifestyle migrant studies (O' Reilly, 2000; 2003;Benson and O' Reilly, 2009) emphasise that many newcomers are unable to speak the host language but also show no interest in learning it. However, a variety of other social factors are also identified in the literature as having an equally significant impact on the degree of integration, such as gender, social class, profession, and nationality (Buller and Hoggart,1994; Benson, 2010; Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012).

Interestingly, almost all the hosts and most permanent tourists interviewed in the current study reported that language was the dominant factors in preventing the development of deeper, more meaningful relationships between the two groups. This can be confirmed by the fact that it was found that those British permanent tourists who had integrated the most with the hosts in Didim were also those who spoke Turkish. Unsurprisingly, these were often permanent tourists who had been married to a Turkish local for long periods, or who were younger-age school children who had grown up in the location along with others and were more open to the local culture.

For those British permanent tourists identified in the study as being well-integrated with the local community, the ability to speak at least some Turkish was a common factor. However, their duration of stay in the host community and more regular interaction with the hosts also contributed to a sense of integration, though these are likely to be correlated to language ability. With regards to levels of integration more generally, Table 7.2 below summarises the types of permanent tourists and their degree of integration with the host community. The literature also emphasises that, not surprisingly, the least integrated types of tourists are temporary tourists (located at the bottom end of the table) who typically are unable to speak the local language and stay in the destination for relatively short periods of time for holiday purposes. In this context, UNESCO (1976) defined host-guest contact as being transitory, superficial and lacking in spontaneity; it is constrained in time and space; it is typically based on economic and commercial exchange (see also de Kadt, 1979); and, unequal. By contrast, permanent tourists' relations with the host community are, as revealed in this study, symbiotic and are based on more than just commercial exchange, typically reflecting the longer time periods involved and the more varied forms of interaction. By way of example, in this study, permanent tourists were identified by the hosts as doing things the way that local people do, such as going to the local market. However, it was widely recognised by both groups that permanent toursts mainly socialise within their

own community and had limited success in learning theTurkish language. Thus, their adaptation to the local culture in Didim was effectively summarised by one host participant who said that 'no one adapts to anyone. Everybody lives in their own way. If we think about it, then the English community are more likely adapt here [to daily life].'

A third, but small group of permanent tourists are relatively integrated with the host community; this comprises 'mixed couples', where an English woman has married Turkish man or vice versa. These people, perhaps inevitably, are generally more open to the local culture and have made more effort to establish better relations with the host community and to speak the hosts' language. These types of permanent tourists fit with descriptions such as Cohen's (1979: 190) ' *existential mode'*, Smith's off-beat tourists types who adapt to the host community (Smith and Brent, 2001) or Lord Bryon types seeking to create a home and familiarity (Wickens, 2002). At the same time, however, it is acknowldeged that describing those British migrants who have married into the local community as 'permanent tourists' might perhaps be inappropriate.

7.6 Summary

The aim of this study was to focus on understanding the relations between hosts and guests in Didim. As argued earlier, it is neccesary to understand people's perceptions and why they think the way they do (Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Pearce et. al, 1996). The study has mainly explored what people think about their relations as well their reasons for these views.

The UK tourist migration population in Didim are permanent tourists; most of them are of retirement age and they live there all year around and most of them have stable incomes derived from the UK. Even though there are some resulting negative cultural impacts on the society from the presence of these permanent tourists, these are perceived as being minimal and most host participants recognise the economic contribution of this migrant community and are happy to accept them (Nunkoo et al, 2013; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000; Var et al.,1985; Pizam, 1978).

The lifestyle of the permanent tourist is neither like that of temporary tourists nor the hosts; they live their life in between these two groups. Even though they live physically within the host community, they prefer to interact socially within their own community. The results of the study found that the permanent tourists' main motivations are climate and cheaper products and services rather than the local culture.Therefore, they have established their own micro society within that of the hosts. Even though they are able to access the hosts' real life or authentic environment they prefer and demand a tourist

lifestyle as many of them do not work. In essence, they are enjoying an extended holiday in Didim.

Table 7.2: The types and level of relationship between permanent tourists and the hosts

Relations with hosts	Numbers	Permanent tourists types	Integration with hosts and demand for authentic lifestyle	Proficiency with hosts' language
Regular and natural long term interaction with the hosts socially and culturally	Indivudual choice	Married to local person or growing up in the community	Integrated/ live in authentic setting and socialise with the hosts regularly	Speak the language with a good level of proficiency
Natural and frequent relations with hosts	Very few	More open to host culture/motivated to interact with the hosts more (e.g. going fishing with local fishermen)	Relatively integrated/ Live in both authentic settings and the permanent tourist community but socialise with the hosts more	Sufficient language proficiency for social interaction with host community. Able to express views/needs/wishes
Superficial/ symbiotic relations	Typicallly common	Live in authentic settings and access local resources but demand touristic lifestyle e.g behave like long-term tourists	Practical adaptation to access local service and resources/ Live in authentic settings but socialise mainly with permanent tourists	Survival level language sufficient to communicate immediate needs. Requires extensive support from sympathetic host audience
Temporary and transitory (one off) relations	Large numbers	Temporary tourists	Not integrated/ live in touristic settings	Unable to communicate in the local language

The study clearly found that their relations with the host community are positive. As discussed above, permanent tourists live in the location all year around and their relations with the hosts are different from those of temporary tourists. Many permanent tourists know local pople and and have established more long-term, symbiotic relations. Therefore, the perceptions of the hosts towards the permanent tourists are not antagonistic as theorised by Doxey (1975); both parties, hosts and permanent tourists, enjoy mutually beneficial relations and get on well with each, although typically living in two separate communities.

There are a few permanent tourists who have integrated fully with hosts. These types of permanent tourists interact closely and live with the host community, for example, they are married to a host or grew up in Didim. However, there are very few such permanent tourists. At the other extreme, some display more ‘colonial’ behaviour, expecting the hosts to learn the English language and support their needs. Again, such permant toursists are few in number. In between, the majority enjoy a symbiotic relationship with the local community, adopting a lifestyle that, in all likelihood, is replicated in many permanent tourist communities elsewhere.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

As introduced in Chapter One, tourist migration or permanent tourists in general and their relations with the host community in particular have been widely explored in other contexts (Casado Diaz, 2004; Dwyer, 2002, 2004; Hall & Müller, 2004; King at al. 1998;2000; O'Reilly, 2007, 2003). However, research into Turkey has been very limited (ISRO, 2008), particularly from a qualitative research perspective. It has been argued by those on the ground, including the Head of the Tourism Association in Didim, Deniz Atabay, that the case needs to be investigated to discover why British permanent tourists arrived in the region and why they have begun to return to the UK (Haberturk, 2011). Therefore, the purpose of this study has been to address this gap in the literature as well as to provide a deeper understanding of permanent tourists, their existence, relations and adaptation to the host community, as well as the issues they may encounter living in Didim. This study intends to provide the authorities and stakeholders with an insight into the key issues in the region in order to create more positive social relations and a better future of the tourism industry in Didim. Hence, to revisit the overall aim of this study, the intention is to *examine critically the relationship between the host community and permanent tourists in Turkey.* In order to achieve this aim, the research employed semi-structured interviews and as well as focus group discussions. More specifically, the overall purpose and objectives of this research are: to establish the views of permanent tourists and their engagement with the local society and culture in Turkey; to establish the general characteristics of those purchasing second properties in Turkey (i.e. space-time characteristics, nationality and motivations); to critically assess the impacts (social, cultural and economic) of tourists buying property in Turkey; to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on tourists who buy property in Turkey; to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population.

This final concluding chapter will bring together and evalaute the findings from the research and the implications of these for the different stakeholder groups as well as identifying areas for further research. First, however, the following section briefly summarises the previous chapters of the thesis.

8.1 Thesis summary

The first part of the Chapter One introduced the main areas of investigation of the study, setting out the specific context and demand for mobility. The chapter also introduced the main aims and research questions for the study as well as discussing spatial demand and the main reasons for investigating the phenomenon in Turkey. The chapter then identified the gap in the literature and provided an overview of host-guest relations and possible implications for Didim, Turkey.

Chapter Two defined permanent tourists in more detail. It described the phenomenon in terms of duration of stay, the characteristics and differences between the term permanent tourists and other common terminologies in tourist-migration studies. The chapter also considered different permanent residency forms, reviewed the demand from an historical perspective and examined whether there is there any link between holidays and permanent movement. Chapter Two also sought to develop understanding of the general characteristics of permanent tourists, their social commitment to the host community and their main motivations for moving overseas, as well as the main factors related to relations between hosts and permanent tourists. The chapter closed by discussing the behaviour of permanent tourists and their social-cultural commitment to the host country in general, focusing on issues such as language learning and concepts of integration.

Chapter Three reviewed the literature on host-guest relations. This proceeded chronologically by dealing with foundation studies into host-guest relations before turning to examine issues around the forms of contact between host and guests and considered contact time continuum situations. It also considered theories related to host-guest relations, such as dependency theory, and introduced acculturation and authenticity issues. The chapter then reviewed and analysed the impacts of tourism through considering host perception studies and identified many factors identified by scholars which influence these relations. Finally, host-guest relations studies were critically reviewed and their strengths and weakness identified, including the case for greater qualitative investigation. This chapter also focused on understanding tourist typologies and motivations in order to understand permanent tourist characteristics in general, as well as tourist types and the role these typologies play in the understanding of host-guest relations in particular.

Chapter Four set out the research methodology for the study**.** It commenced by re-stating both the main aims of the study and the research questions and then discussed the different research approaches and strategies used in the study. This chapter aimed

to rationalise the use of interpretive paradigm as the main approach in the study before going on to outline the three phases of data collection, the research tools and results, and how the data collection was carried out. The problems, implications and limitations of the phases of the study and the main limitations associated with the research methodology were also provided, as was an explanation of and justification for the data analysis method. Finally, the chapter detailed more specifically how the data was analysed.

Chapter Five began by briefly introducing Didim and its socio-cultural and geographical characteristics. The chapter also introduced Turkey's cultural and political history and its social and religious character, as well considering its heterogonous structure, the characteristics of the hosts, and the potential implications for permanent tourist-host relations in Didim . Overrall, then, this chapter sought provide an overview of the host community, the hosts' socio-cultural structure and related issues.

Chapter Six set out and discussed the results of the empirical research. The chapter was mainly concerned with an analysis of the interview and focus group outcomes, explored according to the key concepts identified. The principle outcomes of the research were presented and the implications discussed.

Chapter Seven Chapter Seven focused on the discussion of the findings, compared the results with previous studies, critically evaluated host and guest relations and drew implications from the research findings.

Chapter Eight sets out the conclusions to the thesis. It summarises the main points arising from the research and examines how they address the overall aim of the thesis and the research questions. This chapter also considers the study's implications and limitations, as well as suggesting recommendations for future studies.

8.2 Conclusions and implications

The following sections address the research questions as set out in Chapter One, drawing together the empirical findings of the study and the literature to reach conclusions and offering implications for the future planning and management of permanent tourism in Didim.

8.2.1 General characteristics of permanent tourists and their motivation

As one of the main aims of the study was to understand the general characteristics of permanent tourists in Didim and their motivations, the following findings are of

significance for the local and central authorities in Turkey in assisting them to address such demands and needs.

Almost all host participants emphasised that most British permanent tourists were either of retirement age or had taken early retirement. Apart from one couple, the rest of the British participants were permanent tourists who lived all year round in the region and many of these participants stated that they had sold their property in the UK and viewed Didim as home. They often stated that they did not want to go back to the UK and some of them had even declared non-residency in the UK. Most of the permanent tourists referred to and identified themselves as 'expats' though some of the British participants stated that they were 'local' rather than expats. These findings share many similarities with other studies (for example, O'Reilly, 2003, 2007; Benson, 2010), in particular with King et al's (1998, 2000) work on the international retired migrants (IRM) community. Other British permanent tourists were also retired and stated that they lived in the location all year around, but still held their property in UK because they believed that they may need to go back to the UK one day owing to health reasons. The study also found reports that of the 4,600 British families in Didim in early 2000, 4000 had left and only 600 families had managed to stay because their income was stable. These were primarily pensioners and retired people who drew income from their home country.

8.2.1.1 Implications

The findings suggest that it is important for the authorities to know that many British permanent tourists are retired and that the majority of these live all year around in Didim. Owing to the age of these permanent tourists, the authorities need to consider the potential impact on local services used by both hosts and permanent tourists. Factors such as the capacity of hospitals need careful planning, especially as some hosts already consider this capacity to be insufficient to meet the needs of the whole community. Similarly, as the study also found that many of the permanent tourists return to the country of their origin, British authorities may also need to prepare for the additional capacity required when permanent tourists return to the UK for health treatment.

8.3 Motivations to live in Didim

Pull factors

Most host participants and British permanent tourists identified that the main motivations of British permanent tourists were the climate and cheaper property prices,

the latter permitting them to retire early. British permanent tourists stated that they had been attracted by the coastal lifestyle and having life under the sun and close to the beach. Some other British permanent tourists emphasised that they liked the outdoor lifestyle and thought that it was healthier for them, while others mentioned activities such as going fishing with local people during the winter months and walking. They also reported eating more fresh food and vegetables than in the UK and that these products were better fresher and tastier. British permanent tourists strongly emphasised the better value of product and property prices than other regions in the Mediterranean and that these allowed them to retire early.

Push factors

Other British permanent tourists mentioned escaping the UK lifestyle of long working hours and excessive stress. Some British participants in the research described having had 'enough with the rat race', whilst most British home owners stated that they had a better social life in Turkey than in the UK. Specifically, they found they had more friends as they needed each other for mutual support in a country where they lived as expats.This mutual dependence led, in their view, to a better social life whereas as in the UK they had not even known their neighbours.

The study shows that permanent tourists escaped from their country of origin because they felt that their home country had changed culturally and that they no longer belonged in the UK owing to what they perceive to be a rising immigrant population. However, they also stated that they are quite happy to live in Turkey, which is a completely foreign environment. Such arguments appear contradictory but, in essence, it appears that they were seeking to re-establish their life within their own community. As a result, they created their own social group and in so doing, were able to control with whom they socialise. As discussed in Chapter Seven, this behaviour has similarities with a post-colonial attitude (Walter Van Beek and Schmidt, 2012; Hall and Tucker, 2004). Additionally, Didim is ideal for their needs as their income goes further and they experience a better quality of lifestyle under the sunshine. They effectively live between two communities (tourists and hosts) and get the best from each. For example, the lifestyles of permanent tourists are different from those of temporary tourists in terms of how easily they have adapted to the practicalities of the local lifestyle. These people are neither tourists nor locals as they like to keep their distance from short-term British tourists. They also have expectations and demands which are different from those of short-term British tourists. However, they also distance themselves from the host community as they socialise with other permanent tourists instead of with the host community. From this, it can be concluded that permanent

tourists enjoy a social existence somewhere between seeking authentic settings and accessing local resources, and demanding a touristic lifestyle and living like long-term tourists. The permanent tourists have redesigned their socio-cultural environment based on their own individual preferences to establish an ideal place to live. As Bauman (2013a; 2013b) discusses, modern day communities are always looking for perfection and seeking something new even though they never complete what they want and constantly change, perhaps as sign of rootlessness or as Bauman states: 'liquid modernity' people are always on the go. They demand to move to other locations and seek better locations for them to be connected. This illustrates a close link between globalisation and its consequences for the lives of modern day people (Bauman, 2013a; 2013b; Held and McGrew, 2003; Urry, 1999).

8.3.1 Implications

As clearly stated by permanent tourists, Didim offers permanent tourists a better quality of lifestyle as well as early retirement opportunities under the sunshine. These permanent tourists live in the locality all year round and are accepted by hosts as part of the local community.Therefore, the local and central authorities should, perhaps, consider more long-term investment for these people's needs, particularly since, as long-term tourists, they offer an alternative solution to the temporary tourism seasonality issues in Didim and make long term economic contributors to the tourism industry and wider community.

8.4 British home owners returned to the UK for financial and health reasons

As discussed above, most permanent tourists left Didim owing to two principal factors identified by the study: financial and health issues. Both host and British respondents stated that most of the British permanent tourists had been forced to return to the UK for financial reasons as they were unable to work and relied on their savings and bank interest.

Some members of the local community were also critical about the lifestyle of permanent tourists, claiming that they behaved as if they were temporary tourists on an extended holiday and, as a result, the only type of permanent tourists who had managed to stay in the region was the retired group, most of whom had stable monthly incomes from the UK. It was reported that while some of those who had left Didim had returned to the UK, others had gone to cheaper locations such as Bulgaria, which also concurs with Cohen's (2008) conclusions.

Similar to issues raised by King at al. (2000), the study found that health issues had forced some permanent tourists back to the UK. This situation recently become even more important in Didim, as one host participant emphasised. Most British permanent tourists were of retirement age and, sooner or later, would have health-related issues which had the potential to force them to move back to the UK.

8.4.2 Implications

From these results it can be concluded that, in the case of Turkey at least, a viable financial plan is needed to either live or retire abroad, especially if permanent tourists are not able to work in that country. This may become a problem in parts of the EU post-Brexit if UK citizens no longer have the right to work in EU countries.
Welfare issues and working opportunities in the destination are major issues for permanent tourists in general. This suggests that there is a need for British and Turkish authorities to collaborate on a shared scheme to meet the demands of these permanent tourists regarding national insurance issues, as many of the permanent tourists still view the NHS as their main health resource and would, therefore, return to the UK if seriously ill. Other destinations which have many British permanent tourists may have similar issues which could be reviewed by authorities to explore how to best address these issues.

8.5 Permanent tourists' economic environmental and sociocultural impacts on Didim

Another main aim of the study was to critically assess the social, cultural and economic impacts of tourists buying property in Turkey.

8.5.1 Economic impacts

Many of the host participants in the current study mentioned the economic contributions of permanent tourists to their local economy, particularly that they supported the growth of economic development in Didim in general. Examples given included the fact that permanent tourist demand had increased economic diversification and generated income for the hosts, a finding shared with similar studies (Deery et al., 2012; Nunkoo et al, 2013; Pizam, 1978; Var et al.,1985; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000). However, some of the host participants were not happy with the increase in property prices in the region or of similar increases in the prices of other products and services. This was ascribed to permanent tourists not doing enough market research or learning the local market values of products; permanent tourists pay more for these products, resulting in retailers pushing the prices up higher. Therefore, while local businesses

were quite happy and took an opportunistic view of permanent tourists, other hosts who did not directly benefit from these price increases were not happy about the buying behaviour of permanent tourists. These outcomes suggest some socioeconomic polarisation in Didim and potentially could lead to more social division in the local community because local businesses prioritise tourists.

8.5.1.1 Implications

Permanent tourists' economic impacts are generally acknowledged by the hosts, and local people are generally happy to have the permanent tourists in Didim. The authorities and other stakeholders, especially local businesses, should consider their contribution to the town and the local authorities also should consider the host demand as well. Increases in prices result in a widening of the economic gap between both parties. House prices and the prices of other products should be set realistically and, perhaps the local authorities should explore means of regulating and controlling these through standardisation to create more positive relations between the two communities, as well as to protect the image of the town.

8.5.2 Social division, tourist exploitation and business ethics

The study also found that most hosts and also some British permanent tourists raised tourist exploitation issues. For example, situations were cited where permanent tourists were 'ripped off' (for example, being charged more than the actual price paid by local businesses) or did not receive good quality after-sales services. However, many hosts also related these issues to the buying behaviour of the permanent tourists, noting that they did not do enough market research regarding the real value of the products or else they failed to take advice from appropriate professionals.

Another issue is also related to local business ethics. Most host participants were not happy about what they saw as the opportunistic attitudes of some local businesses and they stated that these types of business lacked any long-term commitment to the destination. As one respondent stated, these businesses were mainly seasonal and rented their premises for one year only. This short-termism, in the view of the host participant, had the potential to damage the image of the destination in the longer term. It is worth noting that the cheaper cost of living was cited by many of the permanent tourists as a key draw to the destination This issue is one of the most important outcomes of the research and, perhaps demands immediate attention by the authorities.

The buying power of British permanent tourists led to local businesses to prioritise the British over the local host community. Many scholars, such as Smith and Brent (2001), and UNEP (2014) have warned that economic gaps are particularly exacerbated between developed and developing countries. However, in the case in Didim, this was even more crucial because the long-term British permanent tourists live there all year around and they meet regularly. As a result, such issues create social divisions within the local community, as well as encouraging some behaviours amongst permanent tourists which are disrespectful the local community. Therefore, further research is required into this issue, in particular into means of encouraging local businesses to develop more long-term positive relations with the host community and possibly with domestic tourists to establish better and happier hosts guests relations (Sharpley, 2014).

8.5.2.1 Implications

The issues identified may perhaps reflect the fact that many businesses are located in small villages and are locally owned; hence, their professional attitudes, such as return policies, are not regulated as they might be in larger more national or international companies. At the same time, they might also be explained by a the lack of business professionalism and standardisation and a lack of standardised local business prices. There may be differences in regulations and bureaucratic procedures, or simply commerce is just not as regulated as it would be in Europe in general. Therefore, the central authorities need to re-structure these policies so that they meet the needs of for the town and its community.

In addition, the authorities need to seek to increase awareness amongst permanent tourists of the hosts' customs and social life so that they, as well as temporary tourists, might be more aware of the specific 'do's and don'ts' in the local community, including regarding ways of participating in commerce.

8.5.3 Environmental impacts

Not surprisingly, the study found that almost all of the host participants stated that British permanent tourist demand had increased the number of properties in Didim. Moreover, the style of the properties had also changed with, for example, the creation of residential complexes with shared and private swimming pools. Property developers had also expanded residential areas around the town and neighbouring villages,such as Akbuk.

Didim and its villages in the region now faced an oversupply of properties, especially since some of the British permanent tourists had sold their properties and left the region. Among the hosts, there was a belief that their property values had reduced in comparison to other regions in Turkey. However, one unanticipated finding was that most hosts believed that the oversupply of properties was mainly caused by bad practice amongst property developers as demand was not planned or controlled properly by authorities.

8.5.3.1 Implications

One important issue reported by host participants in the research was the over development of the region in terms of the building of properties; they were critical about the standards of property development in particular. The authorities are perceived as not being able to control city planning properly. This issue of major importance to local people in the town as they are not happy about the environmental damage caused by over-development, not least because town's income is primarily derived from tourism and, hence, its attractive touristic image must be maintained for the longer term. Therefore, more careful consideration has to be given to town planning by the authorities, whilst it is also necessary to encourage local people to participate actively in planning the town's future development. Environmental issues in the town need more research and more careful investigation and, in particular, careful attention and planning needs to be given to the future of tourism sustainability.

8.6 Host acceptance

The study also sought to establish the views of the host community with regards to permanent tourists and their engagement with local society and culture in Turkey. Despite that fact that both British and Turkish participants emphasised the significant differences between their cultures, the hosts were very welcoming of British permanent tourists.The main reason may of course be the hosts' financial dependency on tourism and tourism's role in the economic development of the region (Nunkoo et al, 2013; Vesey and Dimanche, 2000; Var et al.,1985; Pizam, 1978). At the same time, however, the host participants revealed that their culture was by custom welcoming and friendly especially to guests. In addition, a third reason for the welcoming narure of the local commuity could be its social heterogeneity and cultural diversity (Waller, 2017; Yasin, 2002).

Therefore, many hosts accepted the permanent tourists for who they are and their perceptions were mainly positive towards the tourist-migrant community. Almost all host respondents stated that they were happy for the British community to open or

build their own churches or even open businesses as they are residents in the town. Similarly, the permanent tourists in Turkey also confirmed the hosts' welcoming attitude, whilst many also confirmed that they believed that the host community see them as their neighbours or residents. In short, they are, in their view, accepted by locals.

Nevertheless, some of the British permanent tourists interviewed in the research indicated that although they are accepted by the hosts, this is not full acceptance. Similarly, some host participants stated that permanent tourists 'are foreigners' and saw them as guests, a term which indicates that someone is considered to be outside of their community (Buller and Hoggart,1994). As one host pointed out, although they are friendly and welcoming to the permanent tourists, it was not realistic to say that they fully accepted permanent tourists as one of them.

In summary, reflecting their individual political and religious beliefs, the research did reveal differing perceptions on the part of respondents. In other words, the research suggests that it is difficult to generalise the perceptions of the local community with regards to permanent tourists, though it may be concluded that as no overall negative perceptions emerged from the interviews, local people are generally happy to accept the 'status quo' of the two culturally and socially distinctive communities living alongside each other.

8.6.1 Implications

The findings suggest that it is important for the authorities to acknowledge the positive relations between the host and guest societies in Didim. In addition to that, it is important to encourage further ties between the two groups as it seems both parties still seem culturally and socially different from each other. Opportunties to introduce the cultures of each group to each other and possibly the organisation of cultural events could bring the two groups closer together and further increase understanding between them.

8.6.2 Religion is not an issue

The literature suggests that religious differences may result in conflict between permanent tourists and hosts. More specifically, Sagir (2011),Tosun and Jenkins (1996) emphasise that the religious differences between hosts and guests in Turkey make the case especially sensitive and suggest that the authorities need to observe these differences more carefully and harmonise relations to create better 'happy hosts' (Sharpley, 2014).

Surprisingly, however, most host repondents were happy about permanent tourists' attitudes to their religious rituals, such as when they were fasting during Ramadan. Indeed, some stated that most issues and instances of disrespectful behaviour came from their own society rather than from British permanent tourists. As identified in the literature, inter-society conflicts are due in part to the hosts' cultural diversity and heterogeneous sociocultural structure in which some people follow religious rituals whilst others adopt a more secular approach (Waller, 2017; Yasin, 2002).

Similarly, almost all the British permanent tourists confirmed that religious differences had not caused any issues between them and the hosts. They felt very welcomed and under no pressure to confirm. In other words, most of the British respondents in this study acknowledged that there were cultural and religious differences between the two cultures, but that these differences were not an issue. This may be explained by Turkey's modernisation and secularist history (Erdemir, 2007; Lewis,1955; Waller, 2017; Yashin, 2002). Differing opinions and perceptions were evident amongst respondents, even within the religious community. This supports the argument in the literature that the 'whole truth' (Moufakkir & Reisinger, 2013) can only be revealed through a deeper understanding of the local community's social world.

8.6.2.1 Implications

The study outcomes suggest that although, according to the literature, religious differences may create issues between communities, most participants from both communities reported that the religion is not issue between them. In turn, this reflects the heterogeneous and secular structure of the host society; they have learnt how to tolerate each other within their community. Therefore, no issues between the hosts and guests related to this aspect were discovered. However, further research may be necessary to better understand the main reasons for this and the potential benefits of such a model for other communities.

8.7 Nature of the relationship: Host and British perceptions

Another central aim of the study was to critically assess the impacts of interaction with Turkish society and culture on the tourists who buy property in Turkey. A number of writers cited in the literature agree that the degree of the sociocultural similarities and differences between hosts and guests may determine the nature of host-guest relations (Benson, 2010; Buller and Hoggart 1994; Shaw and Williams, 2002). The study found that the relations between the local community and permanent tourists were in general positive and that both groups accepted each other. However, despite the fact that

neither the hosts nor the permanent tourists live in physical enclaves – that is, they live in the same residences in the town all year round – the hosts and permanent tourists do not socialise together. That is, British permanent tourists tend to socialise within their own group, organising events such as quiz nights and charity groups, as well as regularly meeting in favourite cafes, bars and restaurants.

Some host and British permanent tourist repondents stated that British permanent tourists prefer to go to similar places because they were more comfortable around other British people. For example, one British participant stated that permanent tourists wanted to stick together and that they did not mix with hosts because although some local people made an effort to interact with and get to know the migrant community, permanent tourists appeared less willing to engage with the indigenous community. Contrarily, another British permanent tourist also raised the same issue but criticised the hosts for not mixing with permanent tourists because although the hosts were friendly and welcoming, they did not really accept the permanent tourists fully into their real life. It seems like both communities accepted each other and lived together as two social communities resulting in relations which are superficial, yet symbiotic (Benson, 2010).

Despite the fact that the British permanent tourists lived in Didim all year around and most of them had been there for six to seven years, their relations with the host community comprised largely superficial interactions. In general, relationships were described as acquaintanceships although some examples of closer relations were provided, such as where permanent tourists were invited by the hosts to social events such as weddings. Most contact was based on symbiotic relations, in which both parties need and benefit from each other (Benson, 2010).

The language barrier was consistently cited as being the key issue for not adapting and for the superficial relations with the host culture. Most British permanent tourists stated that they had tried to learn the host language, but failed to do so either because of their age or general laziness, which is similar to Bahar et al's (2009) findings. In contrast, Benson (2010) suggests that language differences are not the main barrier to permanent tourist integration with host communities and that there are other factors to be considered. However, certainly in Didim, most respondents emphasised that language is the principal barrier to building deeper relationships. In particular, most host participants were critical of the lack of desire on the part of permanent tourists to learn Turkish, yet they nevertheless felt that some permanent tourists had made an

effort to learn how to live in the location, particularly with regards to obtaining goods and services.

Apart from the language barrier, another explanation for this superficial relationship revealed in the research was the different lifestyle expectations. Some British permanent tourists believed that the host population viewed their behaviour as that of long-term tourists; that is, drinking alcohol early in the day, eating out regularly and using their homes as hotels. It seems that the behavioural patterns of the permanent tourists, which were viewed as 'extended holidays' by some hosts, also caused social and cultural issues as it suggested that the permanent tourists did not have a long-term commitment to the destination, at least from the hosts' point of view.

The fact that many permanent tourists are retired and do not work could be one reason for behaving as if they are on an extended long-term holiday. This could be why, apart from in a few cases, the hosts treat the permanent tourists as guests to support their business rather than building long-term friendships. Similarly, it may explain why permanent tourists live and socialise together with other members of the British expatriate community, as they do not need to build further relations with the hosts in general. However, it seems both communities accept each other and live together well but as two social communities; their relations remains symbiotic (Benson, 2010).

Another outcome of the study is that, as discussed in Chapters Three and Six, although UNESCO (1975) defined the general characteristics of temporary tourists and host relations as being superficial, transitory, unequal and lacking spontaneity, the picture is more complex in the case of permanent tourists. Recent studies have emphasised that host-guest relations are mainly based in commercial setttings and that their relations do not go beyond those of customer and service provider (Canziani and Francioni, 2013: 20; Reisinger, Kozak and Viser, 2013; also, Aramberri, 2001). However, as one permanent tourist stated in this research, the relations may start in commercial settings but then evolve to become closer owing to the longer and more frequent contact with each other and more established and continuous relations. Therefore, the study suggests that most permanent tourists' relations with local people go beyond commercial exchange, particularly as most permanent tourists stated that the hosts' attitude towards them in Didim is neighbourly, caring and welcoming. This might perhaps lead to more responsible attitudes from both sides. However, most of the permanent tourists described their relationships with hosts as being at the acquaintanceship rather than at the friendship level, based upon the requirement of satisfying their practical day-to-day needs. Therefore, the superficial characteristic of

hosts-guest relations has evolved to a more symbiotic level, based on the mutual interests of each party. This suggests that permanent tourist and the host relations are more equal than those of temporary tourists and hosts in general.

This outcome challenges, the findings of previous studies, as discussed in more detail in the preceding chapter. For example, Gursoy and Jurowski (2002) and Pizam, (1978) proposed that an increase in the number of tourists leads to more negative perceptions on the part of the host community, a phenomenon illustrated by Doxey's irritation index (1975). However, this study suggests that, at least in the specific context of Didim, not only are established relations between permant tourists and local people more symbiotic, but also that the local community are not antagonistic towards permanent tourists. Not surprisingly, this outcome is also directly related to the hosts' acknowledgement of the financial benefits brought to Didim by permanent tourists.

8.7.1 Implications

In the light of the above, it is important to acknowledge that the permanent tourists who are the most integrated are those who are able to speak the hosts' language with a reasonable degree of competence. This suggests that local authorities should continue to offer lessons for permanent tourists to learnTurkish. However, even though Didim local council provides free Turkish class and some permanent tourists also confirmed that they attend these, the results appear not to have been successful. It seems that the language classes may not meet the demand of permanent tourists, as they might need more practical and culture related lessons which would be better suited for these types of group in the light of their age. An emphasis on more practical and functional lessons would probably be more helpful.

8.8 Integration: Host and permanent tourist perceptions

A further aim of the study was to evaluate the overall effects of the interaction between those buying property in Turkey and the native population.

The outcomes of the current study are consistent with those of other studies which also found that, in general, northern European retired populations in the Mediterranean region do not integrate with hosts (Benson, 2010; King et al. 1998, 2000; O'Reilly, 2007). The literature acknowledges that adaptation is a difficult concept to measure in that it is relative like any form of social behaviour and viewpoints change depending on who is being interviewed and behaviour is multidirectional and multidimensional (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012; Moufakkir and Reisinger, 2013). Nevertheless, respondents generally expressed the belief that most permanent tourists showed little

sign of adaptation to the host culture often because of the age issue identified above. This viewpoint is similar to Sagir's findings (2011) and the results also concur with King et al.'s argument (2000).

Despite the cultural differences between them, almost all host respondents expressed the view that they were very happy to host British permanent tourists in Didim and even acknowledged that, given their demographic characteristics (specifically, their age), permanent tourists were not expected to adapt to the local culture and society; the local community was happy to accept them, in a sense, as permanent 'outsiders'. In other words, although residing permanently in Didim, permanent tourists often behaved similarly to temporary tourists, but this appeared to be generally accepted by the locals perhaps because of the recognised economic benefits.

The study's findings suggest that permanent tourists in Didim have no motivation to integrate with the hosts. As stated earlier, the main motivations for British permanent tourists in Didim were the climate, a better quality of life and, more importantly, an affordable place which allowed them to retire early as the location offers better value for their retired income. These motivations suggest that permanent tourists desire not to work and to have a long holiday rather than seeking the sociocultural fulfilment that they do seek other destinations, such as in Korpela's study (2009). Similarly, Benson's study (2010) also found that the retired population in France was the least integrated group with the hosts. The results of the current study concur with those of other authors (Benson, 2010; O'Reilly, 2007; King et al.,1998; 2000;) who found that permanent tourists and British retirees in particular, generally do not integrate with hosts if they do not need their services, such as work or schooling. The decision to integrate is optional and down to individual choice. The current study found that the few British permanent tourists who had integrated more closely with the hosts were children who had grown up in the area, or those who had married with hosts, or others who were generally more open to other cultures. These types of people were more adapted to the local culture and tried harder to build better relations with hosts. It also seems that the types of British permanent tourists who do integrate with hosts have characteristics similar to those tourists discussed in the literature in that these types seek out the hosts' traditional, family oriented culture. Some of these even compared the hosts' cultural values with Britain and some of these British permanent tourists were critical about Britain because they did not perceive the traditional family and cosy relations with their neighbourhoods in the UK or felt that their home country had lost these features. These people seek traditional, rural lifestyles and passibly based on some sense of nostalgia (Cohen, 1988b; Lowenthal, 1990; MacCannell, 1989; Sharpley and Sharpley, (1997).

The study also suggests that individual choice is also related to the types of permanent tourists who seek out the more traditional lifestyle in Turkey. These types could be described as fitting with what Cohen (1979: 190) identified as being the 'Existential Mode', what Smith 1977 termed off-beat tourists who adapt to the host community in Smith and Brent (2001), or Lord Bryon types seeking to create a home and familiarity (Wickens, 2002).

All of the examples of the well-integrated group were able to speak the hosts' language relatively well. Otherwise, in general the relationships between permanent tourist types and the host community are mainly superficial. Those who are more integrated appear to be more likely to be involved with hosts, but the numbers of these types of permanent tourists are very low in the case of Didim (see Chapters Six and Seven). To conclude and evaluate permanent tourist integration with the hosts community, the study created a table to clarify the types of permanent tourists and the level of relationship and integration between permanent tourists and the hosts. Apart from a few individuals, most of the permanent tourists neither learn the hosts' language nor integrate fully with the host community (see 7.2.) Most of the permanent tourists learn to adapt to daily life to access products and services in Didim, hence a very practical level of integration exists in the society. Most of them socialise within their own expatriate community and their relationship level with the hosts is quite symbiotic. In general, the hosts are welcoming of the permanent tourists and they are happy to accept the two culturally and socially distinctive communities living alongside each other.

8.8.1 Implications

The current study also identified that despite the superficial and symbiotic relations, British permanent tourists were quite respectful of the host community's culture and lifestyle. Some remarked on the family-oriented and 'cosy' characteristics of the host culture, referring to a nostalgic image of Britain. This connects to the idea that some permanent tourists seek out past times and rural traditional lifestyles and cultural values from the past or imagined past.

The finding the motivations of permanent tourists are not related to interest in the destination's culture, pointing to expactations of integration being unrealistic, is an important one. This emphasises that for future studies, it is necessary to explore the motivation of migrants to settle in new destinations in order to look at expectations with regards to integration. In other words, the study suggests that it is important to find

correlations between integration and migrants' needs and their specific motivations for choosing a destination.

It is important to acknowledge that, at least in Didim, both communities live as two separate communities which impacts on the daily social life of both. The nature of their relationship is superficial and symbiotic, which means that there is an increased potential for social division if the situation deteriorates. For example, as discussed earlier, increasing prices in the town and the economic gap between the hosts and permanent tourists could easily result in increased social division. Therefore, there is a need for new strategies by the authorities and other stakeholders to reduce the social impacts on both communities and to encourage improved relations to bring the two communities together, a move which will sustain a positive future for local society as a whole.

8.9 Summary of the issues and implications for research and authorities

The literature related to permanent tourists and their relations with host societies often highlights issues around multicultural societies. For example, Buller and Hoggart (1994) state that the social background of the two cultures is the key issue in integration. Shaw and Williams (2002) similarly suggest that the extent of the social differences between two societies is one of the main problems for integration. These authors also emphasise that if societies and cultures are very different from each other these relations and encounters will be less positive. Berry (1997) proposes that if two or more societies do not put effort in to adapt to the other's cultures or to understand the other societies with which they live, the results are either segregation or separation between groups, often viewed as discrimination by dominant nations, or as marginalisation [issues] in the society.

This study revealed a number of factors which may cause further issues in the host society. Even though permanent tourists learnt and adapted to the social life they did not adapt socially or integrate culturally into the hosts society in Didim. The results cause further social and cultural polarisation in the society, Therefore, the authorities need to sustain positive host-guest relations through more sociocultural activities, such as cultural or arts festivals, in order to encourage both communities to understand each other's culture better, to avoid demonstration effects in the society, as well as to understand the hosts' customs and morals.

Many hosts and permanent tourists stated that the language barrier between them was the main reason behind their superficial relations. Even though the local council offer

the permanent tourists free Turkish classes and some confirmed that they attended these, they still failed to learn the language. Therefore, local authorities should offer more practical language courses to meet the demands of the permanent tourists' daily lives. Language studies in Turkey should also focus on updating their teaching methodologies and approaches and the style of the teaching to meet the more practical demands of the target learners and to reflect their age and likely motivations.

Another issue is related to the increasing and widening of the economic gap between both parties: the permanent tourists and the hosts. Most hosts stated that permanent tourists are prioritised by local businesses, this is creating social divisions. In oder to sustain and encourage 'happy hosts', the local and central authorities need to focus on improving the standardisation of local services and may need to introduce new regulations or standardisation business policies for local business to make them more professional. In particular, this might involve improving awareness of the importance of long-term business approaches as current short-termism, whereby prices are increased opportunistically or customer after-care is not considered, damages the destination's image in the long term for all stake holders in the tourism industry. Such an approach would also deal with the problems of tourist exploitation highlighted by some hosts and permanent tourists in this reseach.

The study also found that many British home owners could not survive in Didim and, since 2010, some had to leave, either moving to cheaper locations such as Bulgaria or returning to UK because of overreliance on the interest rates from their savings. It is important to encourage British home buyers abroad to research fully, especially regarding their finances and about the destination country before they purchase properties. Perhaps the education sectors in might be encounter to offer training or seminars to improve their information about that country or where to find official contacts to gain information about a particular country.

Similarly, local governments, particularly in regions in Turkey which are popular amongst international permanent tourists such as Bodrum, Fethiye and Antalya (Erdoganaras et al. 2004) where there is significant demand by foreign property buyers, should also provide seminars and educational training for international property buyers to advise them officially about the issues they might face and the process and legal procedures.

Another finding is that welfare or the NHS is one of the major push factors for British permanent tourists deciding to return to the UK. Almost all respondents stated that they wanted to remain in the location permanently, but if they faced major health issues,then

they would return to the UK for NHS treatment in their later life. However, most of them were over 50 and the current Turkish government has encouraged them to register with the Turkish welfare system. Nevertheless, almost all of the British participants stated that they did not want to join because they intended to return to the UK for NHS treatment to which they believed they were entitled. The study recommends that both authorities, British and Turkish, collaborate and assist the British community on that issue. Further cross-national research may be needed to investigate the issue, especially after Brexit.

8.10 Recommendations for future studies

This study recommends that a number of issues need to be investigated in relation to permanent tourists, particularly after Brexit when second home owners in other regions in Europe might find themselves facing legal situations with their properties, welfare issues and ability to work in European countries similar to those currently experienced by permanent tourists in Turkey.

First, further research is needed to explore the symbiotic relations between the host population and permanent tourists. Specifically, the findings challenge the models proposed by some early studies, such as Doxey's irritation index (1975), and suggest that more research into host-guest symbiotic relations is necessary, in particular between permanent tourists and hosts, in order to establish the extent to which such relations can be identified in other permanent touism locations.

Secondly, as discussed above, the level of integration of permanent tourists with the host community exists at a relatively practical level. That is, with a few notable exceptions, most permanent tourists socialise within their own community, interacting withnthe local host community primarily to meet day-to-day practical needs. The study also reveal the importance of learning the local language and its role on integration with the host community. Hence, it is suggested that further research is needed to explore permanent tourists' different levels of integration within the host community and the role of language learning in general.

Third, following the above the use of post-colonial theory (Hall and Tucker, 2004; Walter van Beek and Schmidt, 2012) as a possible explanation of the contradictory behaviour of some permanent tourists could be explored. Further research is needed to explore the extent to which such post-colonial attitudes exist amongst permanent tourists with regards to their relationship with the host community and, indeed, whether this was a perhaps subconscious element of their motivation to migrate overseas.

Fourth, the study also found that many participants were concerned about the increasing number of properties in Didim and the environmental, economic and social issues caused to the location. The study found that there is a need for a strategic environmental and sustainable plan in Didim. Future studies need to investigate the town's development plan and how the needs of the local population, including those of both hosts and guests, can be best met by investigating the views of local stakeholders regarding their needs and the pressures on the society.

Fifth, the study found that the language barrier is the main issue for both communities. Therefore, further research needs to investigate how to improve the teaching of practical language for existing permanent tourists in Didim as well as applying the findings to other regions in Turkey where there are large numbers of permanent tourists.

Finally, there is a need to investigate further whether tourism has influenced the hosts' political perceptions, as discussed in Chapter Five. That is, it appears that many coastal and touristic regions are not voting for conservative parties but have more left-wing and secular views, with implications or the longer-term political structure of Turkey.

8.11 Limitations of the study

A number of limitations are evident in this research. First, Didim has been a popular tourism destination for both domestic second-home owners and British tourists since tourism was developed in the region in the 1980s. Therefore, one of the main limitations in the study is that it was difficult for the host community to distinguish the impacts of permanent tourists from those of temporary tourists or more general tourism development in the town, owing to the fact that it has been such a long-established phenomenon in the region. Almost all temporary and permanent tourist impacts are interconnected and, hence, it is difficult to associate all the impacts with UK permanent tourists alone. Indeed, it is likely that host respondents over-generalised the changes and differences in the town as being linked to permanent tourists.

Second, as the study was designed as a qualitative investigation with a relatively small number of participants, the results are non-generalisable, but should be valued as the narrative perspectives of the participants from both communities.

Third, another issue is that as the town is a popular tourist destination with the British community in general and therefore has many touristic structures developed and established particularly aimed at catering for these visitors. King et al. (2000) suggest that much of the Mediterranean coast has already adapted to the demands of global tourism and are tourist friendly and familiar with western lifestyles. Thus, the town's authentic quality has, to some extent, been replaced by tourists' demands, an issue which should be questioned by local authorities. This adaptation to a new and more western standard lifestyle also limits the study's findings since the main aim of understanding the adaptation of permanent tourists to the local lifestyle brings into question how different the lifestyle in Didim is for the British newcomers as the town has in some ways already adapted itself to it (King et al, 2000).

Fourth, a further limitation stems from the heterogenic socio-cultural structure of the hosts in Didim (Bahar et al, 2009; ISRO, 2008), a place to which many domestic migrants, many with low labour skills, have moved (Cankaya, 2006; Nurdali, 2007). One reason why it is difficult generalise the hosts' perceptions towards British permanent tourists is they are also very heterogeneous in terms of their social makeup. And a final limitation as discussed in the methodology chapter is that some of the samples, especially some of British permanent tourists participants, were selected by snowball techniques in which the researcher asked each British participant to suggest the next interview participant. This can result in a sample of interviews where participants have similar opinions and perceptions. However, to avoid this possibility, the researcher not only interviewed more participants who did not know the others, but also the 2013 and 2014 interview results were followed up and confirmed by three focus groups in 2015 to collect a wider variety of perceptions.

This study concludes that, in general, the permanent tourist and host community in Didim co-exist in relative harmony. Relations are in many ways superficial and symbiotic, largely down to the language barrier but this itself is related to the wider issue of the relative independence of the permanent tourists. As retirees, they require little in the way of interaction with the host society and so tend to interact with it on their own terms. The superficial and symbiotic relations generate some societal pressures including increased prices in the location and some resentment from some sections of the host society who feel that the permanent tourists treat them as services. However, the tolerance shown by the host community is a strong basis on which to build better understanding and closer relations through the measures which this study has advocated in the text above.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Information Sheet for a study in " Permanent tourism and host-guest relations: An empirical study of UK tourist-migrants in Didim, Turkey."

Researcher contact information:
Imren Waller
Associate Lecturer in the School of Sport Tourism and the Outdoors
University of Central Lancashire
iwaller@uclan.ac.uk
Tel: 01772 713034

What is the study about?
I am investigating the relations between permanent UK tourists and the host community in Turkey.

What will you need to do?
I will be asking you to take part in a focus group with a number of other individuals. The focus group will last for about 45 minutes to one hour. This will take place in Didim, Turkey.

How will the information be used?
The recording will be transcribed (written down) by the researcher and will not be played to anyone else. Your name will be removed from all of the materials though we will keep information about your age, nationality and gender but this will remain confidential.

Any information collected during the focus groups will only be used for research, including research articles and conference presentations but your name will not be used and no one will be able to identify you from the information.

What if you agree to the research but then change your mind?

That's okay. You can change your mind at any point, before, during or after and the researcher will delete and destroy your writing/recording along with any other information you have provided.

What will you get from this?

This is an opportunity for you to be involved in a piece of research and you may find the process itself very interesting. The focus group will give you a chance to think about the reasons why you moved to Turkey and reflect on your experiences of living in the country. I will also be happy to pass on the completed research article once it has been produced.

You will need to be aged over 18 and sign the consent form in order to be able to take part in the study.

Appendix 2 CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: Permanent tourism and host-guest relations: An empirical study of UK tourist-migrants in Didim, Turkey.

Name, position and contact address of Researcher:

Imren Waller

Associate Lecturer in the School of Sport Tourism and the Outdoors

University of Central Lancashire iwaller@uclan.ac.uk

Tel: 01772 713034

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet, dated …….. for the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. ☐

I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research. ☐

Please tick box

	Yes	No
I agree to the writing task and interview being audio recorded	☐	☐
I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications	☐	☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix 3

Semi structured Questions for host (Part one 2013 and part three 2015)

1 -Where are you from?

Where do you live?

How long have you lived in this area?

What do you do?

2 What type of people do you think buy property here?

How would you describe the types of foreigners who buy property here?

What reasons do you think foreigners have for buying property here?

3 What needs do you think foreigners who buy property in this area have?

How do local businesses cater for these foreigners? Do you think they change the way they do business for these people?

To what extent do you think local business should cater for the needs of foreigners who choose to buy property here?

4- Do you think anything has been changed because of the arrival of foreigners who have bought property in the area?

5- Who live in this area?

6-Do you think foreigners who bought property in here should work and open businesses?

7- Do you have any foreign friends who bought property in here? How long you have been friends with them?

8-How similar do you think the culture is of those foreigners who have bought property in the area is to Turkish culture?

9 -Turkey potentially has a different religion. Do you feel comfortable in These social surroundings ?

Appendix 4

Semi structured Questions (Part 2 ,3)

2014 and 2015 (UK Permanent tourists)

1.Are you a home owner in Turkey?

Where ? / When?/ How long do you live in Turkey? How often do you come in here?

2. Why did you buy a property in Turkey?

3. How long have you been in Turkey? Are you happy here?

(if not a second home owner) Where do you live in Turkey? Have you considered buying property here?

4. What motivated your move to Turkey?

Have you found what you were looking for in Turkey?

5. How long do you think you will live in here?/ are you considering returning home permanently one day?

(If not) do you know anybody who wants to return home to the UK?

6 . How would you describe your place in the society here?

Would you consider yourself as a long-term tourist?

7. What do you generally think of Turkish culture and lifestyle?

8. Do you think the lifestyle in Turkey suits your lifestyle?

9. Turkey potentially has a different religion to the one in your country. Do you feel comfortable in Turkish social surroundings?

10. Do you feel you are outsiders?

11. How do you think the locals see you?

Do you think locals accept you as being long-term residents or as one of them?

11- Do you have any Turkish friends in here?

(If yes)- how long have you been friends? How close would you say the relationship is?

(If not) do you know anybody who has a Turkish friend?

12. How well do you speak Turkish?

How did you learn the language?

(if not) What do you think stops you from learning the language?

13. How aware are you of the political situation in Turkey and local issues?

Appendix 5

Table 4.8 Colour code example for analysis of transcript

Bio data	Environmental impacts
Demonstrational effects	Business prioritises permanent tourists
Migration types who are they?	Tourist exploitation
Duration of length	Main reasons for leaving Didim; Economic gain, climate and better social life better quality of lifestyle
Integration with host community	Financial issues
Language learning	Social division between the two communities
Health and welfare issues	Nature of the relations between hosts and P.Ts; Superficial / symbiotic and colonial
Using the local services and general issues	P.Ts seek nostalgic view and rural family oriented culture
Religion issues	How the local business adapts to the Permanent tourists' needs
Host acceptance	Heterogeneous sociocultural characters of hosts
Nationality and cultural differences	Social impacts
P.T enclaves	Adaptation to local lifestyle
Motivation of permanent tourists (push and pull factors)	Early retirement options

Appendix 6

Sample analysis of interview transcript analysis

Interview G16 an G17

R-My name is Imren and your name is K…?

K_yes I am K….

R_What is your surname K…?

K-K… L…

R-As I talk to you I have few questions if you don't mind?

R-Are you home owner in Turkey?

K-yes

R-How long have you been living in Turkey?

K-5 years

R-How often do you come here?

K-we live here

R-full time?

K-You live here full time.

R-what is your name?

A-[his wife]

R I believe you have got the same surname?

A-yes

R-why did you buy property in Turkey?

A-because it's a better standard of living, money goes further than it would in England, and good weather I like it warmer

A-[A..his wife]and we did not want to work anymore…☺

R-it is a good idea ☺ So you don't work here? So are you relying on pensions?

K-yes and interest

R-but you are quite young for being a pensioner? Did you have private pensions?

A A ..[his wife] [it's] work pensions

R and you can eligible to get national pension after 65 I believe?

K-yes

R-so you decided to buy property because a good value for money I think, is that the main?

K-Yes

R-Did you look for different countries other Mediterranean countries?

K- We looked at Spain but I never liked Spain – I don't know why I can never actually say why?...it..did not appeal to me.

A-[his wife] we thought about Egypt as well but….but for me Egypt is still a Muslim country and Women in Egypt … as second class citizens and [I said] I was not going to put up for that cause I am not used to that

R-So you think Turkish women situation is better?

A-yes it is better…not as good as in England, but it is better

K-… because [Turkey] is liberal

A-yes

R- so is it more secular and more westernised?

K-yes, I think so

R-you think so as well?

A-yes I think so

R-Are you happy in Didim/Akbuk or Turkey?

K-yeah, very

A- yes and no

R-can you please tell me more?

A-somethings about don't get me wrong I love Turkey but something in Akbuk I don't like

R-you don't like what?

A – Well, …..

A_I don't like the rubbish that's left laying around .. I like things to look clean things and I don't like pay different prices than Turkish

R_all right do they do that?

A-yes, oh yes

R_ but you are a second home owner they must know you are living here?

A-when we ask prices and they they have to ring up Ingiltere (England). We get that all the time and I and that

R-so you can say them you are living in here?

A-we walk away all cross

R-that's not good what else ?

A- obviously the weather, summer anyway

R-winter is different isn't it? cold

A- yes it's a bit cold and one of the things I really liked about here [is] we have more friends in here than we had in England, because in England we were working, so you don't get an opportunity to make so many friends[there]

R-your friends are they British nationals?

A-both actually but obviously more English than Turkish but we do have some Turkish friends

R-Do you have close Turkish friends?

A_I wouldn't say close no

K- some I think they are close friends of mine, but they are not in here at the moment, so is one Turkish friend.. one person mother lives in America and I mean I've got friends down there the couple cant speak word of English but I can understand and get on well

A- o ye

R-Do you speak Turkish K..?

A-**I do speak Turkish but not good but I can speak**

R- but you can communicate I believe, that's very good than because many people I spoken today not many of them can speak Turkish. They said they tried it [to learn] but [they] cant

K-**I can't understand why? Because I have found [that] If I ask a Turkish person how should I say and rest of it then we become friends quite quickly because they know [that] I want to learn the language and I think they appreciate that it's difficult for them they had to learn second language which is English. For us I was born with English so easy so for me return them OK I'll try to speak your language I think they appreciate that** you know because so many people which er they will welcome here and say no [to that]. I remember hearing one person he [a British person] opening a shop he went in to the shop he said " …they were going to have to learn English as they [Turkish shop owners] can't speak any English in there so I couldn't ask what I wanted." it is Turkey [it's] wrong [that behaviour] this is the Turkish country so I am a guest in their country/ I should at least …even just a say past a time a day and say hello, how are you? Something.

R_ so do you think that they [hosts] understand you are respecting to their society and they probably understand that and return respect to you?

K_**yeah and other things we have to learn I am learning slowly but language is one thing and it's learning cultures.** [The] Culture in here so much different so much different from European culture so much different. …this it's learning how that culture is and how to respect people's beliefs or others [cultures] right and wrong when I see in here that women clean house they clean clean and clean ..and men spend time in tea garden. But that's not down to me criticise it is Turkey.

Researcher ; yes in Turkey women work very hard

A…: we do it together in England you do it together

Researcher –of course

A ..for us I don't like cooking and he does the cooking

K: problem yok [no problem]

R;What motivated you to move to Turkey?

K-retirement, early retirement not to have to work until I am 65 you know with age changing in UK we could have gone worse we could afford to retire now so we did.

A.. mine is over 65

R-good, good for you and you wanted to spend some time to relax ?

A..-yes no more stress

K- we both professional people and very stressful jobs and we had enough money to say, ok time to retire. I didn't want to retire in England my reasons for that is that where I lived I only knew one neighbour the rest of people I didn't know because.

R-why?

K-so because everybody work so different hours erm they come home form work and I am going to work. my neighbours wouldn't have seen, I knew one of them the remainder… I had plenty of actual friends but in my the actual place where I live I didn't know anybody so if I did died in my house nobody would known

R-so terrible isn't it?

A -Yes, it is England though

K: but but here my Turkish neighbour over the road one night I got up at 3 o'clock in the morning and I wasn't feeling very well. They came out and I sat on the veranda [their] son was sleeping upstairs he was outside sleeping outside because it was hot he heard something he was shouting anne anne! [mum mum] he says somebody next door and then I realised and said it is ok It's ok. He was worried because it was somebody there and in England I could die in my house and nobody knows..

R- ye there are some situation like that people smell something and they open the door find a ...

K;[it is] very true, England becoming like that. Not very caring , you are worry

R- do you feel the same?

A-yes, if don't see Barry for a couple of days and say are you all right, are you still alive then? Because he's a lot older. They said yes, If I am that age hopefully they would do same for me.

R-Turkish people like that they are very caring especially for elderly- they also keen to look after them in their home instead of sending home to nurseries, they want them to see their grandchildren ..

K- ; I think little bit of a mistake in Turkey [on that] because I was many years ago I was a medic and worked 15 years as a medic and the other day a girl died very close to us she died she was 22 years old because she couldn't swim people didn't know what to do and they called the ambulance no ambulance, right but if they had had an ambulance system that they have in England it wouldn't have been a problem.

A: But instead they threw her in the back of the gendarme van

R yes they have got a lot of problem like that emergencies not emergency …

K- But with the old ones here the family are expected to look after that person and the family are expected to look after them but the family may not be able to see something maybe a

specialist nurse in a hospital can see something is a problem and they've got to deal with that just now whereas the family can't see that

R- yeah, of course there are some negative side of it we can talk about that later on caring system

R-So how do you describe the place and society in here? How do you see yourselves in this society? Do you feel outsider or do you think you are local, resident or expat?

A-expat,

K- I don't feel

A- but I feel belong all our Turkish neighbours make us feel like we belong here

R- Do they [your neighbours] make you feel like that ?

A- it took for a while but yeah but now they know that we are here to stay

K; As an example we drove towards south and turn right you know drove the best part of that big mountain the other side of [place name] I drove over there and suddenly it's so beautiful, I just carried on driving and I got a bit lost and I saw on the map there was this road to Milas and we stopped in the middle this village and there was an old man there he must have been about 70 …75 years old I don't know and I stopped there and said to this er man in Turkish and I asked him about the road and he understood me and we were just chatting away and it went on and on he such a lovely fellow and he come and shook my hand

R- so he appreciated you speak Turkish with him?

K; yeah and I felt I was in those mountains in a village where probably nobody ever sees tourists and there's this man come up he's a tourist and he's asked directions and it's quite important helping someone and the rest of it we got on very well and just so…lovely people . Maybe not so much here because here they are not much Turkish, Kurdish because every Turkish person I ever spoke to they are such a nice people and really really getting on very well but not always with the Kurds.

A; Kurdish, I think one of the problem why we can't speak Turkish because all we hear Kurdish in here [touristic areas]

R. I see. How do you see yourselves as long term tourists or local?

K; I don't think I am local yet, in actual fact I will say this that I felt 2 years ago no three three years ago I felt more local than because I used to walk down the road here when it [was] small and all of this didn't exist and I could walk down here a man with in winter sit down front of the shop and they[shop owners] said [to me] Keith come cay! [tea] and I sit there on his balcony had cay with him we watch the road you see 2 cars up and down here and now it's big. Big hotels started to fell village has gone when when it was a village [it was] better Turkish English and everybody used to get on. No there were Turkish, English and German were here it was the three and we use to get on so well and people would stop you and say hi how are you and even if we had some problem with languages. There didn't seem to be … I remember one chap called Hasan he would park his cows near my house he was a really nice man, he couldn't speak any English and er I don't think he really wanted to try, he just gave up you know he could not put sentences together solve to work….I get on well with him so well but we sit and chat about all sort of things we'd just sit and chat every now again. But now when we come down hill you I don't see anybody I knew

R-more people now isn't it?

K- [it was] small back then before it was a village was a fishing village and a place called a lemon bar just down the road there and cay [tea] garden for the fishermen that was I use to go. I use to go love fishing I used to go fishing with the guys and we did get on very well had just two bears couple of cans of bear and taking out fishing. It was a great!

R-don't you have these relations with them anymore?

K- too busy

R-They're too busy with other business. I see the place is bigger now .. unfortunately…all the touristic villages in Turkey has same ..

K- and in England because if you have a little fishing village that used to be in England the houses were bought by people who could really afford this and the people that used to live there can no longer afford to buy the houses so they would come in summer these people who bought the houses like this is in winter nobody [they] left no for nobody..

R- is it same in here? Do you prefer winter in here?

K-; I liked in winter here because it's when I can see friends who is [local]

R- locals. What do you think about Turkish lifestyle culture?

K- I think is changing er big big time …there was something I read the other day about Ataturk and he said that may the tongue stick to the roof of my mouth and never utter another word and if I am wrong and when I am gone will you tear down my statue. Well, the president who has come along now I really think he wishes he could do that because he gave people freedom I have understood and I have read the history and I believe that there were four years when Ataturk said you will not have a religion until you have learnt to read and write. That's what he said. And then you can make a choice. And this is where I think the country is changing because you're not getting a choice

R-how do you think locals see you?

K- source of money

R – Er?

K: Money. Source of money

R- allright ☺

R-do you have any Turkish friends in here?

K and A –yes,

R- Are they good friend of yours?

K; some of them I think they are

A; ye

How well do you speak Turkish?

A- biraz Turkce konusuyorum, [I can speak little Turkish]

K; I speak as well as an 18 month old

A; I can speak as well as a twelve month one. We understand more than we speak

A- sometimes if we're trying to have a conversation they[hosts] speak very fast and we say yavas yavas [slowly slowly] and then they slow down

R- I think you have been very good at learning the language what makes you stop it?

A- we didn't stop but my problem is everywhere I go I try to speak [Turkish] go to shop or where ever speak Turkish and they answer me back in English.

K-they want to learn English

A- I understand that they are practising their English but I want to learn Turkish and their English better than my Turkish.

R- so you want to have a chance to learn Turkish

K; we went to a shop once in Didim which was out Emlak [estate agent] and we went in there and I spoke to this gentlemen the shop keeper in Turkish and he answered me back in English and our emlak hit the roof said how can these people can learn Turkish when you answer them back in English because she was English but she spoke good Turkish and I thought that's fine but I can't say that because my Turkish not good enough.

K; I think you will understand this if you are learning any language which is not yours right if you are doing one and one conversation it's not too much problem. if there is a group and you are speaking a language sorry and if your language is not the language of that group you can't listen to all he voices and you lose the conversation.

A- we speak little German because we lived there for a while but sometimes I try to think of the Turkish word but it comes to my head as German.

R- these all my questions do you want to add anything

K- they [government] just keep changing the rules [for foreigner]. We are English we like to stay within the law and we like to follow the law. Two years ago they said we have to have Turkish health insurance we went there and got it and now they saying residence fees we are fine now but for other people they are saying because you have health insurance to have a residency [you don't need one]

R- so you want to keep on track and follow

A; yes constant [changing]

R- I understand that you want to know what is going to happen next?

A; yes

R- thanks for that anything do you want to add?

K; yes I would like to read it this it is very interesting when you wrote it

R-yes, of course if you gave me the email address I will send it to you

Thanks.