

**Site Management and Cultural Tourism in Turkey: A
Case Study on the Church of St Nicholas, Perge,
Aspendos and Alanya Castle**

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Cultural and Heritage Studies, School of Arts and
Cultures, Newcastle University

Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

June 2015

Abstract

This research investigates the site management initiatives that were introduced as a result of the changes made in 2004 to the *Law for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties*, the main law dealing with all heritage sites in Turkey. These initiatives, which were put forth via a regulation that came into force in 2005, primarily aim at ensuring the safeguarding of certain archaeological sites and conservation areas within the scope of sustainable management plans and in co-ordination with actors other than the state.

The main determinants that shaped the formulation of site management initiatives in Turkey are the management plan criteria developed by UNESCO for the World Heritage List and the state's patent intention of enhancing cultural tourism, which the Ministry of Culture and Tourism expects will function as a supplement to the mass tourism industry.

As a case study, this piece of policy research provides an analysis of the aforementioned site management initiatives in order to shed light on their implementation process and their contribution to the development of cultural tourism. The four case studies from the province of Antalya – one of the loci for ongoing and future site management projects in Turkey – are used to fulfil the research aims and objectives. The findings from the case studies are triangulated with analyses of the wider literature on heritage management and tourism, and on prior policies concerning archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey.

The major findings of this study indicate that the site management initiatives in question have promising potential in furnishing solutions to several long-standing management problems related to heritage sites in Turkey. In this regard, they should be approached independently of any WHL-related concerns, and should be supported with strong criteria of enforcement and punitive sanctions. This study also illustrates that the future of cultural tourism in Turkey is uncertain due to the entrenched influence of mass tourism policies as well as the governance, planning, and research problems stemming from these policies.

Acknowledgements

I remember it as if it were yesterday: in September of 2006, I was able to start the doctoral program, which I had been compelled to defer for two years. As soon as I arrived in Newcastle and knocked on the door of the Bruce Building, the first words I heard from Peter were ‘Finally, Dinç!’ As with the start of my doctorate, its completion, too, has taken longer than I expected. The day I submitted my thesis, I predicted that Peter – along with my other advisor, Aron – were once again able to say ‘Finally, Dinç!’

Above all, I thank my thesis advisors, Prof. Peter G. Stone and Dr. Aron D. Mazel. From the very first day we started working together, I have been grateful for their belief in my project, their guidance, patience, continual support, time, and everything they have taught me.

Next I want to thank Prof. Neill Marshall, the former Dean of Post-Graduate Studies at Newcastle University. His repeated support and understanding have helped me to finish my thesis. I am very grateful to him.

The Suna - İnan Kır   Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilisations and the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) were very valuable in my doctoral research, both through their libraries and through the study grants that they awarded to me. Likewise, Ko   University’s Research Centre for Anatolian Civilisations, where I spent nine and a half months as a J.M. Kaplan Fund Fellow, helped me to complete my thesis and to take the first step towards a new research project of mine. I want to thank all of the aforementioned institutions and their esteemed directors.

My old friend Cenk, and Tufan Karasu provided me with access to a lot of information throughout the course of my research. I will always be grateful for their help.

The library of the Netherlands Institute in Turkey was the site of many a late night of mine. I thank Gülten Hanım, Karin, Güher and Fokke Bey for providing me with this superb working environment, for their help, and for their unfailingly friendly demeanour.

Will Washburn was very helpful in the editing and translation of my thesis. I owe him a big ‘thank you’ for all his devoted work and time.

My beloved family and friends...your presence have always been a source of strength. Thank you for being by my side over this long period, and for your positive energy.

My mother means unconditional love and support to me. She shouldered heavy burdens so that I could complete my doctorate, and her labour is present on every page of this thesis.

I dedicate my work in loving memory of my father, Muzaffer Saraç, who passed away in October 2013. I owe him my career in archaeology. His honesty and wisdom, and his struggle for social democracy and human rights in Turkey will always be a source of pride and inspiration for me.

Notes on Language

In the thesis, I used (when necessary and appropriate) Turkish equivalents of some pieces of technical/specialist terminology, as well as key concepts related to the topic of this research. Modern Turkish uses a modified version of the Latin alphabet. Below is a brief guide for the pronunciation of Turkish vowels and consonants which do not exist in English, or which differ from their English equivalents.

a “a” as in *park*

c “j” as in *jam*

ç “ch” as in *chocolate*

e “e” as in *end*

g “g” as in *get* (never as in “gem”)

ğ silent “g,” lengthening the previous vowel

i “ee” as in *keep*

ı “i” as in *girl*

j “zh” as in “*measure*”

o “o” as in *open*

ö as in the French *oeuvre*

ş “sh” as in *shark*

u “oo” as in the French *ouverture*

ü “u” as in *utopic*

Abbreviations

ATTA	Association of Turkish Travel Agencies
CICO(s)	Conservation, Implementation and Control Office(s)
GDCPM	General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums
CDP	Conservation Development Plan
CTCDR(s)	Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Region(s)
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MCT	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey
NGO(s)	Non-governmental Organisation(s)
PDCT	Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism
SPA(s)	Special Provincial Administration(s)
SPO	State Planning Organisation
THA	Turkish History Association
TST 2023	Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023
TNSI	Turkish National Statistical Institute
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WHL	UNESCO's World Heritage List
WHS(s)	World Heritage Site(s)

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List of Anonymous Interviews

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Interview 4: conducted in 29 July 2008
Interview 5: conducted in 01 August 2008
Interview 6: conducted in 07 August 2008
Interview 7: conducted in 07 August 2008
Interview 8: conducted in 11 August 2008
Interview 9: conducted in 13 August 2008
Interview 10: conducted in 13 August 2008
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 An Introduction to Site Management and the Monument Council

In 2004, significant changes were made to the 1983 *Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties* (hereafter the *Conservation Law*), the main law dealing with all heritage sites in Turkey. Among these changes was the inclusion of the novel, to Turkey, concept of site management (Conservation Law 1983: Chapter One/Article 3 a (10) (11) and Chapter Seven/Additional Article 2). The aims and scope of site management, and its administrative and legal grounds, were put forth in 2005 with the *Regulation on the Substance and Procedures of the Establishment and Duties of Site Management and Monument Council, and the Identification of Management Sites* (hereafter the *Regulation for Site Management*)¹. Specifically, this regulation seeks to ensure that certain archaeological sites and conservation areas² delineated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as “management sites” be safeguarded within the scope of a sustainable management plan in co-ordination with government institutions, NGOs, local authorities and communities, and other volunteering groups (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter One/Article 1). The accompanying objectives for site management are as follows:

- *Ensuring accurate delineation of management sites and of their interaction areas and junction points,*
- *Demonstrating ways of finding a balance between safeguarding, access, sustainable economic development and the interests of local communities, through management plans,*
- *Developing strategies, methods, tools and resources to raise the value of heritage sites to an international level,*
- *Setting up an international co-operation network to develop cultural tourism,*
- *Drafting plans to develop cultural systems in regions containing conservation areas which can be linked with each other,*
- *Providing co-operation among government institutions, NGOs, property right holders, volunteers, local communities and authorities regarding the use and safeguarding of heritage sites,*

¹ See Appendix A

² In this thesis, ‘heritage site’ is used to denote ‘immovable cultural and natural property’, the common term used in Turkish legislations. On the other hand, ‘archaeological site’ (*ören yeri* in Turkish) is used to distinguish heritage sites of an archaeological character. Finally, ‘conservation area’ (*sit* or *sit alanı* in Turkish) refers to designated heritage site that is under state protection.

- *Ensuring the safeguarding and use of heritage sites in accordance with international conventions and charters,*
- *Utilising high standards for the management of heritage sites as well as for conservation, expertise, and equipment (Chapter Two/Article 5).*

The Monument Council is the second novel administrative board that was introduced via the changes to the *Conservation Law*. As specified in the *Regulation for Site Management* (Chapter One/Article 4), monument councils are set up at heritage sites delineated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as monuments on the basis of their state of use, location, function, visitor density, and historic and artistic features. The duties of the monument council include:

- *Determining visions for the spatial, thematic and physical use of the monument,*
- *Setting up and implementing annual and five-year plans regarding the safeguarding, promotion and exhibition of the monument,*
- *Promoting the monument,*
- *Collecting donations and grants for the safeguarding of the monument, and honouring donors with awards,*
- *Reporting, on a regular basis, to the relevant authorities regarding issues relating to the safeguarding of the monument (Chapter Four/Article 19).*

The charting of a new course in the management of heritage sites in Turkey, as a result of the changes made to the *Conservation Law*, was a surprising development. As the need to change course was not on the agenda until 2004, no legislative developments occurred which could be considered forerunners of the aims and goals in the *Regulation for Site Management*.

Consequently, one cannot claim that the administrative overhaul regarding site management and the Monument Council was an anticipated move. Rather, the Regulation was formulated under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (hereafter MCT), and went into effect in November 2005. The enactment of the Regulation came nearly four years after the preparation of the first formal site management plan in Turkey, Pamukkale-Hierapolis site management plan (more about this plan on page 117).

The *Regulation for Site Management* is not a set of guidelines expressly formulated to remedy the management problems and omissions concerning heritage sites in Turkey (see pages 115-117). A plan to develop cultural tourism, which had been voiced since the 1990s, but was

asserted more decisively with the *Eighth Five-Year Development Plan* (2001-2005), was the driver for changing the *Conservation Law* and the introduction of the *Regulation for Site Management*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) World Heritage List, which gained importance within the context of these goals, has begun to be perceived as a medium, which would add value to touristic heritage sites in Turkey, and thus, in the bigger picture, serve the needs of mass tourism. In this context, the aims and goals of the *Regulation for Site Management* were shaped by the management plan criterion developed by UNESCO for the World Heritage List (hereafter WHL) in 1994. Turkey's reflexive response to this top-down criterion, which has furnished at global scale an important change in the management of heritage sites (Chapter 3), was the *Regulation for Site Management*. The Regulation was designed as a guide with the aim of establishing the concept of 'management plan' and an understanding of participatory management, and these provisions of the Regulation present an 'opportunity' for site management in Turkey.

1.2 Scope of the Thesis, Research Question and Aims and Objectives

In this study, the *Regulation for Site Management* is treated as a policy tool because it unites two policies within itself; on the one hand, those concerning the management of heritage sites, and on the other, those concerning cultural tourism (Chapters 2 and 4). The development of these complementary policies, and their use to create opportunities (i.e. participatory management processes for heritage sites and tourism promotion through heritage) are central to the research. The substance of this thesis falls into two halves. The first half deals with the main features of the *Regulation for Site Management*, including the system of authority, planning, and methods related to site management, and the monument council. Using four case studies, the thesis explores: (i) the way in which the stakeholders in the Regulation approach the aforementioned features; and (ii) the institutional capability of the MCT and the municipalities vis-a-vis the Regulation. The findings from the case studies are used to assess the implementation stage of the Regulation. The second half of the thesis addresses the goals of the *Regulation for Site Management* concerning cultural tourism and in particular the relationship between management

plans and the development of cultural tourism. This is done considering the MCT's general and regional tourism agenda and tourism activities at the case study sites.

The following Research Question and Aims and Objectives have been developed to address these issues:

Research Question:

How much of a difference will the *Regulation for Site Management* make in the management of archaeological sites and the development of cultural tourism in Turkey?

Aims and Objectives:

Aim 1: To analyse the main features of the *Regulation for Site Management* with regard to the current administrative and legislative framework related to archaeological sites and conservation areas

Objectives

- 1.1 To analyse the components of the system of authority, planning and method related to site management and the monument council
- 1.2 To investigate, through the four case studies, how the main features of the Regulation are approached by its audience
- 1.3 To examine the institutional capability of the MCT and the municipalities with regard to the Regulation
- 1.4 To anticipate potential risks concerning the implementation of the Regulation

Aim 2: To analyse the objectives related to cultural tourism in the *Regulation for Site Management*

Objectives

- 2.1 To scrutinise the MCT's general agenda for cultural tourism
- 2.2 To observe, in a contextual framework, the current state of tourism activities at the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle
- 2.3 To determine how and in what ways can management plans can be instrumental in achieving the Regulation's objectives for cultural tourism

Aim 3: To analyse prior initiatives for archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey

Objectives

- 3.1 To investigate major legislative and institutional developments related to archaeology and tourism
- 3.2 To identify major parameters that have influenced national policies on archaeological sites and tourism
- 3.3 To determine the relationship between prior initiatives for archaeological sites and tourism and the *Regulation for Site Management*

Aim 4: To locate site management in Turkey within a theoretical framework of heritage management and tourism literature

Objectives

- 4.1 To analyse major theories and concepts regarding heritage and tourism interface
- 4.2 To analyse wider policies on heritage management and tourism with regard to key international conventions and charters
- 4.3 To investigate the notion of cultural tourism

1.3 The Research Setting

1.3.1 Some General Notes on the Administrative Divisions in Turkey

Turkey is divided into seven geographical regions covering a total area of 779.000 square kilometres. Within these seven regions, there are 81 provinces (known as *il* in Turkish). Each province is administered by an appointed governor (*vali*). Each province is subdivided into a number of districts (*ilçe*), which may cover both rural and urban areas. The central district of a province (*merkez ilçe*) is the main governmental territory, and is administered by a district-governor (*kaymakam*). All provinces and district centres have municipalities (*belediye*) headed by an elected major. Metropolises such as Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Antalya have greater municipalities (*büyükşehir belediyesi*) where elected majors oversee a number of smaller municipalities. Residential areas located outside a defined municipal territory are considered townships (*belde*). These usually less populated areas have their own municipalities, but depend

administratively on the nearest district. Villages are at the bottom of the administrative divisions. Elected civil servants, known as *muhtars*, are in charge of administrative matters in the villages. Likewise, each neighbourhood of a district or a township has its own *muhtar* who holds a slightly different status than his counterparts in the villages.

1.3.2 Antalya

The four case studies in this thesis are located in the province of Antalya in the South-western Mediterranean region of Turkey (Figure 1.1). Antalya, which possesses many unique characteristics, is rich archaeologically, and is one of the five provinces of Turkey (along with Muğla, Konya, Ankara and İzmir) containing the highest number of conservation areas (General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums 2009).

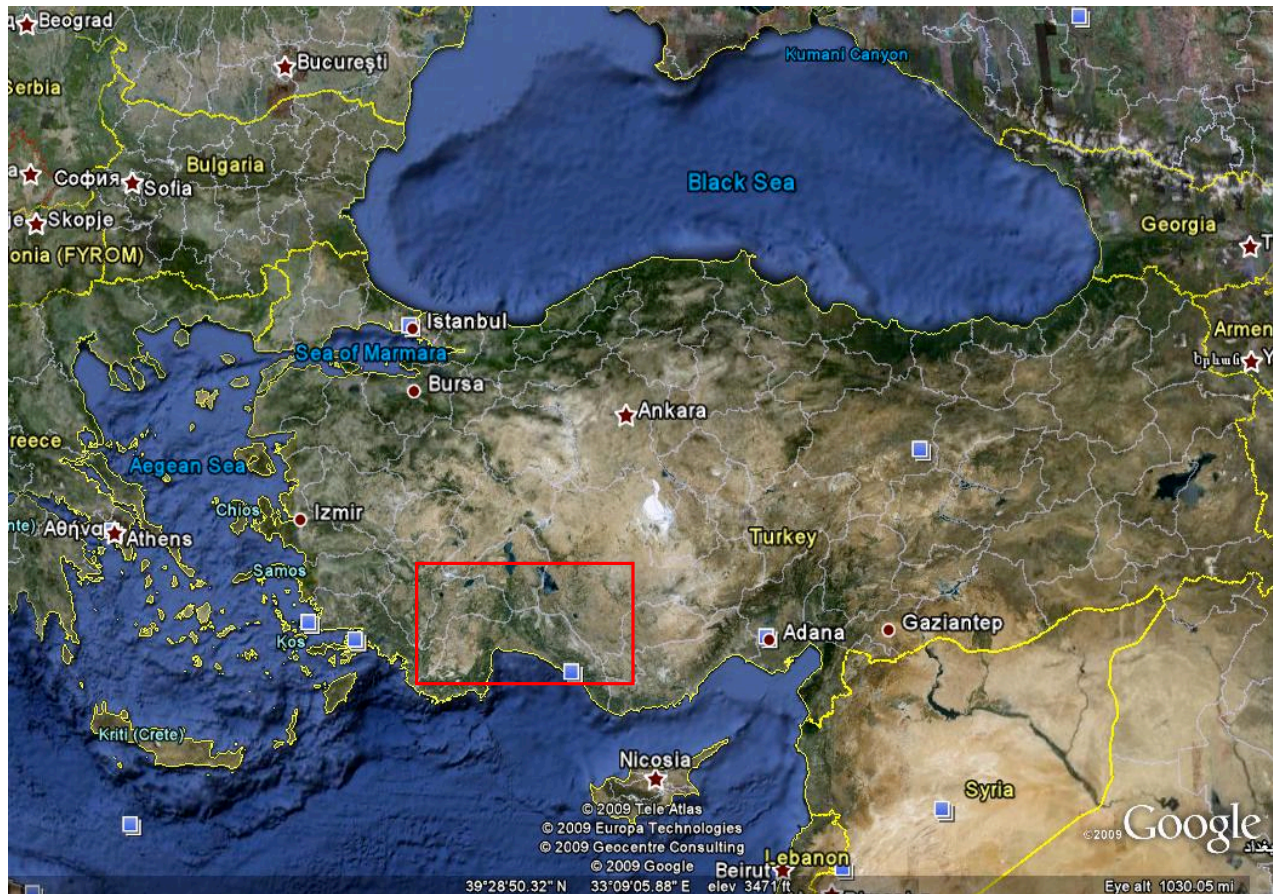


Figure 1.1: Geographical map of Turkey with Antalya marked out in red frame. (Source: Google Maps 2011a)

Antalya contains archaeological sites from a wide range of different time periods, from the Palaeolithic to the Late Ottoman period. By virtue of its geographical position, Antalya has been favoured for settlement throughout history. In particular, it has enjoyed a unique status due to its location at the intersection of the Lycian, Pamphylian, and Pisidian civilisations (Chapter 5). In addition to its importance from an archaeological perspective, Antalya is also one of the tourism hubs of Turkey due to the diversity of its natural attractions, its typically Mediterranean climate, nearly 630 km of shore, extensive accommodation offerings, and its ease of transportation. Looked at from a statistical standpoint, Antalya was visited, in 2009, by 8.26 million foreign tourists, amounting to 30.5% of a total of 27.07 million tourists who came to Turkey the same year (Table 1.1). Based on data from this and previous periods, it is evident that Antalya holds significant economic potential in national tourism.

Table 1.1: The number of foreign visitors in Antalya and Turkey, and Turkey's tourism income for the 2001-2009 period (Source: Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Antalya 2009; Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2010)

Year	Total Number of Foreign Visitors in Antalya (in millions)	Total Number of Foreign Visitors in Turkey (in millions)	Antalya's Share (%)	Turkey's Tourism Income (in billion USD)
2009	8,26	27,07	30.51	21.25
2008	8,56	26,33	32.52	21.91
2007	7,29	23,34	31.24	18.48
2006	6,01	19,81	30.33	16.85
2005	6,88	21,12	32.59	18.15
2004	6,04	17,51	34.52	15.88
2003	4,68	14,02	33.37	13.20
2002	4,74	13,25	35.81	11.90
2001	4,16	11,61	35.87	10.06
Total	56,62	174,06	-	147.68

The main criteria that make Antalya suitable for this study are its archaeological and touristic prominence. First, a significant aspect of the analysis of site management in the thesis focuses on the management plans to be produced for the nominated heritage sites and, in this respect, seven of the 26 heritage sites nominated by Turkey for the WHL are located in Antalya. Second,

Antalya lends itself to an examination of the relationship between heritage management and tourism. The development of tourism in Antalya began at the beginning of the 1970s, when the State Planning Organisation (SPO) designated part of the coastline as a tourism development region. In 1975, with the Southern Antalya Tourism Development Project – the first such project known in Turkey – touristic facilities with a 25,000 bed capacity were constructed on an 80 kilometre axis on Antalya's West coast (Göymen 2000: 1032-1033; Orbaşlı 2000:124; Ulusoy 2003: 201-202). Since the enactment of the 1982 *Tourism Encouragement Law* (Chapter 4), tourism investment in Antalya has grown dramatically. Unsurprisingly, the development of infrastructure to meet the needs of mass tourism has done irreparable damage to many archaeological sites. Construction activities continue to represent a threat to archaeological sites, especially in Antalya's coastal regions. The persistent increase of tourist overcrowding, as well as high revenues from the sale of coastal real estate, can be regarded as the main factors behind the over-construction industry. The physical encroachment suffered by archaeological sites is not, however, limited to over-construction. The damage caused by agricultural activities and illegal excavations to many archaeological sites, most conspicuously in the inland regions, has been documented in survey reports (e.g. TAY Project 2001). How to manage the various factors affecting archaeological sites in Antalya, how to strike a balance between tourism development and safeguarding heritage sites, and how to enhance cultural tourism in a region accustomed to mass tourism, should all be regarded as relevant and important topics of study.

My personal familiarity with Antalya is another influential factor for my selection of the region in this thesis. Between 1996 and 2002, I worked on the excavation of the Hacimusalar mound in the Elmalı district in Northern Antalya (see Figure 1.2) that has been undertaken by the Archaeology Department of Bilkent University. The goal of the project, which is still ongoing, is to shed light the history of Hacimusalar Höyüğü and its environs, known in antiquity as Choma, whose settlement history extends from the Neolithic to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.³ The information I gathered from my personal observations while working on this project, both at Hacimusalar and at other archaeological sites in Antalya, provided a practical framework for this thesis. My own observations allowed me to: (i) acquire an overall familiarity with Antalya; (ii)

³ For Choma and Elmalı, see Bean and Harrison 1967; Bryce 1986; and Mellink 1998

grasp the differences, from the perspective both of archaeology and of tourism, between Antalya's coastal and inland regions; (iii) appreciate various factors affecting archaeological sites; and (iv) become acquainted with many Turkish and foreign archaeologists working in the region. The gains I made from my observations have assisted me in identifying my case studies, carrying out fieldwork and interpreting the findings obtained from this study.

The next section provides a brief background to the management situation regarding the four case studies in this thesis. These sites, which are described in greater detail in Chapter 5, not only possess different archaeological and touristic features, but also are situated in different districts of Antalya (Figure 1.2).

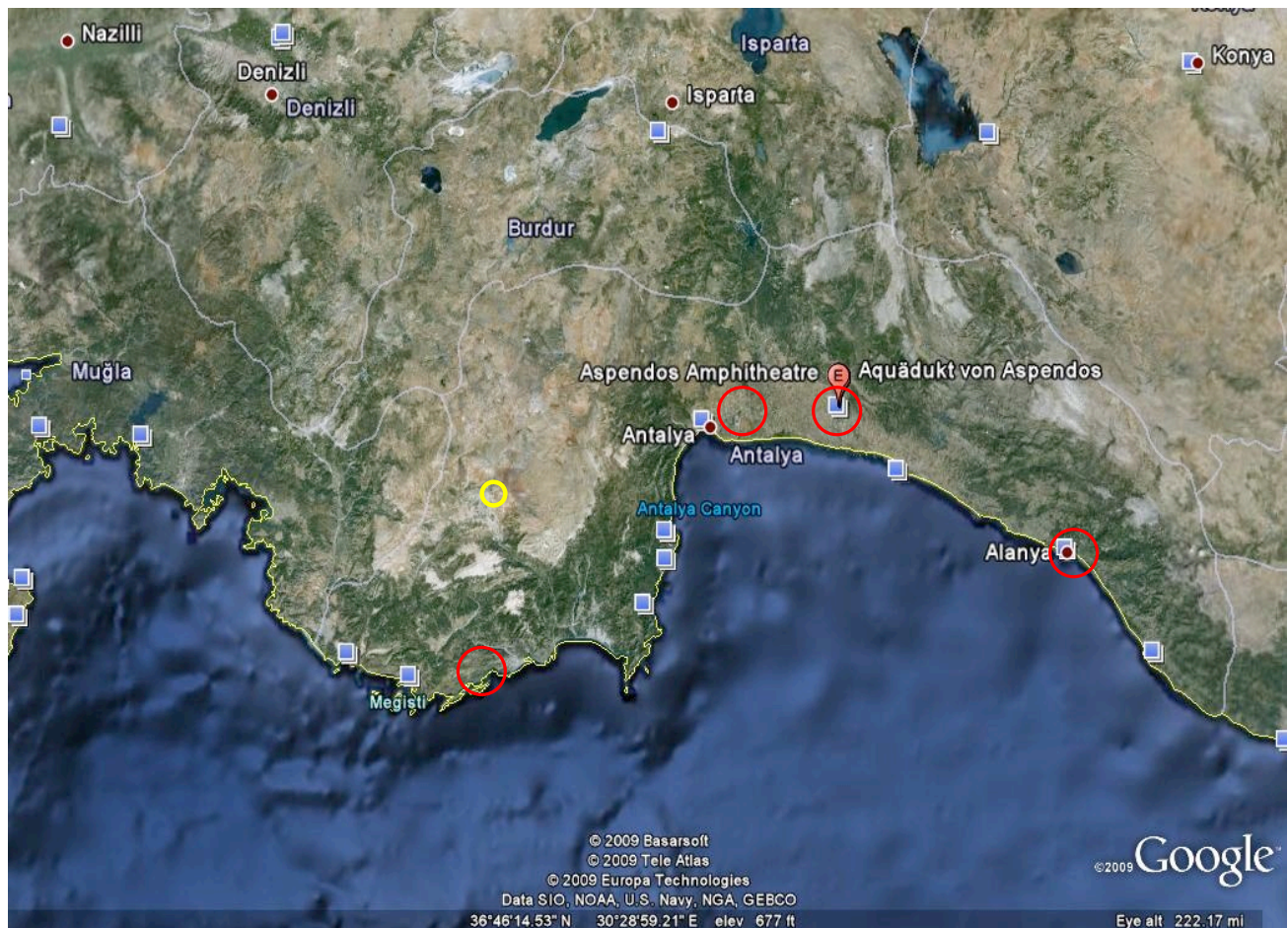


Figure 1.2: Close-up view of Antalya with Elmalı (marked in yellow) and the case study sites (marked in red). *From left to right: the Church of St Nicholas and Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle* (Source: Google Maps 2011b)

1.3.3 The Case Studies: The Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

The Church of St Nicholas is situated in the district of Demre, which lies approximately 140 km to the West of the province of Antalya. The other three sites are located to the east of the central district of Antalya. These sites top the list of Antalya's most visited heritage sites. Of the four, the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, and Alanya Castle have been nominated by the MCT for inclusion on the WHL. Consequently, they are included on the current agenda for site management and monument council operations. Of these, Alanya Castle, nominated for the WHL in 2000, has witnessed considerable progress in the development of a management plan under the sponsorship of the Alanya Municipality. In contrast, a Monument Council was set up by the MCT, in July 2006, for the Church of St Nicholas, which has the status of monument under the *Regulation for Site Management*, but no progress has been made for a site management plan. Finally, site management operations at Perge, which has been on Turkey's tentative list for the WHL since 2009, are still in the planning phase.

1.4 History of Research on Site Management in Turkey, and the Significance of the Study

There is only a limited amount of published literature on site management⁴ in Turkey. Within this paucity of published material, academic studies provide more comprehensive analyses of site management. Accordingly, theses and dissertations related to site management and tourism in Turkey were examined during the course of this research. These were accessed via the National Thesis Centre (*Ulusal Tez Merkezi*) of the Council of High Education, an autonomous public institute responsible for the planning, governance, and supervision of higher education in Turkey. The National Thesis Centre is an online database that archives copies of all PhD and Master's level works written at Turkish universities⁵. Each thesis or dissertation, which grants

⁴ Throughout this study, 'site management' refers to what it represents (i.e. site-based management operations) within the context of the Regulation for Site Management. 'Heritage management,' on the other hand, is used in its definition within the international academic literature, denoting the management of a broad range of issues related to heritage sites (e.g. safeguarding, use of heritage resources, implementation of policies and legislations and etc.) (see Chapter 3)

⁵ Available from <<http://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/giris.jsp>>

the author's permission for duplication and publication, can be seen in PDF format on the database. Although one cannot see the contents of restricted works, their abstracts and tag details provide the opportunity of performing a number of analyses. In terms of studies related to Turkey that have been written outside of the country or are currently in progress, internet search engines and web sites⁶ were beneficial in affording the opportunity to identify and follow research interests on site management.

Different keywords were used during the search performed on the National Thesis Centre. Keywords were employed both on their own, and joined in various combinations to search criteria such as field, department, subject, index, and summary.⁷ As a result of this search, a total of 15 researches directly related to site management were singled out. Four of these were doctoral theses, and the others were Master's dissertations. These theses and dissertations were mostly written in the fields of urban and regional planning (7) and archaeology (4). As of September 2006 (the start-date of this research project) only one doctoral thesis and one Master's dissertation on site management had been completed. All of the other works were written between the years 2009 and 2011. The doctoral theses mainly constitute case studies focussing on the evolution of the concept of site management. Among them, Müge Bahçeci's PhD thesis (2004) develops a site management model for the Bronze Age settlement of Limantepe in Urla, while İlknur Arı's thesis (2009) explores management issues at prehistoric sites. Sevcan Yıldız's doctoral research (2011) deals with visitor management at Alanya Castle. Compared to the doctoral theses, nearly all of the Master's dissertations comprise case studies. Notably, seven (of the 15) dissertations focus on management planning at various urban and historic conservation areas in Istanbul.

As is the case with site management, the number of academic studies dealing with heritage management is again limited. In the National Thesis Centre, a total of 11 researches were

⁶ These are <http://phddata.org> (Universal Index of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress) and <http://proquest.com>

⁷ The keywords used in the search process were: site management, heritage, heritage management, cultural heritage, archaeology, tourism, cultural tourism, archaeological resource, Antalya, Perge, Aspendos, Alanya, Alanya Castle, Myra, and the Church of St Nicholas.

encountered on the topic of heritage management. Only one of these is a doctoral thesis. Of the other ten, four were archaeological research and two each in urban and regional planning, architecture and public administration. Notably, nearly all the dissertations have been completed since 2000. Emine Toksöz's PhD thesis (2009) explores various issues of safeguarding at urban conservation areas in Europe and Turkey, and analyses the development of heritage legislation in both contexts. Moreover, it also examines the case of Istanbul's Historic Peninsula within the framework of civic rights. The Master's dissertations are divided into two main groups according to their topics. The first group investigates the development of heritage management internationally and in Turkey from a theoretical and legislative perspective. This includes my Master's dissertation entitled "A History of Heritage Management in Turkey and Europe" (2003). The second group of dissertations addresses conceptual issues related to international conventions on heritage sites and analyse, in particular, management problems at archaeological sites. Among these are case studies on Phaselis, Magnesia ad Meandrum, Çatalhöyük, Troy, and various other prehistoric sites.

Twelve studies written on the relationship between heritage management and tourism were identified by the database. Nearly all the researches, two of which are doctoral, were completed between the years 2003 and 2010. One of the doctoral theses examines the use of historic thermal springs for tourism in Western Anatolia, and proposes a management model for the site of Yalova. The other doctoral thesis investigates cultural tourism through the historical areas of Istanbul. Among the Master's dissertations, there are five that are concerned with cultural tourism at archaeological sites. Two of these deal with the ancient city of Pergamon, and the others with Troy, Ani and Aphrodisias. The remaining dissertations investigate the sustainability of cultural tourism at urban heritage sites such as the Inner Citadel (*Kaleiçi*) of Antalya, Istanbul's Historic Peninsula, and Safranbolu. It is noted that more than half of the dissertations in question were written in the fields of tourism (4) and architecture (4).

In light of the above-mentioned data, two observations can be made regarding the significance of the present study. First, by dealing with site management, tourism, and heritage management in a single space, this thesis makes an important contribution towards remedying the lack of research

in Turkey on the aforementioned subjects. Second, although work has been done to date on some heritage sites in Antalya, it is evident that there has not been a comprehensive inquiry into case studies on the relationship between site management and tourism, as in the present study. Consequently, this research is original by virtue of its case studies.

1.5 Framework of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into three interconnected parts. Part One consists of the first four chapters. Following the Introduction and Methodology, Chapter 3 analyses the interface between heritage management and tourism in the light of the relevant general literature. Major theories and concepts on this topic are reviewed. In Chapter 4, state policies relating to archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey are examined. The chapter deals with the major legislative and institutional milestones within a chronological framework. Part Two focuses on the four case studies. Chapter 5 provides background information about the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle, while Chapter 6 and 7 present the research data gathered from the four case studies. In Part Three (Chapter 8), the findings of the case studies are triangulated with the insights drawn from Chapters 3 and 4. The syntheses that are made in Chapter 8 use some components of the literature review in Chapter 3 (e.g. cultural tourism, heritage management, and some major topics related to site management) in tandem with the analyses concerning the management of archaeological sites in Turkey (Chapter 4). Moreover, some analyses on the archaeological features of the case studies (Chapter 5) are placed in Chapter 8 in support of discussions under specific headings (i.e., Physical Access; Interpretation and Presentation; and Significance).

1.5.1 Chapter Outlines

Chapter 2 is the methodology section of the thesis. At the beginning of the chapter, there is a justification of the factors, which make the study a policy research. Thereafter, the chapter explains the rationale for using a qualitative methodology and the case study design, and outlines the theoretical position used in the thesis. These are followed by an evaluation of the validity of

the study. The second part of the chapter provides justification for the selection of the case studies, interviewees, and interview questions. The chapter concludes by explaining the methods of collecting data, the study's ethical issues, and data analysis.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on heritage management and cultural tourism. Key issues, concepts and theories related to heritage management and cultural tourism are analysed in the light of prominent publications and international charters and conventions. The chapter examines the relationship between heritage management and tourism on a global scale, and then locates site management and cultural tourism in Turkey within the theoretical framework of heritage and tourism literature.

Chapter 4 focuses on the evolution of state policies relating to archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey. Within a chronological framework extending back to the 19th century, it analyses major legislative and institutional developments, which are clearly distinguished from each other by their scope and by the socio-political factors with which they are associated. The discussion is divided into five time periods consisting of the Ottoman period (1830s-1920); the Early Republican Period (1920-1946); 1946-1980; 1980-2003, and the period since 2003.

Chapter 5 provides background information about the four case studies. It describes the archaeological and touristic features of the sites with which this thesis is concerned. The information presented in this chapter is particularly condensed, in line with the aims and objectives of this thesis, which is not concerned with the archaeological or touristic aspects of the case study sites *per se*, but rather deals with the sites from the standpoint of site management and tourism interface.

Chapter 6 is the first of the two chapters presenting data gathered from the case studies. It introduces information regarding site management and the *Regulation for Site Management* gathered via interviews, questionnaires, and conversations with the 60 participants in the study. All of this information has been arranged into extended tables. The tables have been analysed in accordance with the *Regulation for Site Management*. The chapter consists of two parts. The first

part contains data obtained from questions concerning the aim of site management, the content of management plans, and their actors. The second part focuses on more specific topics associated with the Regulation. These include the implementation of site management, its financing, its administrative organisation (i.e. the site manager), and the boundaries of the management site.

Following the same format employed in the previous one, Chapter 7 presents research data regarding the interface of tourism and archaeology in Antalya and at the case study sites, gathered via interviews, questionnaires, and conversations with the 60 participants. It contains data obtained from questions about the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya, the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle; priorities regarding tourism and archaeology at these sites; visitor numbers and visitor management at the case study sites; and finally, the importance and benefits of the WHL.

In Chapter 8, the analyses made in the previous chapters are synthesised. Analyses on the literature about heritage management and tourism interface and policies and institutional developments regarding archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey, and the data obtained from the case studies are triangulated. The discussion on the major findings emerging from the triangulation is then used to make projections regarding the implementation of the *Regulation for Site Management*, and the development of cultural tourism. Chapter 8 is also the concluding chapter. It explains how the research question and aims have been fulfilled. Moreover, it contains some recommendations, which may provide guidance for future studies on site management, and tourism and heritage interface in Turkey.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology behind this study. It explains how the research question, its aims and objectives, and the approaches taken in generating the data were integrated. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part, which consists of three sections, starts by justifying the choice of a qualitative method, as well as the factors that make the study of site management and tourism an example of policy research. This introductory section is followed by a discussion of how the research was designed as a case study, and the associated theoretical position. The third section focuses on the assessment criteria used to ensure the quality of the research, and deals with the issue of validity. The second part of the chapter follows the chronological order of events associated with the research. It begins with an account of the selection of the case studies, and then continues with a section devoted to the selection of the respondents and interview questions, and the collection of data. The final sections present the ethical issues of the research and discuss the analysis of data.

2.2 Qualitative Method and Its Relevance to the Topic of Research

Nakamura and Smallwood (1980: 31) defined policy as: “*a set of instructions from policy makers to policy implementers that spell out both goals and the means for achieving those goals*”. The authors also identified the actors involved in policy formulation as follows:

The principal actors in policy formulation are the legitimate or formal policy makers: people who occupy positions in the governmental arena that entitle them to authoritatively assign priorities and commit resources. These people include elected officials, legislators, and high level administrative appointees, each of whom must follow prescribed paths to make policy...Since these formal policy makers represent diverse constituencies- electoral, administrative, and bureaucratic- the policy making process offers many points of access through which interest groups and others from arenas outside government can exercise influence (Nakamura and Smallwood 1980: 31-32).

With reference to Nakamura and Smalwood's (1980) definitions, it can be clearly said that the government initiatives devised in the name of site management do represent a new management policy for heritage sites in Turkey. As discussed in depth in Chapter 4, this policy marks a considerable departure in that it seeks to ensure, for the first time, that heritage sites be managed within the scope of a sustainable plan in co-ordination with non-state actors. It was formulated by the constituencies of the MCT, and is guided by the *Regulation for Site Management*, which sets out the framework for the implementation of site management. The new managerial initiatives for heritage sites came into existence as a result of the MCT's programme to develop cultural tourism, which represents another policy among wider tourism objectives in Turkey. The *Regulation for Site Management* should be regarded as a legislative response to satisfy UNESCO's selection criterion for the management of heritage sites seeking inclusion on the WHL. To this end, UNESCO represents the authority, which indirectly exercised influence on the preparation of the Regulation.

Viewing policy-making as a process that evolves through interconnected parts, Rist (1998: 402) identified three major phases in what he called the "policy cycle." These are policy formulation, policy implementation and policy accountability. Rist (1998: 405) argued that qualitative research can inform us about each phase of the policy cycle, and that it is both a necessary and a highly influential component in the decision making process. During the formulation stage of a policy, qualitative research is relevant in studying a number of issues. These may include: (i) identifying a policy problem; (ii) analysing prior initiatives; (iii) observing community or organisational receptivity to particular programmatic approaches; and (iv) investigating potential long-term impacts (anticipated and unanticipated) from various policy strategies (Rist 1998: 410). Additionally, qualitative work can also be a significant contribution to discussions of policy tools such as new regulations, programmes, grants, or the provision of direct services (Birkland 2011: 4; Rist 1998: 417). A comprehensive understanding of policy tools through qualitative study can inform us about how to achieve policy objectives (Salamon 1989).

During the second stage of the policy cycle, previously formulated initiatives and goals are transformed into a policy tool. Thus, their implementation, and the allocation of relevant resources become the major concern. Rist (1998: 411-412) considered that qualitative research is the most appropriate instrument to investigate the implementation cycle of a policy, and that it can provide valuable insights on several issues such as: (i) the monitoring of

the situation; (ii) the appropriateness of the policy tool to current conditions; (iii) similarities and contrasts in implementation strategies across sites; and (iv) the institutional capacity to respond to the new initiative, or the organisational response to current condition. During the final stage of the policy cycle, qualitative research can again play a pivotal role in generating additional information about the policy. This primarily involves assessing the consequences and success of the policy and programme initiatives. Qualitative data, reflecting the strengths and weaknesses of the operational phase of a policy can assist in considering revision or further improvement of that policy (Rist 1998: 413).

By acknowledging that the *Regulation for Site Management* is a policy tool, this study investigates the formulation phase of site management. It provides a view of site management initiatives in order to make projections about their implementation phase. On essence, this study deals with the contemporary state of site management in Turkey, where the effectiveness of the Regulation cannot yet be fully assessed due to the limited number of existing efforts to complete management plans. On the other hand, the study also reviews site management and tourism to observe how the relationship between the two can affect both the implementation of the Regulation and plans about cultural tourism. As a contemporary phenomenon, cultural tourism is an integral element of wider tourism policies in Turkey (Chapter 4). A qualitative approach provides a basis for observing these two sets of interconnected policies, and it establishes this investigation as an example of qualitative policy research.

Qualitative research takes an interpretive stance in terms of its epistemological orientation (Bryman 2008: 366). It studies the subject matter in its natural context. Throughout their examination, qualitative researchers use interpretive practices to understand a phenomenon in relation to its participants (Denzin and Lincoln 2003: 5). The thesis' aims and objectives were investigated at archaeological sites, the most pertinent natural settings for examining site management and tourism. On-site observations and interviews with the target audience of site management as well as other actors in the tourism sector were carried out in order to get a better understanding of the research topic. The data drawn from the research contexts was interpreted throughout the course of the research, in order to discover concepts and relationships that were later organised into a theoretical explanatory scheme (Chapter 8).

Qualitative research is mainly characterised by an inductive approach. This involves a bottom-up process, which allows a series of insights emerge from research data (Bryman 2008: 11; Fielding and Fielding 1986: 44). A researcher does not start his/her project with a hypothesis or a preconceived theory in mind. Instead, s/he develops a theory grounded in the data collected and analysed as the research unfolds (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 12). The set of beliefs that guided this study were not based on theoretical premises. Major insights about site management and its relationship with tourism were gradually developed throughout the field research. Once a theoretical reflection on the initial set of data was made, some further data was collected to test the emerging research hypothesis. This strategy, which is considered the deductive element of qualitative research (Alasuutari 1995: 169; Bryman 2008: 12), was also employed during the research

2.3 The Case Study Approach as a Research Strategy and Theory Construction

As described by Denzin and Lincoln (2003: 36), a research design connects theoretical premises first to strategies of inquiry and then to methods for collecting and analysing empirical material. Every research design is built on a certain logic, which involves creating a link between the initial questions of study, the data to be collected and the conclusions drawn from the data (Yin 2003: 19). In designing this thesis, the case study approach was employed as the research strategy. This preference was based on the case study's relevance to the scope of this research and its major strengths in achieving the research aims.

The use of case studies in qualitative methodology is widespread (LeCompte & Goetz 1982). Their popularity stems from their aptness in helping to understand, describe and explain things in qualitative research (Hamel et al 1993: 39). By definition, "case study" denotes the in-depth study of a specific case or subject matter (Hamel et al 1993: 1). The case under investigation can be a community, a location, a person or real life events such as organisational and managerial processes (Bryman 2008: 29; Yin 2003: 2). The evidence in case studies consists of multiple sources. These include interviews, direct or participant observations, documents, archival records and artefacts. Based on a chain of evidence, case study researchers investigate a subject matter by covering its contextual conditions (Stoecker 1991). In order to provide a detailed description, they gather data on the physical setting, historical background and people associated with the case, and other contextual aspects such as social and economic factors (Stake 1994: 238).

Typologically, case studies vary. The case study approach can consist of a single case study or multiple case studies. The number of case(s) to be investigated is mainly determined by theoretical concerns, the scope of inquiry and time constraints allocated for research (Yin 2003: 53). A single case study design can be used to test or refine a theory, and provide insights for understanding an issue. The case may be representative, unique, extreme or revelatory (Yin 2003: 40). On the other hand, a multiple case study design represents an instrumental study extended to several cases. Individual cases of a collective set may or may not be known in advance to manifest common characteristics (Stake 1994: 237). Each case may reveal similar or contrasting results. However, in the bigger picture, they permit opportunities for better understanding, and theorising about, a larger phenomenon.

The use of a case study approach in this study was based on the need to gather data on three major topics related with the research aims. These were: (i) to determine how site management initiatives are understood by the target audience (Aim 1/Objective 1.2); (ii) to observe current relationships among the actors involved in site management in order to anticipate what sorts of issues might arise in the future from their co-ordination in developing and implementing management plans (Aim 1/Objectives 1.1 and 1.3); and (iii) to examine the current state of tourism activities at the targeted sites, in order to evaluate the goals and programmes of cultural tourism (Aim 2/Objective 2.2). The investigation of these three topics could only be made through a detailed study of specific examples. The case study approach allowed the researcher to actively engage with the actors of site management and tourism, and to scrutinise their contexts. The four cases that are covered in this study are archaeological sites. These sites are among the heritage sites in Turkey that are subject to site management initiatives. Moreover, they are appropriate settings for observing the relationship between tourism and site management. Study of the four cases, each of which has its own voice and its own intrinsic characteristics, facilitated answering the research question.

In constructing theoretical inferences regarding the implementation of site management initiatives and their relationship with tourism, this study does not solely depend on the data gathered from the case studies. Insights generated from the analysis of the fieldwork material are incorporated with the wider literature, both Turkish and international, on heritage management and tourism (Chapters 4 and 8). In this respect, the formulation of a theory in this thesis relies on a triangulated integration of three different sources of knowledge (Figure 2.1). As discussed in Chapters 3, the relationship between heritage management and tourism

is a global phenomenon. There exist various theoretical and practical approaches associated with the management of heritage sites in the face of tourism. Having a firm grasp of these approaches is vital in order to investigate the research topic. Likewise, as demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 8, prior initiatives concerning the management of archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey have their own parameters. Understanding these parameters is central when reflecting on current policies towards tourism and archaeology.

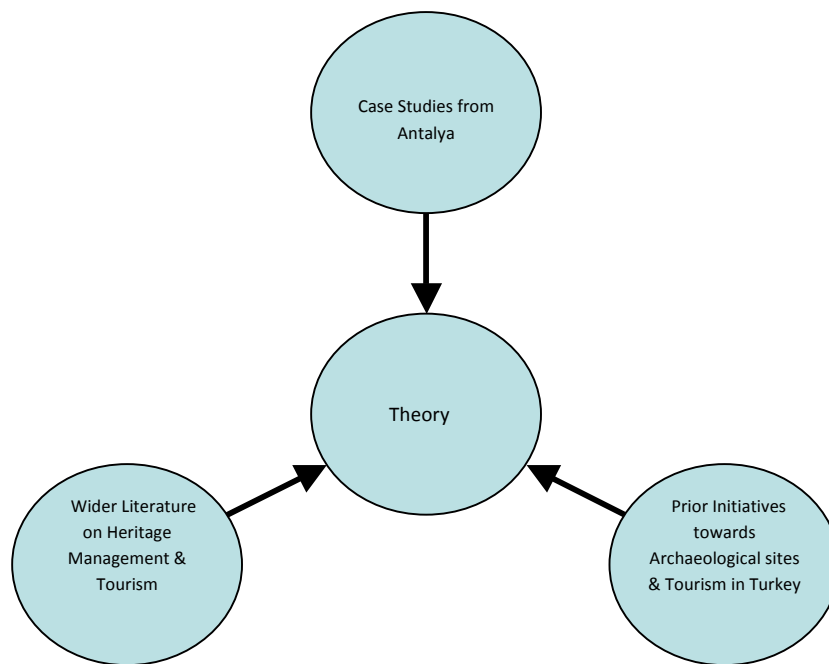


Figure 2 .1: The three legs of theory construction in the thesis

2.4 Validity of the Research

In the context of qualitative research methodology, external validity (or generalisability) attains a special emphasis as the most prominent assessment criterion for the quality of a piece of research (Bryman 2008: 32). External validity involves knowing whether a study's findings are generalisable beyond the specific research context (Yin 2003: 37). Every piece of research is expected, as Mason (1996: 60) noted: *“to produce explanations which are generalisable in some way or have a wider resonance.”* A standard criticism towards case studies is that they

provide a poor basis for generalisation, and hence have restricted external validity (Peräkylä 2004: 297; Stake 1994: 243; Yin 2003: 10). Among the critics, Lincoln and Guba (2000: 39) draw attention to the importance of contextual differences in any phenomenon implying that local conditions make it impossible to generalise. Counter-arguments maintain that case studies' major concern is not to generalise about populations or other phenomena but instead about theoretical propositions (Kennedy 1979; Mitchell 1983). For instance, Mitchell (1983) argued that: “ *the crucial question [in a case study] is not whether the findings can be generalised to a wider universe but how well the researcher generates theory out of the findings*”. In parallel, Williams (2002: 135) suggests that the case study researcher engages in developing “theoretical inferences” in order to draw conclusions from their data about the relationships that are apparent among categories of subject matter.

The commitment of this study is not to act as a representative for Antalya but rather to let the cases speak for themselves in the belief that each case in the thesis possesses its own intrinsic features, whether archaeological, environmental or in some other category. Moreover, each case has different management problems and tourism pressures. Given the variety of local conditions, it is acknowledged that some research findings derived from the four cases in this study cannot simply be transferred to other settings. Yet, the conclusions drawn from the cases may provide insights for making potential comparisons with other contexts (i.e. touristic heritage sites) featuring similar characteristics .The generalisations made in this study are based on hypotheses developed from the research findings. These “analytical generalisations”, as Yin (2003: 32) calls them, mainly concern legislative norms, procedures and organisational situations, which have general validity. For instance, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 8, the land-use restrictions imposed on Grade I conservation areas by the *Conservation Law* represent a set of fixed legislative rules to which all heritage sites in Turkey are subjected. Therefore, management problems associated with the general land-use restrictions can safely be predicted to have similar implications for different heritage sites nationwide. A further example of this kind pertains to the *Regulation for Site Management*. As discussed in Chapter 8, some bureaucratic features of the Regulation have the potential to cause practical problems during the implementation of site management. These were observed during the project to be literally replicated thanks to the information gathered from other site management initiatives beyond the immediate cases.

2.4.1 Triangulation

Triangulation denotes the combination of multiple methods or sources of data in studying a subject matter (Bryman 2008: 379). The use of triangulation in qualitative research provides some distinct advantages. According to Stake (1994: 241), it allows one to examine a phenomenon from various angles because it is: “*a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation.*” For Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 199) triangulation serves to neutralise the possible “threats to validity” by relating different kinds of data to each other. Finally, Fielding and Fielding (1986: 24-25) considered the role of triangulation as a way to increase the researcher’s confidence in his/her findings and to tackle “privileged insights”.

Triangulation was widely employed in this study to maintain the validity of research findings both externally and internally. The hypotheses formed at the end of the thesis regarding site management and its relationship with tourism rely on a set of concepts triangulated from the case studies, the general literature on heritage management and tourism, and the analysis of prior initiatives towards archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey. Second, triangulation was also central to the analysis of the case studies *per se*. The methods for collecting data depended on three major sources including interviews, personal observations and documentary evidence. The validity of the data and the reliability of particular items were systematically assessed and checked against each data collection method used during the research. Furthermore, the evidence for individual case studies was collected through multiple channels of data. The interviews with various respondents and the observations of different physical settings were cross-checked in order to analyse the case under investigation.

2.5 Identification of the Archaeological Sites

2.5.1 The Preliminary Fieldwork

The selection of a site or sites to use as a case study is a critical decision after the formulation of research question(s) (Bryman 2008: 370). For such decisions, Stake (1994: 244) stressed the importance of balance, variety and the opportunity to learn from the case. Similarly, Neumann (2007: 280) considers “redundancy” and “suitability” key factors in selecting a site for field research. However, the selection process is not straightforward because there are no

standard rules for this decision (Glesne and Peshkin 1992: 21). In this respect, researchers are recommended to combine information gathered from literature, feedback and guidance provided by experienced researchers, and their personal observations and intuition to help them choose appropriate sites for their study (Glesne and Peshkin 1992: 21; Stake 1994: 244).

The archaeological sites chosen for this study were identified after a process consisting of two phases. The first phase comprised preliminary fieldwork that was designed, early in 2007, to build a solid basis for this study. The goals of the preliminary fieldwork were: (i) to collect information about archaeological sites in Antalya; (ii) to have up-to-date knowledge of the archaeological activities and research projects; (iii) to identify the government units and individuals who are charged with the management of archaeological sites; and (iv) to establish correspondence with a number of academics involved in archaeological projects.

The preliminary fieldwork was conducted in Antalya between August 11th and September 13th 2007. During this period, a variety of information was assembled. Documentary sources concerning the archaeology, history, geography and tourism of Antalya made up a large part of this information. Other information consisted of maps, guidebooks, and photographs collected from the personal visits to some archaeological sites. In the service of the aforementioned goals [ii], [iii] and [iv] of the preliminary fieldwork, 15 meetings were held with various professionals. These included meeting: six directors of five archaeological expeditions in Antalya; an archaeologist who had previously worked in Antalya but was directing, as of 2007, a major excavation project in the neighbouring city of Muğla; two representatives from the Antalya Archaeology Museum; directors and senior members of four non-governmental research institutes; and two officials from the provincial organisation of the MCT. The meetings with these different groups were in the format of unstructured conversations. Notes of all meetings were kept for later analysis.

The preliminary fieldwork was productive for a number of reasons. First of all, the information collected during this introductory phase established a strong basis for the selection of archaeological sites (i.e. case studies) by incorporating knowledge and personal observations, and hence making the selection an informed decision. A second important outcome was the feedback and advice gained from the meetings. These were mainly recommendations by prominent archaeologists about sites, which they considered as being suitable for the research, and their general assessments concerning site management and

tourism. Third, a useful reference portfolio was developed, which provided guidance at later stages in the research. Finally, the preliminary fieldwork created an opportunity for making initial observations on the organisation and duties of the main ministerial departments overseeing archaeological sites in Antalya. These observations proved invaluable designing relevant interview questions for ministerial bodies during the second phase of the fieldwork. Despite these fruitful outcomes, the preliminary fieldwork had some limitations. These were mainly financial and time constraints combined with the size of Antalya as a research setting. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Antalya is geographically a large territory, with a land surface of 20,723 square kilometres. The distance between the westernmost district of Kaş and the easternmost one, Gazipaşa, is approximately 370 kilometres. Within this area, there were (as of 2008) 366 designated archaeological sites, haphazardly scattered throughout 19 districts.

Owing to the large number of archaeological sites, it was not feasible to visit a large proportion of sites during the preliminary fieldwork. Such a visit programme needs to be allocated considerable time as well as adequate finances for transport and accommodation. In reality, the preliminary fieldwork had time restrictions and was conducted with tight financial resources. Hence, only four archaeological sites could be visited between August 11th and September 13th, 2007. Because the researcher had visited many archaeological sites in Antalya during his work on the Choma Excavation Project from 1996 to 2002, the four sites were chosen from among the ones with which he was unfamiliar.

2.5.2 The Analysis of the Preliminary Fieldwork Data

The stage following the preliminary fieldwork involved analysis of the information gathered from Antalya. Two major issues were given attention at this step. First, the analysis process needed to be concluded quickly in order to provide sufficient time to prepare for the second stage of fieldwork. Second, some research objectives needed review and adjustment in accordance with the information collected. Central to the analysis of the preliminary fieldwork data were two questions: on the one hand, how to reflect the archaeological diversity in Antalya through the selection of representative sites; and on the other hand, how to satisfy the aims and objectives of the research. Some suggestions had already been made on these topics by informants during the preliminary fieldwork. The most common suggestion was to select different types of sites with dissimilar geographical locations and time periods.

Other opinions came in the form of personal assessments by experienced archaeologists, who suggested focusing on touristic sites they considered problematic from a management point of view. In evaluating these two sets of opinions, three observations were made:

- 1) No matter what rationale was employed, the use of some selection criteria was unavoidable in order to bring down to a manageable size the number of archaeological sites in Antalya on which to focus; moreover, these criteria needed to cohere with the research question;
- 2) Archaeological sites that could not be visited during the preliminary fieldwork needed to be considered since, ideally, all sites should be subject to a management scheme;
- 3) From a management perspective, assessing an archaeological site as being problematic is a relative/subjective issue, and therefore such opinions by informants could not be used as primary selection criteria themselves. They could, however, be used in support of another argument for choosing a given site.

As mentioned earlier, there were 366 designated archaeological sites in Antalya at the time of the preliminary fieldwork; this number constantly increases due to an ongoing process of designation. In the national register for heritage sites, archaeological sites are listed as a distinct category (General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums 2009). However, those sites incorporating natural, historical and urban characteristics, in addition to archaeological ones, are called composite sites, and are categorised separately. These are: (i) Archaeological and Natural Sites; (ii) Urban and Archaeological Sites; and (iii) Archaeological-Natural-Historical-Urban Sites. By 2008, there were 23 composite sites in Antalya. Typologically, there is a wide range of archaeological sites in Antalya consisting mainly of caves, mounds, tumuli, ancient cities, necropolises, and single monuments. All these types of sites, as well as many others, are dated to different time periods ranging from the Palaeolithic to the Late Ottoman period in the 19th century.

During the run-up to the final decision about which sites to focus on in this study, detailed analyses were made of all designated archaeological sites in Antalya. In doing so, a major source of information was the *Cultural Inventory of Antalya*, an eight volume series published by the Governorship of Antalya between 2003 and 2005. The inventory was prepared by the

Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Antalya in collaboration with the archaeology museums and the Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural Properties in Antalya. It contains a compilation of separate inventories, and each volume is district- based. The inventory contains short descriptions, illustrations, maps, and the registration details of the designated heritage sites, as well as some general information about the history of their surroundings. In this sense, it is a useful work mainly because it is clearly organised, and provides a general picture of Antalya's archaeological sites in a published catalogue. Moreover, compared with the on-line database of the MCT, the inventory is more practical for making typological classifications or comparative analysis of archaeological sites in Antalya. Analysis of the *Cultural Inventory of Antalya* showed that it was no simple task to reflect the archaeological diversity of Antalya through a few sites in a case study research project. In order for such a goal to be achieved, a series of selection criteria needed to be employed for numerous sites possessing various kinds of similarities or disparities. For instance, someone wanting to carry out case study research on site management with regard to ancient cities in Antalya needs to choose from approximately 30 sites. However, these sites are either related to or separated from each other on the basis of their settlement types, time periods, environmental conditions, locations, and so on. Therefore, gradually winnowing down 30 options is only possible by using a series of selection criteria, and this can be either complicated or simple depending on the research question. That is to say, such a selection may be more straightforward for a similar research project on prehistoric sites, simply because there are fewer of them than other types of archaeological sites in Antalya.

Due to the difficulty of developing a series of selection criteria compatible with the aims of the thesis, and the risk that a final decision could be delayed, a different approach was deemed more suitable for the selection of cases in this study (Hamel et al 1993: 44). As indicated earlier in the Introduction, many archaeological sites in Antalya, in particular those located in its coastal areas, are affected by heavy tourism pressures. From this perspective, site management is essential for the touristic parts of Antalya, as in all other touristic areas around the world, where certain heritage sites demand urgent and systematic management to control a range of problems caused mainly by high human pressure, concentration of tourist accommodation, and overall lifestyle changes of the local populations that come with tourism (Orbaşlı 2000: 3; Cochrane and Tapper 2006: 99; McKercher and du Cros 2002: 43-44). From this perspective, it proved to be more consistent with the aims of the thesis to focus on some of the most visited archaeological sites in Antalya, and in this context, to discuss the

initiatives for site management and their relationship with tourism. By making such a decision, a link was maintained between the case studies in the thesis and the MCT's current agenda for site management in Antalya, which includes the Church of St Nicholas, Perge and Alanya Castle.

In identifying the most touristic archaeological sites in Antalya, visitor numbers were taken as the prime determinant. The major source for these numbers was the official statistics published by the Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Antalya. A careful analysis of the statistics, available from 1995 onwards, shows that five archaeological sites have had a distinct lead over all others in terms of the total number of visitors. These sites are Aspendos, Alanya Castle, Myra, the Church of St Nicholas and Perge. Significantly, the number of visitors to these five sites between 1995 and 2007 comprised 69.9% of the total number of visitors to all other archaeological sites in Antalya during this time (Figure 2.2).

Taking into account their significance for tourism in Antalya, all five sites were chosen for this study. The decision about the number of sites was mainly determined by a wish to provide, as Herriot and Firestone (1983) suggested, more compelling evidence about the research topic, and to make the study more robust. Among the five sites, Myra and the Church of St Nicholas were incorporated to form one case under the name of the latter. Although these two sites are archaeologically and historically inseparable (Chapter 5) they have different designation statuses. Considered a monument with regard to the *Regulation for Site Management*, the Church of St Nicholas had a Monument Council set up for it by the MCT on 04.07.2006. In this respect, compared to Myra, a Grade I archaeological conservation area¹, more emphasis was placed on the Church of St Nicholas, since it constitutes a special case as

¹ The term 'Grade I archaeological conservation areas' denotes areas where permission is only granted to conduct scientific work; any kind of construction or excavation is forbidden in these areas. However, when necessary, certain projects (e.g., infrastructural work) may be carried out in these areas, with the approval of, and under the supervision of, the relevant authorities. A new agriculture area cannot be created in a Grade I archaeological conservation area but a limited amount of seasonal agricultural activity is permitted, as is greenhouse cultivation. The terms of protection and use at Grade II archaeological conservation areas are set by the Regional Councils for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties. New construction is not allowed in these areas; however basic repairs may be performed on unlisted buildings found there. Grade III archaeological conservation areas are areas where permission may be granted for modern arrangements, if these are in conformity with previously stated criteria for construction. For detailed information, see *Terms of Protection and Use of Archaeological Conservation Areas (Resolution 658) (1999) (Arkeolojik Sitler, Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları, 658 Nolu İlke Kararı)*

the only example of a monument in this study. On the basis of their visitor numbers Myra and the Church of St Nicholas have an organic relationship (Figure 2.3). The two sites are separated by a distance of only one kilometre, and are therefore visited mostly by the same group of tourists who come to Demre on day tours.

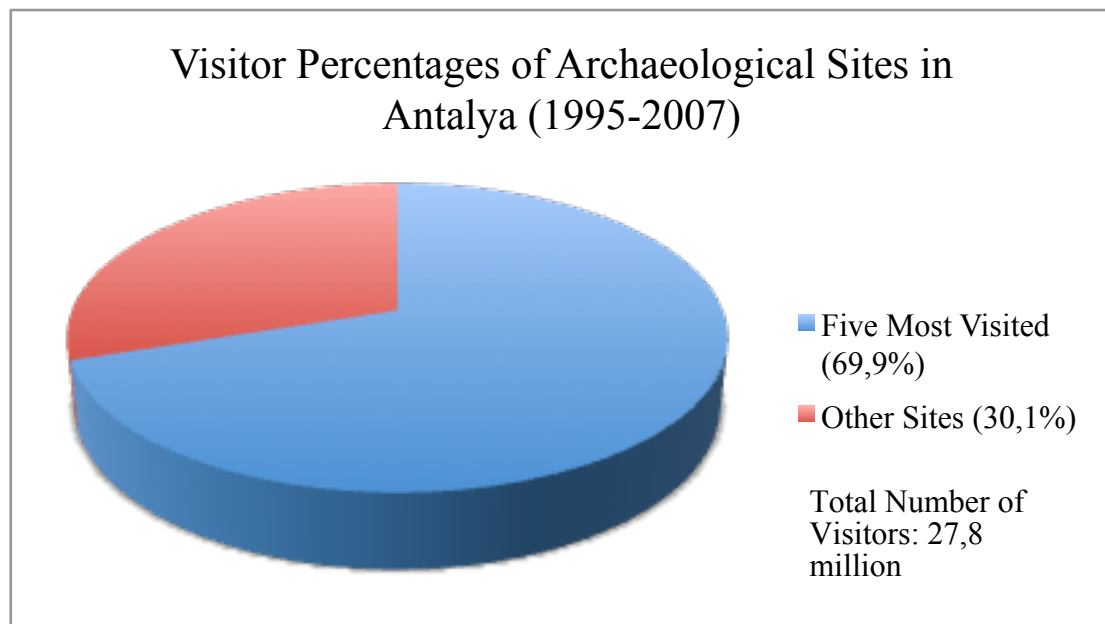


Figure 2.2: Visitor percentages of archaeological sites in Antalya for 1995-2007 (Source: Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Antalya 2009)

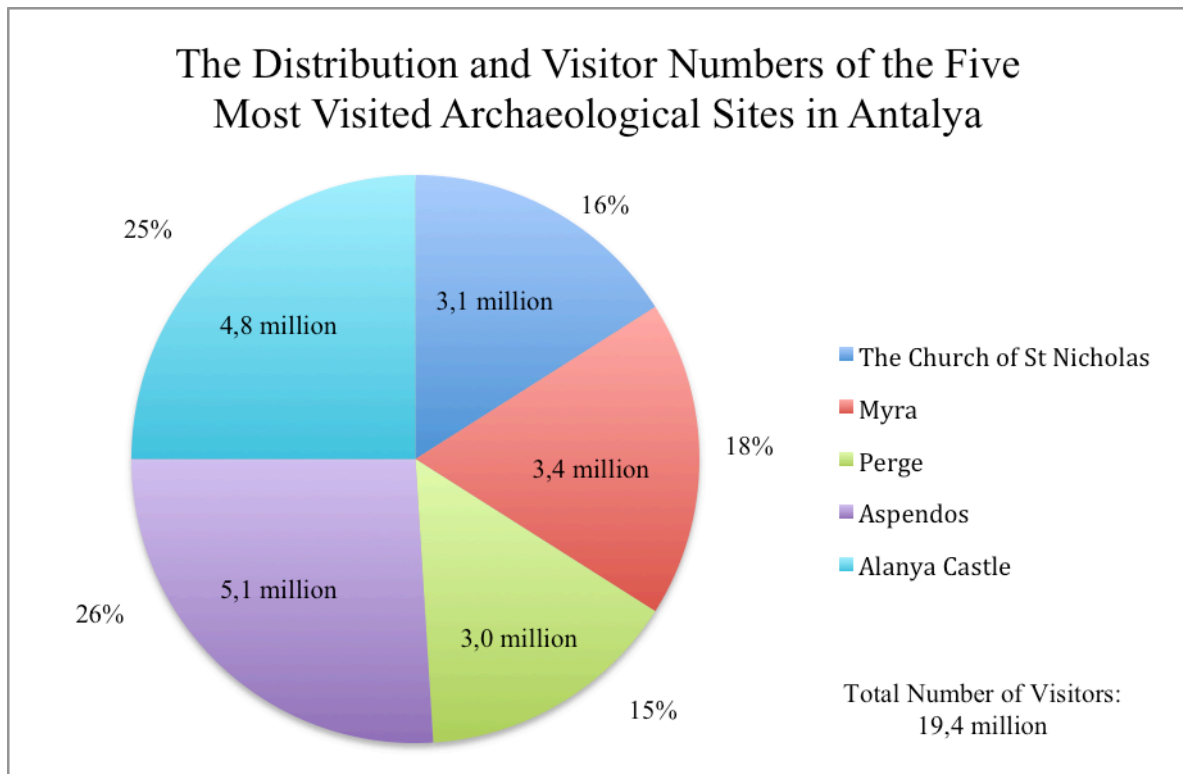


Figure 2.3: Distribution and visitor numbers for the five most visited archaeological sites in Antalya (1995-2007)
(Source: Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Antalya 2009)

2.6 Selection of the Interview Respondents and Questions

2.6.1 Interview Respondents

The next step after identifying the case studies was to map out the content and the programme of the second phase of fieldwork (hereafter the fieldwork). This initially involved selecting the respondents to be interviewed. As described by Gerson and Horowitz (2002: 204) and Fielding and Fielding (1986: 50), this stage demanded forethought and advance planning because the selection of relevant respondents also required introspective analysis of the settings to be studied.

A portfolio of the archaeological community in Antalya was already available from the preliminary work carried out in 2007. Available references and information regarding important figures and organisations were further enhanced by a structured search for the names and institutions associated with the case studies as well as with site management and tourism in general. Following the analysis of the MCT's websites, published excavation

reports and other documentary sources, a provisional contact list was drawn up. This list, part of which had been decided prior to commencing the fieldwork, was further developed and updated on an ongoing basis during the fieldwork itself. Some individuals who could not be reached for various reasons, such as unavailability and annual leave, were replaced usually by alternates in the same setting or organisation. In deciding on these alternates, personal observations and informed judgments played a pivotal role. Moreover, through the reference and recommendations obtained from some respondents, a further 28 names were added to the provisional contact list. This sampling strategy, known as “snowballing” (Bryman 2008: 458) was employed throughout the fieldwork.

2.6.1.1 Data Groups

The precise number of interviewees was not finalised prior to the fieldwork. Rather than aiming at a numerical target, the main concern was to cover relevant individuals and institutions that are associated with the research project. A secondary goal was to achieve balance with respect to the four case studies, among the distribution of the data groups. However, the case of Alanya Castle was given slightly more emphasis since, among ongoing site management projects in Turkey, it is one of the heritage sites which have made the most progress. This aspect of Alanya Castle created a pressing need during the fieldwork to investigate its site management initiatives, and explore the internal dynamics of these initiatives through the lenses of individuals that are directly associated with the site. Such concerns influenced upon the interview sampling; a total of 12 participants in this research were interviewed in-depth about Alanya Castle and its management issues.

The main determinant on the total number of respondents was the level of confidence (also called the ‘saturation level’, see Bryman 2008: 333) obtained from the research findings. The six data groups consist of 60 different individuals (Table 2.1). Each data group was formed on the basis of the respondents’ professional positions. However, some participants were chosen on account of their previous work experience or secondary occupations.

Numerically, the largest data group in this study comprises archaeologists and academics. Out of 20 participants in this group (Group A), 16 are the directors and senior members of ten archaeological expeditions carried out in Antalya in 2008. The other four include two academics working for the site management projects at Mount Nemrud (in Adıyaman) and

Çatalhöyük (in Konya), and another two who have published on various issues regarding heritage management in Turkey.

Table 2.1: Data groups and respondents' manner of participation in the research (Abbreviations I: Interview, Q: Questionnaire and C: Conversation)

Data Groups	Contacted/Participated	Participated Through		
		I	Q	C
Group A: Archaeologists/Academics	24/20	13	5	2
Group B: Ministry of Culture & Tourism	18/13	9	2	2
Group C: Private Tourism Sector	6/5	1	3	1
Group D: NGOs	13/9	7	2	0
Group E: Local People	10/8	0	0	8
Group F: Municipalities	6/5	5	0	0
Total	77/60	35	12	13

The reason why Group A outnumbers other data groups is because, provisionally, its members were seen as the group with the most potential for providing insight and reflecting on site management due to their immediate academic connection with archaeology and issues surrounding archaeological sites. This is not to say that they are the most important stakeholders for site management; but they were the group given precedence within the parameters of the present study. The majority of archaeologists and academics in this group are prominent names in the archaeological community in Antalya. Therefore, their assessments and observations regarding site management are important. Second, the members of Group A should be seen as an ensemble providing comparative perspectives on the archaeological characteristics of Antalya. Notably, some archaeologists in Group A have conducted research projects in different parts of Antalya, including the five case study sites in this thesis. In general, all participants in this group have some informed observations about archaeological sites and tourism in Antalya, and hence are able to reflect on research settings other than their own.

As discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5, the MCT is the main government institution overseeing tourism and culture related issues in Turkey. The central organisation of the MCT is based in Ankara, where there exist many departments working separately in tourism and culture (Figure 2.4). In the provinces of Turkey, the MCT is represented by the Provincial Directorate(s) of Culture and Tourism (hereafter PDCT(s)) (*İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü*). The duties of these subordinates of the MCT include: [a] perpetuating and promoting the cultural values of the provinces; [b] safeguarding heritage sites; [c] making use of touristic resources to support the local and national economy; [d] taking the necessary measures for the encouragement and development of tourism; [e] providing guidance to government institutions in matters of culture and tourism; [f] enhancing communication between the local authorities, NGOs, and the private sector regarding culture and tourism; and [g] carrying out all other duties entrusted to them by law (PDCT of Antalya 2013b).

The General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums (hereafter GDCPM) (*Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*), operating under the MCT's culture wing (Figure 2.4), is the central ministerial body in charge of the management of heritage sites in Turkey. Among the main duties of the GDCPM are: [a] safeguarding heritage sites; [b] uncovering archaeological sites through excavations; [c] taking necessary precautions against the export of antiquities; [d] providing guidance for the establishment of private museums; [e] developing and implementing policies for the improvement of museums, and for the restoration and maintenance of heritage sites; [f] rendering and commissioning services related to research, evaluation, identification and planning; and [g] carrying out licencing services for cultural investments (GDCPM 2013a). In addition to these duties, the GDCPM is entrusted with ensuring the implementation of decisions taken by the High Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties (hereafter the High Council) (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu*), the authority that: [a] sets up the general principles/resolutions (*İlke Kararları*) for the safeguarding of heritage sites and restoration works; [b] co-ordinates among the regional units of the GDCPM; and [c] advises the MCT (Conservation Law 1983: Chapter Five/Article 51).

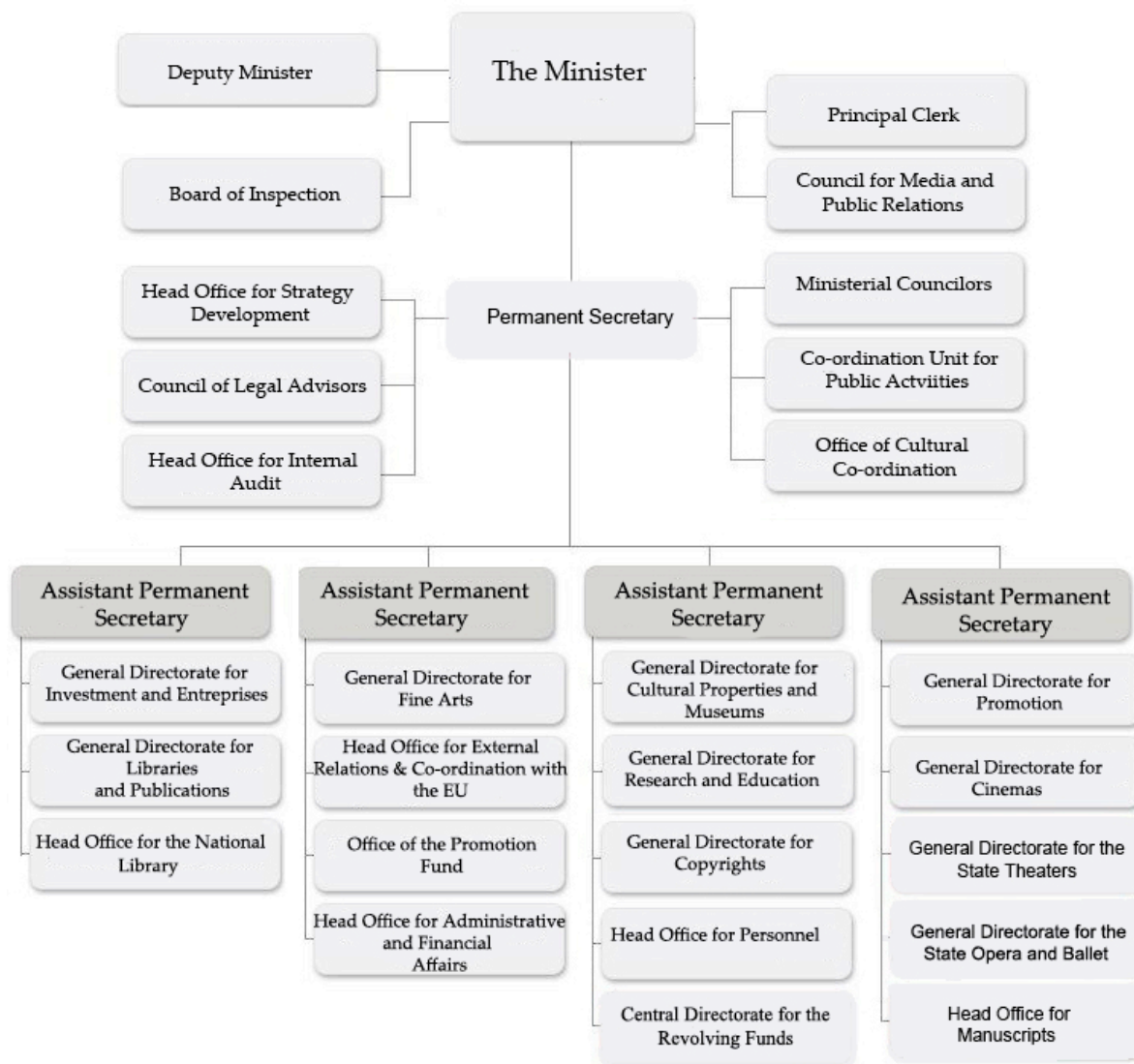


Figure 2.4: Central organisation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Source: MCT 2013)

Within the organisational framework for the management of heritage sites, the Regional Councils for the Conservation of Cultural Properties (hereafter the Regional Councils) (*Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürlükleri*) serve as the regional directorates of the GDCPM (Figure 2.5). Notably, the number of Regional Councils is not proportional to the number of provinces in Turkey. Among the 33 Regional Councils nationwide, three metropolises (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) possess more than one Regional Council due to their population density. In contrast, some Regional Councils oversee neighbouring provinces in addition to their own. For example, the Regional Council in Antalya is in charge of the heritage sites in the provinces of Antalya, Burdur and Isparta (GDCPM 2013a). Working under the jurisdiction of the principles and decisions of the High Council, the Regional

Councils are mainly responsible for: [a] identifying and designating heritage sites; [b] determining temporary development conditions between the initial designation of a conservation area and the drafting of its Conservation Development Plan; [c] assessing and approving Conservation Development Plans; and [d] making decisions to be implemented at heritage sites and conservation areas (Conservation Law 1983: Chapter Five/Article 57).

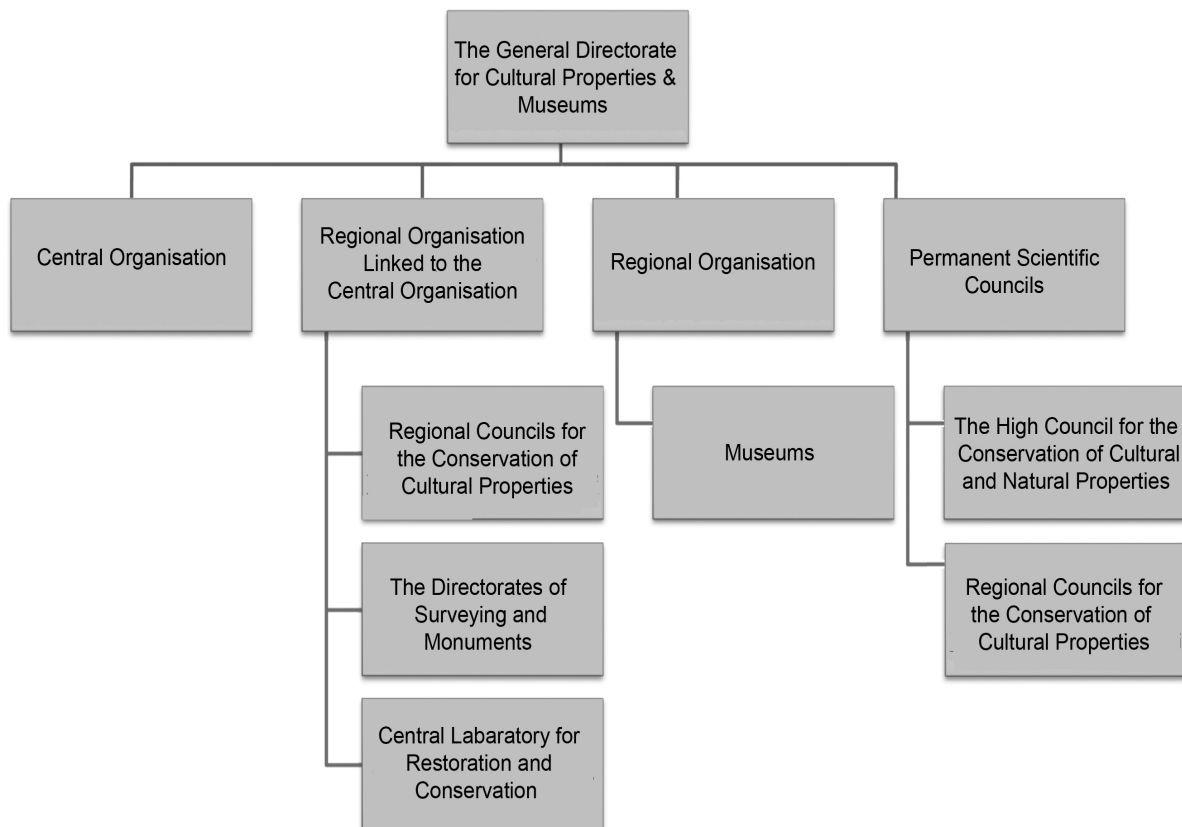


Figure 2.5: The organisation of the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums (Source: GDCPM 2013b)

Under the regional organisation of the GDCPM, archaeology museums, all of which are controlled by the MCT, have administrative responsibilities concerning heritage sites located in their territory (pages 108-109). These include identifying of heritage sites, carrying out bureaucratic tasks related to their designation, and monitoring land-use restrictions at conservation areas. As shown in Figure 2.6, there are four archaeology museums in the province of Antalya. Administratively, these four museums are linked to the PDCT of Antalya, and assist the Regional Council in Antalya in carrying out the aforementioned general duties.

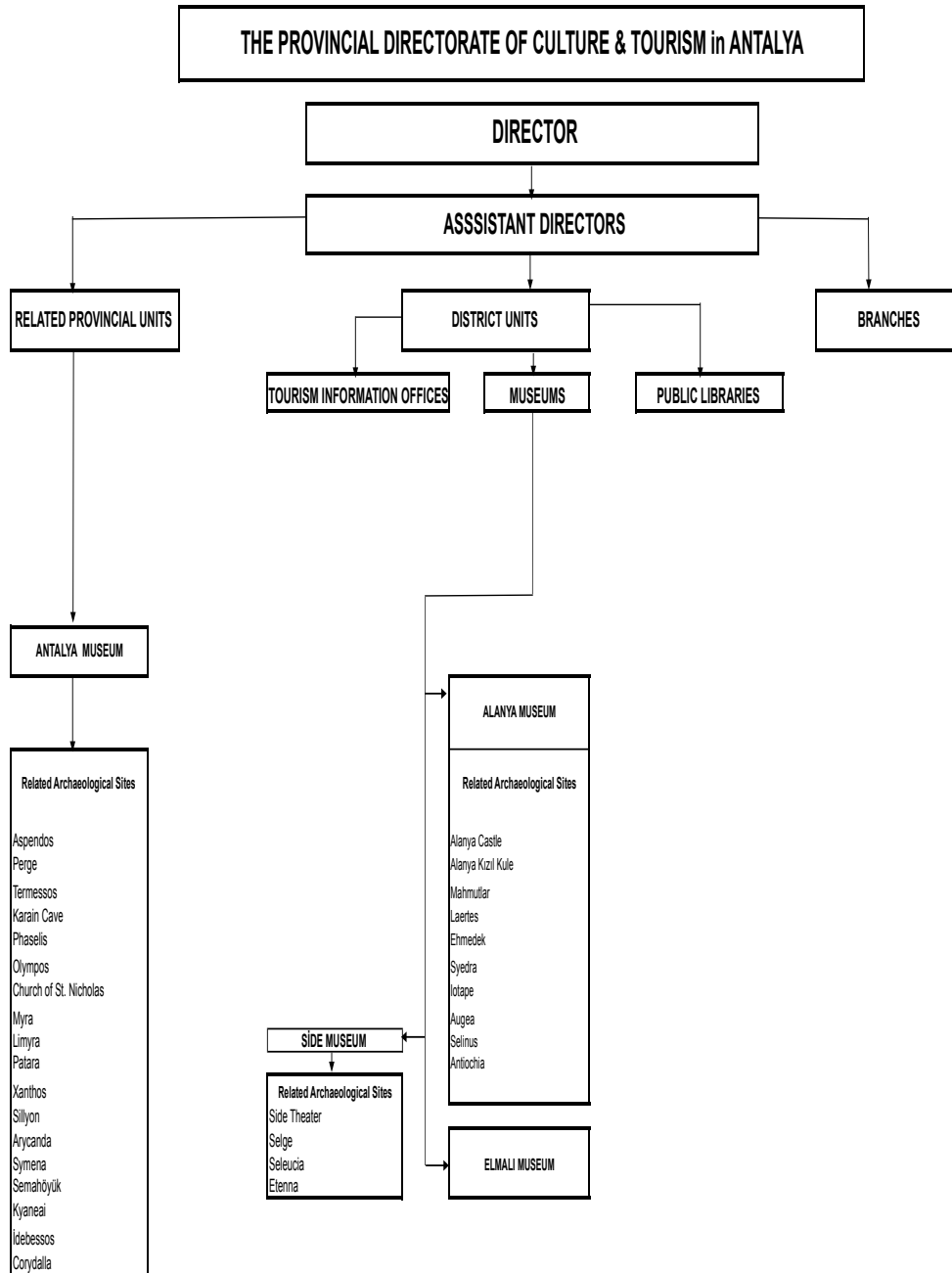


Figure 2.6: The organisation of the Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Antalya (Source: PDCT of Antalya 2013b)

The data group labelled as the MCT (Group B) is composed of 13 individuals from the central and regional departments of the Ministry. Eight of them are the representatives of a number of key ministerial units working on site management and tourism. Three respondents are from the Antalya Archaeological Museum (2) and the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (1), which figure in the case studies. The last two people include a former director of the GDCPM and a former Minister of the MCT.

In Antalya, the tourism sector comprises a large community of diverse individuals. There are numerous stakeholders in the sector, with different degrees of connection to heritage sites. Accommodation providers are one of the major elements of tourism in Antalya. These include countless holiday villages, hotels, guesthouses and pensions. Most of the heritage sites along the coastal areas are surrounded by tourist accommodation although their density varies in different districts. Travel agencies and tour operators constitute a second important group in the tourism sector. These enterprises handle the demand for tourism in Antalya, and they also play a pivotal role in the current state of cultural tourism. Undoubtedly, small-scale enterprises (cafes, restaurants, souvenir shops and etc.) are the third organic part of the tourism industry. As Lord Montagu, the first Chairman of English Heritage, commented (1985: 5), the provision of good catering and other visitor facilities is integral to a pleasant experience for the average visitor.

In Data Group C, the variety of stakeholders from the tourism sector in Antalya is represented by 12 participants categorised into two sub-groups. The first sub-group, consisting of five people, include: the owner of a tourism company which operated in Antalya; a representative of an NGO for touristic enterprises in Alanya; the director of a tourism company based in Istanbul but operating tours all over Turkey including Antalya; the representative of a souvenir shop in Demre; and the chairman of an NGO representing all travel agencies in Turkey. The second sub-group consists of seven participants who are already included in Groups B, D and E. These individuals were also incorporated into Group C mainly because their occupations or previous work experiences linked them to the tourism sector in Antalya.

The third largest data group (Group D) is of NGOs. Notably, the NGOs in this group are distinguished from the ones in Group C on the basis of their connection with the heritage and culture sectors. The nine NGOs chosen for Group D can be divided into four sub-groups. The first sub-group encompasses three organisations involved in various projects at Perge and the

Church of St Nicholas. The two NGOs in the second sub-group include a local newspaper in Alanya and a small neighbourhood association of a around Alanya Castle. The third sub-group comprises four different organisations concerned with all heritage sites in Antalya. Regarding their areas of responsibility, all of the selected organisations correspond to the definition of an NGO (e-devlet 2010; nonprofitexpert 2010). In terms of their legal status, they include a pious foundation as well as associations, and private institutes operating in the field of culture.

The term ‘community’ has a widespread usage in heritage studies and in public policy, and the meaning of this term is often treated uncritically (Smith and Waterton 2009) (e.g., pages 262-263). The notion of community is problematic in that it always bears a positive connotation; denotes locality (defining geographically based groups); is used to refer to distinct rural areas, the working classes, and minority groups; and represents an idealised and homogenous group of people (Dicks 2000; Greer et al 2002; Smith and Waterton 2009: 15-20). Throughout this thesis, the term ‘the local people’ is used (as the English equivalent of the Turkish expression *yerel halk*) instead of ‘community’; this mainly refers to those who live on or close to archaeological/heritage sites in general or the case study sites in this study. The use of the term ‘the local people’ acknowledges that members of a community have different value systems and changing behaviours, and should be seen as heterogenous groups (Smith and Waterton 2009: 18). Data Group E, which represents the respondents among the local people, is made up of eight respondents, six of whom were selected by personal observation while the other two were convenors of two separate group meetings held in Demre early on in the fieldwork. A common characteristic of all respondents in Group E is that they were born in the vicinity of the relevant archaeological sites, and were living there as of 2008. In terms of occupation and social status, the members of Group E were either tradesmen or retired people. The majority of the respondents in Group E (five people) were from the neighbourhood of Alanya Castle.

As presented in detail in Chapter 5, the four archaeological sites in this study are located in different districts of Antalya. Therefore, they are administered by different municipalities. With respect to the size of their defined territory and population, the municipalities of Alanya Castle (Alanya), Perge (Aksu) and the Church of St Nicholas (Demre) fall into the category of district municipality (*ilçe belediyesi*). By comparison, Aspendos (Belkıs) is administered by a smaller division since it holds the status of township (*belde*). The data group for

municipalities (Group F) consists of five respondents, four of whom are officials in three of the four municipalities (i.e. all except Perge). The fifth person in the group is an employee in the Greater Municipality of Antalya.

2.6.2 Interview Questions

In her article on qualitative interviews, Mason (2002: 226) defines interviewing as “the art of knowledge excavation,” and the task of the interviewer as: “*to enable the interviewee to give the relevant information in as accurate and complete a manner as possible.*” She further proposes (2002: 236) that asking questions, listening to respondents, and interpreting interview data are “theoretical projects” through which a researcher fulfils his/her theoretical orientation. In building a theory about a given phenomenon or topic, objectivity should no doubt be a guiding principle. A subjective interpretation of external reality can only lead to misleading results about our understanding of the social world. The significance of objectivity in producing scientific knowledge has been affirmed by many authors (Alasuutari 1995; Rubin and Rubin 1995; Kvale 1996; Yin 2003). Among them, Alasuutari (1995: 169) emphasised that researchers should not use their informants as a means of testing or confirming their own research hypothesis. Similarly, Yin asserts (2003: 61) that investigators should not consider their research a justification of their preconceived position, and therefore should avoid bias.

The interview questions in this study were formulated with an awareness of the aforementioned considerations. They were used neither to support a theory nor to test a hypothesis. On the contrary, they served as vehicles to investigate, from different angles and in depth, the aims and objectives of the study. In this respect, open-ended questions were designed for the six different data groups. Taking into account the nationalities of the respondents, they were prepared in Turkish and English. The interview questions, which are listed in Appendix B (pages 315-316), were divided thematically into four separate sets. The first set of introductory questions (Questions 1 to 10) touch upon the core aspects of the *Regulation for Site Management* including the aim of site management, the content of management plans and their actors. The second set (Questions 11-16) consists of more specific questions. Bearing an emphasis on the Regulation itself, they focus on the implementation of site management, its financing, its administrative organisation (i.e., the site manager), and the boundaries of the management site. With the third set, the direction of the

interviews switches to the interface of tourism and archaeology. The four questions in this set (17-20) stress the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya, the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle; priorities regarding tourism and archaeology at these sites; visitor numbers and visitor management at the case study sites; and finally, the importance and benefits of the WHL. The four questions in the fourth set (21-24) are site-specific, and therefore were only directed to the academics affiliated with the case studies. The information collected from this specific group of respondents were used in analysing the research context (Chapter 5) and discussing the research data (Chapter 8).

Although there are no standard rules in qualitative research regarding the formulation and presentation of interview questions, there are practical tips and advice for effective interview design (Kvale 1996). These revolve around the choice of the interview format, the order of questions, and behaviours during the course of the interview. The interview questions were designed for a semi-structured format. This format, which is also known as an in-depth interview, was chosen mainly because it allows asking follow-up questions on various issues and details brought up by the interviewee, and because it provides the freedom to change the sequence of questions (Bryman 2008: 196, 232; Fielding and Fielding 1986: 50; Fontana and Frey 1994: 366). Depending on the choice of format, some additional questions were addressed to the interviewees during the fieldwork. These questions were not entirely identified prior to interviews but were noted down, only thematically, knowing they were going to be asked to the respondents. The number and content of the additional questions varied depending both on the respondents and on the topics that emerged during the course of the interviews. For instance, officials from different units of the MCT were asked information about the duties and activities of their departments. Similarly, some questions concerning the economic and socio-cultural aspects of daily life around archaeological sites were addressed to local people. As a result of the variety of queries needed, the total number of questions directed to each respondent fluctuated.

As with the number of questions, their presentation varied according to different data groups. Although the wordings of questions were fixed in advance, the use of the standardised open-ended model outlined above proved to be impractical for some interviews. As anticipated, this was mainly the case with local people and to some extent with the private tourism sector and the municipalities. Accordingly, questions containing specific terminology such as ‘site management’ were given different wordings depending on their respondents. Inevitably, this

involved providing some explanations about certain questions such as those relating to the *Regulation for Site Management*. However, providing too much or too specific information was avoided in order not to alter respondents' answers and behaviours (Kvale 1996: 113; Silverman 2006: 324; Glesne and Peshkin 1992: 32).

The interview questions were delivered beforehand to all respondents via e-mail and fax, or sometimes delivered in person, at the stage of requesting a meeting. Hence, the respondents were allocated time to prepare their answers in advance. Although ethically appropriate, there was one major disadvantage to providing the interview questions beforehand. Early on in the fieldwork, it was observed that some respondents had made preliminary preparations towards the interview questions by making use of the information available on the internet (Mason 2002: 80-82). For example, in answering questions about site management, some interviewees used certain definitions from various pieces of legislation, or from popular websites such as Wikipedia. Notably, only a small percentage of these respondents clearly stated that they had benefited from such sources before the interviews. In order to avoid pre-structured answers, two precautions were taken during the fieldwork. First, at the beginning of every interview, it was stressed that the interview questions were not intended in any way to test the respondent's knowledge. Second, a special effort was made to set the earliest possible date when scheduling interviews. By preventing too much time from elapsing between the delivery of the interview questions and the actual date of the meeting/interview, it was calculated that the respondents would end up sharing more spontaneous thoughts simply because they would have less time to prepare their answers.

The interview questions were logically sequenced. As per some authors' suggestions (e.g., Bryman 2008: 24; Fontana and Frey 1994: 371), the interviews were designed to begin with general questions and followed by specific ones. As mentioned earlier, the questions were grouped into four sets in order to allow the topics to flow more smoothly. Despite the fact that an effort was made to follow a given sequence on paper, in practice certain changes to the order of the questions were inevitable. In some interviews, it was observed that respondents attempted to answer a few questions at once using a single response in the form of a monologue. Under these circumstances, it became necessary to monitor the order of the questions without interrupting the conversation (Burgess 1984: 120). A second common pattern concerned the questions, which were skipped by the respondents. When feasible, these questions were re-directed to the respondents at various intervals and under slightly different

wording. Third, in cases where the interview had time constraints, the number of questions was reduced. In such situations, for example, more emphasis was placed upon the second and third sets of questions during interviews with respondents who were familiar with the *Regulation for Site Management*.

2.6.3 The Fieldwork

The fieldwork was conducted between July 1st and September 22nd, 2008. The research was mostly based in Antalya where 36 meetings were held. Other meetings took place in Ankara (7) and Istanbul (4). Fieldwork conducted outside Turkey included an interview with an academic in London. Twelve questionnaires were received via e-mail either during or after the fieldwork. The schedule of the meetings was governed by the respondents' availability and preferences. Therefore, the research required a considerable amount of travelling between different settings.

2.7 Ethical Issues and Anonymity

In every academic study, researchers should be aware of the ethical rules and procedures associated with their work (Punch 1994: 90). Regardless of the type of investigation, research ethics revolve around certain common principles. Yet qualitative research, which involves interaction with people, has its own set of considerations. As indicated by Fontana and Frey (1994: 372), informed consent should be sought in order to: provide prospective respondents with information about the content and purpose of the investigation; gain their voluntary participation; ensure the privacy of the study; and protect participants from any kind of harm.

In recognition of the importance of these considerations, a consent form was prepared in Turkish and English before commencing the fieldwork. This document contains three types of information (Appendix C on pages 317-318). First, the researcher's institutional and personal contact details are provided. These are followed by a brief abstract of the study and its aims that are pertinent to the interview. In the third part, ethical issues regarding the privacy of the study and the rights of the participants are listed. In most cases, the consent forms, along with the interview questions, were delivered to all participants prior to meeting with them. The format of the meetings was guided by the participants' consent and preferences. In-depth interviews, of which there were 35, were the most common format. However, in some

situations the respondents found it more convenient or comfortable to conduct the meetings as unstructured conversations (13), or to answer the interview questions in writing (12).

During the fieldwork, there were two exceptions to the use of the consent form. The first applied to five interviews and two group conversations, which took place spontaneously. In these exceptional circumstances, on an initial visit to schedule a meeting or make the acquaintance of the participant(s), the person or people in question offered to be interviewed without further delay. At the start of these spontaneous meetings, either the information on the consent form was delivered orally, or the participants were allocated time to read it. The second exception involved local people with whom meetings were mainly held in the form of conversations. This format was deliberately preferred for two reasons. First, as occurred in a few of the initial meetings, a majority of the respondents were reluctant to share their thoughts on the land-use restrictions associated with their respective conservation area. Additionally, it was also observed that both the interview format and the use of a voice recorder caused anxiety on the part of the respondents. In such circumstances, a conversation format, during which the researcher kept notes on paper, was deemed a more suitable and unthreatening approach. This proved to be effective in maximising the participation of local people in the study. All respondents in this group were informed about the study and its ethical issues before or during the meetings.

It is important to note that all the respondents of the interview questions, except Talat Halman (Turkey's first minister of culture), participated in this research on condition that they were promised anonymity (see page 318). Therefore, the transcripts, or even a sample of the transcripts, of any interviews, questionnaires or meeting notes were not included on a CD with this thesis mainly because that would compromise the participants' identities. For the sake of transparency, participants' answers to interview questions are shared with the reader in extended tables throughout Chapters 6 and 7. These answers are genuine accounts of the interviews conducted during the research, and contain no reference to participants' personal identities.

The attention paid to ethical issues was of significant benefit to the study. In general, the use of informed consent played a pivotal role in gaining the trust of many participants, who often expressed their satisfaction with the consent forms during the interviews. This relationship was further strengthened by honoring the commitments made in the consent forms. Full

interview transcripts were sent to all respondents who made such a request during the fieldwork. This facilitated networking with some respondents at later stages of the study.

2.8 Data Organisation and Analysis

Deciding about how to organise qualitative data, and how suited it is to the method of analysis, represents an important stage of research. It requires a familiarity with tools for organising data, as well as an understanding of social science methodology (MacMillan and Koenig 2004: 179-180; Mason 1996: 127). Research data can be organised either manually or with the help of a computer software programme (Bryman 2008: 542). Both methods are actually based on the same process; first coding texts, and then breaking them down into manageable components that are later assigned names or numbers. The manual technique simply involves transferring data onto large size sheets of paper on which they can be categorised thematically, and then coded with highlighters and pens (Webb 1999: 323). This process becomes mechanised in computer software programmes, which allows the analyst to code and retrieve data while working at the computer (Bryman 2008: 564).

The question of whether qualitative computing is more efficient than the manual technique in organising data has been widely debated (Fielding and Lee 1993: 74; MacMillan and Koenig 2004; Smith and Hesse-Biber 1996; Weaver and Atkinson 1994; Webb 1999). Proponents of various computer software packages have spelled out several advantages of working with them. First, and most common, is the assumption that organising qualitative data on a computer saves time, and may improve research creativity (Bryman 2008: 567; MacMillan and Koenig 2004: 179; Smith and Hesse-Biber 1996: 423). Second, it has been argued that computer software programs assist accuracy and transparency in the data analysis process, and provide a reliable picture of the data (Morrison and Moir 1998; Richards and Richards 1993). Another view holds that, by working with a computer, researchers may have more opportunity to reflect on their data and grasp possible relationships between codes (Bryman 2008: 567). Alongside the arguments in favour of computer software programmes, criticisms have also been voiced about their utility. Among these is the view that the use of a computer can distance the researcher from his/her data, and may lead to quantification of qualitative research (Smith and Hesse-Biber 1996). De-contextualisation of data and loss of narrative flow in interview transcripts during the code-and-retrieve process are regarded as the main risks of working with computer programmes (Fielding and Lee 1993; Weaver and Atkinson

1994). Finally, it has been also argued that the use of computers has caused quantitative research – with its criteria of reliability and validity – to predominate over the qualitative method (Hesse-Biber 1995).

The interviews and field notes in this study were manually organised and coded. This decision to use the manual technique was made after weighing the advantages and disadvantages of NVivo, one of the most popular qualitative research computer software programmes on the market. Although promoted as ‘qualitative data analysis software,’ NVivo is simply a programme to organise data. A major difficulty experienced during a couple of training sessions with NVivo was the impracticality of its search capabilities when coding ideas which had the same meaning, but had been expressed in different terminology by the respondents. NVivo helps the user to search and group particular terms and their derivations, yet it still necessitates manual scanning of other expressions, which may take various forms differing from the coded ones (Brown et al 1990: 136). Hence, in dealing with multiple synonyms and expressions in Turkish, the manual technique turned out to be more practical than creating numerous codes and thus risking partial retrieval of information. A second advantage of organising data manually was that it made it easier to examine the connections between different themes and codes more clearly. Being able to insert details from field notes and memos during the analysis process made it possible to grasp relationships between different pieces of information on large sheets of paper all at once. In this way, the impracticality of doing such examination by switching windows on a computer screen was circumvented (Welsh 2002). Finally, the manual technique saved much time and effort that would have been spent in learning the operations and technical language of NVivo. Although the Newcastle HASS Faculty Training Programme provided some training sessions, the use of NVivo still required the assistance of a competent user who could also give informed advice about the advantages of NVivo over other software packages. The unavailability of such a colleague or competent user to work with encouraged the choice of the manual technique for the organisation of data in this study.

The data gathered from the interviews, questionnaires, and face-to-face conversations were organised in three stages. Each stage contained an internal process of data analysis. In the first stage, the raw data were categorised according to the six different data groups. In each group, all questions addressed to the respondents, and their answers, were assigned numbers and letters independently. During this open-coding stage, repeated expressions and irrelevant

dialogue were eliminated. In addition, answers unrelated to their questions were either connected to the relevant questions or – if this was not possible – given a separate heading with specific codes. After the information was condensed, all manually coded data were transferred to word documents on computer where they were analysed in connection with the memos kept during the fieldwork. Themes and concepts, which emerged from this group-based analysis, were noted down for later evaluation. The second stage focussed on these themes and concepts. During this stage, which Neumann (2007: 331) has called “axial coding”, all individual data groups were unified. This necessitated some further revisions on coded data, due to the emergence of new concepts and themes. Using diagrams, charts and tables drawn on paper, the relationships between different themes were carefully observed. The third stage of data analysis was a selective one, concentrating on the themes which came to the foreground. After this final step, which involved re-evaluation of pre-coded data, the themes to be discussed in this thesis were identified.

In addition to the qualitative side of this study, some quantitative data were also used. These largely consist of statistics related to the economic aspects of tourism in Antalya and the rest of Turkey. Other quantitative data include some important figures about heritage sites. The primary sources for these statistics and figures were government publications as well as some ministerial websites. The reliability and consistency of all quantitative data were checked through comparative analyses before being included in this thesis. The data were simplified and transferred to charts and diagrams prepared by the researcher.

2.9 Summary

As shown in this chapter, this study is a policy research project. Within a qualitative overall approach, it has investigated two interconnected policies - site management and cultural tourism- in order to shed light on the implementation phase of site management and its relationship with Turkey’s agenda for cultural tourism. The investigation of the research question depended on a triangulated integration of four case studies from Antalya, analysis of Turkish and international literature on heritage management and tourism, and examinations on the prior initiatives towards archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey. The chapter has illustrated the validity criteria of the research, the selection of the archaeological sites, and the respondents and interview questions. A detailed account of the fieldwork, data collection methods, and ethical issues has been provided. Finally, this chapter has explained how the

research data was analysed. The presentation and discussion of the research data are given in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 3. Wider Policies on Site Management and Cultural Tourism

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analytical review of the international literature on site management and cultural tourism. Central concepts and discussions related to site management and cultural tourism are examined through prominent publications and key international policy instruments (i.e., conventions, charters and declarations) in order to locate site management and cultural tourism in Turkey within the theoretical framework of heritage and tourism literature. It is important to note that there is a vast academic body of literature on site management and tourism; accordingly, this section only presents a synopsis of a portion of that literature that is pertinent to the aims and objectives of this thesis. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part investigates the evolution, on an international level, of normative policies and practices concerning archaeological sites, and heritage in general. It analyses the major parameters that have framed site management within the broader field of heritage management. The second part is devoted to an analysis of the literature on the interface between heritage management and tourism, with a particular focus on cultural tourism.

3.2 Managing Archaeological Sites

The New Penguin English Dictionary defines the term ‘manage’ as follows: “*to conduct the running of something, to control or supervise, or to guide or have charge of something*” (The New Penguin English Dictionary 2000: 844). By this definition, when it comes to the protection, research, and documentation of archaeological sites, it would be valid to say that archaeological sites in many countries around the world have long been managed within a specific administrative and legislative framework. With some exceptions, management measures concerning archaeological resources were adopted by different countries in close succession (Cleere 1984, 1989; Prott and O’Keefe 1984: 31-71). For instance, in England, the first comprehensive statutory protection for archaeological sites nationwide was introduced through the *Ancient Monuments*

Protection Act in 1882 (Cleere 1984: 54-62; Grenville 1999: 31-34; Hunter and Ralston 1994; Sawers 1998). A few decades later, in 1906, the USA enacted the *Federal Antiquities Act*, dealing with the recognition and control of archaeological sites, protective measures regarding these sites, and issues of scientific research (McGimsey and Hester 1984).

Since UNESCO's adoption of the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (hereafter the *World Heritage Convention*) in 1972, the scope of 'management' for archaeological sites has extended beyond administrative control and policy making, investigation of technical issues at archaeological sites, and supervision over matters involving sites' protection, research, and documentation. In the 21st century, site management also encompasses a variety of complex issues including the value of archaeological sites; their use; their educational aspects; their interaction with the public; their interpretation and ownership; and access to sites (Hall and McArthur 1998: 5-6; King 2002: 2; McManamon and Hatton 2000: 3). Furthermore, site management represents an ongoing process of conflict resolution between archaeological sites' owners, users, and visitors (Smith and Waterton 2009: 75).

A clear progression is visible in international academic research into technical issues and theoretical debates concerning the management of archaeological sites (Kristiansen 1996: 295). From the 1980s onward, these issues and debates have been investigated under cultural heritage management (CHM) and cultural resource management (CRM), as referred in the United States; identical academic research fields to which the concept of heritage has given birth. Given that archaeological sites have been considered as 'heritage sites' for the past 35 years, issues concerning their management are also relevant to non-archaeological sites and monuments classified as 'heritage' (Merriman 2004: 3; Skeates 2000: 17; Stone 2014: 1). Therefore, on a global scale, the management of archaeological sites is indistinguishable from CHM/CRM – or heritage management, a broader term that has replaced the other two in recent publications.

An analysis of international policies and theoretical debates regarding the management of heritage sites is thus necessary in order to scrutinise site management, a topic in heritage studies since the 1980s. As a micro-level activity whose focus, as defined by Teutonico and Palumbo (2002: 134), is the “individual site or classes or spatial groupings of sites, which come under a single management scheme,” site management represents a venue for investigating how wider management policies impact specific sites and how these policies are addressed in management plans (ibid.). The following section examines wider policies and research concerning the management of heritage sites and site management.

3.2.1 The Aftermath of World War II and International Conservation Policies

The end of the Second World War (WWII) in 1945 ushered in a thoroughgoing process of renewal in many countries around the world. There was rapid economic growth in the US, Europe, and Asia, with accompanying technological advances (Armstrong et al 1984; Crafts and Toniolo 1996); at the same time, there were efforts to restore the cultural heritage of the regions, which had suffered massive damage in the war. At the centre of these activities were the reconstruction of war-torn historic districts, monuments, and buildings; extensive archaeological excavations and investigations; and the integration of conservation practices with infrastructure and overall economic plans (Cleere 1989: 4).

As expressed by Biörnstad (1989: 70), similar problems were encountered across the board when it came to rehabilitating heritage sites after WWII, resulting in a need for widespread co-ordination regarding conservation policies and technical issues (ibid.). Accordingly, UNESCO was founded as an international platform in 1945; its pioneering steps during the 1950s can be read as a response to this need for co-ordination. The first of these steps was the *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (the *Hague Convention*), which was adopted in 1954. The Convention highlighted the need for preventative measures on the national and international levels for the preservation of cultural heritage in times of war or emergency. It also led to the establishment of the International Committee of the Blue Shield (ICBS), whose purpose

was to co-ordinate the mission of the Convention (Stone 2005: 934). UNESCO's 1956 *Recommendations on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations* dealt with comparatively more technical issues. Its most important recommendations had to do with the development of technical and scientific standards for archaeological excavations and investigations around the world. Among the earliest international policy tools formulated for heritage sites after WWII, the most influential and long-lasting was the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the *Venice Charter*) (Skeates 2000: 62-64). The Charter was approved by the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, which met in Venice in 1964; it was adopted the following year by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which had been set up during the Venice Congress as an international platform of conservation professionals.

The *Venice Charter* was primarily a document codifying internationally recognised conservation standards for monuments and sites. Drawing greatly upon the resolutions of the 1931 *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (*Carta del Restauro*), the *Venice Charter* significantly heightened awareness regarding the best practices in conservation, restoration, and excavations (Young 2014: 15). Yet the principal contribution of the *Venice Charter* was its emphasis on the importance of the immediate surroundings of historic monuments. By developing a wider definition of the term 'historic monument' – according to which monuments are inseparable from their urban or rural settings (1964: Article 1) – the *Venice Charter* set out a more inclusive conservation approach incorporating, as Skeates (2000: 62-64) mentions, the ideals of authenticity and of maintaining heritage sites' historical and physical contexts.

3.2.2 Further Improvement of Internationally Recognised Conservation Measures

The development pressures felt by many countries worldwide after WWII were still in full force during the 1970s. Heritage sites also faced pressure from the visitor density created by international tourism, which had been steadily growing over the previous two decades (Cleere 1989: 4; Hall and McArthur 1998: 5). The internationally recognisable

conservation measures that had been in place since the ratification of the *Venice Charter* were further improved in the 1970s through two important doctrinal instruments: the 1972 *World Heritage Convention* and the 1979 *Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (the *Burra Charter*). These two instruments had profound impacts on heritage management worldwide. First, as Cleere (1989: 4) has noted, in the 1970s and beyond, many European countries enacted new pieces of heritage legislation regarding the issues addressed in these documents. Second, the aforementioned two instruments paved the way for new management strategies regarding heritage sites in many countries. Thus began the evolution of CHM in Europe and Australia and CRM in the United States (Lee et al 2007: 1). Third, the birth of community research into heritage studies is also linked to the emergence of the concepts developed by the *World Heritage Convention* and *Burra Charter*, as well as the fields of interest created by these documents (McGimsey 1972; Smith and Waterton 2009: 11-12).

3.2.2.1 *The World Heritage Convention*

The notion of a common world heritage dates back to the 1931 *Athens Charter*, the following lines of which (from the general conclusions of the Athens Conference) constitute the earliest reference to this concept in print:

The question of the conservation of the artistic and archaeological property of mankind is one that interests the community of the States...the States, acting in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, will collaborate with each other on an ever-increasing scale and in a more concrete manner with a view to furthering the preservation of artistic and historic monuments (Athens Charter 1931: VII).

After the far-reaching destruction of the WWII, there emerged a more powerful international discourse regarding world heritage. This discourse made its first appearance in the preamble to the *Hague Convention*:

Damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture

of the world...the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and it is important that this heritage should receive international protection (UNESCO 1954).

The concern for world heritage aroused by the *Hague Convention* notably came to prominence in UNESCO's 1959 international safeguarding campaign for the temples of Abu Simbel in Egypt. The campaign – which managed to save the temples of Abu Simbel from the floodwaters created by the building of the Aswan Dam – was a successful case of international solidarity in several respects: its financing; its sharing of expertise; and the way in which all parties concerned took responsibility for heritage (Herrmann 1989: 34; Turtinen 2000: 10). Moreover, the Abu Simbel campaign had important after-effects. First, UNESCO – working in concert with ICOMOS – drafted a convention for the protection of cultural heritage. Second, at a 1965 White House Conference in Washington D.C., it was recommended that a World Heritage Trust be created in order to 'encourage international co-operation to protect the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites'. Similar recommendations were made by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1968. All these recommendations were considered at the UNESCO General Conference, held in Paris on October 17th, 1972, which led to the adoption of the *World Heritage Convention* (Batisse and Bolla 2003).

The first document to link nature conservation and the protection of cultural properties, the *World Heritage Convention* introduced a series of innovations. First and foremost among these was the concept of heritage itself. The Convention divided heritage into the two sub-groups of 'cultural heritage' and 'natural heritage,' as follows:

cultural heritage: [a] monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history of art or science; [b] groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; [c] sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man,

and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic ethnological or anthropological point of view.

natural heritage: [a] natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; [b] geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; [c] natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty (UNESCO 1972: Articles 1 and 2).

In addition to these definitions, the *World Heritage Convention* also stated criteria for the protection, conservation, and presentation of cultural and natural heritage. Article 5 enumerated the responsibilities of each State Party to the Convention concerning the heritage sites in its territory; Articles 6 and 7 emphasised the importance of international co-operation and assistance in the protection of heritage sites; and Article 8 set forth the provisions for the structure and operation of the World Heritage Committee, created in order to conduct this mission and oversee the implementation of the Convention.

Among the most important aspects of the *World Heritage Convention* was the introduction of the concept of outstanding universal value (Titchen 1996: 239; Young 2014: 16), which was based on the Convention's guiding philosophy that: "*parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole*" (UNESCO 1972).

Accordingly, the Convention assigned collective responsibility to future generations for the transmission of heritage sites of outstanding beauty. Two important tools were developed by the Convention in order to reach this goal. The World Heritage List aimed at bringing under a single roof all heritage sites of outstanding beauty found in the Convention's signatory countries. The World Heritage Fund, for its part, provided financial support and international assistance for the heritage sites on the list.

The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention are the fundamental document guiding the actions of the World Heritage Committee. The first version of this document – which specifies the criteria that a site must meet to be included in the WHL – was published in 1977; it has been amended periodically, most recently in 2013. The *Operational Guidelines* are also supported by a range of resource manuals that deal with technical and practical issues concerning, for instance, the management of World Heritage Sites and the preparation of nomination dossiers for the WHL (UNESCO 2014).

3.2.2.2 The Burra Charter

The *Burra Charter* is a national charter that was adopted by Australia ICOMOS in 1979, as part of a review of the *Venice Charter*'s applicability to the management and conservation of heritage sites in Australia. After its adoption, the *Burra Charter* was revised in 1981, 1988, and most recently in 2013. Undoubtedly, the term 'cultural significance' is the core aspect of the *Burra Charter*. This term is used to refer to 'the qualities that make a place important' – i.e., the place's 'aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations' (Walker and Marquis-Kyle 2004: 12; 21-22). Cultural significance determines the Charter's guiding approach towards conservation and management policies for heritage sites. In this respect, the *Burra Charter* states, in its Article 6, that: "*the conservation policy appropriate to a place must first be determined by an understanding of its cultural significance*" (Walker and Marquis-Kyle 2004: 34).

This clear definition of the term 'cultural significance,' as well as the resulting management approach developed by Australia ICOMOS, has been very influential on heritage management worldwide for three main reasons. First, the scope of the *Burra Charter* covers a wide range of heritage sites (Walker and Marquis-Kyle 2004: 8-9). Second, the *Burra Charter* demonstrates the importance of practicality in applying international principles on the national and local levels. Third, by drawing attention to the term cultural significance, the *Burra Charter* ensures that heritage sites are not only

valued for their historic, scientific, and aesthetic qualities, but that social and cultural components should also be taken into account. This aspect of the Charter has enlivened research on communities' relationship with heritage sites and has also paved the way for values-led site management models (Carman 2005: 49-56; Clarke 2003; Hardesty and Little 2009: 6-10; Montella 2014).

3.2.3 1980s and beyond: Growing Significance of Management Issues

Throughout the 1980s, the main concerns on UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's agenda were the presentation of archaeological sites, access to these sites, and the minimisation of factors causing damage to sites, namely looting activities, land-use schemes, and natural risks (Skeates 2000: 65-66). The first significant development prompted by such debates was ICOMOS's founding of the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) in 1985, as a special unit to provide an international forum of exchange in the field of archaeology (Biørnstad 1989: 70). This was subsequently complemented by ICOMOS's adoption of the *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* (the *ICAHM Charter*) in 1990. This Charter laid down a series of principles concerning different aspects of archaeological heritage management. These included the responsibilities of public authorities and legislators; principles relating to the processes of inventorisation, excavation, documentation, research, conservation, and presentation; public access to and use of heritage sites; and the qualifications of professionals involved in the protection of archaeological heritage (ICOMOS 1990: 1). Aside from these principles, two aspects of the *ICAHM Charter* stand out in particular. The first is its definition of archaeological heritage. As a special subcategory of the definition of 'cultural heritage' established by the World Heritage Convention, 'archaeological heritage' is defined by the *ICAHM Charter* as follows:

The archaeological heritage is that part of the material heritage in respect of which archaeological methods provide primary information. It comprises all vestiges of human existence and consists of places relating to all manifestations of human activity,

abandoned structures, and remains of all kinds (including subterranean and underwater sites), together with all the portable cultural material associated with them (ICOMOS 1990: Article 1).

A second important element of the *ICAHM Charter* is its integrated protection measures developed as a response to the detrimental effects of land-use activities. These measures stipulate that (1990: Article 2): “*policies for the protection of the archaeological heritage should constitute an integral component of policies relating to land-use, development, and planning as well as of cultural, environmental and educational policies.*” Moreover, the Charter also states that: “*active participation by the general public must form part of policies for the protection of the archaeological heritage*” and that participation “*must be based upon access to the knowledge necessary for decision-making*” (ICOMOS 1990: Article 2). Notably, many of the integrated protection policies highlighted in the *ICAHM Charter* were re-stated in the *Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage of Europe* (the *Malta Convention*), adopted by the Council of Europe in 1992.

The factors that paved the way for the establishment of the ICAHM, as well as their later effects upon the content of the *ICAHM Charter* and *Malta Convention*, are a clear indication that by the 1980s, the phenomenon of ‘management’ had taken on quite a distinct identity within the fields of heritage and archaeology (Merriman 2002: 550; Stone 2014: 2). This is also evident from the profusion of literature about the management of heritage sites from the 1980s onward. The earliest studies of management issues regarding archaeological sites and heritage – in particular, the processes of heritage management, legislative systems, the presentation of sites, and public access to sites – were by Cleere (in 1984 and 1989), Lowenthal (1985) and Hewison (1987). The 1990s witnessed a substantial growth in titles on the same topics (Stone 2014: 2; Teutonico and Palumbo 2002: 129).

3.2.4 Site Management

Site management, as a distinct topic within heritage studies, acquired prominence out of the trajectory of international policies and theoretical discussions from the 1970s through the 1990s regarding archaeological sites and the concept of heritage. The principal milestone for site management was the 1977 *Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee*, which contained the first mention of a ‘management plan’ as a document in support of a site’s WHL nomination (UNESCO 1977: 9). In 1994, management plans came to be employed by UNESCO a prerequisite for the WHL. Since then, properties seeking inclusion in the WHL are required to have: “*an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved*” (UNESCO 2008: IIF.108). As Cleere (2006: xxi) has pointed out, UNESCO’s standard requirement of a management plan for the WHL was the impetus for international studies on management plans. Since the mid-1990s, there has been an ongoing debate about what a management plan is, what it ought to include, and how it should be implemented. During this time period, the International Centre for the Study of the Presentation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), IUCN, ICOMOS, and the Getty Conservation Institute have provided expert guidance for site management projects through various publications, workshops, and direct consultations. As of 2014, numerous management plans have been drawn up and implemented for heritage sites all around the world.

3.2.4.1 Why Manage Heritage Sites?

There are a number of valid reasons for managing heritage sites. Fundamentally, the purpose of heritage management is to provide better protection for the sites and thus ensure their survival and transmission to future generations (Stone 2014: 4). There are a considerable number of different technical and practical concerns bearing upon this overall aspect of heritage management. As de la Torre and MacLean (1997: 5-16) argued in depth, these concerns – which vary from site to site – may include: managing factors which can alter or deteriorate the material features of heritage sites (such as excessive

visitation and use, unplanned development and infrastructure projects, land-use activities, natural risks, and violent conflicts); finding solutions to financial and human resource problems which have a negative impact on conservation and maintenance; developing strategies to help heritage sites benefit local communities and economies; and planning various issues related to research and physical access.

Besides such technical and practical matters, the management of heritage sites also contains a theoretical dimension, at the heart of which lie the values of heritage and their interpretation. The current debates on heritage management largely embrace the view that heritage is culturally constructed; it has multiple and changing meanings and is valued differently by different individuals, communities, and nations (Hall and McArthur 1998: 6-7; Smith 2006: 44-82; Smith and Waterton 2009: 33-50; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). In essence, this view is the collective product of the *Burra Charter*, as well as the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, adopted by UNESCO in 2003. The latter has had a profound effect on our understanding of heritage, stating that heritage is not only material but also intangible, and is shared within communities (Blake 2009; Kurin 2004). The Convention defines intangible heritage as: “*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage*” (UNESCO 2003: Article 2). The Convention also points out that this intangible heritage is: “*constantly re-created by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history*” and “*[it] provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity*” (ibid).

Heritage management is a complex task, as is interpreting the values of heritage – mainly because these values are, in the words of Smith and Waterton (2009: 34), “contested”. Scholars and experts tend to rely on selective evidence of the past, being interested in research opportunities when it comes to interpreting heritage and searching for significance in heritage sites (Stone 2014: 4). These scholarly and expert assessments may, however, be in conflict with the values that non-specialists (e.g., indigenous communities or interest groups) ascribe to heritage. Such values can take a variety of

forms, including cultural, social, economic, emotional, symbolic, and political (de la Torre 2002). In this regard, site management, or management plans specifically, represent a crucial opportunity for determining and negotiating heritage sites' various potential values in collaboration with the communities and stakeholders that are connected with them (Blake 2008; de la Torre and McLean 1997: 7-16; Smith and Waterton 2009: 44-45).

3.2.4.2 Legal and Administrative Frameworks for Site Management

Legal and administrative frameworks are among the major components of heritage management systems worldwide (UNESCO 2013: 54). Of these two, a legal framework represents the mechanism that warrants authorities to take action, and sets out the criteria – through formalised legislation – for the conservation and management of heritage sites. An administrative framework, on the other hand, denotes the organisational and operational structure that enables the performance of actions (UNESCO 2013: 64). Only a limited number of studies have focussed specifically on the legal and administrative frameworks of site management. Very few publications have investigated the integration of site management into national heritage management systems, as well as the procedures and mechanisms for the drafting and implementation of site management plans.

In many countries, legal and administrative schemes for site management typically operate in accordance with the *World Heritage Convention*. The Convention enumerates binding obligations regarding the identification, protection, conservation, presentation, and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage situated on national territories (Articles 4 and 5), as well as the measures required for the protection of the outstanding universal value of World Heritage properties. Accordingly, many state parties to the *World Heritage Convention* have employed various systems of governance for site management. In South Africa, for instance, the *World Heritage Convention Act* was adopted in 1999 in order to assist the management of World Heritage Sites in that country (UNESCO 2013: 68). This law set up a system of authority and organisation for World Heritage Sites in South Africa and developed initiatives for the drafting and

implementation of integrated site management plans (World Heritage Convention Act 1999: Chapters II, III and IV).

A key factor in site management projects in the United Kingdom has been the UK government's incentives regarding the WHL. *Planning Policy Guidance 15* (PPG 15), enacted by the Department of the Environment in 1994, recommended the development of spatial planning policies, on the national and local levels, for the protection of World Heritage Sites across the country; it also recommended the drafting of management plans for all of these sites (Department of Environment 1994; Young 2014: 18-20). PPG 15's directives led to a rapid growth in site management projects; the first of these to produce practical results was a management plan for Hadrian's Wall. The *Hadrian's Wall Management Plan*, which went into effect in 1996, was the first instance of a formal management plan in the UK (Clarke 2003; Stone 2014; Young 2014: 19). Presently, there is no specific law in the UK that regulates the development and implementation of site management plans. However, the UK government and its statutory advisor, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (English Heritage), has provisioned regular guidance to assist site management activities and to ensure the effective protection of World Heritage Sites throughout the country. A recent example of this was the introduction, in 2012, of a new *National Planning Policy Framework*, which has the specific aim of bringing local authorities' planning decisions in accord with general management initiatives for the UK's World Heritage Sites (Young 2014: 19).

3.2.5 Site Management and Tourism

Tourism is an inseparable part of site management, being not only a content topic of site management plans but also a driving force for site management activities. Many countries' efforts to meet UNESCO's prerequisites for heritage management are rooted in a wish to benefit from the global tourism industry through representation on the WHL, given that World Heritage Sites constitute some of the world's major tourist attractions. The following section shifts the focus of this chapter to the interdependent relationship

between tourism and heritage; and to cultural tourism, a growing segment of tourism industry drawing upon heritage resources.

3.3 Tourism: A General Introduction

Travel is not specific to modern times. For centuries, human beings who have had the means and opportunity have been travelling on their own free will. People feel the urge to travel for many reasons: to discover, to adventure, to experience and to relax. What is currently accepted as ‘tourism’ actually has a long history (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). Today’s tourism industry has been shaped by the socio-cultural changes and technological advances in transportation brought about by the Industrial Revolution. In his influential work *The Tourist*, first printed in 1976 (and republished in 1989 and 1999), MacCannell examined the relationship between tourism and industrial society, along with the concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘leisure’. The book contains the following memorable lines:

Leisure is constructed from cultural experiences. Leisure and culture continue to exist at a slight remove from the world of work and everyday life. They are concentrated in vacations, amusements, games, play and religious observances. This ritual removal of culture from workaday activities has produced the central crisis of industrial society...Industrial society bound men to its jobs, but because of the extreme specialisation and fragmentation of tasks in the industrial process, the job did not function to integrate its holder into a synthetic social perspective, a world view. As a solution to the problem of culture, industrial work is a failure. It repulses the individual, sending him away to search for his identity or soul in off-the-job activities (MacCannell 1999: 34-37).

Developments since 1840 have supported MacCannell’s arguments: it was during this period that the first travel agencies cropped up in Europe, promising the working class a chance to escape from their industrial way of life. Among these, one could cite the pioneering Thomas Cook & Son, founded in England in 1841 and known since 2007 as the Thomas Cook Group. This company organised the first train voyages within the UK (between Leicester and Loughborough) and, starting in 1855, began offering continental

tours (Cook's Tours), providing Britons with a chance to see Europe and the Middle East (Thomas Cook Group 2014).

From the second half of the 19th century onwards, the tourism industry grew exponentially, becoming a global phenomenon both economically and socially (Boniface 1995: 6). By the end of the 1950s, there were more than 25 million international travellers worldwide (UNWTO 2014); this number increased severalfold in the years that followed. According to figures published by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), major tourism regions worldwide (Asia and the Pacific, the Americas, Europe, and Africa) received 317 million international tourists between January and April 2014, and “the total export earnings generated by international tourism in 2013 reached USD 1.4 trillion” (UNWTO 2014). The UNWTO's forecasts reveal that “international arrivals will reach nearly 1.6 billion by the year 2020” (UNWTO 2014).

The importance of tourism as an economic resource is widely acknowledged in all parts of the world. For many countries, a share of the global tourism market is indispensable. Tourism represents a major export and a driver for the national economy, especially for developing countries with limited industries. It offers a wide range of investment and employment opportunities in addition to generating income/foreign exchange that can be used to alleviate poverty and debt and to reduce the balance of payments (Pearce 1999: 4; Robinson and Picard 2006: 23-27). These well-known economic benefits of tourism have induced governments worldwide to integrate tourism into their economic development programmes.

Tourism may also negatively impact a community in various ways. These include environmental problems; over-development; the growth of unplanned tourism infrastructure; dependency on tourism; high-visitor density at heritage sites; societal disagreements about the allocation of tourism revenues; and displacement of local residents due to tourism pressure (McKercher and du Cros 2002: 61). As Robinson and Picard (2006: 9) have argued, developed countries have an advantage over developing countries in terms of their ability to resist the negative effects of tourism and to benefit

from it economically. One reason for this difference is that the global tourism market is shaped by the demands and supplies of developed countries. Second, since most of these countries possess a broad export base, they are less dependent on tourism revenues and thus pursue more regulated tourism policies. Third, since development and conservation policies rely on integrative planning and are generally supported by a stronger legal framework, developed countries may find it easier to adapt to sustainable tourism development (Lem and Hall 1998: 200). By contrast, developing countries – whose export capacity is more limited, and which rely more heavily on tourism revenues – have generally adopted mass tourism policies. This more aggressive version of tourism aims to rapidly increase the country's foreign exchange reserves. Its chief drawbacks are a lack of planning as well as a tendency to neglect the tools needed to alleviate the negative impacts of tourism (Robinson and Picard 2006: 9-10).

3.3.1 Tourism and Commodification

What we today call cultural heritage, natural heritage, and intangible heritage have long been of interest to travellers. Within the contemporary tourism industry, these different forms of heritage, which collectively represent what Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (1998: 7) termed a “mode of cultural production” and something “new”, are commodified for the consumption of the modern tourist. Although much of international tourism concentrates on natural areas and material expressions of culture (Robinson and Pickard 2006: 18), the past, local ways of life, living traditions, festivals, and music are among the wide range of tourism products. As many authors (e.g., Li et al 2008; Raj et al 2013: 40-43; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009: 10-11) have pointed out, there are a multitude of reasons for tourism's commodification both of heritage and of culture in a broader sense. The most important factor is economic: as a tradable commodity, heritage can generate income and create employment. Second, heritage is a tool for many countries seeking to increase their global visibility and display their cultural patrimony (Butcher 2006: 22-23).

The highly competitive structure of the international tourism market compels countries to diversify their tourism products. As a result, different forms of tourism have been devised

in order to market a unique product and attract specific tourist profiles. These novel varieties of tourism, each one of which draws upon cultural and natural resources include cultural tourism, heritage tourism, eco-tourism, faith tourism, health tourism, and adventure- and sport-based tourism (Raj et al 2013: 40; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009: 7). Cultural tourism is of particular importance. As Christou (2005: 1-4) has asserted, cultural tourism – which is rooted in the inextricable link between heritage and tourism, and which first arose in the mid-1970s – has taken on an important place in the contemporary tourism context. Due to its special position, cultural tourism has been the subject of numerous academic works in the field of heritage studies over the past two decades.

3.3.2 Cultural Tourism

UNESCO's actions in the field of culture have considerably broadened our understanding of culture and heritage. Conventions, charters, and documents adopted by UNESCO and its agencies between 1931 and 2005 have developed a number of important concepts such as cultural property, cultural heritage, intangible heritage, cultural significance, cultural landscape, and cultural expression. This has paved the way for further research on the intricate relationships between the concepts of culture and heritage and other topics such as the past, nature, change, economics, identity, authenticity, development, and globalisation. Since the beginning of the 1960s, when it became an area of academic inquiry, (Jenkins 1999: 54), tourism has also provided a major opportunity for the study of culture and heritage. First of all, tourism involves cultural interaction between tourist and host, and today's record levels of tourism ensure that this interaction is higher than ever before. Second, tourism is a constantly growing global industry that draws upon cultural resources.

As a significant segment of the international tourism market, cultural tourism has been on the scene since UNESCO's introduction of the concept of heritage in 1972. Cultural tourism was first defined by the UNWTO and thus fixed in its international tourism context. *The International Cultural Tourism Charter*, which was adopted by ICOMOS

first in 1976, and was replaced in 1999 by a new version, had a key role in increasing its conceptual significance. This Charter recognises sites and monuments as sources of economic benefit and cultural education and outlines a wider policy framework regarding the relationship between tourism and conservation. It has adopted the following four objectives:

- 1) To facilitate and encourage those involved with heritage conservation and management to make the significance of that heritage accessible to the host community and visitors;*
- 2) To facilitate and encourage the tourism industry to promote and manage tourism in ways that respect and enhance the heritage and living cultures of host communities;*
- 3) To facilitate and encourage a dialogue between conservation interests and the tourism industry about the importance and fragile nature of heritage places, collections and living cultures, including the need to achieve a sustainable future for them;*
- 4) To encourage those formulating plans and policies to develop detailed, measurable goals and strategies relating to the presentation and interpretation of heritage places and cultural activities, in the context of their preservation and conservation (ICOMOS 1999: 1).*

Thanks to the actions and contributions of the UNWTO and UNESCO, cultural tourism soon became popular, and is currently viewed as one of the fastest-growing segments in international tourism (Richards 1996: 4-6). In the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) 2009 report entitled *The Impact of Culture on Tourism*, cultural tourism's position in the world was described as follows:

Cultural tourism is one of the largest and fastest-growing global tourism markets. Culture and creative industries are increasingly being used to promote destinations and enhance their competitiveness and attractiveness. Many locations are now actively developing their tangible and intangible cultural assets as a means of developing

comparative advantages in an increasingly competitive marketplace, and to create local distinctiveness in the face of globalisation (OECD 2009).

Despite cultural tourism's growing market value – as well as the prestige that it has acquired vis-à-vis other forms of tourism – it is treated uncritically, especially by tourism businesses and governments that invest in it. As academic research has revealed, there has not yet been a universally agreed-upon definition of cultural tourism (Alzua et al 1998; Balcar and Pearce 1996; Verbeke and Lievois 1999: 87). The following questions are highly relevant to this vibrant and ongoing debate: in conceptual terms, what does 'cultural tourism' refer to? What motivations and assumptions lie behind the practice of cultural tourism? What are its points of divergence from the term 'heritage tourism,' with which it is used interchangeably? The following section presents an analysis of the various arguments and divergent opinions on these issues.

3.3.2.1 Defining Cultural Tourism

In 1985, the UNWTO stated (1985: 131) that cultural tourism is a segment of tourism which: *“includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages.”* Since this early definition by the UNWTO, the concept of cultural tourism has been deconstructed by the academic community, which has sought to elucidate it through various technical and theoretical explanations.

3.3.2.2 The Cultural Tourist

The various definitions of cultural tourism all point to a direct link between cultural tourism and cultural attractions. As 'culture' is a highly amorphous concept, the term 'cultural attraction' is widely used to refer to a very broad range of elements and activities (Christou 2005: 6-7; MacCannell 1999: 23-24): historic towns, palaces, old buildings, castles, archaeological sites, museums, natural areas, old industrial zones and

neighbourhoods, art galleries, martyrdoms, battlefields, crafts, festivals, gardens, gastronomy, brewers, musical performances, displays, religion, and cultural traditions in general (Edwards 2013: 13).

Members of the heritage industry, as well as tourism professionals and policy makers, have dwelt on the chief factors determining cultural tourists' areas of interest and their particular characteristics. Studies on these issues have made a number of different claims, some of which are debatable, but which nonetheless converge on certain points. The most widespread claim regarding cultural tourists' profile is that they are generally intellectual and culturally motivated (Bywater 1993; Rotherham 2013: 75). Cultural tourists appear to possess specific cultural areas of interest such as history and art; to prioritise their cultural experiences on the basis of personal interest and a motivation to learn (Richards 2001: 120; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009: 8); to seek the authentic and artistic in choosing a destination (Fernandes 2013: 27; Macleod 2006: 178-179); and to be prone to nostalgic and spiritual feelings (Peterson 1994: 121; Zeppel and Hall 1992: 78). In addition, culturally inspired tourists have generally been defined as a social class made up of high-spending, largely white individuals (Robinson and Smith 2006: 5).

3.3.2.3 Differentiating Between Cultural and Heritage Tourism

The conceptual and technical definitions of cultural tourism suggested by recent studies are not actually very different from the definition set forth by UNWTO in 1985 (see Richards 1997: 24-25). A common denominator of these recent definitions is that they identify cultural tourism as an industry shaped by the aforementioned tourist profiles and cultural motivations. Second, they have considerably broadened the scope of 'cultural attractions' in light of the new dimensions heritage has acquired through the concept of intangible cultural heritage.

Studies of cultural tourism sometimes use the terms 'cultural tourism' and 'heritage tourism' interchangeably; at other times, they distinguish between the two, reflecting the theoretical debates surrounding the questions 'what is heritage?' and 'what is culture?'

Literature on tourism has not yet made any convincing arguments demonstrating that cultural tourism and heritage tourism are two different phenomena. An analysis of the existing definitions of heritage tourism shows that the attributes and motivations ascribed to the heritage tourist and those associated with the cultural tourist are almost identical. For instance, Richter (1999: 109) points out that heritage tourism is: *“an elastic term applied by some to almost anything about the past that can be visited. Such tourism may involve visiting museums, historic districts...monuments and shrines.”* According to Chhabra (2010: 4): *“the core elements of heritage tourism centre on economics, emotions, motivations, inheritance, shared past, authenticity and participation.”* Finally, Nyaupanne et al (2006: 8) classify heritage tourists into three types on the basis of their motivations: culture-focussed, culture-attentive, and culture-appreciative.

Those who distinguish heritage tourism from cultural tourism seem to adhere more closely to UNESCO’s formulation of cultural heritage, and hence are more selective in what they list as venues of heritage tourism. According to Poria et al (2001), for instance, a site’s heritage characteristics constitute heritage tourists’ main motivation for visiting it. A similar approach is shared by Timothy and Nyaupanne (2009: 3), who argue that heritage tourism: *“relies on living and built elements of culture and refers to the use of the tangible and intangible past as a tourism resource”*. Likewise, Li et al (2008) narrow heritage tourism down to specific venues as well as other tourism activities such as religious tourism, diaspora tourism, living culture, living folk museums, culinary heritage, historic cities, built heritage, archaeological sites, and World Heritage sites.

3.3.2.3.1 Theoretical Approaches: Culture, Heritage, and the Tourism Industry

McCannell’s assessments on the relationship between industrialisation and leisure have entirely retained their validity with the economic effects of the 21st century. This is an age of global capitalist supremacy in which the cost of living is steadily increasing and economic pressures have imposed a uniform way of life upon the working class. In the current atmosphere of worldwide economic depression, the social life of the working class has become quite constricted. Thus, leisure time has become highly valuable.

Indeed, many authors have pointed out that the vast majority of international tourists are not culturally motivated, but travel to find relaxation, warm weather, enjoyment, and an escape from their own environment (Craik 1997; Macleod 2006: 178; McKercher 1993; Robinson and Smith 2006: 5; Selänniemi 2003).

Cultural experiences lie at the heart of tourism – not only cultural tourism per se – as it creates an opportunity for exchange and interaction between people and their surroundings (Appadurai 2002; MacCannell 1999: 23-24; Viard 2000). Robinson and Picard (2006: 10) remind us of the cultural aspect of tourism by pointing out that the tourist's interaction with another culture is not limited to specifically cultural venues, but is a constant process that usually starts in ordinary settings such as airports, cafés, and restaurants. Similarly, Robinson and Smith (2006: 8-10) remark that tourists spend more time observing the social life of the host culture in the form of everyday practices and behaviours by walking around and watching people. They rightly argue that tourists' cultural experiences are primarily shaped by the impressions, values, and memories associated with these casual observations. The crucial role that the 'ordinary' plays in the formation of experience suggests that tourism is always by definition cultural, and the term 'cultural tourism' is thus, in a sense, redundant (MacCannell 1999: 41; Richards 2001: 3-4; Robinson and Smith 2006: 10; Timothy and Boyd 2006; Urry 1995 and 2002: 1-16).

There is widespread agreement among scholars that cultural tourism is marked by a selective understanding of culture, represented largely in the form of high art and heritage. Some scholars have drawn a parallel between this sort of cultural production – which elevates the 'authentic,' 'beautiful,' and 'artistic' – and the elitist European approach to culture exemplified by the Grand Tour of the 18th and 19th centuries (Fjagesund and Symes 2002: 48; Griffin et al 2013: 2; Robinson and Smith 2006: 1-2). MacCannell (1999: 25-29) argues that cultural productions represent “models for social life”, drawing upon the 'changed', 'created', and 'intensified', and serving as “*powerful agents that organise the scope, force and direction of civilisation.*” Based on his own theoretical view of cultural production, MacCannell (1999: 41) describes modern tourists

as individuals constantly seeking the authentic on their travels (also Cole 2008: 23-27 on the construction of authenticity).

It is difficult to arrive at standard definitions for terms like ‘authentic,’ ‘artistic,’ ‘beautiful,’ and ‘original,’ as these terms hold different connotations for different people. Words like ‘culture’ and ‘cultural’ are quite elastic, and cannot be assigned uniform definitions. In fact, the inherent relativity of such terms demonstrates that typological descriptions of the cultural tourist are largely idealised. Cultural tourism is a product of the tourism industry, which is business-focussed and puts a priority on ‘immediacy’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 7). Moreover, perception management is crucial to cultural tourism. In promoting a visit to Peru’s Macchu Picchu or Barcelona’s La Sagrada Familia – or a shopping trip at the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul – as ‘must-do’ experiences, the tourism industry is directing the cultural tourist to privileged displays, just as in mass tourism (see Rotherham 2013: 77).

Admittedly, tourists’ interaction with heritage sites and cultural events can be quite selective. Nonetheless, this interaction confers various benefits to tourists (McKercher and du Cros 2002: 62; Pearce 1999: 4; Raj et al 2013: 6; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009). First of all, the experience can be highly educational and can enhance tourists’ artistic and aesthetic values. Second, it can help raise awareness of the significance of heritage and cultural diversity, and can assist tourists’ understanding of the need for safeguarding heritage. Third, tourists’ appreciation can be of value in reviving cultural traditions that are on the verge of disappearance. Last of all, touristic activities can generate revenue that can be allocated for safeguarding and researching heritage.

3.4 Summary

This chapter examined wider policies on the management of heritage sites. Major international policy tools and their accompanying institutional developments were analysed in order to determine the major factors which have paved the way for site management as a specific subfield of heritage management. This analysis has

demonstrated that international conventions, charters, and declarations have gradually added a new dimension to the conservation and management of heritage sites, and that heritage management has evolved in step with the management and protection of archaeological sites. This chapter also investigated the interdependent relationship between heritage and tourism, as well as the notion of cultural tourism. This investigation of these issues focussed on the commodification of heritage, its use as an economic resource, and the technical and theoretical discussions surrounding cultural tourism. The argument is made that cultural tourism is generally treated uncritically, and that its scope is widely open to debate.

Chapter 4. The Development of State Policies Concerning Archaeology and Tourism in Turkey

4.1 Introduction

As was emphasised earlier, the *Regulation for Site Management* is a policy tool with two components. It is a statement uniting within itself, on the one hand, states policies directed towards the management of heritage sites and, on the other hand, those directed towards cultural tourism. Policies are formed by political factors. As discussed in Chapter 2, they represent ‘processes’ shaped by their social, institutional, political, economic, and other contexts. One needs to approach the *Regulation for Site Management* within the framework of this orthodox definition of policy in political science. As a result, in order to understand the vision manifested in the Regulation, and to speculate about its future, it is imperative to perform an analysis of the development process of state policies directed towards heritage sites and tourism in Turkey. Using this approach it is possible to understand in what ways the Regulation diverges from prior initiatives, and how it can be linked to them. Since this study has taken archaeological sites as its topic, Turkish state policies towards archaeology and tourism (from the 1920s) will be put under the lens in this chapter. The analysis is carried out within five main periods, which – on the basis of political factors - differ from each other in various aspects. These periods are the Ottoman Period (1830-1920), the Early Republican Period (1920-1946), the 1946-1980 Period, the 1980-2003 Period, and the period from 2003 to the present. The major developments of each period will be dealt with in the light of its own socio-political conditions. Tourism policies in Turkey are neither as old nor fragmented as policies for archaeology have been. Although the promotion of tourism goes back to the 1920s, it was only in the 1960s that it emerged as an economic sector in its own right. It has been developed even further with the 1982 *Tourism Encouragement Law*. As a result, state policies concerning tourism are dealt with, in this chapter, under the sections that corresponds to the 1946-1980 Period and onwards. The analyses of tourism are made in accordance with archaeological policies because, as will be discussed, developments related with tourism have been influential on the formation of heritage policies in Turkey.

4.2 An Overview of the Major Political Events from 1830 to 1946

With the close of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of profound transformation. According to new research, the Ottoman economy, land regime, and bureaucracy underwent decentralisation during the post-16th century which French historian Fernand Braudel and his followers have dubbed the ‘period of decline’ (Braudel 1979: 611-623; Kafadar 1998: 30-75; Lewis 1958: 111-27; Tezcan 2010). In addition, the weaknesses from which it suffered, especially vis-a-vis the Hapsburg monarchy, prodded the Ottoman Empire to develop military technology. Desiring to rival the power centres of Europe, the Ottoman state had already begun, in the 17th century, to borrow from the West. The most significant of these borrowings were in the areas of technology and warfare. Engineering schools were established in order to teach branches of science pertaining to warfare and defence. Although the Ottoman administration wished to limit its trade with Europe to matters of technology, there arose, within the state bureaucracy (which was especially conducive to borrowing), a great interest in the West. A passion for understanding and adopting Western civilisations resulted in Western culture acquiring prestige among the Ottomans in the 18th century (Berkes 1974; İnalcık 2009a: 291-293)¹. Changing viewpoints about the West, and, at the same time, an economic and political dependence that increased as the years went on, laid important groundwork for the political developments of the 19th century.

4.2.1 *Tanzimat Period (1839-1877)*

The period of reforms known as the *Tanzimat* (1839-1877), which brought an end to the regime of Mahmud II (1808-1839), was a crucial stage in the Ottoman Empire’s process of Westernisation (Shaw and Shaw 1977: 55-171). In essence, there were two principal factors leading to the *Tanzimat* reforms, which aimed to restructure the Ottoman state administration in accordance with a system of centralised bureaucracy, on the model of the kingdoms of Western

¹ An important study reflecting on the Ottoman response to the changes in the 18th and the 19th centuries is Naff, T. and Owen, R. (1977) *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. For social and cultural history of the 18th and the 19th centuries Ottoman world, see Quataert, D. (2000) *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Europe. On the one hand, the capitalist powers of Europe were putting great pressure on the Ottoman administration to carry out liberalising reforms. The fundamental expectations lying behind this pressure were that of satisfying the growing needs of Western markets, as well as improving the situation of the Ottoman Empire's non-Muslim minorities with regard to commerce, law, and administration (Bailey 1942; Zürcher 2011: 92). On the other hand, some groups within the administrative élites and central bureaucracy advocated forging alliances with the West, and modernising, Western-fashion, in order to protect the Ottoman state as a whole (Findley 1980; İnalçık 2009a: 338-339). As a result, these groups supported the transmission of Western institutions and laws to the Ottoman administrative system. The *Tanzimat* reforms, serving the wishes of both sides, consisted of the implementation of a number of laws borrowed from Europe. These included changes in the areas of central bureaucracy, provincial administration, tax system, communications, and commerce, as well as the establishment of schools providing secular education and the creation of courts recognizing the equality of Muslims and non-Muslims (Zürcher 2011: 92-101). The modern institutions brought about by the *Tanzimat* were not restricted to administrative and legal matters. In particular, starting in the 1850s, an institutionalising movement with the aim of promulgating the positive sciences had also begun (İnalçık 2009a: 20).

The *Tanzimat* reforms were top-down innovations, which came into being predominantly through exterior pressure. The chief opposition to the reforms was the small but vocal group in the administrative élite known as the Young Ottomans, who had been educated in Europe (Bahrani et al 2011: 35-36). The Young Ottomans were made up of individuals eagerly acquainted with the philosophy of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and other, mainly European, currents of thought². Publishing their ideas on concepts such as the '*vatan*' (the patrie), the '*millet*' (the nation), and '*hürriyet*' (liberty) in newspapers printed in the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s, these dissenters possessed the following values that clashed with the West: their longing for the age of Ottoman ascendancy; their ties to the Muslim religion; and their Ottoman patriotism (Akşin 2000: 45-46; Zürcher 2011: 108-11).

² For a comprehensive analysis on Young Ottomans, see Mardin, Ş. (1962) *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: a study in the modernisation of Turkish political ideas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

4.2.2 The First Constitutional Period (1876-1908)

The modernising liberal reforms beginning in the Ottoman Empire with the *Tanzimat*, despite internal opposition, reached their zenith with the proclamation of the First Constitutional Period in 1876. The first constitution of the Ottoman Empire, the *Kanun-i Esasi*, based on the Belgian Constitution of 1831, was an essential constitutional hallmark guaranteeing equality of Muslims and non-Muslims (İnalçık 2009a: 89; Zürcher 2011: 118-119). Immediately following the approval of the constitution, the first Ottoman parliament was created with the elections of December 1876 and January 1877. However, due to heavy opposition surrounding, for example, the election system and the working methods of the assembly, the parliament was annulled in 1878. Short-lived as it was, the first experiment with parliamentary government in the Ottoman Empire was a step towards the Republican regime that would later be established (Devereux 1963).

During the First Constitutional Period, which coincided with the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, (1876-1909), the Ottoman Empire was in a deep economic crisis (Shaw and Shaw 1977; Zürcher 2011: 114-117). Attempting to lighten its heavy burden of foreign debt, the Ottoman Empire's desire to collect additional taxes from the Balkans led to widespread revolts in the region. In the wars that broke out between 1877 and 1878, the Ottomans lost territories in the Balkans comprising Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia. These events were followed by Britain's occupation of Cyprus in 1878 and Egypt in 1882. On the eve of the First World War, in which the Ottoman Empire shrank due to great losses of territory, and grappled with heavy economic sanctions (the Capitulations), the Ottoman leadership, in opposition to the alliance created by Russia, France, and Britain, turned to a strategic partnership with Germany (Trumpener 1968).

4.2.3 The Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918)

The Second Constitutional Period, also known as the Young Turk Revolution (1908-1918), was the second and crucial stage in preparation for the Republican regime. With the parliament (which had been annulled in 1878), and the Constitution (which had been suspended) brought

back into force following the elections of 1908, the power of the Ottoman palace if not completely terminated was in large measure restricted (Kansu 1997; Shaw and Shaw 1977: 272-339). The group that took the lead in instigating the parliamentary system was a group of officers within the Ottoman army. Throughout the Second Constitutional Regime, these officers, known as the Young Turks (*Jön Türkler*), were the force directing the work of its political agents, the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), which dominated the state administration (Ahmad 1969; Kansu 1997). The architects of the Second Constitutional Period believed that the Ottoman Sultanate had been pacified in the face of political weakening, and that the citizens, for the sake of survival, needed to show resistance with a renewed administration and in unity (*İttihat*). At the same time, in order to achieve progress (*Terakki*), they believed there was a need for modernity, secularism, and democracy.

Two currents of thought, progressing since the last quarter of the 19th century, had significant impact on the political developments of the Second Constitutional Period. These, which also influenced the Republican reforms in the years to come, were Westernisation (*Garpçılık*) and nationalism. The Ottoman intellectuals known as the *Garpçılar*³ were supporters of unconditional modernisation and, by virtue of this characteristic, were actually part of the pro-Western intellectual movement that had been dominant since the *Tanzimat* Period (Akşin 2000: 46). However, the main trait that set apart the *Garpçılar* was their approach to religion. The radical wing of the *Garpçılar*, in particular, advocating a more secular religion, thought it necessary for Islam to undergo a monumental reformation. Additionally, they held that the state, for the sake of its own economic prosperity, had to be strengthened in the areas of science, culture, and economics (İnalçık 2009a: 20; 364-365).

In the Ottoman state, starting in the 1880s, nationalist discourses on ‘Turkism’ were added to a nationalist ideology focused on Ottoman citizenship that had come about through the influence of the French Revolution (Bahrani et al 2011: 36; Kushner 1977; Ortaylı 1992: 124). Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp were among the writers taking the lead in the cause of Turkish nationalism in its initial phase. Gökalp’s synthesised views on the modernisation of Turkish

³ see Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1997) ‘Garpçılar.’ *Studia Islamica* 86, 133-158 and Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1995) *The Young Turks in Opposition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

identity found favour with the *Garpcilar* and the ideologues of the Second Constitutional Period (Zürcher 2011: 199). Another event that played a role in the development of Turkish nationalism was the discovery of the Orhon Inscriptions. Thomsen's decipherment and publication of the inscriptions⁴ – transmitting, in Turkish, the story of the Göktürk state, which had held sway over all of Eurasia in the 6th and 7th centuries AD – was an exhilarating event for partisans of a Turkish ethnic identity.

At the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was among the defeated powers. The Armistice of Moudros, signed with the Allied States on October 30th, 1919, meant the surrender of the Ottomans. By the terms of the Armistice, the Ottoman army was put out of service, and control of the country's ports, railroads, and strategic points fell into the hands of the Allied Powers. Additionally, the Allied States won the right to seize any strategic points in Anatolia in case of a threat to Allied security (Zürcher 2011: 202). The occupation of İzmir by the Greeks in May 1919 and that of Istanbul by the British in 1920 made the post-World War I picture in the Ottoman Empire even more dramatic. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), the Ottomans were left with only a small state in northern Turkey, with Istanbul as its capital. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, which had held sway for six centuries, also signified the beginning of the establishment of modern Turkey⁵. This beginning was made possible by the national resistance of 1919-1922, and its leader Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk).⁶

4.2.4 The Rise of Mustafa Kemal and the Foundation of the Turkish Republic

During the First World War, Mustafa Kemal had won great fame as the commander leading the victory against the British forces on the Anafartalar front at Gallipoli. Thereafter, his resounding successes on the East Anatolian, Palestinian, and Syrian fronts increased his prestige even more. With his distinguished military career, Kemal was eminently qualified to lead the Committee of

⁴ Thomsen, V.L.P (1896) *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Déchiffrées*. Helsingfors

⁵ Among the limited number of publications dealing with the transformation from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey, three stand out: Lewis, B. (1968) *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. Revised ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Shaw and Shaw 1977; and Lewis, G. (1974) *Modern Turkey*. London and Tonbridge: Ernest Benn

⁶ For the biography of Mustafa Kemal, see Mango, A. (1999) *Atatürk*. London: John Murray

Union and Progress prior to organising the national resistance (Zürcher 2011: 214). Only a few days after the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks, Kemal gathered in Samsun with some prominent Ottoman officers and set about planning the armed struggle. A strategy was decided upon of gathering together under a single roof the civil resistance organisations (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri*) established in different regions of the country; subsequently, in July of 1919, the first national congress was held in Erzurum. At the congress, there was a call for the preservation of national independence, as well as for retaining the Sultanate and the Caliphate; it was also declared that resistance would occur in all the lands of the Empire, even if the Istanbul government should submit to foreign coercion. The manifesto adopted at Erzurum was reiterated at the second national congress in September of 1919 in Sivas. Later, the mantle of the resistance movement was taken up at Ankara, the present-day capital of Turkey.

At the end of 1919, general elections were held in the Ottoman Empire for the last time. Among the new members of the assembly were some who had supported the national resistance; these people had been arrested immediately after the occupation of Istanbul. Added to the deputies who had avoided arrest were representatives selected by resistance members from different regions of Turkey. The Turkish Grand National Assembly, comprised of both groups, was inaugurated on April 23rd, 1920. The new national assembly, established in opposition to the Istanbul government, represented a government based in Ankara (Zürcher 2011: 227).

Considering that it was a legislative body, which based the resistance struggle on the national will, this was an important step. Despite a total lack of support from the Allied Powers, the Greek army, extorting concessions with the purpose of carrying out its post-Sèvres *Megali Idea* project, proceeded to occupy the West of Turkey from 1920 onwards. This bloody ‘Greco-Turkish’ war, lasting until 1922, ended with the Turks’ victory over the Greek army at Afyon, and, later, with its recovery of Izmir on September 9th.

Kemal’s resounding success in the War of Independence only highlighted the weakness of the existing Ottoman government, whose political mandate had effectively expired. By a decree ratified in the now Ankara-based National Assembly on November 01, 1922, the Sultanate was abolished. The last Ottoman sultan, Mehmed VI Vahideddin, was exiled to Malta, and his nephew Abdülmecid came to power as caliph only. Thus, the Ankara government attended the

peace talks held with the Allied States at Lausanne as the sole party representing the nation. With the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 24 1923, Turkey obtained its sovereignty, and – apart from the province of Hatay, which joined the country in 1939 – reached its present borders. In the wake of Lausanne, Mustafa Kemal's goal was to carry out the plan which he had laid out from the beginning yet had not been able to disclose very publicly (Kafadar 1998: 43): the establishment of the Republican regime. However, among the cadre of leadership in the national struggle, there was opposition to Kemal concerning the Republican regime. Mustafa Kemal, who had already become aware of this, turned his attention to strengthening his political authority and getting rid of the opposition. He created a single political party – with a majority in the assembly – by uniting deputies loyal to himself with the People's Party (*Halk Fırkası*), founded in 1923 and known since November 1924 as the Republican People's Party (CHP)⁷. This manoeuvre brought about the proclamation of the Republic on October 29th, 1923. As expected, on March 3rd, 1924, shortly after the founding of the Turkish Republic, the Caliphate was abolished, and the members of the Ottoman dynasty were sent abroad into exile. Thus, the Ottoman political system came completely to an end.

4.2.4.1 The Republican Reforms (1924-1934)

In the short period from 1924, when the Constitution of the Republic was ratified, until 1934, Turkey underwent great and rapid change. The appearance of the young state was completely revamped through a series of reforms (*inkılap*). These reforms, like those in the *Tanzimat* and Constitutional periods, were top-down, and focused on secularisation, modernisation and the creation of a national identity (national identity is discussed on pages 89-90 and 94-95). As a result, they were by nature a continuation and synthesis of the reforms and currents of thought which had been persistent since the *Tanzimat* Period. Kemal and his entourage were a military generation that had achieved political hegemony to implement the modernist ideals that had developed up until then thanks to certain bureaucrats, army officers and élite intellectuals.

⁷ In opposition to the establishment of the People's Party, deputies under the leadership of Hüseyin Rauf Orbay, Kazım Karabekir, Adnan Adıvar, Refet Bele, and Ali Fuat Cebesoy assembled on November 17th, 1924, under the name *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (the Progressive Republican Party). However, the party was shut down in June of 1925. The grounds for its being shut down were based on allegations that its members had been involved in the 1925 Şeyh Sait Rebellion, as well as the later attempt on Kemal's life in Izmir.

Secularisation was at the forefront of the Republican reforms. This included the secularisation of the state, of the educational and legal systems, and of communal life, and the abolishment of religious symbols, all essentially a state project to bring religion under its own supervision (Zürcher 2011: 276-277). At the same time, they were guided by an effort to differentiate Turkey from other Muslim countries and to orient its institutions and attributes towards Western modernity. The Republican Revolution, which took place in accordance with these hopes, included the following reforms (in chronological order): bringing education under state control; the abolition of madrasahs, the ulema hierarchy (judicial and religious elite of the Ottoman Empire), and the Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs; the ratification of Swiss Civil Law and Italian Criminal Code; the outlawing of the fez and of religious costumes; the closing of dervish lodges and hospices; the stripping of authority of the doctors of Muslim canon law, tradition and theology; the outlawing of religious societies; the shift to the Western calendar, clock, numerals, and weights and measures; the removal of Islam from the Constitution as the official religion; the adoption of the Latin alphabet; the outlawing of titles which expressed religious, social, or familial status; and the recognition of women's right to vote and run for office.

The main method used to legitimise the Republican revolutions was to attribute them to the people, and to public sovereignty (İnalçık 2009a: 370). As with 'independence', notions such as freedom of religion, equality before the law, and a modern way of life were continuously instilled into society, where they became entrenched values. On the other hand, Mustafa Kemal's personal charisma played a role in consolidating the radical changes brought about by the reforms. Kemal's image as the 'great soldier' and, later, his additional role of 'saviour of the nation', facilitated the adoption of the revolutions by certain groups (Heper 1985). However, the process by which the reforms took root in Turkish society was not always peaceful or straightforward. The CHP⁸ which held a monopoly on power until 1946, behaved in an authoritarian, uncompromising manner towards radical Islamist groups and other opponents that

⁸ Until 1946, apart from the short-lived *Halk Fırkası* (People's Party), the only opposition facing the CHP was the Free Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*). By a directive of Mustafa Kemal, the Free Party, founded in August 1930 by Fethi Okyar, was closed on November 16th, 1930.

resisted the Republican reforms. Special courts (*İstiklal Mahkemeleri*) as well as certain laws (e.g., the *Takrir-i Sükûn*) were the main instruments of enforcing the application of the reforms.

4.3 Archaeology During the Late Ottoman Period (1830-1920)

Contemporary literature dealing with the Ottomans' approach to archaeology is quite limited. Relying on only a small portion of the extensive Ottoman state archives, up until now most of these publications have been descriptive and repetitive, not sufficiently taking historical context into account, and narrow in perspective (Bahrani et al 2011: 28; Eldem 2011: 281). This situation is plainly visible in writings within the discipline of archaeology. In recent years especially, historians' studies of the development of archaeology in the Ottoman era have brought new insights to the subject and raised questions about long-held assumptions. The most important contribution of these new publications has been their inclusion of documents from previously unused archives, and their analysis of these documents in tandem with the grand narrative of the 19th century. Placing an emphasis on these recent publications, the following section makes a condensed and critical analysis of archaeological policies and activities during the Late Ottoman Period. This analysis reveals two important observations. First, the development of Ottoman archaeology was a reflection of the 19th century process of transformation that had modernisation as its goal. Second, the emergence of the Ottoman Empire's first archaeology museum and of laws about antiquities, were in essence a response to European interest in such artefacts; the institutionalisation of archaeology became possible thanks to bureaucrats and ruling élites who had gained experience with the culture of Western Europe.

4.3.1 *Early Archaeological Activities in Ottoman Lands*

Among the upper classes of Western Europe there was already a great interest in Antiquity by the 17th century. This interest, fed by a belief that European culture was a continuation of Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman civilisations, first manifested itself through aristocrats' travels in Europe (the Grand Tour). Later, with the founding of the Society of Dilettanti in London (in 1734), it turned to other locations (Kersel et al 2008: 299; Trigger 1989: 38). The archaeologically rich lands of the Ottoman Empire became the stomping-grounds of Western travellers wishing to

discover the cultures of Classical and pre-Classical Antiquity, study them, and collect their artefacts in order to enrich the great new archaeological museums of Europe (Ousterhout 2011: 186; Shaw 2003: 37 and 71-72). By the first half of the 19th century, excavations and surveys were performed at many archaeological sites throughout different provinces of the Ottoman Empire. These became especially frequent in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions of Turkey, in Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul), and in Mesopotamia.

A few important issues concerning early archaeological activities in Ottoman lands need to be mentioned. On the one hand, until 1869 the Ottoman state had no law providing control over ancient artefacts. The legal status of both movable and immovable ancient artefacts was subject to the principles of Islamic law (*fikih*) (Mumcu 1969: 66-69). According to Islamic law, states or individuals were entitled to all manner of ownership of ancient artefacts found on their property. Immovable ancient artefacts found on vacant land could easily be removed. First, there was no legal mechanism forbidding the export of antiquities. Foreign nationals were required simply to obtain a Sultan's edict (*firman*) from the Sublime Porte (*Babiâli*) in order to carry out an excavation or survey, or to remove antiquities from the country. Second, the partition of ancient artefacts found in excavations was subject to an irrational principle that remained in existence until 1869. According to this principle, foreigners were obligated to hand over "one of each pair of identical artefacts" to the Ottoman state. Moreover, in the case of "very valuable antiquities" they were entitled to a reward in the amount of one third of the value of the artefact (Eldem 2011: 316; Stoneman 1987: 271-280 cited in Shaw 2003: 4).

As a result of the above mentioned legislative and administrative loopholes, as well as rules which were prone to abuse, a great deal of archaeological material was taken abroad by European explorers as early as the 1860s. To name a few among many cases, in the 1840s, Fellows, in the course of his excursions in Southwest Turkey, sent many Lycian artefacts from Xanthos, in Southwest Turkey, to the British Museum. Among these were the Nereid and Harpy Monuments (Shaw 2003: 73). Furthermore, Newton acquired for the British Museum the statues he had collected during his expeditions in Didyma (in 1856) and Halikarnassos (in 1861), as well as sculptural and architectural remains of the Mausolleum (Tomb of Mausolos).

European diplomats serving in Ottoman lands also played an important part in archaeological activities. Some diplomats had an influential role, not only in obtaining official permission for excavation, but also in the collection of the ancient artefacts themselves. For instance, in 1851, Spiegelthal, the Prussian Consul-General at Smyrna (modern-day Izmir), excavated a number of tumuli at Bin Tepe near Sardis, and shipped all the materials to different European museums (Kersel et al 2008: 301). Later, Dennis, the British Consul at Smyrna, excavated in the same area, but was disappointed to find that Spiegelthal had left him very little (Butler 1922: 12-13 cited in Kersel et al 2008: 302).

As Bahrani puts it (2011: 126, 132), the archaeological activities of early European travellers represented a ‘scramble for the past’ in which the French, the British and the Austrians, in particular, were competing for material objects to gain national prestige and to claim “intellectual superiority” with regard to the past. What sort of attitude did the Ottoman upper administration display in the face of the enthusiastic Western quest for antiquities? According to Akın (1993: 233) and Akurgal (1998: 129), the archaeology carried out by the Westerners in Ottoman lands in the 19th century was nothing but “plundering” for antiquarianism, and the firmans of the Ottoman sultans gave a free pass to such plundering. A similar opinion is held by Paksoy (1993: 209), who, relying on comparative archival analyses of the *Registers of Important Affairs* (*Mühimme Defterleri*), claims that the Ottoman administrators of the 19th century, unlike those in the 16th, were uninterested in ancient artefacts.

Though they are not entirely correct, it is true that there are precedents constituting support for the views of the aforementioned writers. For example, thanks to the permissions he obtained from Sultan Selim III, Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador to Constantinople between 1799 and 1803, sent numerous marble friezes from the Acropolis of Athens as well as some artefacts from out-of-the-way parts of Istanbul to the British Museum (Eldem 2011: 295-312; Paksoy 1993: 205). In 1838, Sultan Mahmûd II made a present to the French King Louis-Philippe of a group of reliefs from Assos (Mendel 1908 cited in Shaw 2003: 72). Sultan Abdülmecid, at the request of Canning (twice British Ambassador to Constantinople between 1824 and 1858), authorised the shipment to England of finds from the excavations of Layard at Nineveh and Newton at Halikarnassos. Additionally, Abdülmecid donated to Canning artefacts, that Newton had

collected from his excavations at Halikarnassos, and even assisted with their shipping (Malley 2011).

Further examples could be provided of the negligence of the 19th century Ottoman sultans regarding the export of antiquities or even of their encouragement of the practice. However, when dealing with this period, a more realistic approach would be to avoid viewing the Ottoman administrators as a single group, but to consider them individually, taking into account the socio-political conditions of the period in which they operated. As mentioned earlier (pages 74-78), the 19th century was an age when the Ottoman Empire was struggling for survival. Its relationships with the power centres of Europe occurred on different levels, and with various dynamics. For example, until 1878 the United Kingdom had a significant political influence over the Ottoman Empire. The great importance Britain gave to its Middle Eastern market, and to the security of its route to India as well as the Ottoman Empire's need for protection against the Russian threat cemented the alliance of convenience between the two powers (İnalçık 2009a: 217). The commercial market in the Levant and the balance of power in Europe were the fundamental dynamics underlying the strategic partnership between the Ottomans and the French, which had emerged during the 17th century. In the 19th century Germany affiliated itself with the Ottoman Empire (its ally during the First World War) against Iran, and played a critical role in the modernisation and industrialisation projects of the period (Phillip 2011). Finally, the Habsburgs were a power with which the Ottoman Empire had had cultural exchange since the 16th century, and which had enabled diplomatic relations with Western Europe (Szemethy 2011: 331-332). In light of this network of relationships, it is understandable how the token gifts of ancient artefacts made by the 19th century Ottoman sultans to foreign diplomats and those they represented, or the favouritism, which they practiced, benefited the Ottomans politically.

4.3.2 Rising Ottoman Interests in Archaeology and Hagia Irene

In the first half of the 19th century, the Ottomans' first strong response to growing Western interest in antiquarianism was the transformation of the Church of Hagia Irene into a museum (Eldem 2011: 312-314; Shaw 2003: 45-8). Situated in the courtyard of Topkapı Palace, Hagia Irene was used as a military warehouse after the conquest of Istanbul, and from 1723 was turned

into an exhibition space for ancient weapons. In 1846, Damad Rodosizade Ahmed Fethi Pasha, the Marshal of the Imperial Artillery and former ambassador of the Ottoman Empire to Moscow, Vienna and Paris, reorganised the weapons collection in the church, and added a selection of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine artefacts from different parts of Istanbul. Thus, Hagia Irene took the form of a museum comprised of a collection of Ancient Weapons (*Mecma-i Esliha-i Atika*) and Antiquities (*Mecma-i Asar-ı Atika*). The re-arrangement of the Church of Hagia Irene as a museum was one of the obvious indications of the influence of Europe upon the Ottoman Empire. According to Shaw (2003: 72), the Ottoman administration, through its modest museum, revealed the interest it would show in ancient artefacts via a European institution, which was observed through Damad Rodosizade Ahmed Fethi Pasha.

This intention, which emerged during the regime of Abdülmecid I, manifested itself in other contemporary developments besides the transformation of Hagia Irene. The most remarkable among these was the restoration of Hagia Sophia (with the authorisation of Abdülmecid I) by Swiss architects- the brothers Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, between 1847 and 1849. The restoration, after which Hagia Sophia was still kept as a mosque, had a special meaning given that it occurred at what had once been a religious centre of Christianity. It also was an important contribution to the development of Byzantine art and archaeology (Ousterhout 2011: 187-195).

4.3.3 The 1869 Bylaw and the Imperial Museum

1869 represents a new era for Ottoman archaeology. After the transformation of the Church of Hagia Irene into a museum, the second and, this time, stronger reaction displayed by the Ottoman state towards ancient artefacts was the 1869 *Bylaw*. This bylaw, which was also the occasion for the founding of the Imperial Museum, was the first legal document concerning ancient artefacts (Eldem 2011: 314). The story of the emergence of the 1869 *Bylaw* dates back to the construction of the Izmir-Aydın railroad, which began in 1856 by the Oriental Railway Company. The English architect and surveyor Wood, who was involved in the project from 1858 onwards, saw the ancient cities of Ephesos (near Ayasoluk) and Colophon, both in the vicinity of Izmir, during the project, and was seized by a desire to excavate at both sites. With the support of the Trustees of the British Museum, Wood obtained the permission to excavate Ephesos and

Colophon, for which he had applied to the Governor of Izmir, on April 4th, 1864 (Donkow 2004: 109). In 1868, the fifth year of the excavations at Ephesos, the Governor of Aydın, Hekimbaşı İsmail Pasha, lodged a complaint about Wood to the Grand Vizierate. The reason for the complaint, the governor explained in the report, was that Wood, contrary to custom (page 83), had shipped hundreds of artefacts to England, and had not given any to the Museum of the Sublime State. The governor, indicating a review of general rules, recommended that the state should: (i) oversee archaeological excavations; (ii) introduce a limitation on excavation permits; and (iii) develop a new system regarding the partition of excavation finds (Eldem 2011: 316-317). İsmail Pasha's report was first delivered to the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) and later on October 12th, 1868, was discussed at the Public Works Commission (*Nafia Dairesi*). After making its assessment, the Council of State prepared a final report, which to a large extent accepted İsmail Pasha's criticisms, and also added to them. This brief report, consisting of a preface and seven clauses, promulgated on March 15th 1869, is the Ottoman Empire's first regulation on antiquities (Eldem 2011: 320). Generally speaking, the main purpose of the 1869 *Bylaw* was to stake a claim to antiquities found in Ottoman domains. At the same time, in the matter of conservation, the importance it placed on the concept of the museum and on institutionalisation is especially noteworthy. The primary characteristics of the 1869 *Bylaw* are reflected in its preface, in the following phrases: [a] ancient artefacts have historical values, and in every state these are stored in museums; [b] a big museum needs to be set up by searching for and discovering antiquities throughout the domains of the Sublime State; and [c] there is a need for a comprehensive law regarding ancient artefacts, and for ministerial authority (BOA, Istanbul, I.SD. 11/547 (1) (in Eldem 2011: 319-321; Mumcu 1969: 68-69).

The 1869 *Bylaw* regulates, in particular, the excavation and collection of antiquities (Bahrani et al 2011: 13). In spite of the fact that it did not contain comprehensive measures about conservation, it contains provisions ameliorating some of the flaws that, up until then, had been causing problems (Mumcu 1969: 69). Among these, the most important is the authorisation of the local sale of ancient artefacts, but the prohibition of their export (Article 2). Notably, coins are exempt from this provision (Article 4), it otherwise gives the impression of a clampdown. The other important clause of the 1869 *Bylaw* (Article 5) limits activities exploring for ancient artefacts solely to underground locations. Thus, it was forbidden to take part of an immovable

ancient artefact that was above ground. Other provisions in the *Bylaw* (Articles 1, 6, and 7) explain the terms of permission to excavate, and recognize the rights of landowners regarding ancient artefacts (Article 3) (BOA, Istanbul, I.SD. 11/547 (1) (in Eldem 2011: 319-321; Mumcu 1969: 68-69).

Immediately following the publication of the 1869 *Bylaw*, the Museum of Hagia Irene was renamed the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*). In order to quickly turn the new museum into a great archaeology museum, local governors serving in different corners of the Ottoman Empire were ordered to gather ancient artefacts from their provinces and send them to Istanbul. As Shaw (2003: 87; 2011b: 425-426) rightly argues, the Ottomans' intentions behind such move were: “to assert, through the Imperial Museum, its ownership of antiquities, and to reaffirm symbolically its control over its territories against the European incursions.” In 1872, the German archaeologist and art historian Déthier was appointed director of the Imperial Museum. In the second year of Déthier's administration, the comprehensive antiquities law proposed in the introduction to the 1869 *Bylaw* was drafted.

4.3.4 The 1874 Law of Antiquities

The 1874 *Law of Antiquities* (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) was an amended version of the 1869 *Bylaw*, and it aimed, like the former, to regulate the removal of antiquities. Imposing relatively stricter rules this time, the Law reveals more concern for the ownership of antiquities (Çelik 2011: 44; Donkow 2004: 111; Shaw 2011a: 89). Comprising 36 clauses, the first principle feature of the 1874 Law is its inclusion of a definition of antiquities (Article 1 and 2). Antiquities are described as “every type of man-made artefact that remains from the past.” Interestingly, this definition considers ‘coins’ as a distinctive category of antiquities, and places all movable and immovable antiquities as artefacts (Mumcu 1969: 70). The second basic feature of the Law is its development of a completely new system for the partition of excavation finds. According to this system, each find is required to be evenly partitioned between the excavator, the state, and the landowner (Articles 3-6).⁹ Moreover, although the method for achieving this goal is not set forth,

⁹ For a discussion on the three-way partition of archaeological discoveries, see Akin 1993: 234; Akurgal 1992: 30, and Mumcu 1969: 70.

every kind of undiscovered antiquity is proclaimed to be the property of the state. Third, the necessity of having the state protect immovable antiquities is mentioned for the first time in the 1874 Law (Article 6). Additionally, it is revealed that the state will appoint a warden to protect certain monuments and artefacts of “outstanding” quality. However, the provision in question does not elucidate what is meant by “outstanding,” or how these artefacts were to be identified.

4.3.5 Growing Significance of the Imperial Museum

The Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*), a 15th century building located in the palatial complex of Topkapı, opened in 1880 as the new Imperial Museum to exhibit the Ottomans’ expanding collection of antiquities. This museum, which had been totally purged of its military identity, was turned into an archaeological venue where, on the whole, Greek and Roman antiquities were displayed. Münif Pasha, the Minister of Education, included the following remarks in his speech at the Museum’s opening ceremony:

The opening of a museum in Istanbul similar to those in other civilised countries was the hope of our progressing nation. We are all thrilled by the elimination of this deficiency...There is no need to go on at length about the benefits of such museums. They show the level of civilisation of past peoples and their step-by-step progress. From this, many historical, scientific and artistic benefits can be obtained. Everybody knows the great effects of archaeology on European civilisation...Until now, Europeans have used various means to take the antiquities of our country away, and they did this because they did not see an inclination toward this in us. For a long time this desire has been awakened among Ottomans and recently even a new law was passed concerning antiquities. Since the foundation of the Imperial Museum is the greatest example of this, we can hope that the Europeans will change their opinions about us (Vakit 1880, quoted in Shaw 2003: 93-96).

As is clear from Münif Pasha’s speech, the Imperial Museum was viewed as a prestigious institution. The Museum was a symbolic demonstration that the Ottoman administration had laid claim to the historical past of its own territories; that it shared the Greek and Roman cultural heritage just as much as the Europeans; that it saw the artistic and scientific benefits of preserving and studying the past, as Westerners did; and consequently, that it was an important

rival of Europe, not just politically but also intellectually. Furthermore, the emphasis placed by Münif Pasha on the great effects of archaeology indicated an awareness of the important role that archaeology played in the formation of a national identity (Shaw 2003: 94). Among various European examples, it is known that the excavations made in France between 1858 and 1865, on the orders of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, were intended to link French identity with the Celtic inhabitants of the country (Basch 2011: 167). Likewise, at the beginning of the 1870s, as Germany was united and other nation states in Europe emerged, archaeology served efforts to concretise a national past (Arnold 1996: 550; Trigger 1989: 148). In this context, archaeology could clearly be useful in efforts (since the *Tanzimat*) to unite different ethnic groups, with equal rights, under the rubric of ‘Ottoman citizenship’. The new Imperial Museum’s concentration on pre-Islamic antiquities can also be seen as an expression of an inclusive plan to embrace cultural diversity (Çelik 2011: 446; Maksidi 2011: 272; Shaw 2003: 83).

4.3.6 Osman Hamdi

Following Dethier’s death in 1881, the directorship of the Imperial Museum passed to Osman Hamdi. Under Hamdi’s management, much was accomplished with regard to the institutionalisation of archaeology, the Museum, and the preservation of antiquities. There is no doubt that the makeup and status of Hamdi’s family played a critical role in the realisation of these accomplishments.¹⁰ A member of an intellectual family, Hamdi (1842-1910) was originally a painter. He studied law in Paris between 1860 and 1868; but abandoning his studies, he chose painting instead, studying at the *École des Beaux Arts* with two artists of the Orientalist school, Gérôme and Boulanger. From 1871 onwards, Hamdi lived in Istanbul, serving in the Office of Foreign Affairs and continuing to paint.

Hamdi had two brothers. Ismail Galip, the youngest of them, is regarded as the first Ottoman numismatist. The middle brother, Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938), educated in Germany and Switzerland, was originally a chemist who subsequently gained fame in the fields of

¹⁰ For the biography of Osman Hamdi and his familial background, see Bahrani et al 2011: 419, Shaw 2003: 97-107, and Cezar, M. (1995) *Sanatta Batı’ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi I, II* [Opening toward the West in Art and Osman Hamdi]. Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı Yayını

numismatics, archaeology, epigraphy, and history. From 1892 onwards, Eldem was Hamdi's assistant at the Imperial Museum, and from 1910 onwards was his successor as the Museum's director. In addition, between 1923 and 1935, he was a representative of the CHP in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Hamdi's father, Ibrahim Eldem Pasha (1818-1893), was one of the first Ottomans during the time of Sultan Mahmud II to be sent to Paris for his education. Eldem Pasha served in a number of high-level state appointments such as governor, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of Commerce. At the same time, he was French tutor to Sultan Abdülmecid, and, from 1877 to 1878, served as Grand Vizier to Sultan Abdülhamid II. More strikingly, Edhem Pasha was the Deputy President at the Public Works Commission who authorised the 1869 *Bylaw*, and was therefore one of the signatories of the Ottoman Empire's first antiquities law (Eldem 2011: 319). As emphasised by Shaw (2003: 97), the educational background of Hamdi's family and the respected position his father held at the top level of the Ottoman bureaucracy played a big part in his accomplishments as director of the museum.

4.3.6.1 *The 1884 Law of Antiquities and Its Legacy*

As noted above, the 1874 Law, despite its protectionist measures, was unable to prevent the export of antiquities from the Ottoman Empire. The main underlying factors were lack of enforcement, as well as concessions provided to collectors through bureaucratic channels. Moreover, some loopholes in the law contributed to the continuation of the trade in antiquities. The most significant shortcoming in the law was the lack of sophisticated measures to prevent the easy purchase of archaeological objects (in the possession of locals who were unaware of their value) and of land in archaeologically significant areas (Akin 1993: 34; Çelik 2011: 460). The excavations of Schliemann in Troy, Humann in Pergamon, and Benndorf in Trysa all of which post-date 1874 serve as examples of the weak protection of archaeological areas (Esin 1993; Rose and Acar 1995: 56; Szemethy 2011: 339).

Already by the start of his museum career, Hamdi had been responsible for the establishment, in 1882, of the School of Fine Arts (*Sana-i Nefise Mektebi*). This was very significant in terms of its emphasis on the importance of art and artworks, and its aim of arousing interest in these matters among the public (Mansel 1960: 295). In terms of archaeology, his greatest contribution

was the 1884 *Law of Antiquities*. This law, seeking to fill the gaps of the previous law, exclusively increased the state's interest in, and possession of, antiquities.

In many ways, the 1884 *Law of Antiquities* was revolutionary (Cezar 1995; Donkow 2004: 112-113; Maksidi 2011: 272; Mumcu 1969: 73-74; Özdoğan 1998: 115; Shaw 2003: 110-114). With the law, all underground and aboveground antiquities acquired the status of state property, and their export was unconditionally prohibited. The second radical change brought about by the law was restricting rights of ownership, as a result of which every kind of ancient artefact found through excavation on privately owned lands came to be regarded as the property of the Imperial Museum. Foreigners were responsible for handing over all antiquities to the state, and were only permitted to take plaster casts of the originals (Cezar 1995: 329). In comparison with the 1874 Law, the 1884 Law contains more extensive provisions concerning immovable antiquities. As specified in Article 5 of the Law, damaging immovable antiquities and removing them from their locations were regarded as punishable offences (Mumcu 1969: 73). In order to prevent damage and to control excavations on archaeological areas, the state retains the right of expropriation (Article 6). Another important feature of the 1884 Law is its inclusion of a more specific description of antiquities. This description, based on the artefacts' historical value and other archaeological criteria, divides movable and immovable antiquities into five broad categories (Shaw 2003: 111).

When the 1884 Law came into effect, Hamdi added the title of archaeologist to his positions as museum director and legislator. Starting in 1883, Hamdi launched the first Ottoman archaeological excavations at sites including Sidon, Myrina, Kyme, Arslantaş, and Nemrud (Figure 4.1) (Mansel 1960: 296; Pasinli 1992: 149; Özgüç 1982: xv). In 1889, aiming to turn the Museum into a scientific and professional institution, Hamdi drafted *Museum Legislation* (*Müze-i Hümayun Nizamnamesi*). The legislation specified provisions regarding the maintenance and restoration of antiquities and the management of the Museum, and linked it to the Ministry of Education. Moreover, within the Museum, an Islamic arts division was opened, signifying an expansion of the Ottoman Empire's claims over the past beyond Greco-Roman antiquities (Mumcu 1969: 74; Shaw 2011b: 429). In 1891, the Imperial Museum in the Çinili Köşk moved to its new building known today as the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. Clinching its new identity

through its outer look, the Museum has since become a central state institution in the management of archaeological sites.



Figure 4.1: Mount Nemrud. The head of Antiochos and Osman Hamdi. 1883. (Source: Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Photographic Archives, 11190 in Shaw 2011b: 432)

4.3.6.2 *The 1906 Law of Antiquities*

The 1906 *Law of Antiquities*¹¹ is the second legislative document drafted by Hamdi, and was improved on its predecessor. This law, which remained in force with minor changes until 1973, laid the foundation for current legislation dealing with heritage sites and, in its essentials, for their administrative structure as well. The 1906 Law focuses on the organisation of agencies responsible for the administration of antiquities, rather than on the antiquities *per se* (Shaw 2003: 126). Accordingly, within the scope of the law, a Commission of Antiquities was founded (Law of Antiquities 1906: Article 1-3). This commission, consisting of Hamdi, Halil Edhem Eldem,

¹¹ Published by The Ministry of Education (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*) in 1966

and a few other museum staff, was assigned the task of performing all duties concerning antiquities, under the authority of the Ministry of Education. The Commission was represented in the provinces by the local directorates of the Ministry of Education. The second striking attribute of the 1906 Law is its broadening definition of the term ‘antiquities’ and the state’s initiatives, and, in doing so, it exhibited an inclusive approach by taking into consideration the recent past and cultural diversity (Shaw 2003: 128). As stated in Chapter Two of the Law (Law of Antiquities 1906: Articles 4-5), all scientific, literary, religious, and artistic products of cultures within the Ottoman domains are to be regarded as antiquities, just like archaeological ones, and are to be safeguarded as the properties of the Ottoman State, whether at their own locations or in museums.

4.3.7 Further Legislative and Institutional Improvements in Archaeology

After the death of Hamdi in 1910, his successor as director of the Imperial Museum, Eldem, left his mark on significant projects in the fields of museum administration and archaeology. First, he attempted to gain prestige for archaeology as a discipline, and to spread consciousness about antiquities among the public by establishing local museums outside Istanbul (Arık 1953: 9; Shaw 2003: 169). These museums played a big part in monitoring antiquities amidst the chaos of the First World War. During the Edhem years, the first important achievement in expanding the legal and institutional dimensions of archaeology was reflected in the *Law for the Preservation of Monuments (Muhafaza-i Abidat Nizamnamesi)*, issued in 1912. This law, designed to fill the gaps in the 1906 Law regarding immovable antiquities, gives permission and specifies the conditions for obligatory interventions in monumental structures such as castles and fortifications (Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 22; Madran 2002: 72-73; Mumcu 1969: 75-76). The Council for the Preservation of Antiquities (*Muhafaza-i Âsar-ı Atika Encümeni Dairesi*), set up in 1917, was held responsible for the enforcement of the 1912 Law. This council, which continued to operate during the Republican period, performed the first documentation surveys, and created an inventory of immovable antiquities in Istanbul.

4.4 Archaeology During the Early Republican Period (1920-1946)

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, in 1923, archaeology was an important segment of the process of reforms implemented in order to gain a completely new personality for Turkey. The archaeological studies in which Mustafa Kemal himself was involved were employed to create a new Turkish identity and history. They were also used to legitimise modern Turkey's (or Anatolia's) borders as the homeland of the Turks (Erciyas 2005; Özdoğan 1999; Whittemore 1943). As a result, archaeology, which in Ottoman times had been one of the symbols of modernisation and had developed through the efforts of a certain intellectual-bureaucratic élite became in the Republican era the instrument of state policy pursuing specific socio-political goals (Pulhan 2003: 140-141). In the Republican period, in which archaeology's mission had changed, the lead role formerly played by the Imperial Museum was supplanted by other state institutions as will be discussed below (Pulhan 2003: 141).

4.4.1 *Turkish History Association and Turkish History Thesis*

Founded in 1930 as the Turkish Historical Research Society, the Turkish History Association (THA) was the centre of progress in archaeology in the early years of the Republic. With members such as Eldem, the THA comprised chiefly of historians and writers, and had as its primary mission the study of Turkish history. A book entitled *The Outline of Turkish History*, published in 1930, was the first work drafted in accordance with the founding goal of the THA (Atakuman 2008: 218-219). Without a doubt, the most sensational aspect of the book was its Turkish History Thesis. This thesis contains traces of the discourse of the Pan-Turkism movement, which emerged at the end of the 19th century (Erdemir 2006: 383), and its main arguments include the following: [a] Turks are an ancient race possessing brachycephalic skulls; [b] the homeland of the Turks is Central Asia; [c] due to ecological reasons, the Turks were forced to migrate, nearly 9,000 years ago, from Central Asia, and carried their civilisation with them. The evolution of Chinese, Indian, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian, Greek, and Roman civilisations had been possible due to the migration of the Turks; [d] Anatolia was, since prehistoric times, the second homeland of the Turks, and; [e] the Turks were the ancestors of the Hittites and Sumerians (İnan et al 1930, 1931; Çambel 1932). The rather ambitious arguments of

the Turkish History Thesis were presented for the first time, in 1932, at the First Turkish History Congress. At this congress, attended by a predominantly Turkish audience, several presentations were given in support of the Thesis. To this end, the presentations employed publications on the research carried out, since the 1920s, at archaeological sites such as Boğazköy, Alişar, Nemrud, Nineveh, and Troy (Atakuman 2008: 220-223; Erdemir 2006: 383).

4.4.2 Institutionalisation of Archaeology and State Sponsored Archaeological Activities

Already by the first years of the Republic, an effort had begun to address the insufficient number of archaeologists in Turkey. This effort intensified at the beginning of the 1930s. New students, provided with state scholarships, were sent to Germany, in particular, to study archaeology and philology. In this way, the foundation was laid for Turkey's first generation of archaeologists (Pulhan 2003: 141). At the same time, some German and Austrian archaeologists who were fleeing the Nazi regime (e.g. Landsberger, Güterbock, Bossert, von der Osten) were invited to Turkey by the state. These scholars constituting the 'German School', which would influence Turkish archaeology for years, were pioneers in the founding of the departments of archaeology within Istanbul University and the University of Philology, History, and Geography at Ankara. Around the same time, German and French archaeological institutes were founded in Istanbul (Özdoğan 1997: 3; Pulhan 2003: 141). The 1930s – a decade when archaeology was taking on the character of a formal institution – were a period of frequent archaeological activities. The archaeological excavations, research, and restoration works carried out in this period, included sites from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine eras (Ousterhout 2011: 205; Whittemore 1943: 164-166). The archaeological investigations carried out under the sponsorship of the THA, however, concentrated on Bronze and Iron Age cultures in central Anatolia (Başgelen 1998: 5; Erdemir 2006: 384), the main reason being the desire to research the distant past of Turkey's territory and gather supporting archaeological evidence for the Turkish History Thesis (Atakuman 2008: 224; Özdemir 2003: 17-18).

4.4.3 *The Second Turkish History Congress*

The Second Turkish History Congress, held in 1937, was a large gathering focusing on the archaeological research carried out during the previous five years. The congress was designed as an *exposition d'histoire* in which archaeological finds acquired from different excavations were displayed. In this manner, it endeavoured to demonstrate visually Turkey's achievements in the discipline of archaeology (Erdemir 2006: 385-386). The Second Turkish History Congress was distinct from the previous congress in two ways. Unlike the first congress, it hosted international speakers and audiences. Another clear difference lay in the general nature of the congress; it concentrated predominantly on discussions of archaeological finds and historical research, rather than on the Turkish History Thesis (Atakuman 2008: 225). With the exception of those who defended the arguments of the Thesis, it is notable that some Turkish scholars – like all of their foreign colleagues – issued papers with scientific content.¹² According to Erdemir (2006: 390), the reason for this ideological shift was a realisation that archaeological findings did not support the imaginary arguments of the Turkish History Thesis. In fact, due to an increase in scientific excavation and research, the popularity of the Turkish History Thesis had completely eroded by the 1940s.

Many writers have published research about the use of archaeology, along with history, in the service of nationalist ideologies (Anderson 1991; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998; Silberman 1989; Trigger 1984). In different global contexts, archaeology has served various purposes such as the construction of national symbols and legends, the bolstering of a sense of belonging and pride, attempts by specific cultures at proving their superiority to others, and the legitimisation of territorial claims. The Kemalist regime benefited from these different roles of archaeology in its project of creating a nation-state. In this respect, the Turkish History Thesis, like the Republican reforms, can be regarded as a formula for 'rapid change' in a short amount of time.

¹² For the proceedings of the Second Turkish History Congress, see Turkish Historical Association (2010) *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi. İstanbul: 20-25 Eylül 1937. Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Sunulan Tebliğler* [The Second Turkish History Congress] Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

Examined from another perspective, it is evident that the state-directed archaeological policies of the 1930s had their positive aspects. First, there were no limitations imposed on archaeological research. On the contrary, diversity in archaeological work was encouraged, and it was made possible to institutionalise scientific archaeology. Second, by showing a personal interest in archaeological research, archaeology museums, preservation and restoration, Kemal undertook – as a head of state – what in Ottoman times had been solely the mission of the intellectual-bureaucratic élite (Pulhan 2003; 142-143). Third, the institutional structure for the management of archaeological sites was modified as early as the first years of the Republic (Buluç 1994: 30). Accordingly, in 1922, the administrative organisation responsible for archaeological sites and museums was reconfigured under The Directorate of Antiquities and Museums (*Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü*). The organisation was later, in 1946, turned into a general directorate under the authority of the Ministry of Education, and local agencies representing it were founded in the various provinces of the country.

4.5 The 1946-1980 Period

4.5.1 *Multi-party Regime and the Subsequent Socio-economic Developments*

In 1946, eight years after the death of Kemal, the founding of the Democratic Party (DP) initiated Turkey's transition to multi-party parliamentary democracy.¹³ Founded by individuals who parted ways with the CHP, the DP essentially adopted Kemalist principles. However, as with the Free Party, the point on which it particularly diverged from the CHP was that of economic policy. During the CHP's single-party rule, the expansion of industrialisation was limited, despite significant progress in the improvement of fiscal infrastructure and railway construction. In the 1940s, the agricultural sector still constituted the backbone of Turkey's economy. Low living standards, a lack of arable land, and the fact that the majority of villages were without electricity and were unconnected to the surrounding regions, were among the main problems facing the farming community (Zürcher 2011: 315-316). The CHP's statist economic policies have been considered the major reason for the lack of economic development. Actually,

¹³ For a historical analysis of the post-WWII politics and economics in Turkey, see Karpas, K. (1959) *Turkey's Politics: the transition to a multi-party system*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

the statist economic regime of the CHP was not against private enterprise. Regarding industrialisation, it could be characterised as taking the initiative whenever private enterprise was insufficient (Özbudun 2007: 14). However, the DP adopted liberal politics to stimulate the economy, and this outlook was ardently supported both by local business circles and by the United States, which had emerged from the Second World War as a very powerful force (Özdemir 2000: 253). The DP's statements on liberalising the economy impacted the CHP. Following the contentious 1946 general elections, won by the CHP, an Economic Plan, which focused on free enterprise as well as the development of agriculture-based heavy industry, highway infrastructure, and the energy sector, was drafted. These goals contributed to the growth of the economy between 1945 and 1950.

Under the leadership of Menderes, the DP gained power during the general elections of 1950. In the two periods of DP rule, positive improvements were noted in the economy. The main positive indicators were an expansion of the industrial base, a modernisation of agriculture, an increase in arable land, an increase in agricultural yield and farmers' income, and, with the construction of new highways, a more lively commerce (Akşin 2000: 215; Zürcher 2011: 327-338). There were, however, serious problems, which included high inflation, increasing foreign debt, the beginning of migration to metropolises as the latter industrialised, and, as a result, the first signs of haphazard urbanisation. Despite its victory in the 1957 elections, the DP's loss of power vis-a-vis the CHP was a result of the economic problems being experienced. However, in the following years, the DP's authoritarian actions against the opposition and the public as well as its conciliatory policies towards religious movements provided the grounds for an intervention by the army. Thus, the first of the military coups putting the brakes on Turkey's democratic life occurred in May 1960, and the DP was terminated¹⁴.

4.5.2 Transition to Planned Development

The Justice Party (JP), established in the aftermath of the 1960 Coup, a time known as the Second Republic, was seen in the political sphere as an extension of the DP. Coming onto the

¹⁴ For a background on the military coups in Turkey, see Özbudun 2007

scene in the 1961 elections, the JP won overwhelming victories against the CHP in 1965 and 1969. The JP made its mark on the 1960s, most significantly in a transition to planned, co-ordinated development. The State Planning Organisation (hereafter SPO), founded in 1960, was the key institution that firmly established economic policy planning. The development plans prepared by the SPO, in five-year segments, were indicative of investment policies, and resource allotments were determined according to the goals of these plans (Boratav 2000: 353). Industrialisation and import substitution were, at first, proposed as an aim in accordance with the *First Five-Year Development Plan* (1963-1967). However, starting at the end of the 1960s despite having led to economic growth, this aim made Turkey completely dependent on the outside world for its industrial commodities.

The violent clashes between right and left at the end of the 1960s brought about a second intervention by the Turkish army into the democratic process. The military memorandum published on March 12th, 1971 called for an end to anarchy and for a government adhering to the principles of the Kemalist reforms. The CHP of Bülent Ecevit was strengthened in the elections following this memorandum, and was included in two coalition governments. The 1970s were a time of considerable economic depression. In this decade, in which certain restrictions were imposed on imports, there was a constant external deficit, an industry dependent on foreign currency, and high inflation. The wave of migration to big cities, which had already begun earlier, now steadily augmented, and at the same time migration abroad increased. Economic depression escalated in the 1970s, and at the end of the decade the JP came to power again, adopting and putting into effect the financial program of the International Monetary Fund. Özal, the permanent secretary of the SPO at the time, and later the chairman of the Motherland Party, was appointed for the implementation of this program, which contained sweeping economic changes.

In the pessimistic economic climate at the end of the 1970s, social chaos once more was on the rise. The anarchy pouring into the streets as a result of political polarisation was violently suppressed by the army on September 12th, 1980. The political cycle that emerged in the aftermath of this military coup brought the Motherland Party to power in 1983. Restructuring the economy was the main agenda of the Özal government. Accordingly, improving the balance of payments,

combating high inflation and creating a free market with the aim of export promotion were identified as main goals. One of the actions carried out in line with these goals was the removal of export restrictions. With the introduction of various new products into the market, there was great dynamism and growth. The second important action in the creation of cash sources was the development of a build-manage-transfer model. This model was especially used to encourage growth in the construction sector. As Zürcher (2011: 447) stated, the economic policies of the Özal government in the 1980s were an important contribution to the development of Turkey's currency reserves. On the other hand, however, the increase in the rift between the different income classes led to the emergence of a new class of the very wealthy, and to a decrease in the purchasing power of the larger segments of the society.

4.5.3 Tourism Policies During the Multi-party Regime

Some steps towards the development of tourism had already been taken during the Republican period. The Turkish Touring Club (*Türk Seyyahin Cemiyeti*), a non-governmental organisation founded in 1923, carried out the first studies of tourism. The Club held congresses identifying three different aspects of tourism: the role of the state, the legislative framework and future policies. Additionally, some of the Club's first accomplishments were the printing of touristic brochures and highway maps, and the training of tourist guides. However, the heavy debt balance, which the Republican administration took over from the Ottomans, an insufficiency of resources and the worldwide Great Depression, which deeply affected the economy at the end of the 1920s, were major factors limiting the state's ability to invest in tourism at the time (Var 2001: 92-95).

The seeds of a national tourism policy were sown in the years when the Turkish economy began to grow under the liberalising policies of the DP. In this period, when the state took a pioneering role in tourism, a number of significant developments occurred. First of all, initial delimitations regarding the responsibilities of the state and the private sector in tourism were made through the *Tourism Master Plan* drafted in 1949. This was followed, in 1950, by the enactment of the *Law for the Encouragement of Tourism Enterprises* (no. 5647), the first tourism-related legal regulation. With this law, incentives were provided to tourism enterprises by the state, and their

terms and conditions were laid out. Within the scope of the incentive provisions, a Tourism Enterprise Licence was put into practice and, in addition, a tourism credit fund was set up (Önen 2000: 16). The *Law for the Encouragement of the Tourism Industry* (no. 6086) was the second legal regulation contributing to the development of tourism. This law, which came into effect in 1953, created a finance and credit system to attract investments in tourism facilities. The 1954 *Law for the Encouragement of Foreign Capital* (no. 6224) and the 1955 *Ordinance on Tourism Bureaus and Travel Agencies* were other initiatives aimed at drawing local and foreign investors into the tourism sector. The establishment in 1955 of the Tourism Bank was an important institutional development benefiting the financial infrastructure of the tourism sector. Known since 1988 as the Turkish Development Bank, the bank's main tasks were supplying credit to those investing in tourism; the creation of standard operating procedures; and giving technical and project support to private entrepreneurs (Göymen 2000: 1032). Finally, under DP rule, there were significant actions taken towards improving the physical infrastructure of tourism. Big advances in transportation such as the construction of airports, highways and the popularisation of bus companies were instrumental in encouraging tourism.

Like the DP, the JP was aware that tourism was a powerful force in economic development, and thus it continued previous policies without interruption. With the transition to planned economic development in the 1960s, tourism was recognised as a service sector and was included for the first time in a development plan. In the *First Five-Year Development Plan*, spanning the years 1963-1968, it was proposed as a primary goal that tourism ought to benefit from foreign exchange proceeds in order to close the deficit in the balance of payments (SPO 1968: 425). In this context, other main goals and measures (these were unchanging elements in the development plans that followed up to the present day) included: an increase in the number of tourists and tourist expenditure; priority was given to investment in areas with high touristic potential; the expansion of credit opportunities for investment in tourism; the development of domestic tourism; the construction of hotels and holiday resorts; and an intensification in promotional activities about tourism (SPO 1968: 425-428).

The founding of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion in 1965 was the most significant institutional development during the *First Five-Year Development Plan*. This new ministry,

gathering under one roof all the general directorates and other governmental bodies operating in the field of tourism, was made responsible for major tasks including planning, licencing, supervision, and promotion, as well as all other matters related to tourism. At the same time, starting in the mid-1960s, the need to represent the growing number of travel agencies encouraged the creation, in 1972, of The Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (ATTA). This non-governmental agency, currently the most influential tourism organisation after the MCT, was assigned the tasks of defining the profession's ethics and principles; organising travel agencies; helping to promote Turkish tourism; and consulting the Ministry on all matters pertaining to tourism (ATTA 2011).

With the investments made since the 1950s, a great deal of ground was covered in the development of infrastructure, legislation, and the institutionalisation of tourism in Turkey. At the same time, due to the increase in the number of tourists, foreign exchange revenues rose. As a result, there were 129,000 tourists in 1961 and 1.6 million in 1977, while over the same period, tourism revenues rose from 7.5 million USD to 204.8 million USD (SPO 1963: 425; SPO 1979: 79). However, when considered in light of the ratio of revenue to expenditure, governments were unable to attain their expected goals until the end of the *Fourth Five-Year Development Plan* (1979-1983). The main reasons for this were a chronic deficit in the balance of foreign payments, a shortage of cash due to a foreign-dependent industry, and, finally, an inability to make sufficient investment in tourism.

4.5.4 Administrative and Legislative Measures Regarding Heritage Sites

Until the beginning of the 1950s, The General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums was the main administrative institution overseeing archaeological sites. However, there was a need for a separate authority, apart from this administrative body, which would be responsible for all heritage sites, would be scientific in nature, and would develop general principles for the safeguarding of heritage. To meet this need, the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*) was set up in 1951. The Council was a completely autonomous authority functioning above central and local administrations (Ahunbay 1999: 136; Katoğlu 2000: 481-482; Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 28). The

members of the Council were chosen from universities and scientific foundations by election to serve on a permanent basis. The authority of the Council, granted by *Law number 5805*, mainly involved the determination, enforcement and monitoring of the principles regarding the conservation, maintenance, repair and restoration of heritage sites (Madran 2009: 13). The development process that began in the 1950s, and accelerated in the following decade, had an immediate influence on heritage sites. In an era when rapid urbanisation, tourism, and industrialisation were beginning to clash with conservation policies, the Council ensured that certain measures for conservation were established in Turkey. The first of these was making the approval of the Council a *sine qua non* in public works legislation for construction projects affecting heritage sites (Madran 2009: 13). The second success of the Council was integrating important concepts into the *Antiquities Law* (no. 1710) that came into effect in 1973.

4.5.4.1 The 1973 Law of Antiquities

The *Athens Charter* was the first international document drawing attention to the significance of the surroundings of historic monuments in conservation (Athens Charter 1931: Article III). A similar emphasis was later made in the *Venice Charter* (1964: Article 1) which asserted that: “*The concept of a historical monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found...the sites of monuments must be the objects of special care in order to safeguard their integrity*”. The concept of the conservation area signalled by these two international charters (Chapter 3) was the most important innovation of the 1973 Law. By this new concept, conservation areas came to denote designated heritage sites under state protection, and they were divided into four categories with respect to their historical, natural, urban and archaeological features. Moreover, the interventions and measures that were to be carried out in conservation areas were fixed in the Law. The second important innovation of the 1973 Law was the notion of a Conservation Development Plan (*Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*) (hereafter CDP). Every conservation area required the preparation of a CDP within two years of its designation. Authority for specifying the temporary development conditions between the initial designation and the drafting of the CDP was given to the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (Madran 2009: 13-14).

With the authority it held through the 1973 Law, the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments implemented an intensive documentation programme lasting until the beginning of the 1980s. In accordance with this program, 417 conservation areas (including 100 urban conservation areas), 3442 historic monuments and 6815 individual buildings were designated (Ahunbay 1999: 136). At the same time, many public institutions including municipalities, Land Registry Offices and certain ministries developed regulations originating in the CDP in their own planning. Despite these positive developments, opposition to the concept of a conservation area arose in both the public and the private sectors. The main reason for this dissatisfaction – which turned into pressure for a review of the 1973 Law – was a halt in investment in places where conservation areas were concentrated, along with a change in local living standards for local populations living within designated heritage sites (Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 29).

4.6 The 1980-2003 Period

In Turkey, during the ten-year period following the 1980 Military Coup, various laws directly and indirectly concerning tourism and heritage sites were reviewed. The key factor in this legislative overhaul was Turkey's European Union aspirations (Zürcher 2011: 464-465), which began with the *Partnership Agreement* of 1963 and continued with an application for full membership in 1987. In the years 1981-1990, Turkey updated its legislation on tourism, the environment, national parks, heritage sites, expropriation, public works, mining, and coastlines, with the aim of creating standards parallel to those of the EU's *acquis communautaire*. Together with the changes in the laws on tourism and heritage sites, the relevant administrative state institutions responsible were re-organised. Furthermore, in 1982, the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion was joined with the Ministry of Culture (first founded in 1971) to form the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The period following 1980 was a time when Turkey showed great determination to adopt international guidelines concerning heritage sites and the environment. The first indicator of this determination was the inclusion in the *Constitution of Turkish Republic* of the following sentence: “*The State shall ensure the conservation of its historical, cultural and natural properties, and shall take supporting and promoting measures towards this end*” (Constitution of

Turkish Republic 1982: Chapter Three/Article 63). The term ‘cultural property’ inserted into the Constitution was adopted from the 1954 *Hague Convention*, which had first introduced this concept. The second indicator consisted of development plans. For example, in the 1984 transition program, it was remarked that conservation strategies and tourism development programs needed to be in harmony with each other when using heritage sites and natural resources for the purpose of tourism (SPO 1984: 120). In the *Seventh Five-Year Development Plan* (1996-2000), sustainable development was mentioned for the first time. Making references to the 1992 *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* (held in Rio de Janeiro), the Plan stressed the importance of integrating environmental policies with economic and social policies (SPO 1996: 4). The third indicator consisted of the international agreements ratified by Turkey. During the period from 1982 until the end of the 1990s, various UNESCO and Council of Europe conventions concerning the environment and heritage sites were made into law in Turkey.¹⁵

4.6.1 1982 Tourism Encouragement Law

In the 1980s, a time when Turkey was characterised by an outward oriented market economy based on exports, Turkish tourism witnessed rapid change. The Özal government chose mass tourism – adopted along with the *Second Five-Year Development Plan* – as one of its goals (SPO 1968: 595), and picked the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts as the centre of its investment. The method employed to draw investment to these privileged areas, which had already seen progress in their infrastructure and tourist facilities, was the build-manage-transfer method. The main tool supporting this formula (which had been formed to overcome a lack of resources) was the *Tourism Encouragement Law* (no. 2634), which came into effect in 1982. The law provided a generous scale of incentives consisting of free land allocations; export rights; a postponement of the KDV (Value Added Tax); incentive bonuses and credits; various tax discounts and tax

¹⁵ These include: the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* (UNESCO 1970); the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO 1972); the *Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats* (Council of Europe 1979); the *Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe* (Council of Europe 1985); and the *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Revised)* (Council of Europe 1992).

exemptions; and investment discounts and customs exemptions. The appeal of the investment instruments and the easing of bureaucratic formalities for investors greatly hastened the number of incentive certificates given to the private tourism sector, especially from 1986 onwards (Önen 2000: 20-29). These incentives led to a significant increase in tourism investment.

4.6.2 1983 Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties

The 1983 *Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties* (no 2863) is, at present, Turkey's main law concerning all of its heritage sites. This law, which repeals the 1973 *Law of Antiquities*, brought about a number of significant conceptual and administrative innovations. The most fundamental change realised by this law was a transition from the concept of 'antiquity' to that of 'cultural and natural property'. Thus, the Law, following the 1982 *Constitution*, placed the concept of cultural properties within the realm of heritage legislation. The opposition to conservation areas that began in the mid-1970s did not, however, erode their legal status (Levent 2009: 64). The definitions of conservation areas were broadened in the 1983 Law, and the concept of the CDP was updated. The administrative innovations of the 1983 Law particularly applied to the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments. The Law upheld the Council's authority to create general principles regarding heritage sites. Additionally, in carrying out and supervising the decisions the Council created in the provinces, the Regional Councils for Immovable Cultural and Natural Properties (*Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Bölge Kurulları*) (Conservation Law 1983: Articles 57-58). The most controversial administrative action of the *Conservation Law*, however, was the radical change in the structure of the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (Katoğlu 2000: 482) in which the Council's autonomous status was terminated with the recruitment of appointed members, and with the incorporation, as chairman, of the permanent secretary of the MCT¹⁶.

¹⁶ Due to the emergence of the concepts of cultural property and natural property, the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments was renamed, in 1983, The High Council for Immovable Cultural and Natural Properties (which, at the present day, known as the High Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties).

4.6.3 The Impacts of Mass Tourism Policies

As of 1990, Turkey has had the image of a destination for sun and sea holidays, and its tourism income reached the level of 2.55 billion USD (SPO 1996:163). This figure, when compared with those of earlier years, indicated a substantial change. Early in the 1990s, nominal growth in tourism and rising external demands whetted the appetites of government and, as a result, the *Sixth Five-Year Development Plan* (1990-1994), emphasised increasing tourism revenues, diversifying tourism products and extending the tourism season (SPO 1990: 281-282; SPO 1996: 162-163).

The negative consequences of the rapid growth in Turkish tourism were severe. Most dramatic among these was the annexation of the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts by tourist accommodation. Unmonitored construction and infrastructure activities caused irreversible damage to numerous heritage sites as well as to the natural environment in general (Tosun 2001: 295; Antalya Chamber of Architects 2004: 39). The European Union Enlargement Commission mentioned this pessimistic picture in its 1998 *Regular Report on Turkey*. In the report, sustainable management of its coastline and natural resources were revealed to be among Turkey's "worst problems" vis-à-vis the environment (European Union Enlargement Commission 1998: 41). How can one explain the damage tourism wreaked on Turkey's environment and heritage sites in the 1980s and 1990s, when – legislatively – a protectionist attitude was persistent? The most probable answer is that during this time, Turkey's need for income from foreign currency overrode its protectionist policies. Moreover, it can be argued that the legal instruments that had been developed for the protection of heritage sites were not fully implemented by the state, and/or that supervisory and enforcement mechanisms were ineffective.

4.6.4 The Integration of Archaeology Museums into Heritage Management

The responsibility of archaeology museums in Turkey was expanded significantly with the enactment, in 1990, of the *Regulation on the Internal Duties of Museums*. Museums were now responsible, on top of their duties related to museum administration, for identifying heritage sites; performing bureaucratic tasks concerning designation; and, where necessary, excavating

(Regulation on the Internal Duties of Museums 1990: Articles 4-5). These ‘external’ duties represented a significant addition to the Imperial Museum’s original mission under Osman Hamdi. Second, with these new responsibilities, archaeology museums took on the lowliest role, and yet the most critical one, within the administrative hierarchy of heritage sites. During the identification and designation processes, museums came into contact with local people living around heritage sites, and thus became the first administrative bodies to have the chance to observe management problems onsite. As a result, archaeology museums took on the role of an intermediary between the Regional Councils and local people, a position that they still maintain today.

4.7 From 2003 to the Present

4.7.1 Legislative Changes on Tourism, Conservation and the Public Administration Laws

The 2004 revision to the *Conservation Law*, and the *Regulation for Site Management* introduced a series of important administrative and planning innovations, which need to be analysed together with revisions to the tourism and public administration laws, as they embody a turning point in the management of heritage sites in Turkey. The *Regulation for Site Management*, which promotes participatory and sustainable management, is clearly distinguishable from previous policy tools. It has the potential to produce solutions for several long-standing problems at heritage sites in Turkey.

4.7.1.1 2003 Revisions to the Tourism Encouragement Law

The unification of the separate Ministries of Culture and Tourism into a single Ministry of Culture and Tourism, in 2003, was accompanied by revisions to the *Tourism Encouragement Law*. These revisions introduced Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Regions (CTCDRs), which reflected structural changes in the administration of tourism and culture, and an early step towards cultural tourism.

As defined in the *Tourism Encouragement Law* (1982: Section One/Article 3/b), CTCDRs denote areas with high potential for tourism development and/or high historical and cultural importance that are to be evaluated for preservation, utilisation and sectoral development. Along with tourism centres delineated by the MCT, CTCDRs are given priority in tourism investments (1982: Section Three/Article 13). Subject to the authorisation of the Board of Ministers, an entire CTCDR can be allocated for up to 75 years to a main investor for tourism investment¹⁷. The initiatives associated with CTCDRs aim at bringing economic vitality to and improving touristic facilities in regions with a rich cultural heritage. In this regard, the duration of the allocations can be interpreted as a sign of the MCT's willingness to work with big investors and generate high revenues.

4.7.1.2 2004 Revisions to the Conservation Law

The changes that were brought to the *Conservation Law* in 2004 mainly revolve around conceptual, planning, financial and administrative issues. Among these changes, the ones that pertain to site management can be grouped under four categories.

4.7.1.2.1 New Concepts: Junction Point and Interactive Area

The 2004 revision to the *Conservation Law* introduced the concepts of the 'junction point' and the 'interactive area,' which concern site management and CDP. These concepts were introduced in order to try to resolve matters of planning (concerning the immediate surroundings of heritage sites), which had been neglected until then. The term "junction point" (*bağlantı noktası*) refers to heritage sites that are not included within the boundaries of the area where site management will be practiced (i.e., the management site), but which are linked to the site archaeologically, geographically, culturally and historically (Conservation Law 1983: Article 3, a/12). In this respect, the term can be connected to the concept of the "related place" mentioned in the 1999 *Burra Charter*, where it is defined as: "*a place that contributes to the cultural significance of*

¹⁷ For the terms of allocations related with the CTCDRs, see the *Regulation on the Allocation of Immovable Public Assets in Tourism Investments (Kamu Taşınmazlarının Turizm Yatırımlarına Tahsisi Hakkında Yönetmelik)* 2006: Chapter Four/Article 17(5)

another place” (Burra Charter 1999: Article 1, 1.13). The more technical concept of the “interactive area” (*etkileşim sahası*) refers to the space that completes the conservation area, influences it, or is influenced by it in a physical sense (Regulation on Site Management 2005: Chapter One/Article 4).

4.7.1.2.2 A New Approach for Conservation Development Plans

Until 2004, when the notion of ‘management plan’ was introduced, the CDP had been the only type of comprehensive plan for conservation areas. However, CDPs have long been criticised for their inadequacies in fulfilling the needs of local people living on or near conservation areas (discussed on pages 196-199 and 261-263). At the centre of the major criticisms is the view that the preparation of CDPs lacks a pluralistic approach and therefore does not provide democratic solutions (Kiper 2005: 27; Zeren 1990). The 2004 amendments made to Article 17 of the *Conservation Law* appear to acknowledge the major criticisms of the CDPs; accordingly, the new definition states that CDPs ‘incorporate research-based data on the cultural, demographic, socio-economic, settlement and ownership structure of a conservation site in addition to its archaeological, historical, natural and architectural aspects; create employment opportunities; improve the economic and social states of households and businesses; and include site management models’ (Conservation Law 1983: Chapter One/Article 3/8).

As part of the changes, a new methodological approach was developed for the preparation of the CDPs. According to the new approach, which is explained in a separate regulation enacted in 2005, at least two meetings are to be held, one prior to the formulation of plan decisions and one at the draft plan stage. At these meetings, various stakeholders including NGOs, academics, host communities of the conservation area and all other groups affected by the plan are to be given the opportunity to discuss the CDP (Regulation on the Preparation, Implementation and Monitoring of Conservation Development Plans and Landscaping Projects 2005: Chapter Two/Article 6/f).

4.7.1.2.3 *Provision of New Resources*

The lack of resources has been a significant handicap in the effective management of heritage sites since the onset of the Republican period (Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 34). Subsidies set aside from the limited budget of the MCT, and visitor revenues distributed by the Central Directorate for Revolving Funds of the MCT, have been insufficient to meet the needs of the hundreds of heritage sites in Turkey. The formula developed in 2004 to solve this root problem was the Contribution Fee for the Conservation of Immovable Cultural Properties (*Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına Katkı Payı*). This resource, consisting of 10% of real estate tax, could be used to safeguard heritage sites under the purview of the municipalities and the Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs)¹⁸ (Conservation Law 1983: Chapter Two/Article 12/Add. Parag.). Contribution Fees are collected by the relevant municipalities along with their real estate taxes, and are amassed in a special account opened by the SPA. When necessary, they are transferred to municipalities or SPAs to be spent for expropriation, project design, and planning. The use of Contribution Fees is under the supervision of the Governor of the Province.

4.7.1.2.4 *Conservation, Implementation and Control Offices*

Revisions to Article 10 of the *Conservation Law* assigned important duties regarding heritage sites to local administrations. On the one hand, these new duties are aimed at transferring some of the Regional Councils' responsibilities regarding urban conservation areas to local administrations, thus increasing the functional efficiency of the Regional Councils. On the other hand, they have the goal of bringing the local organisation of the MCT closer to local administrations on issues of planning and conservation (Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 34). Conservation, Implementation and Control Offices (CICOs) (*Koruma, Uygulama ve Denetim Büroları*) are one of the means of serving these two aims. CICOs Offices, which can be set up

¹⁸ The Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs) were founded in 1913 under the name of public assemblies. From 1987 onwards, under their current name, they have provided public services in rural areas and have played an important role in conservation campaigns concerning heritage sites (Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 36). At the present, SPAs assist the central administration in providing the population of each province access to public services. They are public-corporate entities possessing administrative and financial autonomy. For more details, see the *Special Provincial Administrations Law* (no. 5302) (04.03.2005).

within greater municipalities, SPAs and in municipalities permitted by the MCT, are responsible for overseeing urban conservation areas (Conservation Law 1983: Chapter Two/Article 10). Among their duties, four are especially prominent:¹⁹ [a] overseeing modification and repair works; [b] supervising the implementation of CDPs approved by the Regional Councils; [c] supervising activities regarding survey, restitution, and restoration projects approved by the Regional Councils; and [d] performing necessary operations concerning every kind of construction and other activities contrary to the resolutions of the High Council, the decisions of the Regional Councils, the CDP, and *Public Works Legislation* (Regulation on the Establishment and Operation of the Conservation, Implementation and Control Offices, Project Offices and Training Units 2005: Chapter Two/Article 7).

4.7.1.3 2004-2005 Revisions to the Public Administration Laws

In order to streamline the Turkish public administrative system with European Union standards, a series of structural changes was made in 2004 and 2005 regarding the duties of local administrations (Güçhan and Kurul 2009: 33). As a result, municipalities were allocated new responsibilities for heritage sites. With the revisions of the *Greater Municipalities Law* (no. 5216) and the *Municipalities Law* (no. 5393), the municipalities with populations exceeding 50,000 were charged with safeguarding historic buildings in their territory, including their restoration, conservation, and reconstruction (Greater Municipalities Law 2004: Article 7/o; Municipalities Law 2005: Article 14/a-b).

The Law on the Conservation and Revitalisation of Deteriorated Immovable Cultural and Historical Properties (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*), which came into effect in 2005, is the second legislative measure giving initiative to the municipalities regarding heritage sites. This law authorises the metropolitan municipalities, greater municipalities and district municipalities, and/or the SPAs, to take the following steps in heritage sites (i.e ‘renovation areas’) -which are on the verge of losing their character-: [a] to carry out restoration and re-construction works in

¹⁹ The duties of the CICOs were specified with the *Regulation on the Establishment and Operation of the Conservation, Implementation and Control Offices, Project Offices and Training Units*, enacted in 2005.

harmony with regional development activities; [b] to develop housing, commercial, cultural, touristic and social facilities; [c] to take necessary precautions against the risk of natural disasters; and [d] to safeguard historic monuments' revitalisation. The SPAs and the municipalities are allowed to delineate renovation areas, subject to the approval of the Council of Ministers (Article 2). Projects for renovation areas can either be prepared by the municipalities and the SPAs in person, or can be contracted to private companies.

4.7.2 *Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023*

As the Antalya Chamber of Architects (2004: 39) noted, the pledges made by various Turkish governments in the area of development plans have mostly been unrealised. Insufficient progress has been made by respective governments regarding their goals of, for example, diversifying tourism and extending the tourist season. As in the past, economic-oriented policies towards mass tourism have maintained their hegemony, and have been driven by the desire for increasing tourism revenues and tourist numbers. This has resulted in the allocation of new tourism areas along the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts through the 2000s.

The *Ultimate Development Plan* (2007-2013), which is still in force, renews the overriding tourism goals included in earlier plans. Nevertheless, together with the *Penultimate Development Plan* (2001-2005) – by virtue of its emphasis on cultural tourism – it indicates a change of policy by the state. The CTCDRs, which were initiated in 2004, can be regarded as the first sign of this change. The *Law for the Encouragement of Cultural Investments and Enterprises* (no. 5225) can be regarded as another mechanism to enhance cultural tourism. This law, which came into effect in 2004, is primarily concerned with two major goals: [a] the preservation of historic buildings and their use as contributors to national economy; and [b] the safeguarding, research, documentation and promotion of intangible heritage in Turkey (2004: Section One/Article 1). On the basis of a licence system from the MCT, the law offers a series of incentives such as discounts on withholding tax and social security premiums and recruitment of foreign experts for enterprises and investments that correspond with these two goals.

The *Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 (TST 2023)* is the most comprehensive official document laying out the details of Turkey's current tourism agenda and its future plans for cultural tourism. *TST 2023*, which was prepared in line with the *Penultimate Development Plan*, is based on a self-assessment on previous tourism initiatives by the MCT, in particular how they have allowed over-concentration on the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts and a distorted urbanisation along with environmental and infrastructure problems around coastal areas (MCT 2007: 1). As an alternative to the predominant approach to tourism (i.e., sun and sea holidays), the *TST 2023* now advocates cultural tourism. In line with this aim, it proposes the use of heritage sites, extension of the tourism season and enhancement of domestic tourism in the inland areas of Turkey. The strategy's target is to reach, as of 2023, 63 million tourists and 86 billion USD tourism income (MCT 2007: 3). These targets represent almost twice the number of tourists seen in 2011 (31.4 million), and 3.7 times the tourism revenue (23 billion USD) produced in the same year (MCT 2012).

In *TST 2023*, cultural tourism is given precedence, along with thermal and winter tourism. In particular, cultural tourism is incorporated into the plans for tourism cities and tourism development regions (MCT 2007: 9-21). Under the scheme for 'brand cities', the MCT seeks to annually delineate a Turkish city as the 'cultural tourism city', which involves the restoration of its historic buildings and the promotion of its intangible heritage (MCT 2007: 21). Coupled with this, the aim for tourism development regions is to create 'destination points' across Turkey and to foreground their 'regional' and 'thematic' features (MCT 2007: 27). In this respect, nine 'thematic regions' were proposed. Notably, these nine regions were designed on the basis of their archaeological characteristics. For instance, various neighbouring regions containing archaeological remains of the Hittite civilisation are clustered to form the 'Hittite Thematic Region'.

4.7.3 *Triangulating TST 2023, the Regulation for Site Management and the WHL*

Turkey's tourism agenda and the *Regulation for Site Management* can be connected at two points. First, *TST's 2023* initiatives on cultural tourism are obviously reflected in the Regulation. Some expressions in the objectives for site management (see page 1 in Chapter 1) including: 'to

raise the value of heritage sites to an international level...to develop cultural tourism...to develop cultural systems in regions comprising protected heritage sites which can be associated with each other” are direct references of the concerns for cultural tourism. Similarly, the expression “visitor density” in the definition of ‘monument’ points to touristic historical monuments (see page 2 in Chapter 1). Although less evident, the second connection is embedded in the particular character of heritage sites that are subject to the current programme for site management. These include some of Turkey’s heritage sites either inscribed in UNESCO’s WHL or nominated by the MCT for inclusion in the WHL, for example, Alanya Castle, Çatalhöyük, Aphrodisias, Selimiye Mosque, Ephesus, Nemrud, City of Safranbolu, the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul, the Great Mosque and Hospital of Divriği and Mardin Cultural Landscape. Noticeably, all these sites are located in the tourism development regions mentioned in the *TST 2023*.

An analysis of the *Regulation for Site Management*, the national tourism agenda, and the WHL enables to ascertain that the *raison d’être* of site management is the government’s desire to develop cultural tourism in Turkey. In this respect, the World Heritage label seems to represent, for the MCT, an added value for touristic heritage sites, as well as a means to benefit from opportunities that the WHSs are believed to offer. As Hall (2006: 21) and Turtinen (2000: 2) reveal, these opportunities involve the expectations that WHSs contribute, in particular, to promoting national cultural patrimony; increasing tourist numbers; raising local awareness for safeguarding; and mobilising financial resources. Turkey’s aspirations behind its WHSs cannot be considered distinctive in comparison with other countries. However, the nature of Turkey’s tourism industry permits the assumption that the MCT’s outlook for WHSs predominantly aims at maximising tourism revenues by channelling tourists towards ‘high-profile’ heritage sites around popular holiday accommodations, and attracting cultural tourists to Turkey under the hypothesis that they represent ‘high value’ and increased consumption in the local economy (Ulusoy 2005: 12).

The *Regulation for Site Management* should be seen as a legislative framework that was particularly designed to conform to UNESCO’s norms, such as participatory processes, in management plan development for WHSs (page 58). Its provisions address a lack of practical experience in the management of heritage sites in Turkey. Therefore, the Regulation in fact

mirrors a general need for guidance and sets up a bureaucratic foundation for site management. The case of Hierapolis-Pamukkale is quite illustrative of the Regulation's existence. The site management plan for this World Heritage site was prepared in 2002 in collaboration with Akan Architecture (a private firm based in Istanbul), Oxford Archaeological Unit and a large group of freelance consultants²⁰ (Akan Architecture 2014). However, this first formal example of site management plan in Turkey was not implemented due to various reasons. In a personal communication Tanju Verda Akan, the Chairman of Akan Architecture, has explained that the major obstruction concerning the implementation of Hierapolis-Pamukkale management plan was the lack of a relevant administrative framework and general bureaucratic mechanisms to manage its action (D. Saraç, 28.05.2014).

It should also be noted that the timing of the Regulation is related to the MCT's programme for the WHSs. Out of 26 heritage sites currently placed on Turkey's tentative list, 17 were nominated between 1994 and 2000. Judging from the concentration of the nominations in this time period, it is clear that the MCT's concern for the WHL began roughly in the mid-1990s. The MCT's press statements concerning the WHL also evince such a concern. Discourse analysis of these statements reveals a striking emphasis placed on Turkey's under-representation in the WHL (Selçuk and Tosun 2010, 24; Gündem 2008).

4.7.4 Linking Site Management to the Legislative Changes on the Conservation Law and Public Administration Laws

4.7.4.1 Site Management and CDPs

As stated in Chapter 1, the aim of site management is to safeguard archaeological sites and conservation areas within the scope of a sustainable management plan. The concepts of participation and sustainability – which constitute the pillars of this aim – are, at the same time, the foundations of the revisions regarding the CDPs. In this regard, it must be noted that the approach to management and planning at heritage sites and conservation areas in Turkey

²⁰ Hierapolis-Pamukkale site management plan was co-funded by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the World Bank.

changed markedly after 2004. How should this change be interpreted? Without a doubt, UNESCO has been the catalyst in the popularisation of the concepts of sustainability and participatory management in Turkey. The management plan criteria, standardised by UNESCO for the WHL in the mid-1990s, led Turkey, which places great importance on the WHL, to update its philosophy regarding heritage sites. Thus, statements about participatory and sustainable management in the *Conservation Law*, the *Regulation for Site Management* and the 2005 *Regulation for CDPs*, can be seen to resonate with UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, the *Burra Charter* (1999: Article 12), and the *ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage* (1990: Introduction).

Participatory planning is a phenomenon that was not included in past administrative policies concerning archaeological sites in Turkey. Until 2003, the management of archaeological sites simply consisted of the implementation of general rules and principles by the relevant central and local government entities. Therefore, the importance placed upon local communities' interests and partnership, within the scope of site management and CDP, marks a clear distinction when compared with earlier periods.

This recognition of the human dimension of planning and collaboration with actors other than the state are also the most important features of the *Regulation for Site Management*. Within the management plan process configured for site management, civil actors play important roles. Accordingly, as for the CDPs, NGOs, local communities, academics, property right holders and government institutions can exchange their ideas in at least two meetings both prior to and during the preparation of the draft management plan. On the basis of administrative structure, the Advisory Board includes civil members. These boards consist of at least five members including property holders, academics, NGOs and the site manager. The Advisory Board can also offer recommendations to the Co-ordination and Audit Board regarding the evaluation and implementation of a draft management plan (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter Three/Article 15).

4.7.4.2 *Site Management and Municipalities*

As Güçhan and Kurul (2009: 36-37) point out, municipalities' responsibilities with regard to heritage sites were limited until 2004. Due to their experience and position in planning, the municipalities' major roles consisted of the preparation and implementation of CDPs; the enforcement of temporary development regulations in conservation areas; safeguarding listed buildings; and monitoring construction activities permitted by the Regional Councils. In fact, acting merely as support for the Regional Councils, municipalities did not have the authority to appoint specialist staff under their own institutional umbrella. The new initiatives entrusted to municipalities from 2004 onwards represent more freedom for municipalities to develop their own projects, as well as the opportunity to recruit experienced staff. Thus, as Güçhan and Kurul (2009: 36) have noted, municipalities have become the second major actors, in the management of heritage sites in Turkey after the MCT.

The initiatives granted to municipalities by the *Regulation for Site Management* should be seen as part of a strategy by the state to share with local administrations its load of responsibilities for heritage sites. In this respect, the municipalities' major roles in site management are twofold. Firstly, they have responsibility for the delineation of 'management sites', i.e., sites selected for site management. Municipalities can make proposals to the MCT for the delineation of urban conservation sites within their administrative territory as a management site (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter One, Article 4). Secondly, municipalities are responsible for either preparing by themselves, or tendering out, the drafting of management plans at urban conservation sites and in areas where two or more conservation sites co-exist with urban conservation sites (such as the Historic Areas of Istanbul or Alanya Castle) (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter Two/Article 8). In both cases, the management plan team formed by the municipality is obliged to work with an expert consultant (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter Two/Article 10). The authority for approving draft management plans belongs to the Co-ordination and Audit Board, which is formed mostly by members outside the municipal context. Moreover, this Co-ordination and Audit Board is entitled to supervise the implementation process of the management plans with a supervisory body created within itself (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter Three/Articles 16–17). The role of

municipalities in the structural formation specified for the Monument Council is more limited compared to its role in site management. Monument Councils can only be set up at heritage sites delineated by the MCT as a ‘monument’ (page 2). Municipalities have the right of representation on the councils (Chapter Four/Article 18).

4.8 Summary

The development of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire began in a period when steps were being taken towards modernisation. In this context, the archaeology museum founded in 1846 is one of the institutions adapted from the West. The Museum (later the Imperial Museum) represented an instinctive response to Westerners’ archaeological activities in Ottoman lands. However, in the years to come, it became a means of striving to match the Westerners’ antiquarianism, and, in general, of propagating a territorial image of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans’ first antiquities laws similarly acted in consort with the mission of the Imperial Museum. These laws – each of which had the aim of redressing the deficiencies of its predecessor – had as their architects certain intellectual bureaucrats within the Ottoman state. The last of the Ottoman Empire’s laws of antiquities, the 1906 *Law of Antiquities*, stayed in place until 1973, and created the general outlines of Turkey’s current administrative framework regarding heritage sites.

In the early years of the Turkish Republic, archaeology continued to take on political missions. The nation-state, as it was being constructed, benefited from archaeology in creating a Turkish identity, and in legitimising the borders of modern Turkey as a Turkish homeland. During this period – in contrast with the Ottoman era – archaeology was completely in the tutelage of the state. When considered from a legislative point of view, the Republican administration did not make any noteworthy innovations to existing antiquities laws. Nonetheless, it accomplished important tasks in the institutionalisation of archaeology in the scientific sense. Western scholars played an important role during this period.

During the years of multi-party political regimes, liberal economic programs began to be implemented in Turkey. In this environment, the first state incentives were provided to develop

tourism, and work on infrastructure was commenced. It was an era when tourism and urbanisation started to increase; thus as a response to this urbanisation the High Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments developed some conservation measures. In the 1960s, there was a transition to planned development, and tourism was integrated into five-year plans. Signs of increased investment in tourism and industrialisation were instrumental in the realisation of the 1973 *Law of Antiquities*, introduced the concepts of the conservation area and the CDP.

Due to European Union influence, many laws concerning tourism and heritage sites went up for review in the post-1980 period. Concurrently with this review process, the administrative structures of tourism and heritage sites were united (i.e., the MCT). Furthermore, Turkey ratified some international conventions regarding the environment and heritage sites, and the principles adopted with these conventions were reflected in post-1980 development plans. In 1982, with changes made in the *Tourism Encouragement Law*, various incentives and allocations were provided for the private tourism sector. As a result, within a short time, a rapid growth occurred in tourism investments. Although many conservation measures had previously been adopted in legislation, destructive effects of tourism growth on the heritage sites and on the natural environment of the Mediterranean and the Aegean coasts could not be prevented.

In the years between 2003 and 2005, related revisions were made to the *Tourism Encouragement Law*, the *Conservation Law* and some public administration laws. Analysis of these laws reveals three significant insights. First, since 2003, some noteworthy steps have been taken to develop cultural tourism in Turkey. Accordingly, the concept of site management has been formulated as one of the instruments to underpin cultural tourism. Second, the new preferences regarding CDPs and site management have led to a markedly distinct perspective on heritage management from that of earlier eras. Third, re-arrangements in the public administration have given important responsibilities concerning heritage sites to the municipal authorities.

Chapter 5. Archaeological and Touristic Features of the Case Study Sites

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the archaeological sites with which this thesis is concerned. It provides background information about the main archaeological and touristic aspects of the five sites (the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle) comprising the four case studies. As was stated early in the Methodology, the Church of St Nicholas and the ancient city of Myra constitute a single case study under the name of the former. The information presented in this chapter is particularly condensed, in line with the aims and objectives of this thesis, which is not concerned with the archaeological or touristic aspects of the case study sites *per se*, but rather deals with the sites from the standpoint of site management and tourism interface. In order to provide better contextual understanding, the archaeological and touristic features of the case study sites have been described by referring to their main geographical, economic, demographic, and administrative characteristics.

5.2 Myra

5.2.1 History of Myra

The ancient city of Myra, to which the Church of St Nicholas is archaeologically and historically related, is situated to the south of the Teke Peninsula in Demre (Figure 5.1). To the east of Myra, which is a few kilometres inland from the coast, is a creek -Demre Çayı- (ancient Myros) that empties into the Mediterranean. The delta formed from the alluvium carried by Demre Çayı, penning in the entire city of Myra and the mouth of its harbour, Andriake, brought an end to settlement there. Modern Demre lies above a layer of 4-5 metres alluvium covering ancient Myra. As a result, many of Myra's structures that range in date from the Classical Period until the Late Byzantine (5th c. BC – 14th c. AD) are currently beneath the soil (Çevik and Bulut 2010: 29-30).

The history of Myra is thought to extend back to the 3rd millennium BC (Çevik and Bulut 2010: 26). Information about the city's role in the Classical period is still lacking. Lycia region, in which Myra is situated (Figure 5.2), was conquered in 333 BC by Alexander the Great; and this was followed by the rule of the Ptolemies in 306 BC (Magi 1950). As is known from Strabo (XIV-III, 192 vd.), Myra was one of six members of the Lycian League (founded in 168/7 BC) with an important political status. Along with Xanthos, Patara, Pınara, Olympos, and Tlos, it was entitled to three votes in the League (Larsen 1945). Myra retained its importance under the Roman Empire. Some of Andriake's most important structures, the Granarium (storage complex) and Plakoma (the harbour agora) were built in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD) (Figures 5.3 and 5.4) (Çevik and Bulut 2010: 27).

With the spread of Christianity in Anatolia, Myra became a religious centre of Lycia as well as a political one (İşler 2010: 234). The bishop of Myra, St Nicholas, played an important part in the city's religious prominence. During the reign of Theodosius II (408-450 AD), Myra was a wealthy metropolis (Foss 1994); accordingly, Andriake's importance in the Mediterranean sea trade increased. The city's period of prosperity waned with the Arab incursions, which began in the 7th century and continued until the 11th. As a result of these attacks, many coastal settlements in Lycia, including that of Myra, were abandoned. In the 12th century, Lycia came under the rule of the Seljuks, who were expanding in Anatolia. The bishopric of Myra retained its centrality while it was under the control of the Turks, all the way until the 17th century (Harrison 1963).

5.2.2 *Nicholas of Myra*

The legendary St Nicholas of Myra is a historical figure whose name is identified with Demre. A limited number of *vitae* (biography of saints) ranging in date from the 6th to the 14th century provided information about the life of St Nicholas (Anrich 1913; Jones 1978). The *Praxis de Stratelasis*, dated to the 6th century, related that St Nicholas was bishop of Myra under the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine I (Augustus from 306) (Karakaya 2010). A second important source, from 565 AD, is the life-story of

Nicholas of Sion (*Vita Nicolai Sionitae*), the founder and head priest of Sion Monastery (located North of Myra), who is also known for his healing miracles. This vita certified that after his death (on December 6th, 343), St Nicholas was buried at Myra; it also asserted that his tomb became an important centre of pilgrimage from the 6th century onwards (Ševčenko 1983; Ševčenko and Ševčenko 1984). The *Vita per Michaelem*, dated to the 9th century, informed us that St Nicholas was born in the Lycian city of Patara, to the West of Kaş (Karakaya 2010).

There are a number of different miracles attributed to St Nicholas, which have become the subject of diverse stories as well as Byzantine art. Thanks to legends pertaining to these miracles, St Nicholas won fame as the protector of sailors, the poor, children, and soldiers (Figure 5.5) (Karakaya 2010). By the 10th century, the cult of Nicholas of Sion had become overshadowed by that of Nicolas of Myra, and the miracles attributed to the former became material for tales about the latter (Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 1991: 2/1471). After his death, the cult of St Nicholas spread eastward, as well as to Western Europe and Russia, and many churches were built in his name (Sevcenko 1983). St Nicholas's fame especially increased in the wake of the Iconoclasm in the 8th and 9th centuries, and he became a symbol of Orthodox Christianity. In 1087, his relics were taken to Bari by Italian merchants, and were put in a church constructed there in his name (Bean 1968; Harrison 1963). According to several hagiographic texts, December 6th (the feast day) represents the death of St Nicholas as a human being and rebirth as a Saint (Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 1991: 2/1471). It is therefore misleading to interpret this day as the 'birthday' of St Nicholas as several media in Turkey tends to indicate. Moreover, it should also be noted that the strong popularity of St Nicholas in the West is largely linked to the celebration of St Nicholas feast day (eve of December 5th and morning of December 6th) as the patron Saint of children, hence, a way of Christmas celebration in Scandinavia, Germany and the Low Countries.

5.2.3 Archaeological Research and Designation Status

Small-scale archaeological work had already been done at Myra and in its environ from the beginning of the 19th century (Bulgurlu 2010: 273-277; Çevik and Bulut 2010: 25). However, Borchardt's archaeological surveys between 1965 and 1968 constituted the first comprehensive work carried out at this site. This was followed by rescue excavations at the Church of St Nicholas by the Antalya Archaeology Museum between 1989 and 1991. Ötüken took over the excavations of the Church in 1992, and continued excavating until 2009. Since 2009, the excavations of Myra and Andriake have been carried out under the directorship of Çevik from Akdeniz University. The ancient city of Myra was designated as a Grade I and II archaeological site in 1982. In 1985, the Church of St Nicholas and its surroundings were put under protection as a Grade I archaeological site.

5.2.4 The Church of St Nicholas

From the early Christian era onwards, the Church of St Nicholas, at a distance of one kilometre from Myra (Figure 5.6), became closely associated with its patron saint, St Nicholas (Ötüken 1991). The Church, which houses the tomb of St Nicholas, has an important place in Byzantine art and archaeology by virtue of its architecture and frescoes. The first excavations at the Church were carried out in 1991 by Ötüken, and continued until 2009. Studies to date have shown that the building of the Church was in three phases. The first phase took place in the 6th century, when Myra was rebuilt following the earthquake of 529, which affected all of Lycia (Peschlow 1975: 323-4). Notably, archaeological research has not yet clarified the original form of the structure during the time when St Nicholas was the bishop of Myra. However, it is known that the form acquired by the Church during its second building phase, from the end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 9th, was retained until the 10th century (Karakaya 2010: 127). In its third building phase (in the 11th century), additions were made to the North and South sections of the Church, and this fact has been interpreted to mean that the church functioned as a monastery during that period (Türker 2010: 137-8) (Figure 5.7). These add-on structures have been the focus of excavation campaigns since the 1990s.

5.2.5 Other Structures

The ancient city of Myra extends over a wide area, and houses a number of important structures besides the Church of St Nicholas. Among these, the most impressive are no-arguably the rock-cut tombs (Figure 5.8). Myra possesses 104 of these tombs – which are unique to the Lycian region – in its three main necropolises (Eastern, Western, and Southern). The tombs are dated in between the first quarter of the 4th century BC and 320 BC (Çevik and Bulut 2010: 33). Some of the facades of the tombs, which mimic the wooden architecture of the period, are adorned with reliefs (Borchardt 1975).

The Acropolis of Myra and its defence system constitute the second striking feature of the city (Figure 5.9). The Acropolis, surrounded by two rows of fortification walls, is believed to have been used from the 5th century BC until the Byzantine era (Borchardt 1975: 32; Peschlow 1996). All structures related to Myra's defence system are Hellenistic. Along with its rock tombs, Myra's theatre, which is able to seat 11,500 people, is its most-visited site. This Hellenistic-Roman theatre can be regarded as the most magnificent in the Lycian region in terms of its dimensions and decoration (Çevik and Bulut 2010: 35). Among Myra's other main archaeological features are its nymphaeum, bath, 20 kilometre long aqueduct, and a Byzantine chapel brought to light in 2010 (Akyürek 2010: 153-168). Finally, the Myra-Andriake Expedition conducted since 2010 has turned up many important discoveries. In the area known as the Southern settlement (Figure 5.10), aside from the Granarium and the Plakoma, the expedition has found four churches, a synagogue, water cisterns, warehouses, magazines, and the remains of various structures, which have not yet been identified (Çevik and Bulut 2010: 40-48; Mediterranean University 2013).

5.2.6 Ancient Settlements in the Vicinity of Myra

Myra retained its identity as a large metropolis from the Classical Age until the Byzantine times. The West of Myra, the axis between Demre and Kaş, is known as Lycia's most densely settled area (Çevik 2010: 181). Most of the visible remains of these settlements are dated from the Roman and Byzantine periods. They become denser at the foot of Çam

and Ümmü Mountains, and in the coastal region, where there are many harbours. Settlements such as Andriake, Sura, and Ision were Myra's units of transportation, defence, commerce, and worship. Some of the settlements surrounding Myra created formal political alliances (*sympoliteia*) among themselves. Kyaneai (Yavu), with an area of 120 square kilometres, was a large polis containing several small settlements. Trebendai-Tyberissos-Teimiusa and Aperlai-Simena-Apollonia-Isinda are examples of regional alliances interacted with Myra (Çevik 2010: 183).

5.2.7 Tourism in Demre and the Church of St Nicholas

Until the 1960s, Demre was made up of only a few villages. In 1968, with the unification of four villages, it acquired the status of a municipality, and in 1987 became a district. By 2009, the population of Demre had reached nearly 25,000 with the township of Beymelek and nine villages attached to it (TNSI 2013). The fertile alluvial plain on which Demre sits has always been favourable for agriculture (Figure 5.11). In the middle of the 1950s, in order to create employment for the Türkmen nomads, as well as for Turks who had immigrated from Thessaloniki (Güçlü 2010), a government incentive led to the beginning of olive production in Demre. This was followed in the 1960s by a shift to greenhouse cultivation. In this way, agriculture outstripped the cereal trade and animal husbandry, the main sources of income for the people until the 1950s (Karagöz 2010).

The number of farming households within the population of Demre stands at 7,600 (Özkan et al 2010). Though agricultural lands represent a small percentage (14.3%) of the total amount of land in the district, Demre is nonetheless one of the main centres of citrus production and greenhouse cultivation in Turkey (Özkan et al 2010). Demre's glass and plastic greenhouses, which number in the hundreds, present the spectacle of a white screen covering the whole city. As is the case around the necropolis of Myra, some of these greenhouses have encroached upon archaeological conservation areas (Sayan et al 2010: 369) (Figure 5.12).

Looked at as a whole, Demre cannot be identified as a touristic town but instead it is a place with touristic locations. The main factor hampering the development of tourism in Demre until now has been its location. The shortest highway connecting Demre, which is surrounded by Çam and Ümmü Mountains, to Antalya is the winding, 140 kilometre-long coastal road. This difficulty in transportation is the reason why tourism infrastructure efforts on Antalya's Western coastline since the 1970s have not reached Demre, and hence there are limited opportunities for touristic accommodation in the district today (Himmetoğlu 2010: 396; Özkan et al 2010: 377; Sarı 2010: 386). On the other hand, the problem of transportation can be seen as a determinant for the good state of preservation at the archaeological and natural sites in Demre simply because it has limited access to the area.

Undoubtedly, Myra and the Church of St Nicholas are currently the heart of tourism in Demre. Since 2008, both archaeological sites have been Antalya's most-visited heritage sites (Figure 5.13). The importance held by the figure of St Nicholas in the Christian tradition has created a vogue for the Church and for the ancient city of Myra especially among foreign tourists. Russians make up a significant percentage of the visitors, a phenomenon connected to the importance of the cult of St Nicholas in Orthodox Christianity from the 11th century onwards (Karakaya 2010: 132) (Figure 5.14). In the Church of St Nicholas, which, like Istanbul's Hagia Sophia, has been dubbed a museum, ceremonies honouring St Nicholas are held every year on his feast day. In the city centre of Demre, alongside St Nicholas's image as a "saint," emphasis is also placed on his image as "Santa Claus" (Figure 5.15). Gift shops, concentrated in the areas adjacent to the Church, serve to commercialise the two images of St Nicholas. Notably, these small businesses create the spectacle of a touristic site isolated within the run-down city centre of Demre.

Demre's second important touristic spot, after Myra and the Church of St Nicholas, is the Kaş-Kekova Special Environmental Protection Area. Covering an area of 260 square kilometres, it begins in Uluburun (in the Eastern part of Kaş) and stretches towards the coast and islands to the East of Kekova (Figure 5.16). Simena (Kale), Teimiusa (Üçağız),

and Aperlai (Sıcak İskeleyi) are the main archaeological sites along the coastline of the Kaş-Kekova Special Environment Protection Area (SEPA). Dolichiste (Kekova) is the biggest island in the area. Other important islands are İç Ada, Topraklı Ada, Aşırılı, and Kişneli.

During the tourist season, daylong boat tours are arranged to the aforementioned archaeological sites and islands. The boats, which leave from Andriake, take the tour groups around, in particular, the sunken parts of Teimiusa and Dolichiste, and Simena (Figure 5.17) (Sarı 2010: 390). As opportunities for accommodation in Demre are limited, tourists who come to the district are mostly day-trippers. In particular, the ancient city of Myra is the first stop for tourist groups coming to Demre by road from Alanya, the Antalya city centre, Kemer, and Belek. From here, the processions of tourists visiting the Church of St Nicholas join boat tours after lunch. Other archaeological sites that are stationed in the hinterland of Demre are only visited on an individual basis, by those who take an interest in them.

Apart from archaeological activities, another touristic spot in Demre is its Santa Claus Bird Sanctuary, where bird watching takes place. This marshy area of 100 hectares, found between Andriake and the Kaş-Demre road, contains 168 of Turkey's 502 varieties of birds (Erdoğan et al 2010). The Sanctuary, designated as a natural conservation area in 1998, is a natural refuge for birds, as well as one of Turkey's important centres for ornithology studies.



Figure 5.1: Map of Southwest Antalya (Source: Map by Sabri Aydal in Çevik and Bulut 2010)

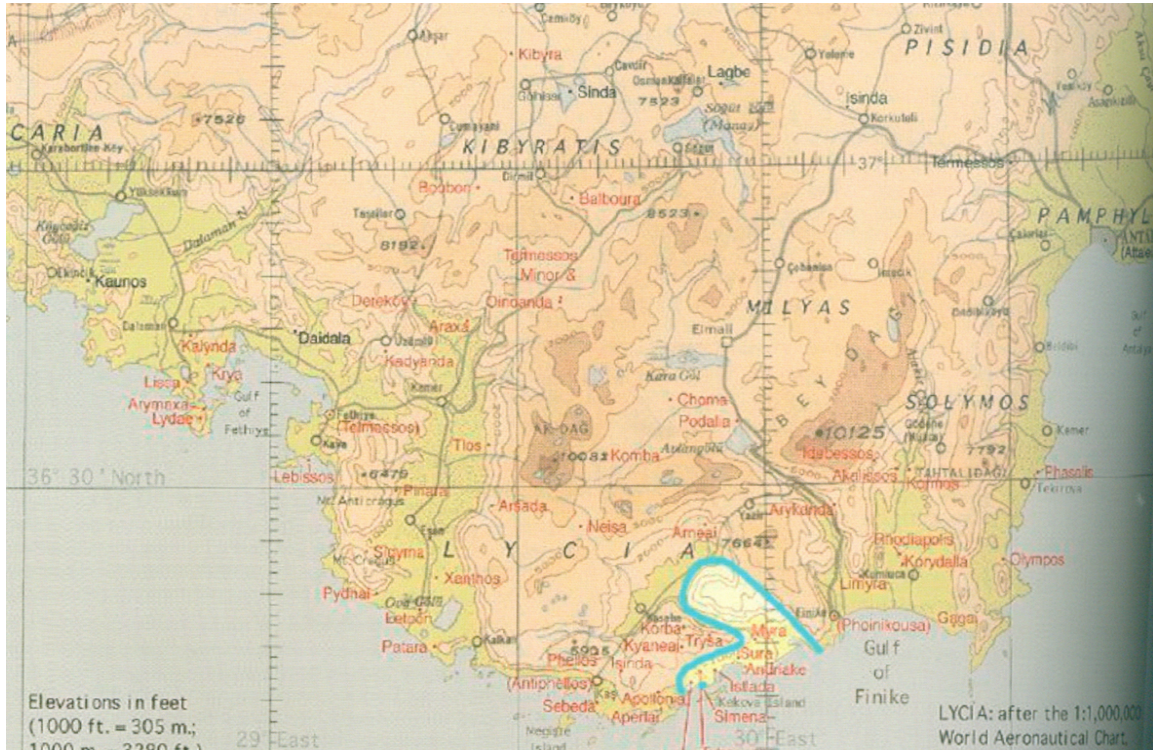


Figure 5.2: Map of Lycia with the area of Myra marked out (Source: lycianturkey.com in Öztürk 2010)



Figure 5.3: Andriake. General view of the site as of 2009 (Source: Çevik and Bulut 2010)



Figure 5.4: Andriake. The group of buildings featuring the Plakoma (top left) and the Granarium on its right hand side (Source: Çevik and Bulut 2010)



Figure 5.5: The Church of St Nicholas. A fresco showing St Nicholas healing a woman (Source: Karakaya 2010)



Figure 5.6: Map of Myra and Andriake (Source: Çevik and Bulut 2010)

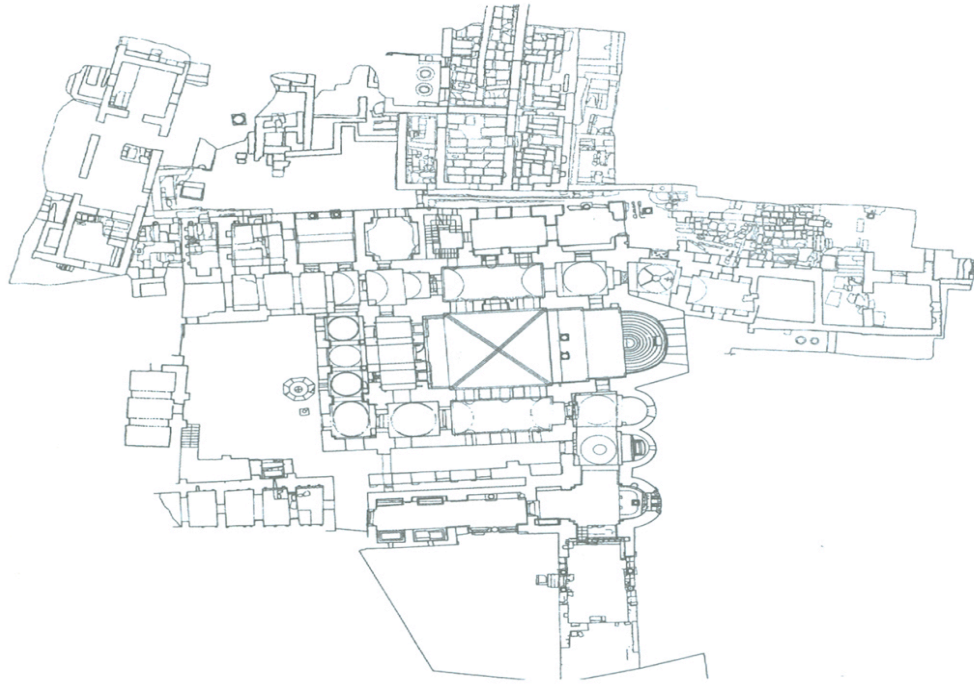


Figure 5.7: Plan of the Church of St Nicholas (Source: Ötügen 2004)



Figure 5.8: Myra. The Western Necropolis featuring the rock-cut tombs (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.9: Myra. The Acropolis (Source: Çevik and Bulut 2010)

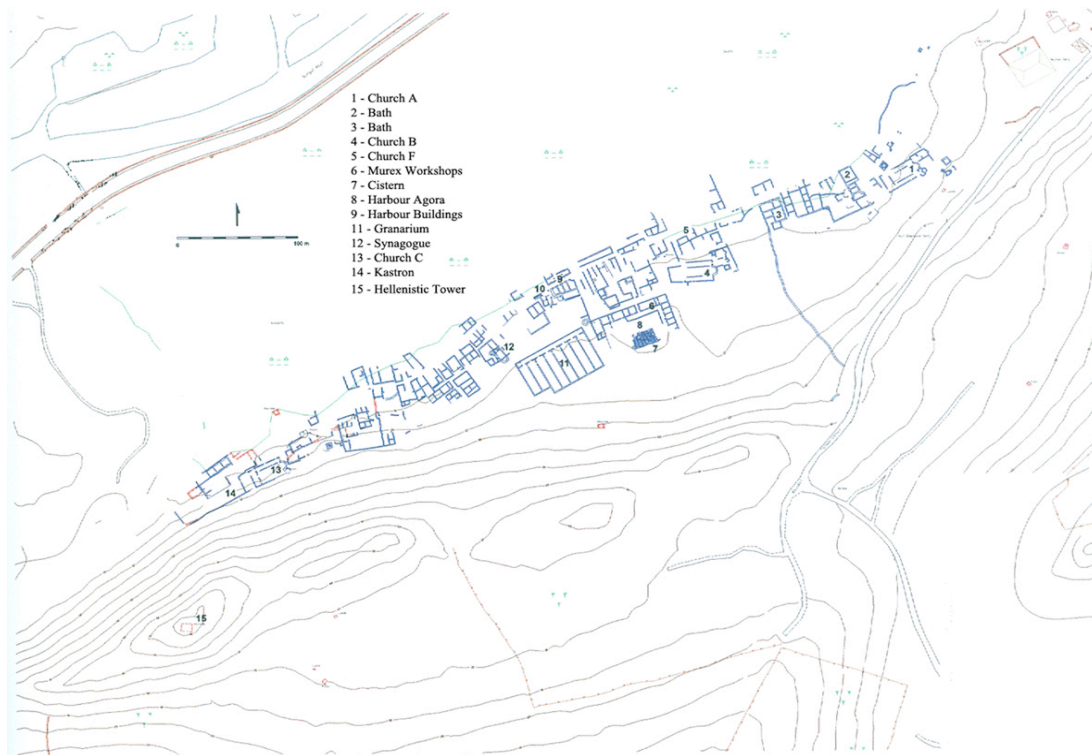


Figure 5.10: Site Plan of Andriake (Source: Plan by Aygün and Atasoy in Çevik and Bulut 2010)



Figure 5.11: Agricultural landscape of Demre (Source: Sayan et al 2010)



Figure 5.12: Myra. Greenhouses neighboring the Western Necropolis (Photograph by Saraç 2008)

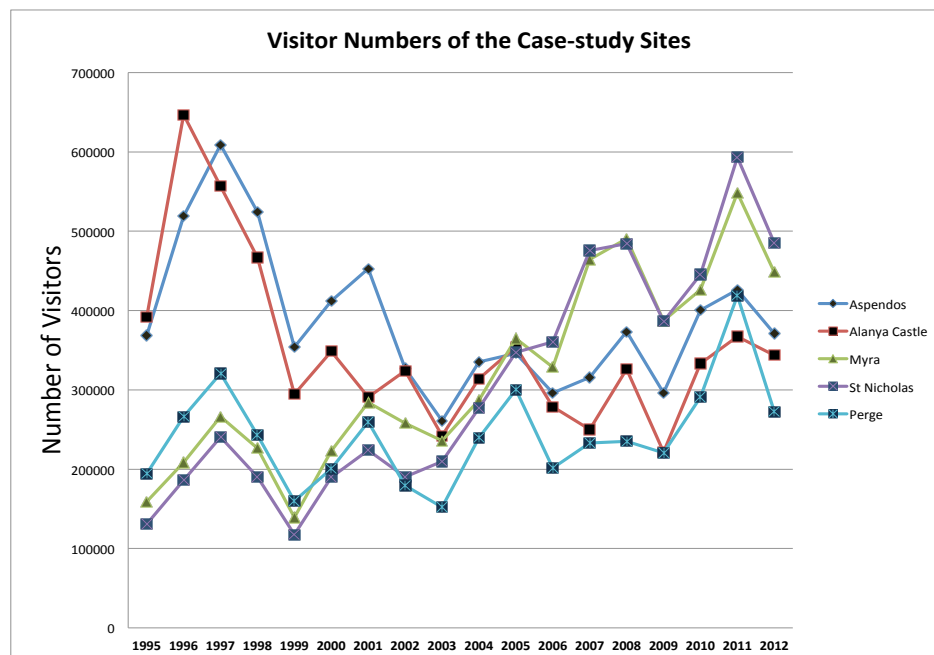


Figure 5.13: Visitor numbers of the case study sites between 1995 and 2012 (PDCT of Antalya 2013a)



Figure 5.14: The Church of St Nicholas. Bronze statue of St Nicholas made by a Russian artist and donated to the Church by the Russian Embassy to Turkey (Source: Sarı 2010)



Figure 5.15: The Statue of Santa Claus placed in the square outside the Church of St Nicholas (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.16: Kekova Special Environment Protection Area (Source: Sarı 2010)



Figure 5.17: Kekova Sea as seen from Simena (Photograph by Saraç 2008)

5.3 Perge

5.3.1 *The Environ of Perge: Pamphylia*

In Mediterranean archaeology, Pamphylia refers to the 100-km-long coastal plain extending from the foothills of the Bey Mountains just west of Antalya, all the way to Alanya. The plain, shaped like a bow, is surrounded by the Taurus Mountains, which run parallel to the sea (Figure 5.18). Pamphylia, with its springs of water fed from the Taurus Range, is agriculturally a very fertile area. During the Bronze Age, Pamphylia traded extensively with nearby Cyprus, and had commercial relationships with the main ports on the Mediterranean coast, as well as inland areas close to the coast (Akdoğu Arca et al 2011; Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 1991: 3/1568). Attaleia (modern-day Antalya), Perge, Sillyon, Aspendos, and Side were Pamphylia's major metropolises (Foss 1996; Grainger 2009; Lanckoronski 2005). During the reign of Constantine I, Pamphylia was a Roman province with Perge as its capital. In the 5th century, following the rise of Christianity in the region, it was divided into two parts: Side and Perge. This division has been attributed to a clash between the two metropolises stemming from their ecclesiastical structure. Settlements in Pamphylia multiplied in the 6th century in tandem with increase in prosperity from trading. The Arab incursions, which started in the middle of the 7th century, caused considerable destruction in the region. In 1207, the Seljuks, who had entered Anatolia with the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, took over the administration of Pamphylia.

5.3.2 *History of Perge*

The ancient city of Perge is located four kilometres to the west of the Aksu River (ancient Kestros), about 11 kilometres inland from the sea. Its acropolis is believed to have been the first settled part of the city (Abbasoğlu and Martini 2003; Martini 2010). The two hills on the south of the Acropolis, Koça Belen and İyilik Belen, have both created a natural defence for Perge, and played a defining role in the city's expansion (Figure 5.19).

The settlement history of Perge dates back to prehistoric times. Some archaeological finds obtained since 2003 from Abbasoğlu's excavations at the Acropolis shed some light on Perge's ancient past. These finds include Late Neolithic / Early Chalcolithic flint and obsidian tools, infant burials from the Chalcolithic, remains of Late Bronze Age structures, and ceramics dated to the Middle/Late Bronze Age periods (Balkan-Atlı 2003; Umurtak 2003). Previous architectural and ceramic findings dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BC are among the discoveries from the Archaic period of the Acropolis (Abbasoğlu 2003; Eschbach 2003). Yet limited in quantity, the archaeological evidence collected so far allow suggesting that Perge's acropolis was continuously settled from the Prehistoric times down the end of the Classical Period (Abbasoğlu 2001; Martini 2010). The lower city of Perge was built in the Hellenistic period (Figure: 5.20). The city, surrounded by fortification walls, was prosperous in this period, and it remained under the control of the Seleucids until 188 BC. The expansion of the lower city of Perge towards the south continued in the 1st century AD. In the climate of stability and security provided by the *Pax Romana*, the development of the city reached its zenith in the Roman Imperial Period (2nd and 3rd centuries AD) (Şahin 1999). During these years, some structures were built outside the city walls. Around the turn of the 4th century, Perge's defensive system was strengthened, as in other Pamphylian cities, in the face of revolts by the Isaurians (Abbasoğlu 2003: 1-12). Today, very little of the Roman fortification walls can be seen. Perge, an important ecclesiastical centre in the 5th century, experienced a loss of population in the 7th century, due to Arab invasions.

5.3.3 Archaeological Research and Designation Status

Archaeological excavations at Perge were launched in 1946 by Mansel. The first excavations, part of Mansel's archaeological investigations in Pamphylia that began in 1943, were at first conducted on behalf of THA (Mansel and Akarca 1949). After 13 seasons work by İnan between 1975 and 1987, the excavations of Perge were taken over by Abbasoğlu in 1988. Perge was registered as a Grade I and III archaeological conservation area in 1984. In 1992, there was bidding to draw up a CDP for the site, and, accordingly, the boundaries of the city's conservation areas were reviewed. In 1994,

attendant to this revision, Perge took on its ultimate status as Grade I, II and III archaeological conservation area. Perge's CDP was approved, and came into effect, in 1996.

5.3.4 The Structures

The main structures of Perge are the ones clumped together in the lower city; they belong, for the most part, to the Roman Imperial Period. These structures, the focus of any visit to the site, consist of a theatre, stadium, agora, bath, colonnaded street, and the nymphaeum. Perge's theatre and stadium remain outside the fortifications on the southwestern side of the city (Figure 5.21). Of these, the Theatre is situated on the southern slope of Koça Belen Hill. The most striking feature of this Roman structure, with a capacity of 12,000 spectators, is the richly decorated friezes on the stage building. The Stadium, which lies between the city and the Theatre, has been well preserved. The dimensions of this building are 234 m x 34 m, and some of the vaults on its eastern and western sides were used as shops during the Roman period. The square-shaped Agora, surrounded by shops, lies to the east of Perge's Hellenistic Gate (Figure 5.22). A bath complex is located to the southwest of the Agora. The Colonnaded Street, which starts from behind the Hellenistic Gate and extends to the Acropolis, is 20 meters in width, in the middle of which is a two-meter wide water canal. It is flanked on both sides by regularly placed porticoes behind which stand magazines and residential districts (Figure 5.23). The street running on a north-south axis (the *cardo maximus*) is intersected by another one running on an east-west axis (the *decumanus maximus*). Immediately behind this intersection, where the Colonnaded Street joins the Acropolis, stands a nymphaeum (monumental fountain) dating to the time of Hadrian.

Perge has three main gates. The western one opens onto the Western Necropolis, while the Eastern Gate is oriented towards the ancient city of Sillyon. The Southern Gate served as the city's main gateway during the Roman period, and it was in the form of a triumphal arch in the 3rd century. To the rear of the Southern Gate, there is a large area known as Septimus Severus Square. This wide corridor, whose monumental appearance

is enhanced by nymphaeums and statues, leads to the Hellenistic City Gate (Figure 5.24). The Hellenistic Gate, flanked by two guard towers, is one of Perge's most impressive elements. The horseshoe-shaped courtyard behind the gate was originally crowned by a monumental arch. This area, constructed in 121 AD, is fitted out with statues of Roman emperors, commissioned by Plancia Magna, the priestess of Perge (Şahin 1999) (Figure 5.25).

The other exceptionally significant archaeological elements of Perge are its three necropolises. Two of these are extra-urban and are located to the east and west sides of the city walls. The third, the Northern Necropolis, is situated on the northwest corner of the Acropolis. Archaeological excavations carried out in the Northern and Western necropoleis have shown that they exemplify various burial types known in archaeology, including many sarcophagi either cut into rock or placed on podia (Figure 5.26), chamosorions, osteotheks, and in situ ossuaries (Abbasoğlu 2001). In addition, many statues and sarcophagi have been unearthed in Perge's lower city, and are now exhibited in the Antalya Archaeology Museum. Whether by virtue of their number and their impressive workmanship, these statues and sarcophagi point to the existence of an advanced sculpture workshop in Perge (Mansel and Akarca 1949).

5.3.5 Tourism in Aksu and Perge

The district of Aksu, where the ancient city of Perge is located, lies between the streams of Düden and Aksu, 18 kilometres to the east of the Antalya city centre. Aksu, along with the neighbouring municipalities of Pınarlı and Yurtpınar, was joined to the municipality of Çalkaya in 2008, and shortly afterwards, all four locations had their name changed to Aksu district. According to the address-based population records from 2010, the population of Aksu (district centre, villages, and townships) was 63,051 (TNSI 2013). Aksu's main economic sources of income are agriculture and agricultural industry. Greenhouse cultivation, horticulture, early-grown vegetables, and citrus production comprise its agricultural activities (Municipality of Aksu 2013). As an important supplier nationwide, Aksu's share of citrus production is 20%, and its share of greenhouse

cultivation is 30% of Turkey's. The Kundu Tourism Region is within the borders of the Aksu district. Located 20 kilometres far from Antalya airport, there are seven large holiday villages along Kundu's 1.5-kilometre stretch of coast. New investments aim to bring the region's touristic facilities to a capacity of 10,000 beds (Kundu Tourism Investors Association 2013).

Perge is completely isolated from Aksu's tourism region, Kundu, and from the district centre, which has a non-touristic image. Owing to its geographical position, Perge is mainly visited by vacationers coming from the Antalya city centre, Kundu, and the tourism centres east of it, close to Aspendos. Due to the limited possibilities for accommodation in the centre of Aksu, visits to Perge are done as a day-trip. According to the statistics for 1995-2013, Perge, with its 4.4 million total visitors, is the least-visited of the five archaeological sites that figure in this study (Figure 5.13). Besides Perge, the other tourist attraction in Aksu is the natural park where the waterfall of Kurşunlu is located.



Figure 5.18: Map of Pamphylia (Source: Martini 2010)

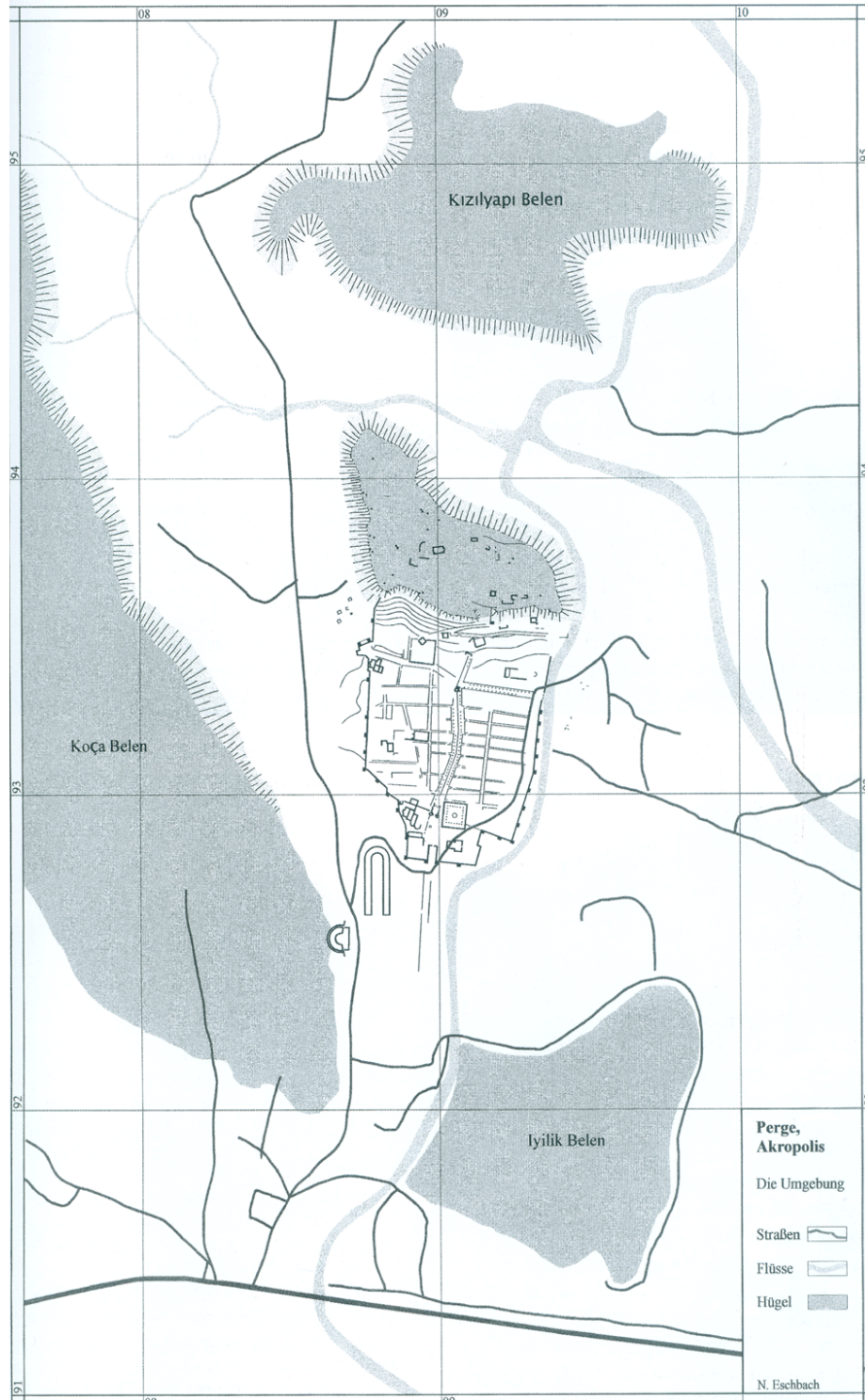


Figure 5.19: The Acropolis of Perge and its environs (Source: Martini 2003)

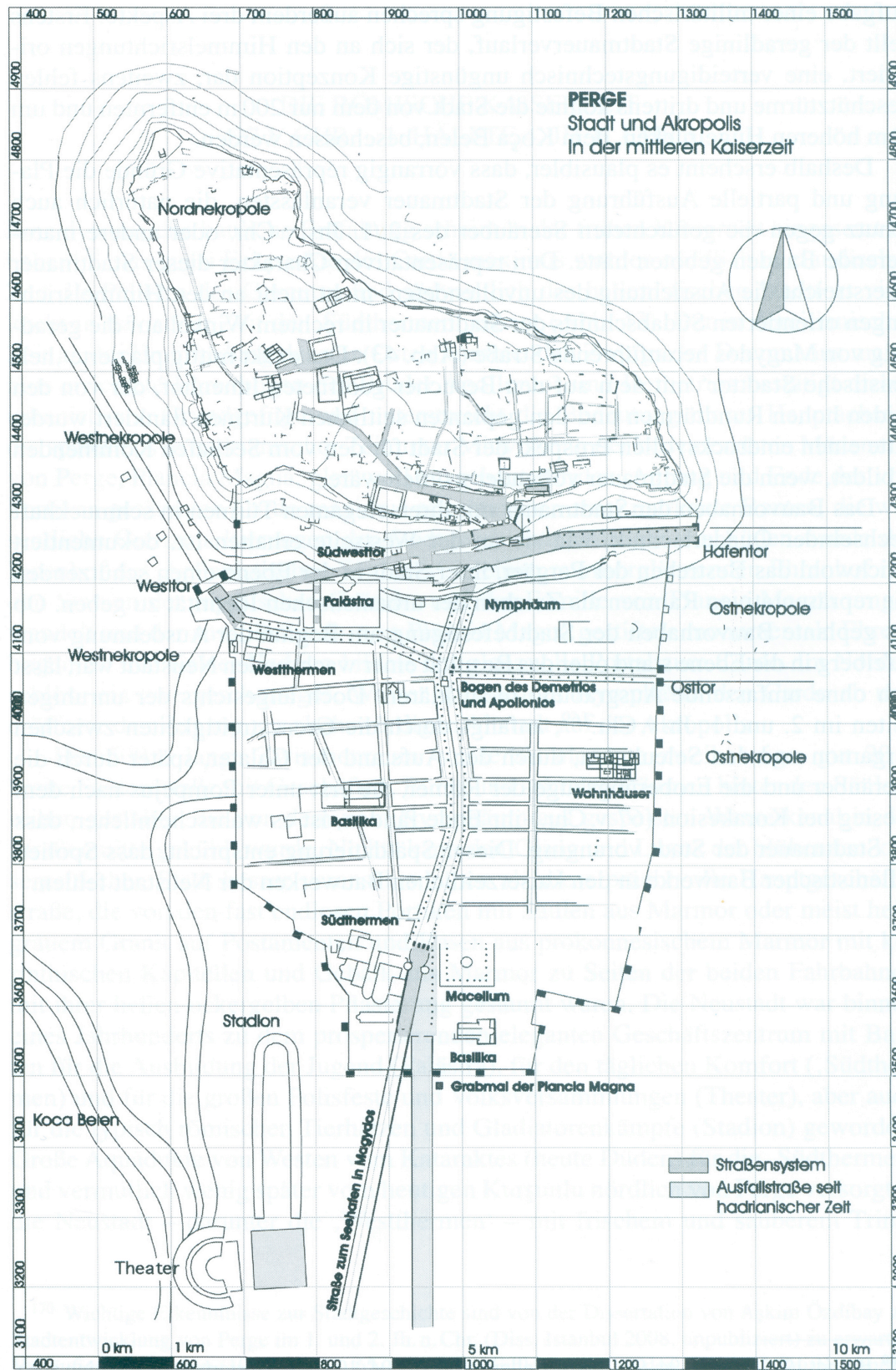


Figure 5.20: Site plan of Perge (Source: Martini 2003)



Figure 5.21: Perge. The Stadium and the Theatre (Source: Abbasoğlu 2003)



Figure 5.22: Perge. The Agora (Source: Abbasoğlu 2003)

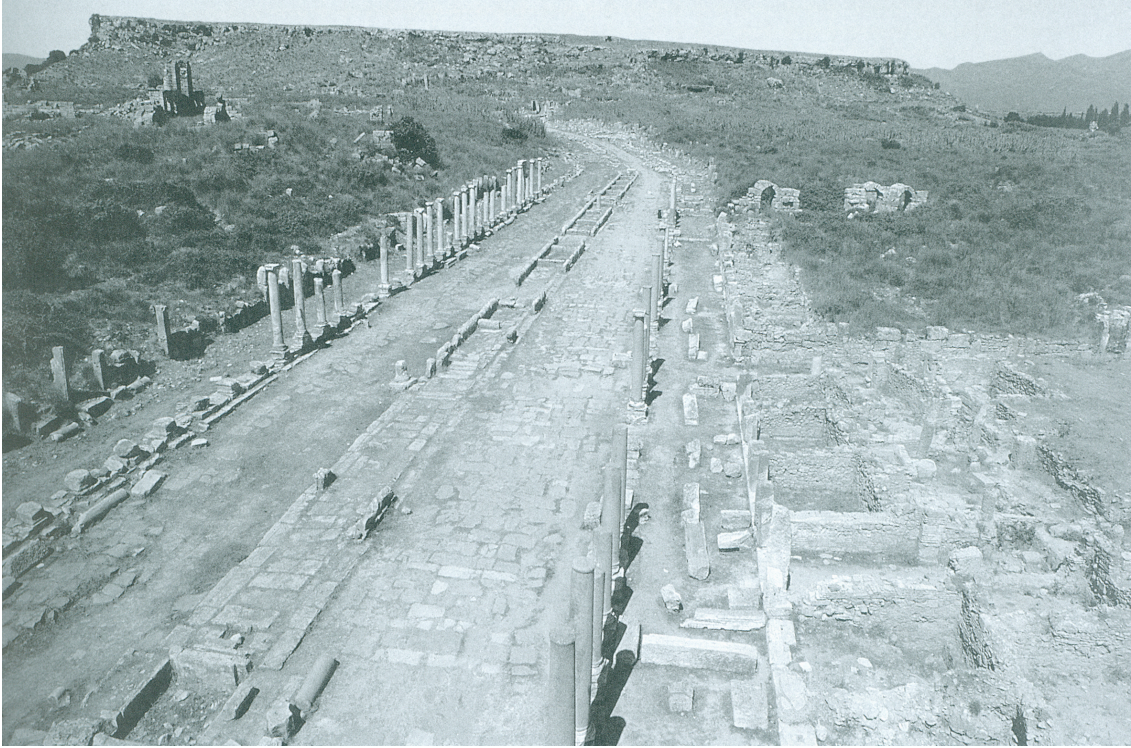


Figure 5.23: Perge. The Colonnaded Street (Source: Abbasoğlu 2003)



Figure 5.24: Perge. The Hellenistic Gate (Source: Abbasoğlu 2003)



Figure 5.25: Perge. The Hellenistic Gate and the Roman period courtyard behind it (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.26: Perge. The chamber tombs from the Western Necropolis (Source: Abbasoğlu 2003)

5.4 Aspendos

5.4.1 *History of Aspendos*

Aspendos is situated by Köprü Çayı (ancient Eurymedon), a river that flows into the Mediterranean in the region of Pamphylia. The city, located on rocky terrain, looks out on the outermost slopes of the Taurus Mountains, which extend to Antalya. Aspendos lies upon a four kilometre stretch of road winding its way north, beginning at the 48th kilometre of the Antalya-Alanya highway (Figure 5.18).

Existing information about the history of Aspendos is limited. Until recently, major work carried at the site has consisted of a few small-scale excavations and some restoration projects. As a result, there is currently a pressing need for comprehensive investigation and research, which will bring Aspendos's history to light. Among the available archaeological evidence, coins dated to the 5th century BC suggest that the ancient name of Aspendos was Estwediys. On the basis of the Karatepe inscriptions in Northeastern Cilicia (Çukurova) dating back to the Iron Age (Özyar 2013), Estwediys is associated with King Asitawa (Asitavada) of the Hittite settlement of Mopsos. In 469 BC the Delian League of Athens (of which Aspendos was a member) and its allies fought against King Xerxes of Persia at the mouth of Eurymedon River. Aspendos, which was no longer part of the League after 425 BC, was used as a Persian naval base in 411.

The city was occupied by Alexander the Great during his Anatolian campaigns, and during the Hellenistic period, it fluctuated between the rule of Seleucus and Ptolemy. In 79 BC, Aspendos, like Perge, was conquered by Gaius Verres, and went under Roman hegemony. During the Roman Imperial period, Aspendos was a wealthy city. Thanks to its navigable river, it acted as Pamphylia's commercial harbour, supplying products to the whole Mediterranean, especially salt, wine, olive oil, and wheat. The wealth it acquired from commerce allowed the construction of monumental buildings in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. In the 13th century, Aspendos was conquered by the Seljuks, under whose occupation its theatre was renovated and turned into a residence for Sultan Keykubad. In

addition, the Roman bridge over Köprü Çayı was rebuilt during this period (Redford 2000: 49-51).

5.4.2 The Structures

Among the various types of buildings in Aspendos, the Theatre is the most monumental and the best preserved. Built in the era of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) by an architect named Zenon, the Theatre has a capacity of 7,500 and possesses excellent acoustics (Figures 5.27 and 5.28). The stage building (*frons scaenae*) is the Theatre's most striking element. Architraves supported by Ionic and Corinthian columns contain elaborate decorations. Renovations during the Seljuk occupation focussed especially on the stage building (Redford 2000). Architectural additions were made to the building's exterior, and its surface was decorated with red ashlar block lines.

Aspendos has three gateways. Of these, large portions of the North and South gateways are under the ground. The Eastern Gateway and the Stadium adjacent to it are largely in ruins. The Acropolis of the city (approximately 200 acres) comprises different buildings. The most monumental of these buildings, most of which date to the Roman period, is a basilica, the largest in Pamphylia. The Basilica's narthex is at its base; immediately adjacent to the building is a nymphaeum (7) (Figure 5.29).

To the west of the Basilica lies the Agora, which was enlarged in the 2nd century AD. Lined up to the west and east of this agora are market buildings (8); those to the east constitute the earliest remnants of the city. There is a necropolis (11) to the west of the acropolis; to date, only a small number of its tombs have been opened. The Aqueduct, along with the theatre, is one of Aspendos's most impressive structures. Conveying water to the city from the mountains in the north, the Aqueduct was built in the 2nd century AD. The Aqueduct is architecturally unique among its contemporaries in providing pressurised water (Figure 5.30). The section of the Aqueduct that extends along the valley is 15 metres in height. On each of its edges located high pressure-towers serving as

siphons. The pressurised water created by these towers, that provide hydrostatic balance, was conveyed to the city by pipes.

5.4.3 Archaeological Research and Designation Status

In order to remedy the lack of research at Aspendos, systematic work has been carried out since 2008. This initiative, known as the Aspendos Project, researches the natural conditions, day-to-day life, and economic and political structure of the ancient city and its territorium (Aspendosproject 2013). Accordingly, research has begun on the layout of the city and its evolution over time. Notably, it is also aimed under the project to develop a management plan for Aspendos, which can be used as a model for Roman cities in the same region (Köse 2009: 384).

In 1994, the ancient city of Aspendos was designated as a Grade I and III archaeological conservation area. In the same year, the shore of Köprü Çayı was designated as a Grade I natural conservation area.

5.4.4 Tourism in Belkıs and Aspendos

Belkıs, which hosts the ancient city of Aspendos, is one of nine townships belonging to the district of Serik. From 1910 onwards, Turkish immigrants from Western Thrace and Crete settled in Belkıs and its surroundings where Türkmen nomadic tribes have been living since the beginning of the 19th century. As of 2000, Belkıs had a population of 2,500 (TNSI 2013). Due to its low population, from the mid-2000s onward Belkıs stood to lose its status as a municipality. As in Demre, farming is the main sphere of economic activity in Belkıs. Within its borders, the land lying outside archaeological and natural conservation areas and zones of settlement – an area of nearly 900 hectares – is almost entirely agricultural land (Figure 5.31). Grains, as well as fruits and vegetables grown in greenhouses and in the fields, are the main agricultural products at Belkıs.

As is the case with Demre and Aksu, one cannot speak of a developed tourism industry at Belkıs. Aspendos is the focal point for touristic activity in the township. According to the figures for the period 1995-2012, Aspendos is currently the most visited site in Antalya in terms of the total number of visitors (Figure 5.13). However, especially over the past ten years, it has not had the same concentration of tourists as Myra and the Church of St Nicholas. The geographical position of Belkıs plays pivotal role in its tourism activities. Belkıs is quite close to the tourist centres of the district of Serik including Belek, Kadriye, and Boğazkent. These three important centres of tourism, that possess a 22-kilometre coastline, host many hotels, with a total capacity of 55,000 beds. The township's proximity to the Antalya city centre in particular, and to surrounding centres of tourism, can be regarded as a factor that facilitates visits to Aspendos.

Clearly, the Theatre of Aspendos is the main focus of a visit to the ancient city (Figure 5.32). Tourist groups assembled from hotels in the vicinity of Belkıs are primarily directed to the theatre when visiting Aspendos. It can be safely claimed that, aside from the Theatre, the city's other archaeological sites are not well-known, and generally cater to individual visitors. There are three main reasons for this. First, the Theatre is a popular attraction, and it receives special attention in the MCT's publications on Aspendos. Second, since the throngs of tourists at Aspendos are usually there on a one-day excursion program including the ancient cities of Perge and Side, the limited time set aside by tour operators for Aspendos is spent seeing the Theatre. Third, the fact that the Theatre is more monumental and well-preserved than the city's other visible remains plays an influential role in arousing visitors' interest.

In addition to hosting visitors, the Theatre of Aspendos has also staged cultural activities. Since 1994, classical music concerts and ballet performances have been held at the Theatre of Aspendos, with the sponsorship of the General Directorate of State Opera and Ballet, part of the MCT. Starting in 1998, these concerts and performances have turned into an international festival. The Theatre has been reserved for concerts and dance performances by private organisations. For part of the 2000s, use of the Theatre was limited due to conservation work. Aspendos's other focus of touristic attraction, aside

from the Theatre, is the Aspendos Arena. This exhibition centre, one kilometre away from the Theatre, is a portable structure, assembled in 42 days in 2008. It has a capacity of 4,700 spectators. The formal opening ceremony of this exhibition centre, whose construction raised arguments among the public, took place in July 2008, with a performance called Troy by the modern dance troupe, Fire of Anatolia (Figures 5.33 and 5.34). Every summer since then, the group has performed its shows, which synthesise folkloric elements and modern dance on different themes. The events in the Aspendos Arena provide important opportunities for the sale of food and drinks, and gift items, in Belkıs.

Plan of Aspendos

- 1 — Gymnasium
- 2 — Roman bath
- 3 — Theatre
- 4 — Gates
- 5 — Stadium
- 6 — Basilica
- 7 — Nymphaeum
- 8 — Shops
- 9 — Odeon
- 10 — Aqueduct
- 11 — Necropolis



Figure 5.27: Site Plan of Aspendos (Source: Alpözen 1977)



Figure 5.28: Aspendos. The Theater (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.29: Aspendos. The Nymphaeum (left) and the Basilica (right) (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.30: Aspendos. The Aqueducts (Source: Alpözen 1977)



Figure 5.31: Agricultural landscape around Aspendos (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.32: Aspendos. Tour buses waiting to pick up tourists visiting the Theatre (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.33: Aspendos Arena (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.34: Aspendos Arena. A scene from the gala night of Troy performance (Photograph by Saraç 2008)

5.5 Alanya Castle

5.5.1 *History of Alanya Castle*

Alanya Castle is in the province of the same name, 138 kilometres to the east of Antalya. It is located on a rocky peninsula 260 meters above sea level, and behind which sprawls the city centre of Alanya (Figures 5.35 and 5.36). Alanya Castle was settled throughout Antiquity when it was known as Korakesion; this can be attributed to a number of natural factors, namely, its defensibility; its fertile hinterland; its strategic position on the Aegean-Cyprus and Levant commercial sea routes; and, especially, its being a centre of production for timber exported to Egypt (Redford 2000: 7). As archaeological evidence has shown, Korakesion was founded during the Hellenistic period on one of the two hills of Alanya Castle known as Ehmedek (Arik 1986: 337; Lloyd and Rice 1958: 9).

Hellenistic masonry dating back to between the late 4th and early 2nd centuries BC, which is still visible today, proves that Korakesion was a fortified ‘landward citadel’ during those years (Redford 2000: 7) (Figure 5.37). Indeed, the Roman historian Titus Livius (Tit.Liv. XXIII, 20) spoke of Korakesion as one of the Cilician cities which resisted the siege of the Seleucid Emperor Antiochus III in 199 BC (Lloyd and Rice 1958: 1). Strabo (XIV: 668) described Korakesion as the first town one encounters upon entering Cilicia Tracheia (literally Rough Cilicia, i.e. the rugged region of the Taurus stretching west to Pamphylia), calling the city a ‘fortress’ sitting on a steep rock.

During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, a time of widespread prosperity in the Mediterranean, neighbouring cities of Alanya such as Hamaxia, Laertes, Syedra, and Iotape, and major Pamphylian cities including Perge, Aspendos and Side were ornamented with Roman buildings. Like the aforementioned sites, Alanya is also believed to have experienced construction during the Roman Imperial Period, but there is no structure remaining from that time period (Redford 2000: 8). The dearth of information about Alanya Castle’s Roman past applies equally well to the Byzantine period, when it was known as Kalonoros. Aside from a few medieval structures, it is still

unclear how the Castle developed from the Early Byzantine period until the time of the Crusades (Arik 1986: 336; Redford 2000: 13).

Following their victory over the Byzantine army in the Battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt) in 1071, the Seljuks began to advance into Anatolia. In 1176, with the Seljuks' victory at Myriokephalon, the might of the Byzantine Empire was shaken to its foundations (Redford 2000: 23-24). Due to the increasing weakness of the Byzantine hegemony, control of the castles in Cilicia Tracheia and on the Pamphylian coast as far west as Manavgat fell into the hands of powerful Armenian barons (ibid.). Thus, Kalonoros came under the tutelage of Kyr Vard. In the first quarter of the 13th century, in order to gain control of sea commerce in Northern and Southern Anatolia, the Seljuks made their way towards strategically important ports, conquering Sinop in the north (in 1214), and Antalya in the south (first in 1207 and then in 1216). These events were followed by Alaaddin Keykubad's capture of Alanya in 1221. Having gained Alanya, the Seljuks became a significant political and military force in the Eastern Mediterranean and its hinterland (Bilici 2000). After settling in Alanya, the Seljuks boosted their commercial activities in the region, and were continuously engaged in trade with the Italians and Franks of Cyprus, who were active players in the commercial network of the Mediterranean (Redford 2000: 27-28).

After its capture, Alanya (or *Alā'iyya* as named after Sultan Alaaddin Keykubad) and its surrounding territory were subject to wide-scale building projects as was the case throughout the coastal plain of Mediterranean Anatolia. These projects, which supply information about the Seljuks' administrative and commercial activities, included suburban gardens, caravansarays, pavilions, and citadels (Redford 2000: 24-51 and 139-160). At the same time, Alanya Castle was refurbished, with the aim of turning the city into a well-guarded port. First of all, Ehmedek, the hilltop where the landward Hellenistic citadel stands, was refortified, and was linked to the harbour below with fortification walls built along the eastern slope of the castle rock (Figures 5.38 and 5.39). Second, a new seaward citadel- High Citadel- (İç Kale) was built on the highest summit of the castle rock neighbouring Ehmedek. Third, a dockyard (Tersane) was built in the harbour,

and large octagonal tower (Kızıl Kule) was installed to the lower defences to provide protection for the harbour.

With the increasing weakness of Seljuk political authority in the 1240s and the subsequent dissolution of the state, Alanya came under the tutelage, first of the Hamitoğulları ve Karamanoğulları (Turkmen dynasties who succeeded the Seljuks in the later 13th and in the 14th century), and later of the Mamluks (Konyalı 1946: 81-83; Redford 2000: 27; 46). Under the rule of the Türkmen dynasties, a time of unceasing commercial competition and conflicts in the Mediterranean, Alanya was especially vulnerable to attacks coming from Cyprus. In 1471, the city was occupied by Gedik Ahmet Paşa, and was added to the Ottoman domains (Konyalı 1946:109-114).

5.5.2 Archaeological Research and Designation Status

Comprehensive research on Alanya Castle and its surrounding plain have been limited in number. After the publication of Konyalı's book in 1946, the first surveys of the Castle and the surviving buildings were carried out in 1953 by the English archaeologists Lloyd and Rice, whose work was published in 1958 (its Turkish translation, published by THA, only came out in 1989). The first systematic archaeological excavations of Alanya Castle were begun in 1985 by Arık of Ankara University, and mainly focused on İç Kale. Since 2006, the excavations –the Kızılkule-Tophane Axis Project – have been conducted in the area to the south of the seaward wall extending from Kızıl Kule to the Tersane (Bilici 2006).

Alanya Castle was first brought under state protection in 1987; registration procedures were finalised in 1999. Ownership of Ottoman buildings of a religious nature within the Castle resides with the General Directorate of Endowments. At present, Alanya Castle has the status of a Grade I archaeological, historic, urban and natural conservation area. The CDP for the Alanya Castle was prepared and came into effect in 1999.

5.5.3 The Structures

Most of Alanya Castle's extant buildings are from the Seljuk period. The other main group of buildings contains examples of Byzantine and Ottoman culture. Generally speaking, all of the buildings are religious, military, and civil in nature. The fortification system built by the Seljuks is Alanya Castle's most conspicuous element. The Kızıl Kule, overlooking Alanya Harbour, is the most important feature of Castle's seaside line of defence (Figure 5.40). The double-lined wall first climbs up westward from the Kızıl Kule to Ehmedek. From there, in the form of a single line of fortification, it surrounds İç Kale and then, ranging around the southern edges of the Castle Rock, at last returns to the Harbour (Lloyd and Rice 1958: 9) (Figures 5.38 and 5.41). The fortification wall that surrounds the city also divides it internally into a number of different wards (Konyalı 1946: 154; Lloyd and Rice 1958: 33)

The İç Kale, situated on the highest point of the Castle Rock, exhibits various features of Seljuk architecture. The most important building in the nearly 800 square meters İç Kale is the Palace to the northeast (Figure 5.42). The other main buildings consist of storerooms, barracks, great water cisterns providing the site with water, and a hamam located outside the enclosure to the southeast. The triconch Byzantine church on the north edge of the Palace, dated in between the 11th and 12th centuries, is one of the most interesting elements of the İç Kale since it was allowed to survive within a Seljuk palatial complex (Lloyd and Rice 1958: 33). Like İç Kale, the Tersane is one of the symbolic structures of Alanya Castle. This port installation, situated at the south of the Harbour, is a five-bayed structure opening onto the water, and was used for the construction and repair of ships (Figure 5.43). Adjacent to it is the Tophane, an arsenal with a tower that was used to guard the Tersane.

In the two main quarters of Alanya Castle – Tophane and Hisariçi – there are some Seljuk and Ottoman buildings co-existing with the spaces of modern life. Of these buildings, the ones in Tophane include the 13th century Andızlı Mosque, a hamam, and a small mosque from the 19th century. One of the most prominent historical buildings in the Hisariçi

Quarter (Figure 5.44) is the Bedesten. This 17th century Ottoman structure, originally used as a han (inn), is adjoined to a bazaar known as the Arasta (Riefstahl 1931; Lloyd and Rice 1958: 30-31). Other important buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Bedesten include the Akşebe Türbesi, a 13th century small mosque later turned into a tomb, and the mid-16th century Süleymaniye Mosque. Apart from these, there are 13th century watchtowers, which constitute an important part of the Hisariçi's defence system. Structures at Alanya Castle from before the Seljuk occupation are quite few in number. As Redford (2000: 16) points out, most of the pre-Seljuk structures were eliminated during the refortification of Alanya Castle after 1221. Aside from the church on İç Kale, there are two Byzantine buildings dated to the 11th /12th centuries, of which one is a chapel dedicated to St George, and known today as the Arap Evliyası. The Chapel, built on top of a previous Hellenistic structure, was used as a cemetery during the Ottoman era (Lloyd and Rice 1958: 36). The other medieval building is the Monastery located on Cilvarda Burnu, a long finger of rock extending diagonally from the Castle Rock into the sea.

5.5.4 Hisariçi and Tophane Quarters

In his definition of 'citadel,' Redford (2013: 1) states that: "*Citadels are ambivalent. They belong to, and yet are separate from cities.*" Redford's definition applies quite well to Alanya Castle. Even if the Castle stands out from the city centre through its physical characteristics, it is nonetheless with its numerous living spaces an organic part of Alanya. In other words, it is a living heritage site. Of the two quarters that make up Alanya Castle, Hisariçi denotes the area located atop the castle rock, embracing Ehmedek and İç Kale. Tophane, the larger quarter, is the area that covers the slope within the walls running down to the port. The two quarters are physically separated from each other by an inner fortification running in an east-west direction (Figure 5.45). The separation of these two settlements is also illustrated by historic documents, such as a 17th century watercolour map of Alanya drawn by an Italian artist (Figure 5.46).

A couple of sources ranging from the 16th to the 19th century provided important information about the socio-economic profile of the Tophane and Hisariçi Quarters (Redford 2000: 36-37). For instance, some provincial administrative documents (*İl Yazıcı Defterleri*), dating from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), informed us that people living in the Hisariçi Quarter were known at the time as the “citadel community,” and that those engaged in guarding the Castle were exempt from taxes (Konyalı 1946: 157; 246). The same documents recorded that the population of the Tophane Quarter made a living from trade and fishing, and that the Armenians, Jews, and Christians among the population were not allowed entry into the Hisariçi (ibid.). By the end of the 19th century, there were clear socio-economic differences between the Hisariçi and Tophane Quarters. Some of the residents of Hisariçi gradually moved outside the Castle fortifications, owing to the following factors: the Castle’s loss of its prior importance; a drop in income levels; over-construction and over-population; water shortages; and the unsuitability of the rocky terrain for growing fruits and vegetables necessary for daily life (MCT 1984: 54-55). During this period, similar problems existed in the Tophane, yet its more dynamic economic makeup compared to Hisariçi and, especially, its income from the sea trade made Tophane the more attractive quarter (ibid.). Consequently, settlement was more concentrated in Tophane.

5.5.5 Tourism in Alanya and Alanya Castle

Both physically and in terms of its population, Alanya is larger than the districts of Demre, Aksu, and Belkıs. Occupying an area of 175 square kilometres, Alanya includes 16 townships, and 69 villages (Alanya Municipality 2013). Its total population in 2012 was 264,692 (TNSI 2013). In the 1970s, opportunities for tourism in Alanya were still limited, and its economy depended chiefly on agriculture. During the surge in mass tourism in the 1980s, thanks especially to investments made in private plots of land, Alanya rapidly became a tourist town (District-Governorship of Alanya 2013). The swift growth in tourism was also accompanied by urbanisation, making the coastal area of Alanya more populous. The emergence of new areas of employment drew many job

seekers from all around Alanya including some of the residents of Tophane and Hisariçi to the city centre.

Agriculture continues to be an important sector of Alanya's economy today. Many food crops, especially bananas, oranges, and watermelons, are produced in greenhouses and other agricultural areas throughout the district. Apart from agriculture, Alanya is mainly driven by tourism, although the commercial and service sectors play an important role in its economic makeup. There are a number of characteristics that sharply distinguish the nature of tourism in Alanya from its counterparts in Demre, Aksu, and Belkıs. First of all, Alanya is a touristic town, with considerable touristic infrastructure. The tourist season begins in April and continues until the end of November, with an accommodation capacity of 90,000 beds (Alanya Touristic Enterprises Association 2013). Holiday resorts and hotels first become visible at İncekum, at the Western edge of Alanya's nearly 60-kilometre long shore, and become more concentrated in the Alanya city centre.

Second, Alanya possesses a transportation network with various alternatives. There is a 138-kilometre long highway linking Alanya with Antalya, and 45 kilometres to the east, at Gazipaşa, there is an airport serving domestic and international flights. At the same time, Alanya Harbour is an important transit point for cruise ships in the Mediterranean. Regular voyages take place from Cyprus to Alanya Harbour, with 46,219 passengers disembarked in 2011 (Alanya Touristic Enterprises Association 2013). Expenditures from these passengers' daylong sojourns in Alanya are an important source of income for the local economy. Third, tourism is aided by Alanya's distinctive natural attractions. In addition to its beaches, Alanya's main nature areas consist of the plateaus at the foothills of the Taurus range, its rivers and streams (i.e., Alara, Dim, and Oba), and its above-ground and underwater caves. Alanya's natural attractions, its climatic conditions, and its ease of access have made the province a desirable place to live. As Sipahioğlu, the president of Alanya Municipality, stated in a personal communication, approximately 30,000 foreign nationals own real estate in Alanya, and this number is constantly growing (D. Saraç 03.11.11). There are a number of dwellings belonging to foreign nationals in the Hisariçi and Tophane Quarters.

Alanya Castle holds a special place on Alanya's overall touristic landscape. Visible from nearly every spot in the city, the Castle is a very alluring sight. With its historic tissue, the Castle stands out from the modern part of the city. According to statistics for 1995-2012, Alanya Castle has been the second-most visited heritage site in Antalya. Visitors to the Castle focus on three main spots. The most visited area, and the one to which tourist groups are directed by tour operators is İç Kale. Ehmedek, more favoured by individual visitors, is the second main spot. The third location, which is visited less than the other two, is Kızıl Kule. The buildings around Ehmedek, and the Tophane Quarter, are mainly favoured by individual visitors, and, as a result, are in remote condition.

Some residents of Alanya Castle have benefited economically from touristic interest in the site. This is particularly true of the Hisariçi Quarter. The total population of Hisariçi numbers 163 people, and among them those who live there on a permanent basis (approximately 100) are mostly retired, low-income individuals. These residents earn extra income by selling gift items, textiles, and food and drink to tourists on their itineraries. Sales are generally made on stands set up in front of the Hisariçi residents' houses (Figures 5.47, 5.48 and 5.49). Since Tophane does not have as many visitors as Hisariçi, tourist activity there is limited. However, in recent years, boutique hotels have cropped up in Tophane. The owners of these hotels are individuals (either from Alanya or different cities of Turkey) who buy old buildings in Tophane and use them for business after costly restoration (Figure 5.50). Of the 323 residents of Tophane, 250 are known to be locals, and only a small percentage of these, however, live in their own quarter (Tophane Muhtarlığı 2010).



Figure 5.35: Map of Eastern Antalya (Source: Redford 2000)



Figure 5.36: General view of Alanya and the peninsula on which Alanya Castle is situated (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)



Figure 5.37: Alanya Castle. Ehmedek (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.38: Alanya Castle. The fortification linking Ehmedek and Kızılkule (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)

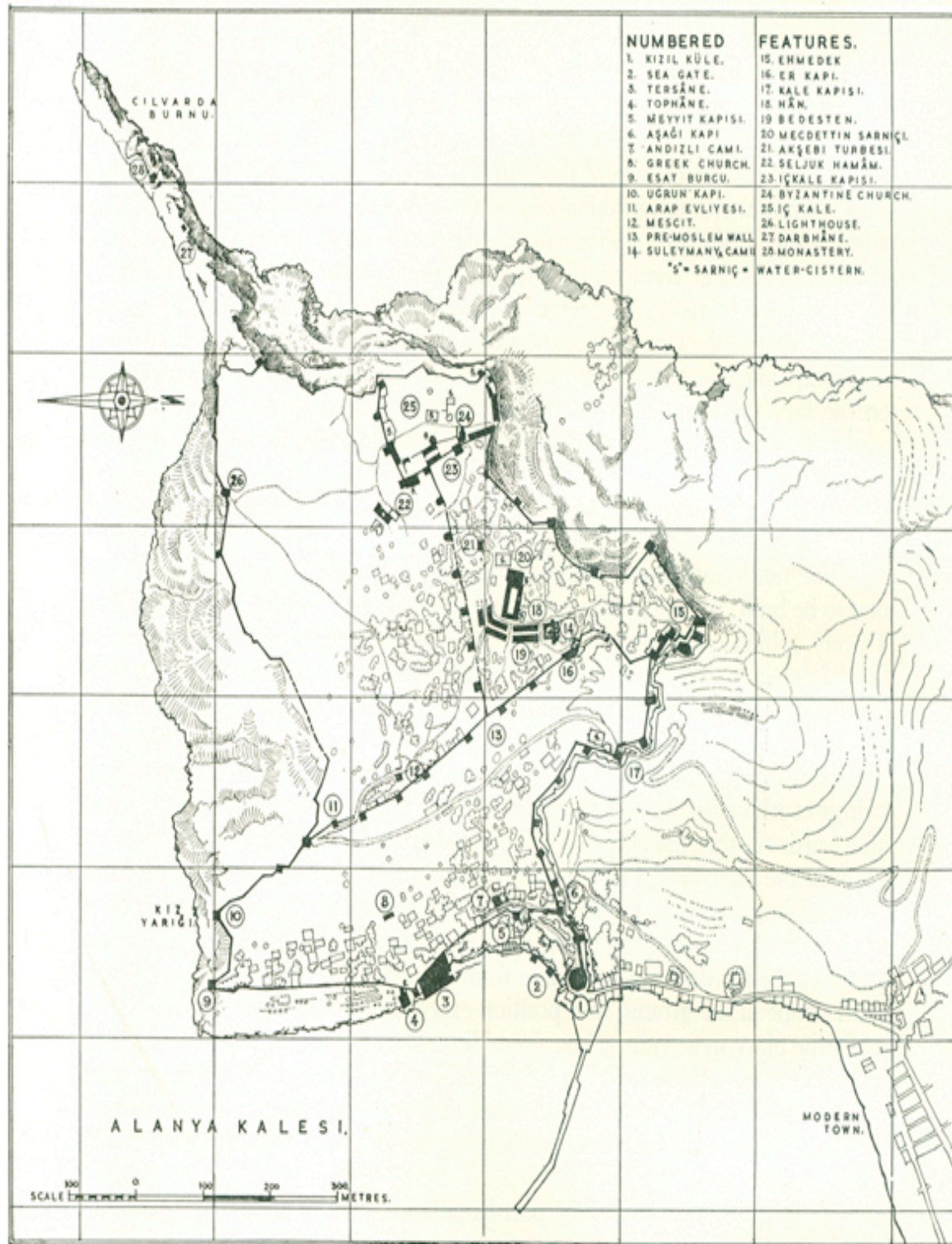


Figure 5.39: Site plan of Alanya Castle (Source: Lloyd and Rice 1958)



Figure 5.40: Alanya. The aerial view of Kızıl Kule and the Harbour (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)



Figure 5.41: The fortification walls of Alanya Castle as seen from the East (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)



Figure 5.42: Alanya Castle. İç Kale (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)



Figure 5.43: Tersane and the Tophane Quarter as seen from Kızıl Kule (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.44: Alanya Castle. A partial view of Hisariçi featuring Süleymaniye Mosque (centre), Bedesten and Akşebe (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)



Figure 5.45: Alanya Castle. A general view of the Tophane Quarter (Source: Alanya Municipality 2010)



Figure 5.46: The Medici-Lazara Map of Alanya (early 17th century) showing Alanya under attack by an Italian fleet (Source: Mason 1989)



Figure 5.47: Hisariçi. A view of the İç Kale road where souvenir booths are mainly concentrated (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.48: Hisariçi. Casual souvenir selling outside an old house (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.49: Hisariçi. Lampshades made of water gourd; a popular souvenir sold in Alanya (Photograph by Saraç 2008)



Figure 5.50: Tophane. An old and a restored house as seen in the same photo frame (Photograph by Saraç 2008)

5.6 Summary

This chapter has provided background information about the five archaeological sites that comprise its four case studies. Major archaeological and touristic features of these archaeological sites have been scrutinised. As descriptive analysis has shown, the archaeological sites in this study occupy large territories, and are located in different cultural territories of Antalya, known in antiquity as Lycia, Pamphylia, and Rough

Cilicia. Considering their large size, it is evident that the existing information about the history of these archaeological sites is actually quite limited. Myra, the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, and Aspendos are located in “non-touristic” districts, yet still constitute heritage sites that draw tourists to their respective locations. In this regard, Alanya Castle stands in contrast to the other sites, since it is located in a town that is a centre for tourism in its own right. Moreover, it is also distinct from the other case studies in that there are residential areas within its perimeter.

Chapter 6. Site Management: A Range of Perspectives

6.1 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis presents information regarding site management and the *Regulation for Site Management* gathered via interviews, questionnaires, and conversations with the 60 participants in the study. This information has been arranged into tables, which have been analysed in accordance with the *Regulation for Site Management*. The chapter consists of two parts: data obtained from questions concerning the aim of site management, the content of management plans, and their actors; and data that focuses on more specific topics associated with the Regulation. These include the implementation of site management, its financing, its administrative organisation (i.e., the site manager), and the boundaries of the management site.

6.2 Aim of Site Management, the Content of Management Plans and Its Actors

The participants' opinions regarding the aim of site management, the content of management plans, and its actors were obtained via interview questions numbers 1 to 10 in Appendix B. Content analyses of these opinions necessitated the use of tables in presenting the data. The tables in the pages that follow are divided into two groups. The first group, which consists of (Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) includes statistical analyses. The second group (Tables 6.5-6.16)) is entirely qualitative. These contain the key points from the respondents' answers to different questions. In the tables, the symbol ➔ represents different opinions, while a • (bullet point) represents arguments that support such opinions. In some cases, the same participant's response contained several different opinions; therefore, more than one ➔ symbol was used for that response. The numbers in parentheses in the tables represent the number of respondents who touched upon/shared the same opinion. For example, the sentence in Table 6.5, ➔ we ought to express our problems and needs (4), means that four different respondents from the local people shared the basic idea conveyed by the sentence.

6.2.1 Need For Management Plan

“Do you think archaeological sites should have a management plan?” was the introductory question in interviews on site management. This succinct question is intended to reveal participants’ views on the necessity of management plans. The question was addressed to 44 participants, and a response was obtained from all of them. Notably, of the 44 total participants, 40 stated that they thought archaeological sites need management plans. The small minority of four people did not give a negative response to the question; however, their attitude towards the concept of the management plan was different from that of the other participants.

Significant details emerged from analyses of the accounts of the 40 participants who believed management plans are needed at archaeological sites (see Table 6.1). First, 13 participants used the Turkish adverbs *elbette*, *mutlaka*, and *kesinlikle* (all of which mean “certainly, definitely”) in their responses; such expressions indicate the respondents’ insistence on the need for management plans. Second, nearly half the responses contained explanations about why management plans are necessary. Of these explanations, which can be grouped by content, most referred were (i) that management plans would contribute to safeguard archaeological sites (5), and (ii) that they would prevent centralisation and lack of unity in the management of these sites.

Table 6.1: Distribution of the respondents who think that archaeological sites should have a management plan

Data Groups	Number of Respondents
Group A: Archaeologists & Academics	14
Group B: MCT	9
Group C: Private Tourism Sector	3
Group D: NGOs	6
Group E: Local People	4
Group F: Municipalities	4

Aside from this group of 40 people, a different perspective about management plans was expressed by four participants, consisting of an official from the Demre Municipality, a former Minister of the MCT, and two senior archaeologists from the excavations at Lmyra and Karain Cave. In the answers given by these four participants, which were similar to each other, it was observed that they held a ‘management plan’ and an ‘excavation/research plan’ to be one and the same. For instance, the former MCT Minister gave the following opinion in an interview:

Most archaeological sites already have a management plan. Whoever performs the excavations, or is responsible for them (whether professors, or the universities or institutes of which they are members) creates these plans. Many of the sites are currently open to the public. You can see them whenever you want to visit them. Naturally, there could be a better, more detailed version of these plans. But the plans do exist (Anonymous, 22.07.2008).

A foreign archaeologist working on the Lmyra excavations expressed an opinion very much in harmony with the preceding one:

Management plan means the management of the excavation and looking after the site. To my consideration, it makes no sense just to excavate without managing the site, keeping it clean and doing restoration. It also involves making ruins accessible to other people because we are not excavating for ourselves. Our main target is of course a scientific one. However, when there are beautiful things to be seen, it is the right of everybody to have access to them (Anonymous, 15.08.2008).

6.2.2 Content of Management Plans

Different issues pertaining to the content of site management plans are described in Article 9 of the *Regulation for Site Management*. The Article states that site management plans need to include five main chapters, under the following five headings:

- 1) *Determination of Current Condition*: Specifying the site's management, function, and protection needs; establishing contact with the relevant institutions and organisations;
- 2) *Site Analysis*: Specifying the significance of the site and identifying its problems; determining its carrying capacity; analysing its function and management;
- 3) *Specifying a Vision for the Site, and Creating Policies*: Developing models for administrative and financial affairs; setting up strategies for management, protection, use, presentation, publicity, and visitor management;
- 4) *Specifying a Work Program and Projects*: Defining the duties of institutions and individuals who will take part in site management; preparing work programs and budget analyses; specifying financial resources; creating an action plan for short, medium and long-term tasks, and describing different projects;
- 5) *Describing the Processes of Monitoring, Evaluation, and Education*: Monitoring the implementation of management plans, evaluating them, and preparing educational programmes that will play a role in this process (2005: Chapter Two, Article 9).

In addition to the title headings stated above, it is recommended that a standardised action plan table be used in management plans (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Sample table for action plan (Source: Regulation for Site Management 2005: Article 9)

Topics	Required Activity	Responsible Institution	Financial Resources	Target Date
Topic 1				
Topic 2				
Topic 3				

Article 9 of the *Regulation for Site Management* was developed with the aim of providing guidance to the preparation of management plans. Since there was no fund of knowledge in Turkey, until 2005, about what should be included in such plans, it is obvious that some available management plans, made for heritage sites from around the world, were analysed in developing Article 9.

As stated in Article 7 of the *Regulation for Site Management*, draft management plans ought to be prepared by experts and consultants from various disciplines. Moreover, the Article states that it is necessary to hold a minimum of two meetings both prior to and during the course of draft plan, with the participation of the relevant institutions and organisations, local people, NGOs, universities, representatives from the private sector, and those with property rights to the site; the purpose of these meetings being both to provide information to the participants and to develop a plan (ibid.). In this regard, the Regulation could be described as a written endorsement of the principle of multi-vocality in the preparation of management plans.

The principles and norms put forth by the *Regulation for Site Management* regarding the content of management plans are under the scope of this study. Accordingly, the participants were asked the following question: “What major issues should be addressed in management plans?” The goal of this question was to find out the participants’ perspective regarding the content of management plans. During the fieldwork, views on this topic were obtained from a total of 32 participants. Among them, the two largest groups were archaeologists and academics (13) and the MCT officials (7). The numerical distribution of the participants in the other four data groups was homogeneous. When the data groups were examined individually, the participants’ views regarding the content of management plans yielded concrete results (see Table 6.3). Among archaeologists and academics, which made up the largest group, there was a marked emphasis on protection, conservation and restoration. This was followed by the opinion that local communities and local economies should benefit from management plans. Among the answers given by the MCT officials, the main topic was that of risk assessment / SWOT analyses, the subject of the first Article of the *Regulation for Site Management* regarding the content of management plans.

Interestingly, participants from the private tourism sector did not explicitly mention the concept of tourism in their answers. However, this group did mention the need for topics that could be classified under the heading of tourism (e.g., maintenance, promotion and publicity, and presentation) in management plans. The two participants from NGOs gave

the shortest answers of all. The views of this small group overlapped on the issues of management organisation and roles and responsibilities.

Table 6.3: Frequencies of the respondents' stated priorities on the content of site management plans

	Data Group A: Archaeologists & Academics (13)	Data Group B: MCT (7)	Data Group C: Private Tourism Sector (3)	Data Group D: NGOs (3)	Data Group E: Local People (3)	Group F: Muni cipalit ies (3)	FREQUENCY TOTAL
Site Management Plan Content	FREQUENCIES						
Protection	8	2	1	1		1	13
Conservation/Restoration	7	1					8
Risk Assessment /SWOT Analyses	2	4	1			1	8
Benefits to Local Economy/Community (i.e. Poverty Alleviation/Employment)	4			1	3		8
Archaeological/Scientific Research Priorities	4	2				1	7
Funding/Budgeting	2	2	1	1		1	7
Management Organisation/Roles & Responsibilities		2	1	2	2		7
Presentation/Interpretation (i.e. visitor routes and information boards)	3	1	1			1	6
Needs/Problems of Local Communities	1			1	3	1	6
Maintenance	3	1	1				5
Environmental Design	2	1	1				4
Issues of Usage	1	1	1				3
Promotion/Publicity	2		1				3
Monitoring		1	1			1	3
Management Planning	1	1	1				3
Transmission	1	1					2
Education	1	1					2
Evaluation of Significance	1		1				2
Identification of short/long- term goals/Future Policies		1	1				2
Visitor Facilities	2						2
Tourism		2					2
On-site security	1	1					2
Vision			1			1	2
Consultation			1				1

Compared to the respondents from NGOs, the comments by the three respondents from Data Group D were quite limited. However, in dwelling on themes like the needs of local people and the benefits to the local economy and community, these respondents answered entirely in line with their profile as a group. In this way, they especially resembled the archaeologists and academics that placed an emphasis on protection, conservation, and restoration. Finally, the responses of municipal officials – like those of the members of the private tourism sector – did not concentrate on specific subjects, but rather displayed a homogeneous distribution touching upon different topics.

The numerical inequality among the different groups sharing their views on the content of management plans prevents the formulation of general hypotheses concerning the results displayed in Table 6.3. However, due to the limitation of the sample size, the participants' stated priorities on the content of site management plan have arguably provided a broader perspective than those in the *Regulation for Site Management*.

6.2.3 Actors in Management Plans

Article 10 of the *Regulation for Site Management* deals with the criteria for the actors who will be in charge of preparing management plans. As per the Article, a 'management plan team' shall be assigned to any management plan prepared or commissioned by the MCT or the municipalities. These teams, which co-operate with an 'expert consultant,' must also comprise individuals from professions including, but not limited to, the ones listed below (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Article 10):

[a] For Urban Conservation Areas and Historic Conservation Areas: architects, city and regional planners, art historians, public administrators, business managers, and economists;

[b] For Archaeological Conservation Areas: architects, city and regional planners, art historians, public administrators, economists, and archaeologists;

[c] For Natural Conservation Areas: city and regional planners, public administrators, business managers, environmental engineers, forest engineers, geologists, geomorphologists, agricultural engineers, landscape architects, biologists, and zoologists.

In addition to the groups mentioned above, professionals from the following groups may also be included in the planning teams, depending on the nature of the site: sociologists, anthropologists, historians, economists, tourism managers, advertisers, and public relations experts. Some of the actors in charge of preparing management plans are also part of the implementation process. Accordingly, they can be put in charge of three of the site management units, namely the Advisory Board (*Danışma Kurulu*), the Co-ordination and Audit Board (*Eş Güdüm ve Denetleme Kurulu*) and the Audit Unit (*Denetim Birimi*) (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter Three/Articles 15-17) (Figure 6.1).

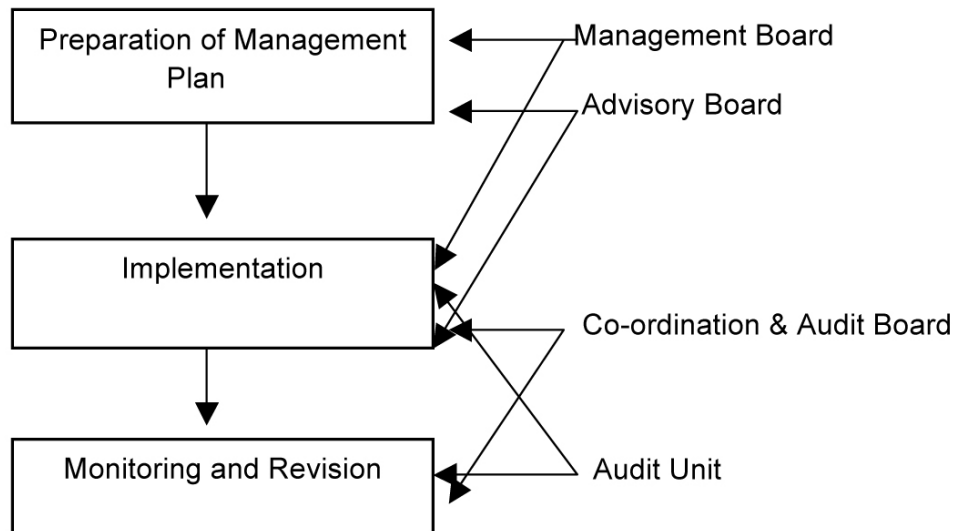


Figure 6.1: The relationship among the site management units at the different stages of site management plan (Source: Ayrancı and Gülersoy 2009)

The requirements for actors serving on the Monument Councils have been defined more precisely than those for their counterparts in site management. According to the Regulation, representatives from the following are to be found on the Monument Councils set up by the MCT: [a] at least one member of the teaching staff of the universities in the region where the monument is located; [b] chambers of commerce; [c]

NGOs; [d] representatives from local administrations; [e] individuals chosen by the MCT from among those who have contributed to safeguarding the monument; and [f] representatives chosen by the administration possessing ownership of the monument (e.g. the General Directorate of Endowments) (Regulation for Site Management 2005: Chapter Four/Article 18).

Even if the Regulation does not specify any norms regarding qualifications and expertise, it nonetheless prioritises diversity in the staff that will be in charge of site management and the Monument Councils; indeed, this is in line with the Regulation's core philosophy of participatory management. This study was chiefly concerned with the respondents' opinions regarding the roles of site management's interlocutors. By asking the question, 'Who should become involved in the development and implementation of management plans?' this study intends to find out which actors are prioritised by the participants. In the fieldwork, answers to this question were obtained from a total of 35 participants. A detailed analysis of these answers is displayed in Table 6.4.

As shown by the figures in Table 6.4, the MCT (or the state, as it is commonly referred to) plays the leading role in site management. The MCT is followed by (in order) local people, NGOs, local administrations and expert staff, academics, universities, and the private tourism sector. Although the MCT is placed to the forefront of site management, the participants' emphasis on the need for expert input is notable. Even though this emphasis was expressed, in majority, by different individuals, their responses overlapped to a large extent. For example, the terms 'representatives from various disciplines' and 'relevant experts' actually refer to actors who effectively constitute a single entity. The same is true of the terms 'universities' and 'academics'. These intersections among the responses allow determining that expert input represents the highest preference on the actors of site management (giving a frequency sub-total of 36) if one groups 'relevant experts', 'academics', 'universities' and 'representatives from various disciplines' in the same category.

Table 6.4: Frequencies of the respondents' preferences on the actors of the site management plans

	Data Group A: Archaeologists & Academics (12)	Data Group B: MCT (7)	Data Group C: Private Tourism Sector (3)	Data Group D: NGOs (7)	Data Group E: Local People (3)	Group F: Muni cipalit ies (3)	FREQUENCY TOTAL
Proposed Actors for Site Management Plans	FREQUENCIES						
State/MCT	3	5	1	4	3	2	18
Local People/ Representatives of Local People (i.e. Muhtar)	2	3	2	3	3	3	16
NGOs	4	4	1	5		1	15
Local Administrations	7	2			3	2	14
Relevant Experts (i.e. archaeologist, architect, urban planner, economist, engineer, art historian, conservator)	7	2			3	2	14
Academics	2	2	1	3		1	9
Universities	1	5		2			8
Private Tourism Sector		2	1	3			6
Representatives from Various Disciplines	3		1			1	5
Relevant Administrative Representatives (e.g. General Directorate for Special Environmental Protection Ares, Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation)		3				1	4
Private Sector		1	1	2			4
Can not be standardised/Depends on the characteristics of the site	4						4
Archaeology Museums	1	1		2			4
All Parties Affected by the Management Plan				1			1
Representatives from Local Business Sector				1			1
Property Right Owners				1			1
Media				1			1

Another striking detail in the research findings is that local people, though generally seen by the participants as playing a key role in site management, were not accorded the same importance by archaeologists and academics. Notably, museums were also not regarded as significant actors in site management, despite being the main interlocutor between local people and the MCT in problems concerning archaeological conservation areas.

6.2.3.1 Roles in the Management of Archaeological Sites

The inquiries in this study concerning the actors in site management were not narrowed down to a single question. Questions number 5 to 10, displayed in Appendix B, were employed in order to see how the participants assigned roles in the management of archaeological sites to different actors. The questions were used in different combinations. For instance, the question of what role NGOs should play in site management was directed both to NGOs and to participants from other groups. The aim in using such a method was to reveal what different groups thought about one another, and about their relationships with one another. It was predicted that the data obtained from these questions could assist future speculation about the relationships between different actors that will involve site management and monument councils.

Remarkably, in the answers given to interview questions number 5-10 the participants offered many opinions about why their respective groups, as well as others, need to have roles in the management of archaeological sites; what the nature of these roles would be; and what kind of contribution they would be able to make. Those who were familiar with the *Regulation for Site Management* stated their views with respect to the site management initiatives. Furthermore, some participants offered striking assessments concerning the institutions, communities, and professional circles with which they were connected. All these opinions and assessments were analysed with accompanying tables. The themes in the tables created for each data group were formed according to the content of the answers obtained from the participants. At the same time, the views and opinions in the tables that overlapped with each other were grouped separately and numbered according to their reference frequencies.

6.2.3.1.1 Local People

Local people, whom the participants previously ranked very highly among proposed actors for site management plans (see Table 6.4), were the group most commented on in questions about roles in the management of archaeological sites. This can be interpreted

as a sign that the relationship between archaeological sites and local people in Turkey represents an important topic of research. As a matter of fact, the scope and diversity of the data displayed in Table 6.5 support this claim.

Table 6.5: Respondents' opinions regarding the involvement of local people in the management of archaeological sites

Theme	Local People (5)	Other Respondents (36)
Reason(s) why local communities should have a role in the management of archaeological sites	→ we ought to express our problems and needs (4) → the true guardian of heritage sites is the local people (3) • we have been living here for years • we have difficulty making a living • human settlement should always be present at archaeological sites	→ archaeological sites cannot be protected by excluding local people • physical protection alone is insufficient / protection cannot be successful without people (12) • if the people take responsibility for archaeological sites, this ensures that the sites will be transmitted to future generations (2) → local people know the archaeological site where they live better than everyone else • they live there 24 hours a day (2) → archaeological heritage is part of local people's living traditions → local people's knowledge about the surroundings of archaeological sites is crucial for site management
Types of roles	→ If the duty of being a guardian is given to the local people, their lives should be made easier → <i>muhtar</i>/municipality should be our representative (2) → there should be a plan/project (2)	→ it is necessary to raise awareness among / educate people living in and around archaeological sites about those sites and about their safeguarding (11) • many of them are unaware of the significance of the cultural heritage in their vicinity → local people ought to be induced to take responsibility for archaeological sites (4) → reaching people is very important • it is necessary to speak with them about the value of cultural heritage → no kind of role should be entrusted to local people in the management of archaeological sites → the role of local people should be secondary • no group should be allowed to profit from the use of archaeological sites → local people should definitely be given a role in re-creating life around archaeological sites → local people should take care of / protect their own culture

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Local People</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Types of roles		→ they should not distinguish between “ours” and “theirs” when it comes to cultural heritage ❖ → before duties in site management are assigned to the local people, they should be made aware of cultural heritage issues (5) • their sense of ownership / taking responsibility should be fostered • local people’s awareness of cultural heritage is not very developed within their framework of culture • importance should be given to popular archaeology → they cannot be part of scientific teams but • They should/can have representatives in site managements (5) → In making management plans, local people/ property owners: • should be asked for their ideas (3) • should be encouraged to participate • should be consulted about the responsibilities which will be assigned to them (2) • should have their concerns/problems listened to (2) → The first project in management plans should be to raise awareness among local communities about cultural heritage (2) • they should know why the place where they live is under protection → local people’s contribution to site management is actually limited • their suggestions for solutions to site management issues cannot be permanent or functional • site management is a matter of expertise (2) → management plans should help to raise the economic and socio-cultural standards of local people (2) → local people should be present at every stage of the management plan → they should be present in site management both as manpower and as brainpower → they should have a role in management plans, but they should not have the last word regarding binding decisions

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Local People</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Types of Roles		→ local people should have it explained to them why a management plan is useful → they should be treated democratically within site management • Their voting rights should be taken seriously
Other assessments regarding local people	→ the biggest issue is that of the conservation area • our houses' repair needs are not being met; paying back government loans is difficult; there is too much bureaucracy (2) → the government wants to harass those who live in conservation areas • no permission is granted to do anything on a conservation area (2) → stringent rules force the local people to do things illegally → those living in conservation areas are always anxious → local people are actually in agreement about the need to protect archaeological sites → there is a belief that the <i>muhtar</i> doesn't understand anything about site management	→ those living in a conservation area should be able to benefit from that area economically (7) • job opportunities should be created • locals engaged in agriculture can be given more commercial opportunities • resources to bring about social and economic development should be created → everyday life on the part of local communities in conservation areas needs to go on (2) → local people do not have a positive view of conservation areas • because of the restrictions placed on their lives, they come to feel inimical towards antiquities → vacant land in Aspendos cannot be made use of because it borders conservation areas: • people cannot use their land • if the local people were not nationalistic, these areas would not be protected • there are those who wish to do damage to archaeological heritage out of anger, but prudence and nationalism prevail → legal impositions regarding conservation areas are not creating a solution → the biggest problem facing local people in conservation areas is the restriction of their fundamental needs • limitation of building activities and use of land for farming creates victimisation (2) • peoples' property is limited as it is

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Local People</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Other assessments regarding local people		→ plans and projects are not being made for local people in conservation areas • projects should be produced according to the needs of the people • projects should be renewable • projects should include practices focusing on social structure • every archaeological site has its own particular social issues → In marking the boundaries of conservation areas, local people are being excluded (2) • In marking the boundaries of conservation areas, local people should be asked for their input → the planning process in conservation areas must include local inhabitants, however: • in general, information is given to their representatives only when it is thought to be necessary • most of the time they are asked for their views merely in order to comply with standard procedure → conservation areas were once living spaces (4) • people have feelings of belonging (2) • they have moral and economic rights • for an Anatolian it means a lot to be born and grow up in a village: they do not want to leave their villages • the emotional ties between individuals and their surroundings should not be sundered • local culture should always be linked with ancient cities → the participation of people in site management in urban conservation areas is indispensable • in archaeological conservation areas, it is up to the state to take the initiative: a lack of participation by people does not create a huge problem → local people are open to partnership • communication should be established • they are pessimistic and uncommitted due to prohibitions regarding conservation areas

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Local People</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Other assessments regarding local people		→ local people in archaeological areas do not want their property to fall within the borders of a conservation area ❖ → archaeological sites should not be isolated from human life (2) → archaeological excavations can become projects serving to educate local inhabitants → those living around certain archaeological sites are aware of the benefits related with tourism at those sites (2) • They are aware that if the site is damaged they will suffer a loss (2) → conservation should not occur under duress • “Why are you not protecting?” is the wrong question, which has been repeated for years → local people are uninterested in archaeological excavations • there is a lack of education on their part • they do not realise what they can gain from archaeology → people expect swift restoration in archaeological sites • they want theatres to be restored and opened for festivals/events → the reason that Myra is still standing is that the local people love the place and know that it needs to be protected → local people are taking better care of Aspendos than the MCT is: • because they are <i>Yörük</i> nomads: they have a highly developed sense of ownership • <i>Yörük</i> nomads are patriotic people • Because of the care with which they have preserved Aspendos, they should not be made victims → among local people, there are those who are opposed to research studies, researchers, and officials → awareness and sense of ownership can develop with education only to some extent • they are notions that individuals should rather feel themselves • local ownership should be scrutinised in management plans

Of the total of 41 participants answering the question, “What role(s) should local people have in the management of archaeological sites?” five were individuals from the local inhabitants. These five respondents’ answers were interrelated and were entirely consistent with each other. Upon performing content analyses of the respondents’ answers, it can be seen that conservation areas represent the main concern of the local inhabitants. In this regard, various references were made to conflicts with local interests arising from restrictions in effect in conservation areas (e.g., building restrictions). These references were particularly critical in tone and evinced a clear dissatisfaction among the respondents. The second noteworthy point was the participants’ expectation that a solution be found to the problems arising from conservation areas. These expectations focused on the opportunity to express and be represented regarding their needs and problems, and on plans and projects that would take into account the fact of their having been unfairly treated. Such expectations were legitimised by the assessment that local people are the actual guardians of archaeological sites and conservation areas due to their physical connection with them.

The other 36 respondents who commented on the role of the local people in the management of archaeological sites consisted of 13 archaeologists and academics, eight MCT officials, seven members of NGOs, five municipal officials, and three respondents from the tourism sector. Among the views put forth by this wide group, some coincided with those of the local people, and some diverged from them. The most prominent of these opinions have been listed, on the basis of their reference frequencies, under the following five headings:

1) *Significance of local people and safeguarding archaeological sites*: Among the 36 respondents, the two opinions with the most adherents were the following: (i) it would be impossible to safeguard archaeological sites effectively without the support of the local people; and (ii) it is necessary for these sites to go on being inhabited by humans. The overall justification for such views (supported by 21 participants including: seven archaeologists/academics; six MCT officials; four respondents from municipalities; two respondents from NGOs; and two respondents from tourism sector) was the importance

of local people's cultural and emotional ties to the site they inhabit. Locals inhabitants' way of life, and their knowledge about their surrounding environment, were put forth as other factors needing to be taken into consideration by management strategies.

2) Raising awareness among local people about archaeological sites / cultural heritage and their safeguarding: The two issues on which the participants dwelt the most were (i) the belief that local people are insufficiently knowledgeable about archaeological sites in their surrounding environment (also referred to as cultural heritage), and (ii) the belief that local people are uninterested in such sites. Accordingly, it was frequently stressed (by 12 archaeologists/academics; five MCT officials; two officials from municipalities; two respondents from tourism sector; and one NGO representative) that safeguarding and planning activities need to include informing, educating, and developing a sense of ownership among the local inhabitants associated with those sites. The group which approached the issue from the perspective of site management – a group of 12 archaeologists/academics – put forth informational and educational processes as an indispensable requirement for participation by local people playing a role in site management. Notably, only one academic considered awareness of cultural heritage and a sense of ownership to be notions that develop through individual initiative.

3) Representation of local people in site management: It was apparent that the expectations of the local people (namely, the opportunity to express their needs and problems concerning conservation areas, and to receive representation in addressing these problems) were also shared by the majority of the other participants. In general, with respect to site management, the participants' assessments (came from seven archaeologists/academics; seven MCT officials; two from NGOs; and two from municipalities) saw involvement by and representation of local people as requirements for democratic rights and comprehensive planning. A small group consisting of three participants (each from separate groups: NGOs, tourism sector and archaeologists/academics), although it was not opposed to local people being represented in site management, cited some restrictions on their involvement. The following kinds of justifications were made: (i) site management requires expertise; (ii) local people are

unable to give their views on scientific matters; (iii) their participation is primarily needed at urban conservation areas, rather than at archaeological sites; and (iv) their authority to make binding decisions regarding archaeological sites is objectionable. At the same time, among the 36 respondents, there were two (a representative of an NGO and one respondent from tourism sector) who took a negative view of the involvement of local people in site management. Of these two participants, one – representing the Directorate of Endowments in Antalya – offered no justification for his opinion, while the participant from the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies regarded local people as one of the groups with the potential to profit from archaeological sites.

4) *Economic and socio-cultural benefits*: One commonly-held opinion stated that economic opportunities need to be created for local people suffering from damage to their livelihood (e.g., limitations on agricultural and construction activities) as a result of the prohibitions enforced in conservation areas. The total of nine respondents (five archaeologists/academics; three MCT officials; and a representative of an NGO) sharing these opinions recommended that site management plans develop projects to create employment. The respondents anticipated that, with the implementation of these projects, local people who had been adversely affected by conservation areas would be compensated for their losses, and that this would encourage voluntary participation and commitment in safeguarding conservation areas. Three archaeologists among the participants hinted that management plans, at the same time, need to raise local people's socio-cultural standards, as this would be able to make life in conservation areas more attractive.

5) *Conservation areas*: Problems with conservation areas, which emerged as the primary concern in interviews conducted with local people, did not arouse the same level of interest among the other 36 respondents. It should be particularly emphasised that the respondents who offered assessments about conservation areas (aside from the local inhabitants themselves) were individuals who, by virtue of their duties or past experiences, were in a close relationship with local people living in conservation areas. Notably, while the views of these respondents (three archaeologists/academics; three

MCT officials; a representative of an NGO; and an official from the Belkis Municipality) were in full accord with those of the local people, they were generally more critical. In particular, observations about the effects on local people of the legal impositions enforced in conservation areas focused on: (i) the fact that legal restrictions limit construction and agricultural activities and thus give rise to negative perceptions, victimisation, and antagonism; (ii) the fact that local people are left out of the process of identifying conservation areas. All these observations were straightforwardly illustrated in three interviews in particular. One of these was conducted with an archaeologist at the Antalya Archaeological Museum, who had worked for years on the designation of conservation areas. This official answered the questions about conservation areas with the following remarks:

Let's take the example of Kekova. The population in that conservation area has increased over time. For instance, a Kekova local, Mr. X., is going to marry off his son, and needs to build a new house for him. He can't build it! When he does, he's taken to court, and has to deal with bureaucracy. When this happens, he becomes hostile both towards antiquities and towards state institutions. The locals in Kekova definitely aren't fond of conservation areas. We know this because we deal with them in person, one-on-one. We have been talking with these people directly for nearly ten years. The biggest problems faced by people living in conservation areas are their basic needs. Meeting basic needs like shelter, electricity, and water, and getting a few essential pieces of technology in the place they live. The biggest problem in Turkey is the logic that says: don't allow any construction around conservation areas, don't let them be used in any way, don't let anyone touch them. By proceeding in this way, you are being unfair to the people living in these areas. This is a mentality that completely leaves human beings out of the picture. You just mark out conservation areas on a map, without making any kind of project or plan that takes people into account. I agree: it's very important to protect conservation areas, and we are striving to do this. But this understanding of "protection" can no longer be considered a modern one (Anonymous, 13.08.2008).

An official from the Belkis Municipality gave opinions, which were in accord with those of the museum representative. This participant acted as a spokesperson on conservation

area-related problems faced by local inhabitants around Aspendos; his impressions and expectations concerning the identification process for conservation areas were quite striking. He expressed these expectations – which he constantly reiterated during the interview – in the following manner:

The local people are taking charge of Aspendos because they are nationalists. Otherwise, they might say, “They have stripped me of my rights on account of a conservation area...I can’t use my own property. What use is Aspendos to me?” and so do damage to their own cultural heritage. I know that there are people who think of doing such harm. But this heritage is protected today due to common sense and nationalist sentiment. They drew the boundaries of the conservation area for Aspendos with photos they took from the air. However, if they identified them by coming and exploring the area, and learning what the local people think, the result would be very different. If they consulted us, there wouldn’t be so much of people’s land, or so many people’s houses, within the boundaries of a conservation area. Natural conservation areas and archaeological conservation areas should be protected – but not in this way! People have limited property. The MCT can’t seem to understand this. In Turkey, as in Aspendos, everyone living on a conservation area faces this problem (Anonymous, 13.08.2008).

The third strong opponent of conservation areas was a local inhabitant of the Hisariçi neighbourhood of Alanya Castle, who was also a member of the Culture, Tourism, Mutual Aid, and Solidarity Society of Hisariçi. This participant made the following critical remarks about restrictions in conservation areas from the perspective of property rights and identity:

They think that we are living in a modern city centre. On some issues, they think everything is forbidden if you say “this is a conservation area.” A comprehensive approach that includes our needs hasn’t been put forth. We agree that Alanya Castle is a conservation area, an archaeological site, and a cultural heritage site. But, at the same time, one has to admit that the local people need to live here. Our ancestors lived here. They can’t view us as lawbreakers...it’s not easy to live here. Houses are small and narrow. They’re made of wood. Some don’t have en-suite baths or toilets. The ones that do, have small ones. The public water supply is usually cut during the summer. If you

plant onions in your garden, you need to water them every day. If you plant parsley, it doesn't grow, because it's arid everywhere. You have rocks all around you. There are problems getting around, and problems parking. They should listen to the families who live here. They should offer an incentive to live here. I don't know. Maybe the purpose of the restrictions is to make the local people fed up with living here, to make them sell their houses cheap, and leave...maybe there's an intention to have foreigners settle here? (Anonymous, 12.09.2008).

6.2.3.1.2 NGOs

The total of 25 responses to the question, “What role(s) should NGOs have in the management of archaeological sites?” presented an interesting picture. The 25 respondents included officials from NGOS (7) as well as 18 other respondents (eight archaeologists/academics, five representatives of the MCT, three from the municipalities, and two from the tourism sector). Of these, 14 respondents offered judgemental and critical views on the role of NGOs and their overall status in Turkey (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Respondents' opinions regarding the involvement of NGOs in the management of archaeological sites

Theme	Respondents from NGOs (7)	Other Respondents (18)
Reason(s) why NGOs should have a role in the management of archaeological sites	➔ democratic participation is necessary ➔ NGOs are closer to public: scientists have a heavy-handed manner	➔ they have good relations with the media: it is easier for them to make their voices heard ➔ they can strike a balance between local communities and state institutions ➔ they can create alternative viewpoints ➔ they can provide societal consensus on a local level

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Respondents from NGOs</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Types of Roles	→ having a say in management plans → functioning as the backbone of site management → providing consultancy → managerial representation in site management → using full initiative for resource transmission → being a part of the decision-making process in site management, along with the state and local administrations → they should not have a role at the decision-making stage: they may exploit some issues → they should not have authority in the management plan process	→ more rights to voice their opinions on conservation issues → being a medium to arouse interest in heritage sites on the part of local communities → secondary roles: they should not be permitted to make a profit → authority in matters concerning the upkeep and monitoring of archaeological sites → helping to raise awareness of ownership → providing consultancy → being part of the management team in the promotion of projects → getting involved at every stage of the management plan
Benefits of NGOs' involvement in the management of archaeological sites	→ they can reach a wider audience	→ they can be more effective than others at reaching local communities → participation by different career groups allows the opportunity to benefit from various skills and expertise → they can create political pressure to ensure proper implementation of the management plans
Other assessments regarding NGOs	→ NGOs are insufficient (2) → NGOs in Antalya are more active than those in other provinces → NGOs in Antalya have enacted sanctions in matters concerning natural conservation areas → in the Regional Council meetings in Antalya, the opinions of the NGOs on matters regarding archaeological conservation areas are not solicited very much	→ among the NGOs, there are some who intend to benefit politically and financially from heritage sites (3) → in opposing every project they convey a negative image to society (2) → they do not create projects (2) → NGOs in Antalya are more informed than those in other provinces about conservation issues (2) → they are not sufficiently organised and effective in Turkey as a whole (2) → they should be aware of the value of heritage sites → they are better-informed about heritage sites than the local communities → NGOs in Alanya are enthusiastic about site management → NGOs' interest in site management is still new → the foundational aims and activities of most NGOs in Turkey are inconsistent → many are not made up of select/expert individuals → their involvement is ambiguous: can be either useful or dangerous → those who will be involved in site management should be chosen carefully

These views (addressed by five archaeologists/academics; three respondents from NGOs; three officials from the MCT; two respondents from the tourism sector; and a municipal officer) focused on the following traits of NGOs: (i) their tendency to exploit issues concerning heritage sites, and to use them for political or financial gain; (ii) their insufficient capacity; (iii) their general bias in favour of the opposition; (iv) their failure to create projects; (v) their insufficient levels of organisation and effectiveness; (vi) the absence of relevant expertise; and (vii) their failure to act in accordance with their founding goals. All these claims indicate the wariness with which these 14 participants approached the roles of NGOs in archaeological sites.

Over against such critical views was a belief that NGOs are efficient in creating a public and reaching the people, and thus their contribution to site management projects is essential. In addition, there was also a common opinion that NGOs in Antalya, in comparison with those in the rest of Turkey, are better-informed about, and more efficient at dealing with, matters concerning heritage sites. The total number of participants who addressed positive views on the roles of NGOs was 17 (consisting of six representatives from NGOs; five archaeologists/academics; four MCT officials; and two representatives from tourism sector). However, seven members of this group (three representatives from NGOs; three from the MCT; and an archaeologist) were the same respondents who also offered judgemental views on the role of NGOs and their overall status in Turkey.

6.2.3.1.3 *Archaeologists/Academics*

The question about the role of archaeologists in the management of archaeological sites received fewer answers in comparison with other data groups. The respondent group, numbering no more than 21 people, featured eight archaeologists/academics, four MCT officials, three representatives of NGOs, and two respondents each from the tourism sector, the municipalities, and the local people.

As the participants' views on the managerial roles of archaeologists were quite evenly balanced, it was easy to classify them into groups. One of the most frequently mentioned opinions among those displayed in Table 6.7 was the view that archaeologists provide scientific information, and that they should be regarded as the most knowledgeable about archaeological sites. With reference to this opinion, 11 participants stressed the need for archaeologists to take on “educational” and “guiding” roles in scientific issues affecting archaeological sites.

Table 6.7: Respondents' opinions regarding the involvement of archaeologists in the management of archaeological sites

Theme	Archaeologists and Academics (8)	Other Respondents (13)
Reason(s) why archaeologists should have a role in the management of archaeological sites	➔ archaeologists and art historians are the people who are competent regarding the management of archaeological sites and the activities to be performed at these sites ➔ they bring together different data about archaeological sites at the right spot	
Types of roles	➔ conducting scientific research (2) ➔ relaying information about work on archaeological sites to local administrations and NGOs ➔ publishing guidebooks ➔ archaeologists must be conscious of the existence of host communities: they are working for everybody, not only for themselves ➔ archaeologists must be represented in site management • they should be able to share their opinion • they should be given the right to veto some decisions having negative impacts on archaeological sites • they should be involved in management plans/programmes ➔ archaeologists should be receptive to changes and developments surrounding their research settings • they should understand what is profitable to the local communities and what their needs are	➔ they should take a leadership role in scientific matters with the other stakeholders: they should educate people (3) ➔ archaeologists should be present at every stage of site management (2) • They should be able to direct site management units ➔ people ought to benefit from archaeologists' ideas and skills ➔ their roles are very important, but they should not be in a leadership role in creating a management plan • site management is not solely their concern: there are economic, sociological, legal, etc. issues involved (2) • they have no previous experience/knowledge regarding site management ➔ the head of site management team at an archaeological site must be the primary archaeologist who excavates it: without them site management efforts would just be farcical ➔ they should guide NGOs and local authorities • they are the ones who best know the sites where they are working ➔ it is normal for them to be given priority/precedence in the decision-making process for management plans

Other assessments regarding archaeologists	→ heritage management is a distinctive field of expertise: the management of archaeological sites should be conducted by inter-disciplinary experts (2) → the administration of archaeological sites should be in the hands of management professionals, not archaeologists (2) → archaeologists will accomplish nothing in the management of archaeological sites through individual efforts → there is no need to be an archaeologist or art historian to take an interest in the past → site management has not yet become institutionalized within Turkish archaeology • there is a lack of experts → archaeologists are generally narrow-minded: they do not want to allow others to use archaeological sites • our understanding of conservation has changed: we cannot protect things through prohibition → archaeologists should learn to work in a multi-disciplinary manner • they cannot say “I am responsible for archaeological heritage” • they need to think about the balance between protection and utilisation	→ most excavation teams in Turkey are made up of archaeologists: • there needs to be multi-disciplinary participation • foreign excavation teams in Turkey are more multi-disciplinary • an excavation project including all the relevant experts can make its own management plan: otherwise, you must purchase this service externally → archaeologists uncover scientific information → in Turkey, there is not enough expert academic staff in site management → most archaeologists are strict conservationists
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The views and assessments of 14 participants who examined the role of archaeologists in connection with site management revealed interesting results. These results fell into three groups. The first group, consisting of seven participants (five archaeologists/academics; a representative of an NGO; and an official from the MCT), affirmed that archaeologists ought to play a part in the management plans of archaeological sites, but that they should not be in administrative or leadership positions. The participants justified their arguments on the grounds that site management requires multi-disciplinary expertise. The second group made up of five participants (one academic, two MCT officials and two respondents from NGOs) emphasised that archaeologists definitely need to be part of site managements, as they are the most qualified in scientific matters. The two respondents in the third group (a respondent from tourism sector and an official of the MCT in Antalya) expressed views tangential to those of the first group, and drew attention to the overall lack of experts in site management in Turkey.

The third important point to be made in relation to the data shown in Table 6.7 concerns critical self-assessments concerning the archaeological community in Turkey. In fact,

these criticisms surfaced in opinions regarding the role of archaeologists in site management, and focused on the following ideas: (i) archaeologists disapprove of the use of archaeological sites for touristic purposes and in everyday life; (ii) they are not open to the notion of working on an inter-disciplinary basis; and (iii) they are untroubled by conservation activities which conflict with the needs of local people.

6.2.3.1.4 Tourism and Private Sectors

The number of respondents commenting on the role of the tourism and private sectors in the management of archaeological sites was almost the same as those commenting on the role of the municipalities. Opinions were obtained from a total of 31 people, consisting of representatives of the private tourism sector (4); archaeologists and academics (9); representatives of the MCT (8); representatives of the municipalities (5); and members of NGOs (5).

As can be seen in Table 6.8, respondents' views on the roles of the tourism and private sectors in archaeological sites clustered distinctly around a few headings. The first of these headings was financial matters. A total of 13 respondents, consisting of nearly equal numbers of individuals from data groups A, B, C and F (except for the private tourism sector) stressed that the primary duty of the tourism and private sectors is to provide financing for archaeological sites, as well as consultation on financial matters. Accordingly, archaeological excavations, conservation projects, management plans, and publicity were listed as activities requiring financing.

Table 6.8: Respondents' opinions regarding the involvement of tourism and private sectors in the management of archaeological sites

Theme	Respondents from Private Tourism Sector (4)	Other Respondents (27)
Reason(s) why tourism and private sectors should have a role in the management of archaeological sites	➔ archaeological sites are among the products for tourism	➔ the private sector provides better service than the state (4) ➔ if they are excluded, they will not become aware of conservation activities ➔ their ideas are important ➔ archaeologists, architects, and art historians do not understand anything about tourism

Theme	Respondents from Private Tourism Sector	Other Respondents
Reason(s) why tourism and private sectors should have a role in the management of archaeological sites		➔ archaeological sites are for the joint use of archaeologists and tourism professionals ➔ they are well connected with other countries: they will have more of a positive effect on publicity ➔ they can provide publicity and financial resources for the implementation of site management plans ➔ they profit from archaeological sites ➔ tourism income is important: at the decision-making stage, their knowledge and feedback are necessary ➔ involvement by the private sector is essential for matters concerning customers and services
Types of roles	➔ working for the visitor management of archaeological sites, and in their general operation ➔ taking on secondary roles: they are commercial institutions ➔ supporting the use and protection of archaeological sites ➔ providing consultancy in order to increase the quality of service	➔ financing archaeological excavations and conservation projects (6) ➔ operating archaeological sites, on the condition of being under state supervision (4) ➔ providing consultancy about financial matters concerning the presentation and operation of archaeological sites (3) ➔ marketing the sites' touristic features / conducting visitor management (3) ➔ only providing consultancy (2) ➔ providing unconditional financial support for the protection of archaeological sites (2) ➔ helping tourism to develop ➔ helping to promote cultural heritage ➔ taking on the responsibility of designing and implementing some of the projects in management plans
Benefits of the involvement of tourism and private sectors in the management of archaeological sites		➔ only those connected with the heritage sector can be beneficial ➔ their experiences are important (2)
Other assessments regarding tourism and private sectors	➔ tourism professionals are unaware of the archaeological sites at their doorstep ➔ they do not understand anything about the management of archaeological sites ➔ they prefer easy investment sites in coastal regions because they want a quick return on their investment ➔ they are not aware of the importance of cultural tourism	➔ tourism professionals are generally out to increase their revenues from tourism (4) ➔ some of them are concerned with/informed about conservation issues (3) ➔ the private sector should be trusted (2) ➔ tourism professionals are uninterested in archaeological sites (3)

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Respondents from Private Tourism Sector</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Other assessments regarding tourism and private sectors		➔ they should not be allowed to get involved in the management of archaeological sites (2) ➔ they should acknowledge that cultural values are as important as “sea and sun” ➔ they benefit from tourism revenues from archaeological sites ➔ most of those involved in tourism have little interest in conservation needs ➔ cultural heritage sites are the bread and butter of those involved in tourism: they are aware of the need to protect them ➔ they should provide financial support to the municipalities ➔ they are attempting to/ are eager to become informed about site management ➔ Most tourism professionals are insincere/uncultured ➔ we have had no support from touristic establishments in the region ➔ tourism professionals are concerned with visitor numbers in particular

The main duties ascribed to the tourism and private sectors were the general management of archaeological sites, visitor management, marketing, and the carrying out of promotional activities. Among the 12 participants voicing opinions of this nature, two groups stood out in particular. The first group (consisting of three respondents from NGOS; two MCT officials; two archaeologists; and a representative of Alanya Municipality) claimed that the private sector would be able to provide better service than the state in the management of archaeological sites. This claim was based on the argument that the private sector’s instinct to “do no harm” in a commercial sense would have a positive effect on the quality of service. The other group of four (two archaeologists; a representative of an NGO; and a respondent from tourism sector) asserted that the state absolutely needs to assume a supervisory role in the event that the private sector should be given a managerial role.

Over against the positive views on participation by the tourism sector in site management, criticisms of the tourism sector – even if they did not predominate – stood

out conspicuously among the assessments in Table 6.8. These criticisms, which came from four archaeologists/academics, and an MCT official, unanimously held that those involved in tourism are unaware of, and indifferent to, the importance of archaeological sites and cultural tourism, and that their relations with these sites are motivated by profit. Remarkably, this belief was also held by the owner of a reputable Antalya-based tourism company in the 2000s.

6.2.3.1.5 MCT

A total of 34 respondents answered the question about the role of the MCT – or, more broadly, the state – in the management of archaeological sites. Seven of these were ministerial officials from the central organisation of the MCT dealing with archaeological sites, and from its representatives in Antalya. The other group contained a total of 27 people, consisting of ten archaeologists/academics, six NGO representatives, four representatives of the tourism sector, four municipal officials, and three local people. As Table 6.9 clearly reveals, there were distinct parallels between the site management roles ascribed to the MCT by ministerial officials and those ascribed to it by other participants. Among the individual duties and responsibilities cited, the MCT's three main duties were: (i) monitoring/supervising every kind of activity concerning archaeological sites; (ii) making rules, principles, and laws about archaeological sites; and (iii) providing organisation (both administrative and inter-institutional) in the management of archaeological sites. These main duties were followed by the duties of providing finance for archaeological sites, determining rules and sanctions, and enforcing them.

As was the case with views on the MCT's roles in site management, striking points of confluence could be observed in other assessments made about the MCT both by MCT officials, and other respondents (consisting of three archaeologists; three respondents from NGOs; two respondents from tourism sector and municipalities). These assessments, which seemed to question some of the aforementioned roles, focused on the insufficiency of the present administrative structure of the MCT as well as its general

rules and practices (referred as “state mentality,” “state mindset,” or “state attitude”) in dealing with the management of archaeological sites. Another main assessment shared by two MCT officials and three respondents from NGOs was that the MCT suffers from handicaps in terms of financial resources and organisational capabilities.

Table 6.9: Respondents’ opinions regarding the involvement of the MCT/State in the management of archaeological sites

Theme	Respondents from the MCT (7)	Other Respondents (27)
Types of roles	➔ making laws about the management of archaeological sites ➔ providing operations and organisational support for the management of archaeological sites ➔ safeguarding ➔ planning ➔ providing guidance ➔ monitoring ➔ ensuring organisation among various institutions ➔ using enforcement ➔ identifying the competent authority in site management	➔ monitoring/supervising (7) ➔ setting up the rules/principles (5) ➔ providing organisational support (4) ➔ providing finance (2) ➔ determining sanctions/penalties ➔ MCT should be a vehicle for the transmission of international expertise to Turkey ➔ the State should allocate its authority regarding the management of/safeguarding archaeological sites (4) ➔ the State should transfer site management to the private sector, on condition that it is supervised (2) ❖ ➔ the State should definitely be part of site management, as (2): • tourism is part of site management • archaeological sites are state property • sustainability is necessary ➔ the State should be involved in site management, but not in an administrative capacity: management should be left semi-independent ➔ the State should be a chief actor in site management ➔ management plans should be made by the MCT: it should set strategies, choose staff, and assign duties
Other assessments regarding the MCT/State	➔ management, safeguarding, and monitoring of archaeological sites in Turkey cannot be performed solely by the state (2) • Turkey is geographically a large area and there are numerous archaeological sites • MCT’s budget is insufficient (2) ➔ organisational ability of the MCT is limited ➔ MCT has expended great resources on the restoration and repair of archaeological sites in Antalya since 2000	➔ safeguarding of archaeological sites is a state monopoly (4) ➔ archaeological sites cannot be managed well with the existing state mentality/attitude (3) ➔ Ankara (central state) is unaware of the problems pertaining to archaeological sites in other provinces (3) ➔ site management cannot be successful with the existing state mindset (2)

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Respondents from the MCT</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Other assessments regarding the MCT/State		→ The MCT's resources for archaeological sites are limited: even if it has money it cannot successfully manage them → The MCT's ability to manage/organise is limited → The MCT takes over revenues from archaeological sites: it does not fairly apportion them → communication between the MCT and other ministries on matters concerning archaeological sites is weak

All the opinions dealing with the roles of the MCT from the perspective of site management came from participants who are not affiliated with the MCT. It was observed that these opinions, which are divided into two groups, were diametrically opposed to each other. The first group of 13 participants (including eight archaeologists/academics; three representatives from NGOs; and two from tourism sector) stated that the MCT definitely needs to function as the main actor/organiser in site management. The other group, made up of four participants (including two archaeologists and two representatives from NGOs), held that the MCT needs to remain uninvolved in site management. Two answers of this type recommended that the MCT's powers in site management be turned over to the private sector (on condition that they be supervised), while the other two asserted that site management can not be successful within the existing administrative system of the state.

6.2.3.1.6 *Municipalities*

In the fieldwork, the views of a total of 30 respondents were obtained on the question: "What role(s) should municipalities have in the management of archaeological sites?" Of these 30 respondents, five were municipal officials. The remaining group of 25 included two respondents from the private tourism sector, three NGO members, ten archaeologists and academics, two local people, and eight respondents from the MCT. On the role of the municipalities in the management of archaeological sites, four topics in particular stand out in the data displayed in Table 6.10. The first is the opinion that the

municipalities' teams of experts are insufficient. A group of 12 participants who spoke on this issue (comprising seven archaeologists; two respondents from NGOs; two MCT officials; and one municipal official) remarked that municipalities, which would take part in site management, need to work with qualified experts from different disciplines.

Table 6.10: Respondents' opinions regarding the involvement of municipalities in the management of archaeological sites

Theme	Respondents from Municipalities (5)	Other Respondents (25)
Reason(s) why municipalities should have a role in the management of archaeological sites	→ consensus / dialogue / voicing opinions is important → we should be in a management position because we are involved with the upkeep of archaeological sites → authority in the management of archaeological sites should be shared: they cannot be managed from a single centre	→ they know the local communities and are aware of their problems → they are the true owners of heritage sites → it is un-democratic to exclude them → protection of archaeological sites needs to be localised
Types of roles	→ finding financial resources	→ executive roles → not getting in the way of scientific work → financing scientific work and helping to spread cultural awareness in society → representing local communities as they know their problems
Benefits of municipalities' involvement	→ there will be a broader understanding of the concept of management → if awareness is raised on the part of the municipalities, the archaeological sites will be better protected	→ community and local partnership is beneficial to conservation efforts
Other assessments regarding municipalities	→ municipalities are political institutions: a higher authority (i.e. the Ministry, the Regional Councils) is always needed as a control mechanism → there is a lack of qualified staff regarding site management	→ most municipalities have a lack of expert/qualified staff: they should work with experts in site management (11) → municipalities are political institutions: they tend to engage in local politics and to condone profiteering (5) → municipalities' perceptions about heritage sites have changed: they are now taking responsibility for them and protecting them (5) → municipalities in Antalya are more informed about heritage sites (5) → archaeological sites cannot be managed from a single centre (3) → municipalities should be trusted (2) → municipalities have been granted too much initiative regarding heritage sites (2)

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Respondents from Municipalities</u>	<u>Other Respondents</u>
Other assessments regarding municipalities		→ a positive attitude should be used in order to create partnerships with municipalities (2) → municipalities condone damage to natural conservation areas, in particular → they may be prejudiced against “non-Muslim heritage” → they are aware that they can benefit from cultural tourism → responsibility should gradually be given to municipalities in safeguarding archaeological sites → it is appropriate that a central authority (MCT) is setting general rules about archaeological sites → municipalities tend to act on their own initiative → in urban conservation areas, there is a danger of site management remaining under the guidance of the municipality → unsustainability is the greatest risk for site management: management plans may be interrupted by a change of municipal administration

The second most commonly addressed topic was the view that municipalities in Turkey (for instance those in Antalya) have taken a more informed, conservationist approach towards heritage sites over the past decade. Noticeably, few of the ten respondents holding such opinions provided specific examples in support of their arguments. The third most popular topic focused on the political identities of the municipalities. The six respondents (three archaeologists; two representatives from NGOs; and an official of Belkıs Municipality) who spoke on this topic were primarily concerned about the possibility of conflict between site management projects and local interests supported by the municipalities. Opinions which gave credence to these concerns in various ways dwelt on the possibility of site management being exploited by the municipalities or being unsustainable. At the same time, other six participants (two MCT officials; a representative of Alanya Municipality; and three archaeologists/academics), who took a positive approach to the role of the municipalities in site management, stressed the importance of “a positive tone” and “trust” in relations with the municipalities. The fourth most prominent topic to emerge regarding the municipalities was the “allocation of authority.” A total of five participants (including four archaeologists/academics and one

MCT official) addressing this issue stated that the continual authority of the central government in the management of archaeological sites is ineffective, and that, consequently, it would be beneficial to delegate some powers to the municipalities.

6.3 Implementation of Site Management, Its Financing and Organisation, and the Boundaries of Management Sites

This second part of the Chapter focuses on specific topics associated with the *Regulation for Site Management*. It presents the data gathered via interview questions 11-16 in Appendix B, and serves the objectives listed in Aim 1 of the thesis. The interview questions found in this part of the chapter address specific topics concerning the *Regulation for Site Management*. Therefore, unlike those analysed in the first part of the chapter, they use the term ‘site management’ with the same meaning and scope it has in the Regulation. At the same time, the addressees of these interview questions consisted particularly of those who were familiar with the Regulation (except for the interview questions asking ‘What do you think has been the major contribution of the *Regulation for Site Management*?’).

6.3.1 Major Contribution(s) of the Regulation for Site Management

The question ‘What do you think has been the major contribution of the *Regulation for Site Management*?’ occupies an important place among all the interview questions in this study. The question, which served as a transition to specific topics concerning the Regulation, allowed two fundamental aims to be achieved, namely: (i) to gauge awareness of the Regulation among the participants and thus decide to whom specific questions about it should be directed; and (ii) to elicit respondents’ opinions on the contribution made by the Regulation, i.e., both its extent of implementation as of 2008, and its potential contribution as a new policy tool.

As can be observed in Table 6.11 (page 215), out of a total of 46 respondents commenting on the major contributions of the Regulation, 11 clearly demonstrated their

familiarity with the Regulation by mentioning that they did not know about the site management initiatives, or that they had read the Regulation prior to the interviews with the researcher. Although these remarks represent an important finding, they only give a partial idea of all 46 participants' connection with the Regulation. A precise picture of the participants' knowledge of the Regulation was established through comprehensive analyses incorporating their responses to the interview questions as well as the researcher's personal observations. Thus, three distinct groups were identified, based on the participants' familiarity with the Regulation:

1) *Those unaware of, or with a very limited knowledge of, the Regulation*: This group, consisting of a total of 22 participants, contained six archaeologists/academics, three municipal officials, three NGO representatives, two members of the MCT, one person from the tourism sector, and seven people from the local people. The vast majority of those in this group were completely unfamiliar with the Regulation, while the others only possessed limited information based on hearsay. Of the eight members of the local people participating in the study, as many as seven stated that they knew nothing about the Regulation / site management, a situation which had been predicted prior to the start of the fieldwork.

2) *Those familiar with, and able to reflect upon, some aspects of the Regulation*: Out of a total of 22 participants in this group, there were seven members of the MCT, six archaeologists/academics, four representatives of NGOs, three professionals from the private-tourism sector, one municipal official, and one person from the local people. The majority of those in the group possessed information, or made observations, which showed that they were qualified to comment on specific or technical aspects of the Regulation. According to the researcher's assumption, 12 participants within the group had read the Regulation, for the first time, prior to the interviews or answering the questionnaires.

3) *Those with extensive knowledge of the Regulation*: This group, made up of 16 participants, contained eight archaeologists/academics, four members of the MCT, two

NGO representatives, a professional from the private tourism sector, and an official from the Alanya Municipality. In contrast to the other groups, those in this group had a personal interest in site management and its legal and theoretical ramifications, or had either previously taken part in different site management projects themselves or were currently doing so. In this connection, it should be noted that some participants in this group provided more information than all others in the study vis-à-vis specific interview questions about the Regulation.

The majority of opinions on the major contributions of the *Regulation for Site Management* were conspicuously united in the belief that the Regulation represents a ‘positive step forward’. Accordingly, a total of 26 participants put special emphasis on the underlying statement within the aim of the Regulation, and hence were in favour of ‘wide-scale participation,’ ‘partnership,’ and ‘the involvement of local people’ in the management of heritage sites. Aside from these outstanding points of consensus, various other assessments included the opinions that the Regulation had contributed, or would contribute, to: (i) the development of cultural tourism; (ii) the acknowledgement of what a management plan is and why it is necessary; (iii) the safeguarding of cultural heritage and respect for the environment; (iv) the effective and democratic use of financial resources for heritage sites; and (v) the development of standards for the management of heritage sites.

The second prominent view to find support in the respondents’ answers was that criteria to measure the contribution made by the Regulation had not yet been formed. As justification for this view – which was cited a total of 15 times in quite similar language – it was pointed out that, as of 2008, there were no examples of a management plan being implemented. Associated with such justifications were other key assessments to the effect that site management was a ‘new’ concept, and that it would take time for it to become widespread in Turkey.

The participants’ opinions on the formulation and the future of the Regulation were sufficiently numerous as to merit discussion. Among these opinions, the most striking

detail consisted of subtle hints by seven respondents to the effect that the Regulation reflected criteria enforced by UNESCO for the WHL, and that this had led to a positive outcome. Other views on the drafting and the future of the Regulation were critical in nature. These criticisms, made by some respondents who reported positive thoughts about the Regulation, included the following views: (i) the Regulation was issued without an understanding of the concept of heritage management; (ii) it has no underlying foundation; (iii) that it was enacted very hastily and without consultation; (iv) it is not practical in Turkey and has shortcomings; (v) its drafting showed a lack of experience and expertise; and (vi) its implementation should be effectively supervised and should be carried out under the control of scholars.

Table 6.11: Respondents' opinions regarding the major contribution(s) of the *Regulation for Site Management*

Data Groups	Major Contribution(s) of the <i>Regulation for Site Management</i>
Archaeologists/Academics (16)	➔ the Regulation was issued without an understanding of the concept of heritage ➔ some interest groups have wielded influence over the Regulation ➔ putting the concept of site management into legislation is a positive step ➔ the implementation of the Regulation has been a disaster • I don't know of a single example • the Regulation has no underlying foundation • it is being impeded by uninformed bureaucrats who are in power ➔ there are good sides to site management initiatives ➔ thanks to site management, co-ordination will be provided among the MCT, the local administrations, NGOs, and archaeological excavations (2) • international communication will be created in order to develop cultural tourism ➔ the managerial organisation proposed by site management is positive • archaeological sites and conservation areas cannot be dealt with independently of their surroundings • various factors need to be taken into account in comprehensive planning ➔ the Regulation was issued very hastily / it was drafted without consulting anyone (2) ➔ thanks to the Regulation, everyone has learned what a management plan is, and why it is necessary ➔ laws and regulations are necessary in order to put a stop to certain habits in Turkey • the Regulation has shown that we need to approach cultural heritage not only from a scientific but also from a societal point of view ➔ the fact that various stakeholders from different disciplines will work together will allow archaeological sites be used more productively • some people in academia will not like this ➔ different authorities involved in a management plan will know the duties assigned to them: • they will state the way in which their partnership will occur • decisions will be made within the framework of a system, rather than by individuals • they will be bound by an integrated plan • the use of financial resources will be subject to the authority of a group, not a single financial backer ➔ we have not yet seen the contribution made by site management (2) • there is no site management plan in place yet (2) ➔ the fact that site management is on the agenda is a positive development, but an overdue one ➔ I am not aware / have not heard of the Regulation (3)

<u>Data Groups</u>	<u>Major Contribution(s) of the <i>Regulation for Site Management</i></u>
Archaeologists/Academics	→ site management is a very positive development, but: • there ought to be an effective mechanism in place to supervise it • there ought to be independent executive committees which will not be influenced by politics • scholars should involve in site management in particular → the Regulation is still very new • we are awaiting pilot implementation (3) • the implementation of a regulation is far more important than its drafting • the biggest problem in Turkey is the fact that laws are not enforced → thanks to site management, everyone will grasp the importance of working on an interdisciplinary basis → it will be very beneficial to the safeguarding of cultural heritage and respect for the environment → the existence of the Regulation is beneficial • there need to be certain standards → there has been a great need for site management in Turkey → site management is a new concept all over the world, not just in Turkey (2) → it takes time for people in Turkey to become used to the concept of site management → the legislative changes that introduced site management made me very excited • the main figure behind site management is unknown: it is not the MCT → the Regulation has good intentions • it places significance on the civilians
MCT (9)	→ site management is a new system • there are only a few efforts as yet: there are ongoing projects at Alanya Castle, the Ulu Cami in Sivas, the Historic Peninsula in Istanbul, and a Monument Council was set up for the Church of St Nicholas • existing site management projects are in their infancy: we need time to see their results → the concept of site management has been imported from the West • it is being treated as a part of the process of Westernisation → site management is a positive step forward (3) • it aims at plurality: it brings NGOs, local administrations and people into the management of heritage sites which have been under the control of the MCT (2) • the situation is better now compared to the past • site management will be successful if it is put into practice: I am totally positive about it → management plan is a must condition developed by UNESCO for the WHL (4) → ongoing projects that I know are Ephesos, Alanya Castle, Aphrodisias, the Historic Peninsula in Istanbul, Mount Nemrut, and Cappadocia → I have read the Regulation prior to our interview → the emergence of the Regulation was pressured by practical problems which we have been encountering in managing archaeological sites → site management is a concept which has recently begun to be discussed all around the world → legislative arrangements that introduced site management have created a good start • the Regulation seems fine on paper • it appears to be capable of being implemented in an ideal society which has overcome its economic problems • it may be a little bit utopian for Turkey → site management contains radical changes, but we have not yet perceived any change → three years have passed since the Regulation went into effect: site management is proceeding very slowly → I have heard that there are some ongoing projects • to the best of my knowledge, there is not yet a completed draft management plan → generally speaking, the Regulation appears to be positive • I do not have sufficient information to evaluate the present extent of implementation → the Regulation should be strengthened by legal sanctions: otherwise, it cannot be effective

Data Groups	Major Contribution(s) of the <i>Regulation for Site Management</i>
MCT	➔ there are efforts at practicing site management, but there is not yet a concrete management plan ➔ it may have some shortcomings, but the Regulation is well-intentioned ➔ site management is a new concept (2) • it is still too early to evaluate the current extent of its implementation ➔ UNESCO is aware of how authority over the management of heritage sites is in a chaotic state • the management plan is a tool developed to end this chaos ➔ there is a great need in Turkey for the organisation set by the Regulation • site management is a good thing ➔ site management is being implemented for the first time in Turkey at Alanya Castle • as it is still at the restructuring stage, we have not yet seen the repercussions of site management
Municipalities (5)	➔ up until now, site management projects have not taken place at Demre • if they should, it would be a good thing: we would talk about our problems • we want to take part in site management ➔ I don't know what site management is ➔ it is a new concept in Turkey (2) ➔ up until now, heritage sites have been administered by the MCT • with site management, NGOs, local administrations, and public institutions have become involved in management ➔ the enactment of the Regulation is a positive development • it is much better to have site management carried out by different parties instead of by a single central administration ➔ of the existing site management projects, I know only the one at Alanya Castle ➔ site management is a concept which has arrived late to Turkey ➔ in Turkey as a whole, I know the examples of Çatalhöyük and Pamukkale • there is no concrete example of a management plan put into practice ➔ UNESCO has paved the way in the development of site management worldwide and in Turkey • they ask for a management plan for every heritage site nominated for inclusion in the WHL
NGOs (5)	➔ I have no information about the Regulation for Site Management ➔ the Regulation for Site Management has not yet been perfected, and has many shortcomings • many of the problems which will be encountered in the implementation process are left unsolved • there is a lack of information, experience, and expertise necessary for drafting and implementing it ➔ site management offers a chance to make decisions cooperatively • it is an excellent opportunity which should be taken advantage of • people should act in accordance with the aims of the Regulation: up until now, this has not happened ➔ local inhabitants of Alanya Castle know nothing about site management ➔ given its aims and objectives, the Regulation is a positive step • so far, it only exists on paper • I don't know what kind of site management organisations exist in Turkey • there is a desperate need for an implementation model ➔ Turkey is a late-comer in site management ➔ I learned that such a regulation existed when I did an internet search • if it is put into practice, it will be a positive development • I don't know how it is being implemented: we will see the results in time • a lack of financial resources is the greatest obstacle facing site management
Tourism Sector (3)	➔ I can't say anything about the contribution it has made • there is no example yet (2) ➔ We know that a site management project has been carried out at Alanya Castle • We do not possess enough information to comment about site management, since it is outside our purview ➔ site management has been imposed by UNESCO

<u>Data Groups</u>	<u>Major Contribution(s) of the <i>Regulation for Site Management</i></u>
Local People (4)	➔ I have never heard of site management (2) • our <i>muhtar</i> will deal with that issue (2) ➔ I have heard of site management, but I don't know what it is ➔ site management at Alanya Castle is controlled by foreigners • there is a perception that the <i>muhtar</i> doesn't understand anything about this issue

6.3.2 Ongoing Site Management Projects and Sites Where Site Management Should Be Implemented

As highlighted on pages 115-116, the current programme for site management plans in Turkey includes some of the heritage sites in Turkey inscribed in UNESCO's WHL or nominated by the MCT for inclusion in the WHL. The scope of the MCT's agenda for site management is, in the researcher's opinion, linked to the MCT's desire to raise the profile of certain heritage sites and increase their visitor numbers, and to boost cultural tourism in conjunction with the intentions stated in the *TST 2023*.

The question 'What are your thoughts about ongoing site management projects and sites where site management should be implemented?' aimed at ascertaining participants' views on the MCT's WHL-focussed site management programme and the sites which they deem as being ideal for management plans. The views expressed in the responses to this question – which was answered by a total of 23 participants – overlapped considerably.

As can be clearly seen in Table 6.12, there were relatively few assessments of the link between the WHL and site management. However, of the eight respondents who addressed this issue, the majority took a positive view of the WHL. The MCT's view that it was proper to give priority to heritage sites connected with the WHL was justified on the following grounds: (i) site management projects at these sites would be more productive; (ii) these sites had many problems; (iii) they would contribute to the promotion of tourism; (iv) they would have a positive impact on Turkey's other nominations for the WHL; and (v) they were high-priority sites by virtue of their archaeological and natural features. Opposing views, which were reported by only two participants, held that priority in site management should be given to the places that are

used the most; they also contended that the World Heritage title is sought by the MCT and local administrations in order to mask the actual problems of heritage sites.

Suggestions and opinions on the ideal heritage sites for site management generally revolved around similar rationales; however, it was observed that they indicated different sites for practicing site management. Accordingly, those in favour of giving priority to touristic heritage sites based their arguments on: (i) the need to manage problems stemming from human congestion, over-construction, and wrangling over economic profits at touristic heritage sites; and (ii) the positive contribution tourism had made to the promotion of cultural heritage. The second group, which dwelt on physical risk factors, stressed that priority in site management should be given to heritage sites neighbouring over-developed areas, because the problems in these areas required urgent intervention. The third group, consisting of two academics, identified urban conservation areas as the most complicated, high-priority locations from the point of view of site management. According to these participants, the difficulty of developing a management plan in urban conservation areas was linked to the diversity of problems involved, and to the handicaps faced in co-ordinating among a large number of stakeholders.

Among the other opinions regarding the sites where site management should be practiced, clear groupings were identified. Such opinions included the following ideas: (i) that all archaeological sites in Turkey should have a management plan (4); (ii) that regardless of where they are implemented, site management projects should be launched, and then their number should be increased (3); and (iii) that prehistoric sites / archaeological mounds are not suitable for site management (3). Aside from these, the most striking individual assessment held that priority in site management should be given to sites whose cultural significance is threatened. This academic, stressing the variability of risk factors (e.g., dam or highway construction, erosion, weather conditions, high visitor numbers, improper tourism development), recommended that site management be implemented at the most at-risk areas.

Table 6.12: Respondents' opinions about ongoing site management projects and sites where site management should be implemented in Turkey

Data Groups	Ongoing Site Management Projects and Sites Where Site Management Should Be Implemented
Archaeologists/Academics (12)	→ it would not be right to name a specific site to be the first to undergo site management • a relevant model can be developed according to the characteristics of archaeological sites in Turkey → it is difficult to implement site management at prehistoric sites (e.g. Karain, Bademağacı) • we are dealing with fragile findings: these are not as spectacular as Classical, Roman, or Islamic periods' structures, and are not suitable for presentation to visitors → the idea of practicing site management at Karain is utopic • site management is more suitable for well-known sites in Turkey → it is senseless to prevent site management from being implemented at places associated with the WHL → ideally, site management should be practiced at the most at-risk places • the nature of risks vary: they can be related to a dam or highway construction, erosion, weather conditions, high visitor numbers, and improper tourism development • priority in site management should be given to places whose cultural significance is threatened → site management projects can play a big role in the study of archaeological sites and especially in their safeguarding • an increase in the number of pilot implementations would be advantageous → in the first place, site management should be implemented at urban conservation areas • these areas possess every kind of drawback • various stakeholders are involved, and therefore there are different profit groups and problems (e.g. the Inner Citadel of Antalya) → site management is not vital for archaeological sites • for instance, there is no profit to be made from Perge and Patara: aside from scientific/technical problems, there are no big factors threatening the sites • archaeological sites like Side are exceptions: there should definitely be site management there (2) → not every archaeological site needs a management plan • one needs to be selective: criteria like tourism and the state of preservation of the site should be sought • it is very difficult to implement certain things at archaeological sites suffering from over-development → in actuality, every archaeological site needs to be included, but this appears to be impossible • it might be a good idea to start with a few examples, and then begin implementation on a wider scale: the experiences and results obtained from these examples can help determining the steps to be taken later → I didn't know that the existing site management projects are concentrated on the sites nominated for the WHL → in fact, every excavation team should draw up a management plan for its own site → concentrating on WHL nominations in site management is a matter of policy • there is nothing wrong with this, because you can do your job better in places where the world is watching • it is advantageous, because if you are hindered by legislation or bureaucracy in Turkey, you can seek refuge in international legislation • experiences from these sites can be applied to other sites → site management projects in Antalya are more practical from the standpoint of tourism • the region has tourism experience and infrastructure • for example, tourism in Adıyaman has not developed, and it is difficult to mobilize other sectors

Data Groups	Ongoing Site Management Projects and Sites Where Site Management Should Be Implemented
Archaeologists/Academics	→ the conditions existing in Turkey make it easier to implement site management on archaeological sites • the state is the authority at these sites • it is more difficult to work in places with many stakeholders like the Istanbul Historic Peninsula, since relations among different stakeholders are complicated → it is more reasonable to begin site management at archaeological sites • experiences obtained in the organisational process can be applied to other places • in places where property rights/relations are more intricate (i.e. urban conservation areas), it is more difficult to arrive at a decision: there are fewer problems concerning property ownership on archaeological sites → the existing site management agenda focuses on sites which will create revenue • this policy is driven by commercial concerns • the MCT and the local administrations are seeking new opportunities: their intention is to cosmeticise the image of eroded urban identities
MCT (7)	→ focussing on the WHL is a popular approach, but: • in Antalya, there is too much visitor traffic in sites associated with the WHL; as a result, there are a lot of problems → priority should be given to places which are used frequently (3) • places with high population and which are near to modern settlements should be dealt with first • projects should be developed at settlements which are intertwined with conservation areas → site management projects that are associated with the WHL are not objectionable • those in Antalya are, in any case, the main ancient settlements of the Mediterranean culture → it would not be profitable to employ site management at archaeological mounds • they are cultural heritage sites but are static: no risks are involved with them • in the event that there is felt to be any potential (e.g. for tourism or for building an on-site museum), site management should be carried out at archaeological mounds → the most important concern should be to start site management in Turkey regardless of which sites should be involved → site management projects can be done in stages • priority can be given to sites threatened by over-development and ones which require urgent intervention → the GDCPM should set the priorities for site management and should determine the most important sites • it is not logical to simultaneously create management plans for the most-used and the least-used site → in site management, focusing on the WHL will have a positive impact on Turkey's nominations • the sites in question are "number one" places in terms of their archaeological and natural features, as well as from the standpoint of tourism
NGOS (2)	→ focussing on the WHL is not a proper choice → priority in site management should be given to the places which are used the most • the place most visited by tourists is the place most at risk → development in Antalya and similar cities depend on tourism • archaeological sites and other historic places are very important for the promotion of tourism in these cities; therefore, focusing on these places in site management is the right choice → site management can also be implemented in places which are not associated with the WHL
Municipalities (1)	→ the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle are the places in Antalya which attract the most tourists, and which we have promoted the most worldwide • these sites can be considered for site management in the initial stage, because due to their tourism potential, they are susceptible to wear and tear → We have a lot of archaeological treasures which are as yet unknown • a management plan should be made for these as well
Tourism Sector (1)	→ site management should particularly be employed at frequently-visited natural and archaeological sites

6.3.3 Principal Conditions for Site Management

The question ‘What must be the principal conditions be for site management?’ aimed to elicit specific answers from participants familiar with the *Regulation for Site Management*. This simple but nonetheless important question was answered by a total of nine participants, made up chiefly of archaeologists and academics. As can be observed in Table 6.13, among the opinions reported on this subject, there are those that are clearly interconnected, as well as individual assessments touching on different topics.

The assessments, which it was possible to put into groups, can be arranged into five different topics. The first of these is the issue of participation in site management. Of the total of five respondents who touched on this point, four stressed the need for broad participation as well as consensus and discussion in the development of management plans. A participant from the tourism sector, who reported a view completely counter to that of the majority, regarded multi-stakeholder participation as an obstacle to the sustainability of site management in Turkey.

Table 6.13: Respondents’ assessments regarding the principal conditions for site management

Data Groups	Principle Conditions for Site Management
Archaeologists/Academics (5)	➔ expert and technical personnel who are to work in site management should be employed after being educated in heritage management ➔ the MCT’s executive and supervisory system should be revised • there should be a mechanism for outside supervision and arbitration ➔ site management plans should not be subject to bidding ➔ the practitioners of site management should definitely consist of well-known, distinguished experts in their own fields (3) ➔ there should be participation by the local administration, local people, and NGOs (2) ➔ there should be participation, discussion, and consensus among all the stakeholders of the management plan and other interested parties • there should be a commitment to the importance of discussion and consensus ➔ the authority and responsibilities of everyone who will take part in site management should be precisely defined (2) ➔ the Regulation’s powers of enforcement should be clearly defined • UNESCO has no mechanism for overseeing the processes of discussion and consensus ➔ within the MCT, there should be continuity in the bureaucratic staff responsible for site management ➔ severe policies should not be exercised • instead of punitive sanctions, there should be an effective use of existing legal means

<u>Data Groups</u>	<u>Principle Conditions for Site Management</u>
NGOs (2)	➔ an autonomous structure should be created to ensure the speedy execution of administrative decisions in site management • implementation criteria specific to different sites should be set independently of each other • a prototype regulation does not allow for original solutions and implementations ➔ aside from its function as observer, the state should scrupulously avoid an interventionist approach • it should perform its supervisory duty by administering harsh penalties for illegal activities and abuses ➔ there should be participation by the local representatives of the central government, local elected officials, local NGOs, and local universities
MCT (1)	➔ the Regulation should be put on a legal footing • sanctions against institutions should be clearly specified
Tourism Sector (1)	➔ there are criteria set by UNESCO • reasoning about these things is not my job ➔ attention should be paid to carrying capacity and the income-expenditure balance at heritage sites where there is mass tourism and mass movement ➔ from the point of view of sustainability, I take a dim view of multi-stakeholder participation models in site management • there is a problem in creating dialogue and solutions in Turkey

The second topic to be addressed collectively by the respondents was the issue of expertise. Three participants, all of whom belonged to a group of archaeologists and academics, stated that it was necessary for the practice of site management to be under the auspices of well known/distinguished experts. Likewise, an archaeologist suggested that teams, which would take part in site management, needed to be educated in heritage management as well.

Among the principal conditions for site management, the third topic referred to was that of enforcement. Two of the assessments on this subject suggested, in very similar language, that the terms of enforcement in the *Regulation for Site Management* be defined, and that punitive sanctions against institutions be clearly specified. The only view running counter to this suggestion came from an academic on the Çatalhöyük management plan team. This participant regarded severe policies as a factor that would bring participation in site management to a standstill; she stated that she thought an effective use of existing legal tools was a more rational option.

The participants' assessments also overlapped on the issues of supervision and authority. Some of the suggestions made regarding these two topics were that the MCT provide an

effective supervisory mechanism for site management activities, and that there be a clear description of the authority and responsibilities of all stakeholders who will be involved in management plans. The individual assessments – which remained distinct from the topics that were addressed collectively – particularly dwelt on management plans and the administration of site management initiatives by the MCT. These included recommendations: (i) that responsibility for having management plans drafted not be granted by tender to institutions and individuals foreign to the site in question; (ii) that bureaucrats within the MCT who are responsible for site management be allowed to remain in office; (iii) that autonomy be given to site management teams; and (iv) that special attention be paid to the carrying capacity and income-expenditure balance of touristic heritage sites subject to site management.

6.3.4 Financial and Administrative Obstacles to Site Management

Without a doubt, it is imperative to examine the financial and administrative dimensions of site management in order to assess about the outcome of the *Regulation for Site Management*. When one considers the lack of past experience in Turkey in the way of the managerial organisation intended for heritage sites in the Regulation, and the fact that the budget set aside for the safeguarding of heritage sites in Turkey is limited, as in many countries throughout the world, it can easily be foreseen that financial and administrative problems may obstruct the efforts for management plans. This prediction was alluded to by the question ‘What financial and administrative obstructions might exist for site management?’, which prompted interesting and thought-provoking answers from 14 participants (Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Respondents' opinions regarding potential financial and administrative obstacles to site management

Data Groups	Potential Financial and Administrative Obstacles to Site Management
Archaeologists/Academics (7)	→ the MCT bureaucrats do not understand anything about site management • they can't distinguish a restoration project from a management plan → the administrative obstacle in store for site management is the civil authorities' signing and approval powers → individuals who are competent in their own fields are not serving in the administrative bureaucracy of the MCT • in the MCT, there is no room for promotion on merit alone • top directors have not formulated notions about the safeguarding/management of cultural heritage: they have not been following developments throughout the world • in the past, there were numerous qualified personnel in the MCT → MCT personnel are completely unhappy • a place where unhappiness reigns cannot be productive • they have no desire to work together or belief in the benefits of doing so • they are distrustful of academics • the young specialists in the MCT are full of promise, but inexperienced → the biggest problem in site management is the MCT's unwillingness to relinquish its authority and power over archaeological sites • the authority to develop a management plan for Alanya Castle was given to the Alanya Municipality by the MCT because the site is an urban conservation area; however: Alanya Castle is also an archaeological conservation area; there has been no discussion about why the site's urban features take precedence over its archaeological features → the question of who should be employed in site management teams is dealt with in the Regulation, however: • even if it technically fulfils the criteria of the Regulation to have a mediocre archaeologist who graduated from a mediocre university take part in site management, this is still a bad decision → private sector organisations included in site management projects should not have expectations of economic gain • all stakeholders taking part in site management should act in a manner that is respectful of cultural heritage and consistent with social responsibility → the imperious attitude and practices of the state may dissuade institutions or individuals from making a positive contribution to site management ❖ → in drafting a management plan, there is definitely a need for a fixed budget • the main items are expenses related to personnel, equipment, and a project office → the Alanya Municipality is financing the management plan project for Alanya Castle: the Municipality feels it is acting responsibly / is taking on the business wholeheartedly • even if there are problems, the sort of problems that would hinder existing projects economically have not been experienced → the Contribution Fee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties should be used carefully by the municipalities • in some instances, is has not been used as it should → financial problems do not hinder site management completely, but they make it more difficult → the lack of financial resources is a very significant problem • it isn't always easy to find the necessary funds → a management plan is vital in order to specify ways of effectively using existing resources, to state needs, and to locate further resources → it is very important to generate projects • the state budget should be used for certain necessary investments (e.g. the building of a visitor centre): even if results are not obtained in the short term, these investments will ensure that the site benefits from sources of funding such as the EU and the World Bank • in particular, social/public outreach projects should be developed: in creating these projects, support can be obtained from sources like some special EU funds and the Global Heritage Fund

Data Groups	Potential Financial and Administrative Obstacles to Site Management
MCT (4)	→ the Contribution Fee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties is a very important source of funding for site management activities • the use of this resource should also include archaeological sites located outside municipal zones: most of the archaeological sites in Turkey are situated in rural areas → the MCT's budget is very limited and the funds allocated for archaeological sites are scarce • sponsorship is very important for cultural activities → funds provided by institutions like UNESCO and the European Union are limited • Turkey allocates much more for heritage sites than is obtained from outside sources of funding, but this is not used effectively • for example, the Directorate of Endowments spends a lot of money on some unsuccessful restoration projects for heritage sites under its patronage ❖ → if site management is unsuccessful, bureaucracy is the cause → as a public authority, the governor's office can prevent or regulate activities by the municipality which will be harmful to cultural heritage; however, the governor's office cannot always succeed in bringing together different institutions in site management • it has been impossible to induce some municipalities in the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul to participate in site management meetings: the Regulation does not allow forcing institutions to do things in the name of co-operation → setting up site management and appointing a site manager, in and of itself, is not enough: the Regulation for Site Management should stand on a legal footing, and should have powers of enforcement • the competent authorities' powers of enforcement should be described → the lack of punitive sanctions in the Regulation has become apparent in site management projects in the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul: this problem will be experienced in places as difficult to control as Istanbul • there is dense residential construction in Istanbul, and a lot of big public investments: as tourism develops, as visitor numbers at heritage sites increase, as the municipalities become more powerful, and as big profits emerge, problems will be experienced in overseeing site management
NGOs (2)	→ the fact that so many parties are involved in the provision and transmission of funds in Turkey – and the wish that foreign sources of funding be supervised by the state – is causing donors intending to give funds to heritage sites to change their minds • the transmission of funds ought to be under the authority and responsibility of NGOs → site management cannot be conducted with the limited resources of the central government • in site management, financial resources should be present on a local scale • the central government, even though its resources are very limited, does not want to relinquish decision-making power in site management → the Contribution Fee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties has been an effective tool for creating financial resources → thanks to the Contribution Fee, a lot of money has been raised: for example, 200 million TL was raised for the Istanbul 2010 Capital of Culture events → paving the way for developing new projects will help creating sources of funding for site management • the municipalities are learning that funds will not be obtainable unless projects are first developed ❖ → We consider the management of river basins as the zenith of site management • within the regional cultural platforms we have created, there are governors, vice-governors, municipalities, local NGOs, and local universities: when we act as a collective force, we take control of the region, we develop projects together, and we produce financial resources automatically → the number of qualified experts in site management is very limited in Turkey • the administrative obstacle facing site management is the hegemony of local individuals who are uninformed, but wield power: when these people experience a problem in site management, they won't be able to find anyone to consult

<u>Data Groups</u>	<u>Potential Financial and Administrative Obstacles to Site Management</u>
Tourism Sector (1)	➔ teams which will take part in site management in Turkey are not yet ready for this duty • it is foolish to expect relevant/qualified teams to emerge from the MCT: the staff in the cultural wing of the Ministry are inadequate • it seems that academics and their students will be the pioneering group in site management activities: as far as I have observed, they mainly hold a very strict stance in conservation issues ➔ those who will be involved in site management should: • be aware of the balance between the safeguarding and the use of heritage sites • have prior project experience • have a solid theoretical background regarding heritage management • have managerial skills • know a bit about how to run a business

In Table 6.14, the participants' opinions on the financial dimension of site management focussed on different aspects of this issue. Surprisingly, those who viewed a lack of financial resources as an impediment to site management were in a minority in this group. A total of five respondents, even if they did not say so very overtly, considered financial obstacles as a 'significant problem' faced by site management projects, or as a factor which would slow them down. Remarkably, the three participants from the Istanbul Historic Peninsula, Nemrut, and Alanya Castle site management teams were not in this group.

These respondents dwelt more on the tools needed to overcome financial limitations. Accordingly, the following observations and suggestions stood out among their responses: (i) the Contribution Fee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties is an important resource and therefore needs to be used in a rational manner; (ii) developing projects is of great importance in order to mobilize local and outside sources of funding; (iii) Turkey has sufficient financial reserves for heritage sites, but these reserves are not being used productively; and (iv) the central government needs to forego bureaucratic activities that discourage outside donations and allocations.

Some administrative issues, which the participants thought would create an obstacle to site management, took particular precedence over financial ones. The most commonly-mentioned concerns regarding the MCT revolved around the following three points: (i) the MCT lacks competent staff/bureaucrats to carry out site management; (ii) the

MCT/state is unwilling to relinquish its authority and power over archaeological sites; and (iii) the MCT's personnel is unmotivated and unproductive. Similar concerns were voiced about non-MCT actors. The respondents considered the number of qualified experts in site management to be very limited in Turkey, and regarded the signing and approval powers of the local authorities as potential obstacles to management plans gaining functionality.

Among assessments concerning administrative obstructions, another striking detail was the issue of enforcement. Two participants stressed the need for enforcement in order for site management to function; their views called attention to two different approaches: (i) the conditions of enforcement and punitive sanctions regarding site management should be stated in the *Regulation for Site Management*; and (ii) enforcement can be achieved by collective action / involvement of key local stakeholders (as in the river basin management model).

6.3.5 The Boundaries of Management Sites

As was briefly mentioned earlier, on pages 1 and 119, management sites can be delineated either by the MCT or by the municipalities. The delineation procedure, which is described in outline in Article 6 of the *Regulation for Site Management*, starts with the research of archaeological sites / conservation areas and their junction points and interactive areas (see page 110). In the second stage – during which relevant government institutions, NGOs, universities, and property right holders can make proposals – a provisional management site boundary is identified based on the research data. Then, during the third stage, the provisional management site boundary is announced to government institutions whose services will be needed within this boundary. The institutions in question then convey their suggestions and opinions to the competent authority (the MCT or the municipalities) within 30 days. After all suggestions and opinions have been evaluated, the definitive site boundary is declared.

The answers obtained from a total of 11 participants to the question ‘What pre-conditions must exist in identifying the boundaries of management sites?’, when taken as a whole, present a harmonious picture. These answers noticeably overlapped on the issues of the physical boundaries of management sites and the rationale in setting these boundaries. Among the assessments in Table 6.15, the opinion with the most adherents was that the boundaries of management sites should be kept as wide as possible. The eight respondents who made suggestions of this sort approached the limit of ‘width’ via different physical scales.

Table 6.15: Respondents’ assessments regarding the boundaries of management sites

Data Groups	Boundaries of Management Sites
Archaeologists/Academics (7)	➔ although it depends on the site in question, the boundary of a management site should: • provide integration with the surrounding cultural landscape of the site • prevent problems which might arise in the future ➔ in identifying the boundaries of a management site one should take into account the data which emerge through scientific work, as well as a scientific work program ➔ in setting the boundary of the management site for Alanya Castle: • we based it directly upon the boundary of our conservation area, because the boundaries determined by the CDP were suitable • in drafting a management plan, one needs to evaluate the boundaries of the site from the standpoint of widening them ➔ at Nemrut, our management site boundaries are not only limited to Mount Nemrut • systematic research has shown that our management site boundaries at Mount Nemrut cannot be the boundaries identified for it as a conservation area • the management plan which we will draft for Mount Nemrut will contain a minimum of 10-15 different conservation areas: we can work with 50 sites, but this depends on the capacity of the MCT • in determining the contextual coverage of our management plan, we have taken into account not only relevance criteria and scientific data (archaeological, historical, and architectural), but also the economic, social, and touristic characteristics of the province of Adıyaman ➔ the area of scope in a management plan varies according to the environmental characteristics of the site in question • ideally, the Grade III boundaries of a conservation area should be the boundaries of the management plan • the boundaries of the management site should always be kept wide: they can be revised in light of new findings ➔ the boundaries of the management sites should not be restricted to the official boundaries of the conservation area, or to the area surrounded with a fence ➔ cities have areas of influence; these areas (e.g. districts of a province) are linked to the centre administratively, economically, etc. • management plans should take this into account; however, it is a question mark how practical this will be within the existing legal framework: it may not be possible to unite heritage sites located within the boundaries of different municipalities under a single site management • in pilot projects, it may be more suitable, at first, to limit the site management’s area of scope to the boundaries of the conservation area: covering wide areas can make it more difficult to manage various sites at once and can only produce concrete results in the long term ➔ the Regulation for Site Management does not clarify what is meant by the boundaries of a management site

Data Groups	Boundaries of Management Sites
Archaeologists/Academics	➔ even if a site does not lie within the physical boundaries of another site, it can fall within the latter's area of influence • the scope of the management plan and the boundaries of a management site can be different ➔ the boundaries of management sites and their buffer zones must be identified through scientific research • once, I visited an archaeological site in Turkey in the morning together with a group of officials. I witnessed them say, "Let's set the boundary for this management site and its buffer zone in the afternoon workshop."
NGOs (1)	➔ We need to look at Turkey from a different standpoint, because there is uniformity in the country • all civilizations which existed in Anatolia developed around rivers whose source was in Turkey, and which flowed from there out into the sea: cultural heritage management should be dealt with from the standpoint of river basins • site management is necessary, but its area of scope is very limited ➔ provincial and geographical boundaries in Turkey are mostly artificial • settlements/cultures dependent on one another and shaped by water sources / geography gave rise to distinct groups within themselves • these groups are composed of provinces and districts: by taking the management of cultural issues in river basins as a standpoint we deal with the big picture both on the macro and on the micro level ➔ one should not mix up things which should be kept separate when it comes to identifying the boundaries of a heritage site
MCT (2)	➔ in the Regulation, the boundaries of management sites remain an undecided issue • they need to be elaborated / put on a scientific footing ➔ a provisional boundary should be set for archaeological sites • in the course of setting the management site boundary for St. Paul's Church and Well in Tarsus (Mersin), some information was requested from the MCT regarding the existing plans for the site as well as future work to be done: I got the impression that the management site boundary would be defined based on the information collected from the MCT • archaeologists should first identify a provisional boundary for archaeological sites based on scientific criteria, and then evaluate other documents and information ➔ the boundaries of heritage sites should be set with care and a buffer zone should always be created around them • otherwise, heritage sites will remain in the shadow of modern buildings that will be constructed around them (e.g. the Historic Peninsula in Istanbul) • UNESCO places great emphasis on buffer zones ➔ buffer zones and management site boundaries should be made as wide as possible, and should not be limited to visible structures • for example, the seaward and landward Byzantine fortifications of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul form clear boundaries, but there must be numerous archaeological remains from different periods underground, around the walls: there are so many layers of cultural heritage under what you see today in Istanbul
Tourism Sector (1)	➔ in setting the boundaries for a management site, the most important criterion should be the extent of the heritage site / conservation area in question • modern settlement or agricultural areas / grazing land lying on top of it should be of secondary importance

Of the eight participants, the one who dealt with management site boundaries from the broadest perspective was a member of the Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage and one of the founders of the Union of Historic Towns in Turkey. This respondent, who saw site management as a component of cultural heritage management, identified river basins as the central areas for safeguarding

heritage sites. As justification for this view, the respondent adduced the fact that the different civilisations that had inhabited Turkey had been founded and had developed around sources of water; accordingly, he suggested that cultural networks related with these sources, and the extent of their material manifestations, ought to be the determinant for planning how to manage heritage sites.

An academic from the Mount Nemrut management plan team and two archaeologists offered assessments, which, though not identical to the one above, had some points of contact with it. These three respondents emphasised that, in site management, archaeological sites cannot be dealt with independently of their areas of influence or cultural landscape. Obliquely suggesting that a site management model made up of sites was more realistic, the participants pointed out that, in light of the existing legal framework and the limitations on the manpower and financing of the MCT, such a model might not be practical.

The question of a management site boundary was also approached from a more narrow perspective. According to such views, physical boundaries drawn by CDPs, and Grade III boundaries of conservation areas (i.e., zones where controlled development is permitted) were, or could be, sufficient for management plans. Most of the views of this nature referred to the need for a management site boundary to be open to revision, or for buffer zones around these sites to be identified carefully.

The main topic that arose in the other assessments in Table 6.15 about the boundaries of management sites had to do with the importance of scientific methods. A total of five participants strongly emphasised the need to be guided by systematic research and scientific data in setting the boundaries of management sites. In addition, a second important point was raised by two respondents, who recommended that the *Regulation for Site Management* provide clarification on the extent of management site boundaries and the methods for designating them.

6.3.6 The Appointment and Duties of Site Manager

A Site Manager is a significant unit in the administrative organisation designed for site management. As mentioned in the *Regulation for Site Management* (2005: Chapter Three/Article 14), site managers are employed by appointment. In site management teams to be set up in urban conservation areas, the authority to appoint the site manager belongs to the relevant municipality; in all other conservation areas, it belongs to the MCT. The following four criteria are used as a basis for choosing a site manager:

- 1) Previous involvement in projects concerning the site where the management plan is to be developed; and sufficient familiarity with the site;
- 2) Familiarity with new approaches to cultural heritage management;
- 3) Prior experience regarding management policies and their implementation;
- 4) A bachelor's degree in one of the following fields: architecture, city planning, archaeology, art history, public administration, business management, and economics.

As with their selection criteria, the duties of a site manager are specified in Article 14 of the *Regulation for Site Management*. These include the following:

- [a] Specifying activity programs together with the competent authority, in order to accomplish the annual goals of the management plan; performing a study of financial resources;
- [b] Preparing the annual budget;
- [c] Preparing every kind of contract, together with the competent authority, for the presentation of the site, its promotion, upkeep, security, and the purchase of services and staff to meet the needs of visitors;
- [d] Providing co-operation with other institutions and individuals in site management;
- [e] Having annual audit reports prepared by the Audit Unit, and having these reports presented to the Co-ordination and Audit Board.

The interview question concerning the appointment and duties of a site manager was formulated during the early phase of the researcher's fieldwork in Antalya. The question, which was used for the first time at meetings conducted with two members of the Alanya Castle management plan team, was addressed to other participants as well during the later stages of the fieldwork. Responses to the question 'What are your thoughts regarding the appointment and duties of a site manager?' were obtained from a total of 9 participants.

Among the various assessments shown in Table 6.16, the most prominent topic was the profile of a site manager. A salient concurrence of opinion on this topic could be seen in the view that academics and archaeologists would not be an ideal choice for the position of site manager. The arguments commonly put forth in support of this view were that archaeologists showed a possessive and egocentric attitude towards archaeological sites, and that the site manager needed to be a non-academic, in particular one with strong managerial skills. At the same time, the claim that archaeologists' possessive and egocentric behaviour would pose particular difficulty in the appointment of a site manager for archaeological sites – or that it would give rise to tensions/conflicts in the site management team in the event of non-archaeologists serving as site managers – was noteworthy. Opposing views, which regarded such outcomes as unlikely, were expressed by an official from the MCT and two members of the Alanya Castle management plan team.

Table 6.16: Respondents' assessments regarding the appointment and duties of a site manager

Data Groups	The Appointment and Duties of a Site Manager
Archaeologists/Academics (4)	➔ the appointment of a site manager is a bureaucratic matter • this is a very thorny topic ➔ although there was a management plan for Çatalhöyük, it could not be legalised due to the lack of a site manager ➔ if the director of an excavation is not appointed site manager, this creates a problem • archaeologists lay claim to their worksites, and they want to be supervising everything and everyone: this may be the right attitude only in some respects • in Turkey, the 'director of excavation' is a feudal notion ➔ being a good archaeologist is not the same as being a good manager • directing people from different disciplines ought to be done by professional managers ➔ a site manager should: • act like a bureaucrat • have experience in the fields of economics and management • be open to the views of experts from different disciplines and should manage the site by working together with them

Data Groups	The Appointment and Duties of a Site Manager
Archaeologists/Academics	→ society should have a respectful state of mind towards those who work on archaeological sites → we will definitely share the information we have amassed with some people, but not with everyone → at sites where site management has been set up, the management plan team ought to include academics who have conducted scientific work for years → the duties of the site manager are limited to: • promoting the site • creating a budget • researching sources of funding • setting expenditures → in site management teams in urban conservation areas, the site manager has no authority over the municipality in question, or over other responsible institutions • the site manager is the one who provides organisation among the different actors: he/she is a kind of counsellor
MCT (3)	→ at urban conservation areas, the fact that the site manager is appointed by the municipality would not create tension between the municipality and the archaeologists working there → the term of duty of a site manager should not be long • in the long term, people who will only serve as site manager should be chosen by democratic election within the site management team itself → politics should not become mixed up with the appointment of a site manager → a professor can also be appointed a site manager, but • he/she may not be able to achieve good co-ordination → the site manager should be a person who understands the language of different actors, and brings them together for a common purpose → it is not stated in the Regulation whether or not the site manager is a public official, in whose name he/she will act, over whom he/she has authority, and what kind of co-ordination he/she will bring about
NGOS (1)	→ it is not right for some academics to usurp the role of the state • some say: “We know everything, we will do everything...you just need to provide the financing” → if the municipality is a sponsor in site management, then it should have a say in its organisation
Municipalities (1)	→ the necessary criteria for a site manager are stated in the Regulation • a site manager who meets the Regulation criteria was appointed for Alanya Castle → site management is a system which has everyone work in the same place • we have not been experiencing any conflicts of authority within the site management team for Alanya Castle • there is no communication problem with the excavation team → mutual understanding and co-ordination are very important in site management organisation

Other conspicuous details in the respondents’ answers concerned the appointment and duties of a site manager. The most significant finding regarding a site manager’s assigned duties was that the Regulation did not state the limits of the authority and sanction of his/her position. This finding, which was voiced by an MCT official who had been involved in the site management project at the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul, was indirectly confirmed by an official from the site management team of Alanya Castle. Individual assessments concerning the appointment of a site manager raised three important issues. Namely, there were concerns that the appointment of a site manager

constituted a serious bureaucratic problem, and gave rise to delays in management plan projects; that there was a risk of political factors influencing appointments by the municipalities; and that it was necessary to limit site managers' terms of office.

6.4 Summary

This chapter presented research data regarding site management and the *Regulation for Site Management* gathered via interviews, questionnaires, and conversations held with the 60 participants in the study. The research data consisted of the participants' opinions and assessments concerning the aim of site management, the content of management plans, their actors, and specific topics associated with the Regulation, including the implementation of site management, its financing, its administrative organisation, and the boundaries of the management sites. The analyses of these data are discussed in depth in Chapter 8 in connection with the analyses made in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 7.

Chapter 7. Tourism and Archaeology: Thinking Both Ways

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents research data regarding the interface of tourism and archaeology in Antalya and at the case study sites, gathered via interviews, questionnaires, and conversations with the 60 participants in the study. It contains data obtained from questions about the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya, the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle; priorities regarding tourism and archaeology at these sites; visitor numbers and visitor management at the case study sites; and finally, the importance and benefits of the World Heritage List. In order for the reader to obtain an informed perspective of the views of the different stakeholders these are presented in extended tables in the chapter.

7.2 The Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology in Antalya, and the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

The introductory interview question concerning the interface of tourism and archaeology was as follows: ‘With reference to the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos, Alanya Castle, and Antalya in general, what do you think about the current state of the relationship between tourism and archaeology? The purpose of this question, which netted a wide range of responses from the participants, was to elicit their views on the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya and at the case study sites, and to observe which specific issues they raised. The question was answered by a total of 40 participants. The participants’ various assessments yielded a rich fund of data (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Respondents' assessments on the relationship between tourism and archaeology with reference to the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos, Alanya Castle, and Antalya

Data Groups	The Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
Archaeologists/Academics (13)	→ the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya is unhealthy (2) • because of all-inclusive holiday packages, tourists don't leave their hotels • the tours given by tourism agencies and hotels are not professional → We need to maintain a delicate balance between tourism and cultural heritage (2) • safeguarding should adapt to the pace of touristic development → the promotion of cultural heritage sites is inadequate • with an informed promotional strategy, much profit can be made from cultural tourism; however, existing tourism policies harm archaeological sites → the relationship between archaeology and tourism is healthier at heritage sites which are far from the coast → because tourism is a profitable sector, it can make a positive contribution to the maintenance and conservation of monuments → tourism can sometimes be a serious threat to heritage: it has led, for instance, to the destruction of Side as an archaeological site → mass tourism policies in Turkey aimed at middle-class tourists have led to a separation between tourism and archaeology, and are detrimental to the latter • revenues from visits to archaeological sites are not being spent on the safeguarding of these sites → the private sector in Turkey sees archaeological sites as commercial merchandise: it doesn't agree with the notion that safeguarding ought to be the goal, and tourism the means → tourism activity at archaeological sites is not monitored → there is an unjustifiably narrow-minded attitude at archaeological sites regarding the use of some structures for touristic purposes: in cases where it has been approved by scientific reports, these monuments should be put to good use at cultural and touristic events → there are many luxury hotels around Perge, but to date they have not contributed to the safeguarding of the site in any way • people involved in tourism are generally uneducated, and all they care about is making money • hoteliers are shooting themselves in the foot: they are not aware of the profits they will make from the support they provide to archaeological sites → in Antalya, archaeology has not benefited from tourism in any way → archaeological sites should not be isolated from the people: it is their natural right to see these sites • archaeological sites should be open to tourism permanently, on the condition that they are not harmed → every country needs tourism as a means of generating money, but tourism and archaeology is a dangerous combination, as can be seen in the example of Side → as an archaeologist, I do not like that archaeological sites are used for commercial purposes • I have no problem with the fact that tourists visit archaeological sites, but I am against, for instance, the use of an ancient theatre for a festival → everyone is in favour of tourism, but in some regions local inhabitants do not want tourism → the relationship between tourism and archaeology is not managed well in Turkey • both in state and in private sector tourism, there is an endeavour to do everything tourists desire, and to present everything to them on a platter: the restrictions imposed on visitors to heritage sites in Europe should also be implemented in Turkey → Antalya is not only the capital of tourism in Turkey, but is also the capital of classical archaeology → Alanya Castle is a place that has existed for 2400 years • in recent years, the Castle has gained appeal: those who abandoned it have slowly begun to return

Data Groups	The Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
Archaeologists/Academics	→ I have a positive view of cultural tourism • many archaeological sites in Antalya have an infrastructure which is suitable for cultural tourism: some necessary readjustments should be made under the scope of site management plans → problems related to tourism vary from place to place • the local inhabitants of Aspendos and Demre are offended at being deprived of revenues from tourism
Local People (7)	→ We make a living from day tourists (2) • We wait an entire year for a profitable three month period • the local people are not accustomed to tourism: as soon as money enters the picture, competition arises, and everyone complains about each other to the municipality → I am happy to have foreigners live at Alanya Castle • they show concern for keeping the area around their own houses tidy → I love living at Alanya Castle: it is like living in a village → We earn spending-money by selling little things to those who visit Alanya Castle: the most popular item is orange juice → locals of Alanya Castle are selling their homes and going to Alanya: the houses' new owners come from time to time → those who are having their houses in Tophane restored are rich people → I am opposed to sales of real estate to foreigners, because they are not like us • they behave in ways we're not accustomed to → in Myra, selling souvenirs to tourists is more profitable than agricultural activities • this place is like the Bosphorus Bridge: for six months straight, 3,000 people pass by here every day • the most popular item we sell is orange juice → the best promotion comes from tourists who come away satisfied with us → tour guides, with the encouragement of tourism agencies, work like brokers in the area around the Church of St Nicholas • they direct tourists to certain souvenir shops and have them shop there; in return, they receive a commission from the shop owners • with the growth of Russians' interest in the Church, sales of icons of St Nicholas have begun at Demre • Russians see the icons as holy: they buy icons from stores and bless them / pray to them when they visit the Church later on • shopkeepers fill plastic containers with tap water and sell them to Russians as holy water
MCT (6)	→ in Antalya, tourism has caused much harm to archaeology rather than benefited it → in Antalya, coastal tourism has reached a saturation point: cultural tourism should be supported → in Antalya, the biggest factor that helps tourism to attain its present position is its cultural diversity: visitors come to see its cultural heritage sites → in Turkey, the culture of tourism has always been exploitative • apart from hotels, the local people have not received any benefit from tourism → in Antalya, the relationship between tourism and archaeology is unhealthy • the pursuit of seasonal profit has lowered the quality of the areas surrounding heritage sites • there are some members of the local population who do not want tourists to enter their living spaces → ancient cities should be accessible to the public, but we need to regulate the number of visits and the use of monuments → archaeology and tourism can not be separated from each other: site management is necessary to strike a balance between the two → only 10% of the foreign tourists who visit Antalya come there for cultural tourism; tourists' primary interest is "sea and sun" → cultural tourism has not yet received an accolade from the MCT • at present, cultural tourism can only be said to exist in Istanbul and Cappadocia → the contribution made by tourism is not only a material one: it is a vehicle for communication between Turkey and the outside world → if tourist activities are not well planned, this always leads to destruction: because of bad planning in Turkey, the number of its natural sites has swiftly been depleted

Data Groups	The Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
MCT	➔ although Turkey features a number of cities as historically significant as Rome, it is not a country which benefits from cultural tourism: this is because quicker profits are made from coastal tourism ➔ in today's Turkey, archaeology has contributed a lot to tourism; however, revenues from tourism have not made a proportionate contribution to the safeguarding of archaeological heritage
NGOs (6)	➔ unfortunately, tourism in Antalya poses a threat to archaeology - the private tourism sector has made no contribution to the safeguarding of archaeological heritage (2) - archaeological sites are being exploited: they serve as advertising tools for fancy hotels ➔ the majority of tourists who come to Antalya come to see archaeological sites - archaeological sites are a must for tourism in Antalya ➔ it is very important for Alanya Castle to remain standing, and for lots of tourists to come here: many people make their living thanks to the Castle ➔ visitor revenues from archaeological sites are not being spent on these sites - the greatest advantage of site management is that it can prevent heritage sites from being economically exploited: heritage sites ought to take charge of their own economic issues ➔ tourism and archaeology cannot interfere with each other: a delicate balance needs to be sought ➔ Alanya Castle is not attractive to tourists - its fortifications, towers, Tershane, <i>hans</i> and baths, etc. are not that interesting: we see these everywhere around the world - Alanya Castle is cut off from communal life: it is an open-air museum which opens in the morning and closes at night - I once visited Schloss Burg Castle in Solingen (Germany). It is much smaller than Alanya Castle, but they had created a natural life inside without spoiling its historic Tissue. There are cafes and restaurants there. Its employees wear clothes out of the 12th century - Burg Castle is not all about ruins, as in Alanya Castle ➔ the vast majority of tourists who come to Turkey are not interested in its cultural attractions - even if those who consciously wish to visit heritage sites are more numerous than in previous years, they are still limited in number - the factors that direct tourists to heritage sites are the perceptions they receive from their surroundings during their holidays, as well as the marketers who represent tourism agencies at hotels ➔ representatives of tourism agencies generally recommend recreational tours because: - tourist demand is generally oriented towards recreation - sales representatives receive a bonus from recreational tours, where the demand is higher - tourism agencies prefer not to spend time on cultural tours, where the interest is lower - middle-income tourists choose low-cost packages since the budget they set aside for holidays is limited ➔ it is unjust for tour guides to be accused of being commission agents - souvenir shops sell the same products at different prices - in a system where everything is based on cost, tour guides and travel agencies need to take certain initiatives
Municipalities (4)	➔ the people of Demre see St Nicholas not as a representative of Christianity but as their fellow townsman - in our opinion he is an Anatolian saint, like Yunus Emre and Mevlana - the land around Demre is fertile due to the fact that St Nicholas once lived here ➔ as time goes by, the people of Demre are adopting the Church as their own more and more - We are happy to see the MCT and tourists taking an interest in Myra and the Church of St Nicholas - We have started to grasp the material and intangible importance of these sites

Data Groups	The Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
Municipalities	→ the Aspendos Arena has been very beneficial to the development of our town • 25% of our population makes money by selling food and souvenirs, thanks to the Aspendos Arena • the MCT cannot promote our town in the way that the Aspendos Arena has • if the Aspendos Arena had not been created, no one would stop here: it is as valuable as gold to us → tourism is Alanya's most important source of income: agriculture has taken a back seat to it
Tourism Sector (4)	→ the fact that Alanya Castle is the most-visited place in Alanya demonstrates the contribution made to archaeology by tourism → Antalya is not only a tourist destination, but has turned into an archaeological and historical one • its archaeological and historical value plays a big role in its attracting seven million tourists a year → those in Antalya who invest in tourism are uninterested in culture; however, tourists who come for cultural tourism have a larger budget than others → thermal tourism means new construction projects and new income: it will definitely undermine cultural tourism → St Nicholas was a humanist figure • because he is known as a humanist and Samaritan, Orthodox people, Catholics, Muslims, and even atheists come to Demre to visit his church • in foreign countries, when they ask me 'Where are you from?' I say 'I am from the home town of St Nicholas,' or 'I am a descendant of St Nicholas' → it is a great thing that St Nicholas lived in Demre • it is very important for our personal development that many tourists come here • Demre has provided us with work opportunities: otherwise, we would have worked in green houses, and rested during the summertime, like all Mediterranean people → when the Russians began coming to Demre, we grasped that the Church was very important to them • since St Nicholas is the patron saint of Moscow and Russia / is an important religious figure of theirs, Russians come here on pilgrimage → due to the Russians' interest, shopkeepers in Demre started to do business, and the icon industry developed • Orthodox people bless their icons in the Church, and pray to St Nicholas → 95% of those who sell souvenirs and food and drink to tourists are locals of Demre • because the market is controlled by the local inhabitants of Demre, it has not turned into a centre for commercial income • because everyone knows everyone else, we don't hurt each other through commercial rivalry

Analysis of the data presented in Table 7.1 showed that the vast majority of the participants' assessments on the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya converged on five specific topics. These five topics are listed according to their reference frequencies, as follows:

1) *Impacts of National Tourism Policies on Archaeological Sites*: The 13 opinions in this category criticised the state's tourism policies. All of these opinions focussed primarily on mass tourism, but also dealt with the system of 'all-inclusive' vacation packages as well as tourism-centred urbanisation; the respondents were unanimous in their contention

that the aforementioned factors had had detrimental effects upon archaeological sites (e.g., physical damage to the sites and a lack of interest in them) and that, generally speaking, the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya has been poorly handled by the state.

2) *Cultural Tourism*: Cultural tourism was the second topic at the forefront of the participants' concerns. The prevailing views on this issue, which was addressed by a total of nine participants, held that heritage sites have not benefited sufficiently from tourism activities in Antalya and in Turkey as a whole, and that, as a result, cultural tourism was in need of support. Two dissenting assessments argued that Antalya's touristic appeal stemmed from its archaeological sites.

3) *Tourism-related Activities and the Use of Archaeological Sites*: The third most popular subject consisted of assessments regarding the use of archaeological sites in tourism activities. The generally accepted view was that archaeological sites should be open for visits and other tourism activities, on the condition that rules on conservation and use be clearly stated, and that an equilibrium be created in order to prevent over-exploitation. In this group of eight participants, the sole dissenting opinion came from an archaeologist who held that the use of archaeological sites for any touristic purpose – apart from visits to the sites – should be restricted.

4) *Private Tourism Sector in Antalya*: Noteworthy among the assessments regarding the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya were the strong criticisms directed against the private tourism sector in Antalya. These criticisms were made by a total of six participants from data groups excluding the municipalities and local people. The participants all agreed that although private investors and hoteliers had indirectly profited from archaeological sites (i.e., through tourists' interest in heritage sites and in the promotion of tourism products), they were uninterested in these sites and apathetic about their safeguarding and research needs.

5) *Visitor Revenues at Archaeological Sites*: Commonly-held opinions on this subject included the belief that visitor revenues generated from archaeological sites are not spent by the MCT to meet the sites' needs in terms of safeguarding and general upkeep. These assessments attested to an expectation that there should be a system to recycle visitor revenues back to archaeological sites; at the same time, they can be regarded as criticisms of the MCT.

Aside from the five main topics listed above, there were individual assessments that displayed certain points of overlap. These included opposing views either criticising or defending the role of tour guides in tourism activities, as well as observations to the effect that the local people living around certain archaeological sites in Antalya took a negative view of tourism.

When it came to the relationship between tourism and archaeology at the case study sites, the predominant views stressed the importance of tourism in creating employment.

Municipal officials and participants among the local people, in particular, stated that small-scale businesses (i.e., souvenir and food and beverage merchandise) in and around Alanya Castle, the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, and Aspendos were a vital source of income, one which had come to surpass other occupations (i.e., agriculture).

Standing apart from such commonly held views on the material gains from tourism were a group of assessments dealing with important issues concerning the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, and Alanya Castle, in particular. Participants with a connection to the aforementioned three sites reflected more upon the relationship between tourism and archaeology with regard to their respective site. Among the assessments concerning Alanya Castle, conflicting observations on the social makeup of the Castle and its population movements were quite conspicuous. Likewise, views on the perception of the figure of St Nicholas – and its use in the icon trade at Demre – stood out among observations on the Church of St Nicholas and Myra.

7.3 Priorities Regarding Tourism and Archaeology in Antalya, and the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

The question ‘What should be the priorities regarding the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya, and the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle?’ complemented the previous interview question. It especially aimed to have the participants expand upon their previous assessments regarding the relationship between tourism and archaeology at the case study sites and in Antalya, and to elicit their suggestions for solutions to the issues that they prioritised. 35 participants’ answers to this question are displayed in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Respondents’ opinions on the priorities regarding the relationship between tourism and archaeology with reference to Antalya, and the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

Data Groups	Priorities Regarding the Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
MCT (10)	➔ as part of the diversification of tourism, investment needs to be channelled into cultural tourism ➔ archaeologists see archaeology as a scientific discipline, and stress the knowledge it will impart to society: the priority shouldn’t be whether tourists visit archaeological sites or not • few visitors come to Çatalhöyük, but the messages which the site sends to society are very important ➔ among the local inhabitants of Alanya Castle, only a small minority values the cultural dimension of Alanya Castle, and the knowledge it will contribute to humankind • most of the population sees the Castle as a means of attracting tourists: in and of itself, this point of view is partly understandable, because the Castle is an important source of revenue ➔ the belief that ‘everything is permissible in tourism’ needs to change: Turkey ought to earn money from tourism, but should put a halt to over-development ➔ ‘all-inclusive’ holiday packages have changed the tourist profile • tourists who shut themselves up in their hotels don’t want to see archaeological sites: tourists who came to Antalya in the 1990s were more interested in cultural heritage sites • We should find ways to attract élite tourists who are interested in cultural tourism to Turkey ➔ We need to curb the economic market growing up around touristic heritage sites, as well as rapid over-development and rapid migration to these areas ➔ the state should invest in cultural tourism, and should use its imagination in order to make heritage sites interesting to tourists ➔ tourism and culture cannot co-exist under the same roof, administratively speaking • there is no concrete data about the economic benefit that tourism provides to culture ➔ the target audience of cultural tourism should not just be foreign tourists: we need to attract local tourists to heritage sites ➔ safeguarding should always be a priority in order to pass down heritage sites to future generations: after taking necessary measures to preserve and restore heritage sites, we ought to consider the question of how to benefit from tourism

Data Groups	Priorities Regarding the Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
MCT	→ there is a general world-wide trend towards cultural tourism • it will not be possible to develop cultural tourism in Turkey with the MCT budget alone: all state institutions should lay aside a budget for the necessary infrastructure services • in order to galvanise cultural tourism, we need to expand restoration projects at archaeological sites under the MCT's purview, and to publicise these sites → there is a positive synergy in the fact that culture and tourism go hand in hand within the MCT • thanks to the existing administrative framework, allocation revenues obtained from tourism are being spent on the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage → the biggest handicap in tourism in Antalya is the fact that tourism activities do not extend to all 12 months in the year, and are focussed on marketing sun-sea holidays • cultural tourism needs to play an instrumental role in extending tourism throughout the whole year: there is no 'sun and sea' in Prague, but thousands of tourists visit the city all year round → cultural tourism has started to take the place of mass tourism all over the world: I am a proponent of diversifying tourism, and of developing cultural tourism, in Turkey → safeguarding cultural heritage and the environment is mandatory for sustainable tourism: these are non-renewable resources → landscaping projects must be in place for archaeological sites • these projects should include items of tourism infrastructure such as toilets, pedestrian areas, recreational areas, and all other facilities for tourists • revenues obtained from these projects should be spent as part of site management plans → the west coast of Antalya has reached its saturation level in tourism • coastal tourism should be expanded towards the east coast of Antalya • alternative types of tourism (i.e. cultural tourism, eco-tourism, congress tourism, golf tourism, trekking tourism) should be enhanced in inland areas, and the tourism season should be extended to 12 months → on the issues of planning and the formulation of an overall strategy, the MCT's tourism and culture units are separate from one another • within the hierarchical order of the Ministry, the culture and tourism units need to be horizontally aligned with one another
Archaeologists/Academics (9)	→ We should see to it that the residents of Alanya Castle do not leave the Castle: we should provide assistance in repairing their houses → priority should be given to the safeguarding of archaeological sites, their general upkeep, and environmental re-arrangements → site management projects should be expanded: management plans should examine ways to channel a part of tourism revenues to the restoration of archaeological sites → visitors' expectations should be met with empathy → to develop an informed tourism policy, cultural heritage should be treated as crucial → in determining archaeological priorities, the views of archaeologists and scientists should definitely be heard • archaeology should always take precedence over tourism → archaeologists should be conscious of their responsibilities towards people → tourism must not be considered as an achievement for archaeology → We should find a way for tourism and archaeology to come together • the major priority should be to keep archaeological sites and ruins in as good a condition as possible • tourists' visits to archaeological sites should be managed/guided under a plan → We should see to it that tourists leave their hotels and visit archaeological sites: in order to do this, the surrounding area needs to be rehabilitated → We should not create heritage sites with fake scenery in order to develop tourism • for instance, the Inner Citadel at Antalya was completely restored, and its social environment was changed: this sort of regeneration makes no one happy → the initiatives allocated to municipalities regarding heritage sites will pave the way for a new period of destruction for the sake of tourism → in striking a balance between tourism and archaeology, we need to provide a proper explanation of the history of heritage sites to the local people: if this is provided, the drawbacks will disappear

Data Groups	Priorities Regarding the Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology
NGOs (5)	→ relations between state institutions active in archaeology and tourism should be clearly defined, and these institutions should be in constant communication with one another → the limits regarding the use of archaeological sites should be carefully planned → priority should be given to the safeguarding of archaeological sites; however, the development of tourism should also be supported → new initiatives are necessary in tourism in Alanya • visitors to Alanya Castle ought to feel as though they are living in the Seljuk period → local participation ought to be ensured in tourism planning: since they are benefiting from tourism, they will be receptive to the safeguarding of archaeological sites which add to tourism → there ought to be social facilities which tourists can make use of at touristic archaeological sites, and we should create authentic gift shops → in regions of Antalya which have not yet had experience of tourism, the <i>muhtars</i> ought to be shown around touristic sites: they should be given the opportunity to examine the positive and negative sides of tourism, and its effects on heritage sites → doing <i>anastilosis</i> at every archaeological site is a highly idealistic goal: what to restore and reconstruct should be the subject of site management → taking into account the seasonal and climactic conditions of Antalya, we should allow night-time visits to local archaeological sites
Tourism Sector (5)	→ archaeological research at Alanya Castle should be intensified → archaeological sites should be made more attractive for tourists • merchandise sold around archaeological sites should be made more lively: appealing, authentic gift shops should be created, and the quality of food and beverage services should be increased → the diversification of tourism in Antalya should be supported → the safeguarding of archaeological heritage should always be the priority: transferring cultural heritage to future generations should take precedence over every kind of business concern → We should appreciate the fact that the safeguarding of cultural and natural heritage is obligatory for sustainable economic development → in particular, we should search for ways to attract local tourists to archaeological sites → the prevailing uniform conception of tourism in Antalya needs to change: there should be a focus on original elements in touristic products • oranges top the list of things that are special about Demre • woodwork and stonework are some of the chief attributes of Lycian civilisation: instead of creating concrete buildings in Demre, the use of cedar wood (which is characteristic of the region) should become more common, and buildings should reflect the features of Lycian architecture → because tourists who are interested in cultural tourism are more educated, their visits to Demre raise the quality of service • for example, 90% of the tourists who go trekking on the Lycian Way are culture/nature enthusiasts from Central Europe → Demre houses the Church of St. Nicholas, Andriake, Kekova, Myra, and many other archaeological sites and natural beauties: it is not right to create a new touristic centre, like Kemer, in Demre, since every place in Antalya already looks alike → there is no tourist information bureau in Demre: this omission shows that tourism in the district is unregulated → for the sake of tourism, some arrangements should be made around archaeological sites which reflect these sites' features, and take into account their geographical and cultural characteristics: site management teams should be the ones in charge of this job

<u>Data Groups</u>	<u>Priorities Regarding the Relationship Between Tourism and Archaeology</u>
Municipalities (4)	→ there are insufficient accommodation opportunities in Demre • if there are hotels, then visitors on day trips will be replaced by tourists staying for longer periods → from the standpoint of cultural heritage, Demre is the richest district of Antalya, but its potential is not being put to good use • the number of people who visit Andriake and Kekova is limited → everyone thinks that Aspendos only consists of its theatre: visitors leave without seeing the Acropolis and Köprüçay • every corner of the ancient city of Aspendos should be opened to visitors: after its surroundings are beautified and restoration projects are carried out, day-long tours should be organised here → from an archaeological standpoint, research and documentation should be the main priorities; from the standpoint of tourism, promoting heritage sites should be the main priority → Antalya's cultural heritage should not be overshadowed by the city's image, which is based on 'sun and sea': cultural tourism should be encouraged → part of the revenues obtained from tourism should be channelled into the safeguarding and restoration of archaeological sites
Local People (2)	→ equal opportunities should exist for the local people selling items to tourists around archaeological sites → the areas surrounding archaeological sites should be beautified by the MCT

Cultural tourism, which was among the participants' major concerns revealed in their answers to the previous interview question, attained the highest priority in terms of the relationship between archaeology and tourism in Antalya and at the case study sites. In groups which did not include the NGOs and local people, and in which MCT officials were especially prominent, there was a general emphasis on the idea that cultural tourism has promising potential, and therefore needs to be encouraged. In this context, it should be noted that the opinions expressed were quite in line with the goals and observations concerning cultural tourism in the *TST 2023*. The second most credited opinion among the respondents was that the safeguarding of archaeological sites / cultural heritage need to always take precedence over tourism. The limited number of justifications for this opinion included the argument that cultural heritage and the natural environment are non-renewable, and that safeguarding them is a prerequisite of sustainable tourism and sustainable development.

Apart from views giving priority to cultural tourism and the safeguarding of cultural heritage in the face of mass tourism, other opinions converged on three topics in particular, in more or less equal numbers. The first of these topics was the administrative structure of the MCT. A commonly accepted argument was that the hierarchical

relationship between the tourism and culture units of the MCT, with one exception, had not acted soundly in the matters of transmission of funds and planning. The second issue to gain support consisted of suggestions and expectations that the visual aspects of archaeological sites as well as visitor facilities should be improved. Such views favoured the proliferation of restoration and landscape projects at archaeological sites and in their immediate surroundings, and the creation of facilities to meet visitors' everyday needs (e.g., toilets, cafés, souvenir shops, pedestrian ways). The third issue on which some of the participants found common ground was the view that a part of tourism revenues need to go towards the safeguarding and restoration of archaeological sites. This view, which appeared in the previous interview question and was therefore reiterated in this one, indicated an expectation that there should be a system, controlled either by the MCT or by site management teams, to transmit funds from tourism revenues to archaeological sites.

7.4 Visitor Numbers and Visitor Management at the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

With the growth of cultural tourism in Turkey, the expectation that there will be an increase in visitor numbers has been repeatedly stressed both in the *TST 2023* and in five-year development plans (see pages 115-117). Ways to meet this expectation were brought up both under the objectives of the *Regulation for Site Management* and in its definition of a monument (2005: Chapter Two, Article 5/c, e and Chapter One, Article 3). In order to scrutinise the rationality of the MCT's insistent desire to increase visitor numbers at heritage sites, the participants were asked what they thought about visitor numbers and visitor management at the case study sites in this thesis (i.e., the five most visited archaeological sites in Antalya). The 37 participants' responses to this question are displayed in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Respondents' assessments regarding visitor numbers and visitor management at the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

Data Groups	Visitor Numbers and Visitor Management at the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle
Archaeologists/Academics (11)	➔ Alanya Castle is a little-visited archaeological site • travel agencies do not want to pay the entry fee for the İç Kale and Ehmedek: they have tourists get off their buses at the Main Gate and take photographs there (3) ➔ higher visitor numbers can only bring more damage for archaeological sites (3) • tourism has advantages, but it kills the originality of heritage sites ➔ the most-visited archaeological sites in Antalya are the ones to which tourists are specifically directed, or the ones which receive more publicity (2) ➔ there is no point in restoring the theatre at Xanthos: why spend a lot of money to restore it, given that there are so many theatres in Lycia? • theatres might be impressive for tourists, but archaeologically there are more impressive things than theatres (2) ➔ the visitor revenues from archaeological sites are transferred into the state treasury instead of being reverted back to the sites themselves ➔ most of the tourists who come to Aspendos visit the Theatre but don't climb the Acropolis • due to commercial concerns, the Theatre in particular is being given first priority by the MCT • if the Theatre did not exist, current visitor numbers at Aspendos would be 90% lower • visitor facilities are lacking in the Acropolis area ➔ Myra remains unknown except for its rock tombs, its theatre, and the Church of St Nicholas ➔ the biggest factor influencing visits to Alanya Castle is the layout of Alanya • Alanya Castle, which rises up from within a congested city centre, piques people's curiosity • not everyone who climbs up to the Castle is keen on archaeology or culture ➔ due to its religious significance, the Church of St. Nicholas is deliberately sought as a place to visit ➔ visitor numbers for Perge are quite satisfactory: they may increase even more • on-site restoration/conservation activities in Perge attract a lot of attention among visitors ➔ archaeological sites in Antalya, aside from touristic ones, have been left to their fate • people who visit these sites are better-informed about them, compared to people who visit touristic sites ➔ the number of visitors who come to Karain Cave is fairly modest: in fact, its visitor potential is higher • in visitor management, carrying capacity should be carefully taken into account, and priority should be given to safeguarding: the 'touristic Lascaux,' set up near the Lascaux Cave in France, is an example of this ➔ from an educational and cultural point of view, high visitor numbers are a good thing on condition that the necessary precautions are taken ➔ the visitor management of Xanthos and Letoon is not problematical because their visitor numbers are low ➔ when tourism comes to archaeological sites, it brings many associated risks • an increase in demand means an increase in supply • risks in visitor management should be evaluated under a site management plan ➔ in order to increase visitor numbers at archaeological sites, importance should be given to restoration projects • thousands would not visit Ephesus if the Library of Celsus had not been restored through <i>anastilosis</i> ➔ Aspendos Theatre is frequently visited because it is well-preserved, monumental, and unique • it is true that Aspendos is mainly known for its Theatre: there is an urgent need for comprehensive research to be conducted in other parts of Aspendos • I don't think that constant visits to the Theatre have caused damage, because in Antiquity it was also used just as frequently

Data Groups	Visitor Numbers and Visitor Management at the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle
MCT (9)	➔ the visitor numbers at archaeological sites in Antalya are insufficient (3) • there are archaeological sites which receive very little interest even though they are open to visitors: most of these are bigger than sites which get publicity, or which are located by the seaside ➔ archaeological sites shouldn't be opened to visitors in a reckless manner • necessary security, restoration, conservation, and facilities for visitors should be provided (2) ➔ visitor revenues at heritage sites should be put to use locally (2) • it is wrong for the MCT to collect visitor revenues in a pool and allocate them according to need ➔ I am against uninformed visitors at archaeological sites and museums • as visitors explore archaeological sites, they ought to feel as though they are in a time machine ➔ high visitor numbers and revenues are a general expectation shared by all ➔ it is unclear how many of the tourists who come to Antalya visit its heritage sites ➔ visitor density leads to physical damage at some archaeological sites (e.g. the Church of St Nicholas): there is a disparity between carrying capacity and visitor restrictions ➔ there are not enough staff observing and monitoring visitors' behaviour at archaeological sites ➔ We market culture as a tourism product, but we don't create anything for our own contemporary culture • instead of the Aspendos Arena, a new, original theatre or cultural centre should have been built ➔ foreign tourists who come to Turkey are not very interested in cultural heritage sites • seven million tourists come to Antalya every year, but the number of those who visit the Antalya Archaeology Museum is fewer than 100,000 per year ➔ visitor numbers at archaeological sites in Antalya are growing every day • the most important element in promoting a site is visitor satisfaction: for example, I am sure that people who visit Perge definitely talk about Perge to those around them ➔ the owner of a hotel I stayed at in Kemer, in a location very close to the ancient city of Phaselis, told me he had never been to Phaselis: Turkish people are uninterested in archaeology • the MCT should enliven archaeological sites with attractive tours and activities ➔ the change over time in visitor numbers at archaeological sites should be examined holistically together with changes related to these sites' state of preservation: this is an issue which should be dealt with in a management plan
Municipalities (5)	➔ since tourists see the Church as a holy place belonging to St Nicholas, they take little pieces of the building with them: there are no security personnel to prevent them ➔ visitors should be admitted to archaeological sites after safeguarding measures have been fully implemented ➔ visitor numbers at Aspendos are low: the site has the potential to receive more visitors ➔ having more tourists visit the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle should not be the goal • they are already sufficiently known worldwide • these sites should be researched more; safeguarding measures should be increased, and priority should be given to restoration projects which will enhance their appearance ➔ visitor numbers indicate a high level of interest in Alanya Castle; however, as visitor numbers increase, the responsibility to safeguard the site increases as well
NGOs (5)	➔ visitor numbers at Alanya Castle are insufficient ➔ in the İç Kale, there is nothing of interest apart from a chapel and cisterns • the truly interesting parts of Alanya Castle are the paths around the İç Kale and Ehmedek: since tourists don't use these paths, they are unaware of the existence of many Seljukid and Ottoman monuments. These paths should be organised under a management plan • the plots of land belonging to local people's houses serve like an open-air museum: tourists can easily see the artefacts here, but foreigners' property is always surrounded with a wall/fence

Data Groups	Visitor Numbers and Visitor Management at the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle
NGOs	→ it is reasonable for archaeological sites which are in the vicinity of tourist accommodation areas to receive more visits → the MCT is very ineffectual when it comes to using archaeological sites for touristic purposes: visitor numbers at archaeological sites in Antalya are generally low - visitors aren't being given the service they deserve: for example, each year on December 6th, members of the Orthodox Christian community come to the Church of St Nicholas, but the Church is half-flooded due to rain water → archaeologists often claim that high visitor numbers cause damage at archaeological sites - as a citizen, my expectation is for these sites to be given more attention, for visitor revenues and publicity to increase, and for tourism to develop - it is necessary to strike a balance between tourism and safeguarding → visitor numbers at Alanya Castle are very low: if the Castle is integrated into the life of its community and if the transportation issue is solved, there will be a boom in visitor numbers → archaeological sites should not be blindly opened to visitors - the necessary infrastructure should be provided, and there should be compliance with the sites' carrying capacities - visitors' movements at archaeological sites, and the effects of these movements, should be carefully monitored
Tourism Sector (3)	→ the MCT's statistics confirm that archaeological sites in Antalya lack appeal → Antalya's cultural heritage is not being put to sufficient use: visitor numbers are low - site management is necessary in order to reduce the pressure to achieve high visitor numbers, and in order to raise standards of safeguarding → visitor numbers for the Church of St Nicholas are very low - ideally, Demre should be deluged with visitors during Christmas: it is senseless for there not to be any events at Demre while Christmas is being celebrated all over the world → Myra and the Church of St. Nicholas possess great potential, but they do not get enough publicity
Local People (4)	→ tourism provides the local people with work opportunities (3) We want more tourists to come (2) → no one comes to Perge/Aspendos during winter: we like to see tourists there in the summer months (2) → those who are on good terms with / who know people in the municipality benefit more from visitors → if more tourists come, the state will give more importance to our district

Among the various comments regarding visitor numbers, the prevailing view held that archaeological sites in Antalya, generally speaking, receive little attention given their actual potential, and given the number of visitors to Antalya every year. Aside from a few opinions to the contrary, the participants emphasised that visitor numbers at Alanya Castle, the Church of St Nicholas, Myra, and Aspendos are low. The fact that visitor numbers at these four sites are higher than those at other archaeological sites in Antalya was most commonly explained by observing that these sites have been given special priority in the MCT's promotional activities. Moreover, it was noted that the Church of St Nicholas occupies a special place among these four sites, in that it is visited by Eastern Orthodox pilgrims specifically on account of its religious significance.

Among the participants' assessments regarding visitor management at the case study sites, three issues stood out in particular. The first of these was the opinion that frequent visits cause damage at archaeological sites. The participants who held this opinion were unanimous in making the following suggestions for preventing physical damage: (i) visitor carrying capacity should be determined for every archaeological site; (ii) archaeological sites should be opened to the public after carrying out the necessary restoration/conservation work and creating appropriate infrastructure for their safeguarding; (iii) visitor behaviour should be regularly monitored; and (iv) site management plans are necessary for visitor management.

The second most commonly raised issue consisted of complaints about the fact that Alanya Castle, Myra, and Aspendos are insufficiently known. In order to remedy this lack of recognition, the participants frequently recommended conducting comprehensive research at these sites, and making improvements to certain archaeological and natural components of the sites, which have remained off the tourist itinerary, so as to integrate them into tourism activities. The third matter addressed by the participants concerned the need to enhance the visibility of archaeological sites in order to increase visitor numbers and satisfy visitors. In particular, numerous participants asserted that restoration and *anastilosis* projects would make a positive contribution to visitors' perceptions and images of archaeological sites and of the past in general.

7.5 The Importance and Benefits of the World Heritage List

An academic platform for debate about the WHL, which is promoted unilaterally by the MCT in the print and visual media, does not currently exist in Turkey. However, expectations about the WHL, which plays a key role both in *TST 2023* and in the formulation of the *Regulation for Site Management*, need to be put forth concretely, and examined in the light of existing international academic literature about the List. As a way of addressing this need, and of highlighting the relevance of the WHL to the case study sites in this thesis, the question 'What do you think of the importance and benefits

of the WHL?’ was posed to the participants as part of the research. A total of 24 participants offered their views on this question and these are displayed in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Respondents’ opinions on the importance and benefits of the World Heritage List

Data Groups	Importance and Benefits of the WHL
Archaeologists/Academics (11)	➔ it may be easier to safeguard heritage sites which we universalise • it is in our interest to increase the number of heritage sites on the WHL ➔ the WHL was once prestigious ➔ being on the WHL is not important • what is important is to take charge of safeguarding heritage sites within the country ➔ to have expectations of material gain from the WHL is a primitive way of thinking • if awareness of safeguarding hasn’t been established in our country, what are you going to do with the money? • UNESCO’s financial resources are quite limited as it is ➔ Turkey is underrepresented on the WHL (2) • We should work to increase the number of our heritage sites on the List ➔ the WHL is a good thing: • it entrusts countries responsibilities • it ensures that heritage site related activities are carried out according to definite standards • it makes it easier to find financial resources for conservation projects ➔ every archaeologist wants the site where he/she works to be on the WHL ➔ some archaeological sites should be placed into a special category based on their unique features • in order to interpret and understand the past, everyone needs to know the importance of these sites ➔ some selection criteria developed by UNESCO for the WHL make no sense • it is a bit ridiculous that we were asked whether we work with a biospeleologist to protect bats in Karain Cave, which contains Palaeolithic findings ➔ UNESCO should support every heritage site it adds to the WHL: it should provide experts and funds when necessary ➔ it is not advantageous for Karain Cave to be added to the WHL • Karain can always attract visitors if it is sufficiently promoted / if landscaping projects are developed ➔ for Xanthos, being on the WHL does not seem to be an advantage because we do not know the advantage of being on the List • as a World Heritage site, Xanthos is not better protected than other archaeological sites ➔ I do not know what makes it important for an archaeological site to have the World Heritage title • it would be important if it helped archaeologists to make things easier on the site and to prevent people from building houses on archaeological ruins ➔ the residents of Alanya ought to know why Alanya Castle should be included on the WHL • before Alanya Castle is included on the WHL, a comprehensive study of all monuments in the Castle should be carried out • questions like the following have not been answered in detail: Why is Alanya Castle important? What is its history? How did the urban morphology of the Castle evolve? Was the Tershane a dockyard? • the Tershane and the Kızılkuşe (octagonal tower) are not unique monuments which merit being included on the WHL ➔ it seems that the biggest expectation behind the nomination of Alanya Castle for inclusion on the WHL is to get financial aid from UNESCO • the logic is: ‘After we get on the List, we’ll write a story for Alanya Castle’ ➔ instead of being guided by unrealistic and illusory expectations, we should study Alanya Castle and develop projects for its safeguarding

Data Groups	Importance and Benefits of the WHL
Archaeologists/Academics	→ when Alanya Castle is included in the WHL, its natural beauty and the uniqueness of its historical features (i.e. the Seljukid Terashane) will receive official recognition • holding the World Heritage title will be a source of pride and prestige for the people of Alanya → I see 'World Heritage' as a brand which can: • be used as tool for promotion • raise awareness about safeguarding • enhance tourism by attracting those who visit World Heritage Sites around the world • help in getting either direct funding from the United Nations or advice about obtaining other sources of funding → We already use the World Heritage logo around Alanya Castle. By doing this we: • are endeavouring to warm people to the idea of Alanya Castle being a World Heritage site • expect everybody to find out on his/her own what cultural heritage means, and what kinds of benefits the WHL offers → I see no point in rejecting the World Heritage title • the WHL list represents certain universal values, just the like the Copenhagen Criteria adopted by Turkey → I am not sure whether the WHL should be a target to aim at, but I assume it can help in increasing the number of investments • this may pave the way for better safeguarding and more research at specific sites
MCT (3)	→ Turkey is underrepresented on the WHL (2) • it is unacceptable for a country like Turkey, which houses the remains of many civilisations, to have only nine heritage sites inscribed on the WHL • even those who head the World Heritage Committee say that Turkey needs to have more heritage sites on the WHL → being on the WHL: • ensures that a country's cultural heritage is recognised abroad • means that the world is watching you when it comes to the safeguarding of heritage sites: outside supervision induces you to take steps in the right direction → the extent of your representation on the WHL shows the world how rich your cultural heritage is: this is how it is perceived all over the world → the WHL is an effective tool that provides communication with other countries and international institutions • it enables countries to follow modern approaches, methods, and technologies related to the safeguarding of heritage sites • it is an opportunity to learn about site management • staying away from the WHL means staying away from the latest developments in the field of cultural heritage, and from international supervision → our relationship with UNESCO represents a win-win situation: we have the World Heritage sites and they have the knowledge → thanks to UNESCO, our approach towards heritage sites has been challenged: our awareness about safeguarding has increased, and so has the quality of our restoration projects
Municipalities (3)	→ the WHL is very important → if the Church of St Nicholas is inscribed on the WHL, the central government will show more concern for the site, and better restoration projects will be carried out: temporary solutions to the problems of the Church will be replaced by radical ones → if Alanya Castle is inscribed in the WHL, we'll have stressed the Castle's importance to the world; we'll have sent everyone a message saying 'We're taking charge of Alanya Castle; we know its importance, and we will safeguard it' → the World Heritage title will contribute to Alanya Castle financially: UNESCO provides grants, long-term loans, and technical assistance from indirect channels → We use the World Heritage logo all around Alanya Castle to make people get used to the idea that it is a unique place • We even use it during <i>sema</i> performances in Alanya to imply that the Mevlevi Order is part of our intangible heritage

<u>Data Groups</u>	<u>Importance and Benefits of the WHL</u>
Local People (4)	➔ the WHL is both a positive and a negative thing • if UNESCO takes control of Alanya Castle, there will be less bureaucracy in terms of our needs for the repair of our houses • my major concern is why UNESCO wants Alanya Castle: there must be some benefits involved in their favour ➔ if Alanya Castle is inscribed on the WHL, real estate prices will increase dramatically • people will wait to sell their properties until the final decision regarding Alanya Castle's nomination is made ➔ I have attended a public lecture about World Heritage sites • We were told to protect our old houses, plants, etc. ➔ I have no idea about the WHL, but I have seen their logo
Tourism Sector (2)	➔ the biggest contribution of the WHL will be the sharing of information about site management with UNESCO experts ➔ Turkey is not benefiting sufficiently from cultural heritage sites • the WHL encourages cultural tourism and domestic tourism also benefits • Turkey should not lag behind Greece and Italy in the promotion of its cultural heritage
NGOs (1)	➔ the World Heritage title would not make any difference for Alanya Castle • We cannot move forward with the existing state mentality and existing measures for safeguarding • Alanya Castle is already a part of world heritage: there is no need for official recognition

A clear majority of the participants' views on the importance and benefits of the WHL were positive in nature. Commonly-held opinions in this category contended that Turkey is underrepresented in the WHL; that the WHL would help in safeguarding heritage sites and increasing awareness of responsibility for safeguarding them; that the WHL would make it easier to find financial resources for safeguarding and restoration projects; that it would contribute to the promotion of Turkey's cultural heritage and would boost cultural tourism in Turkey; that it is prestigious; and that it would create the opportunity to benefit from UNESCO's expertise / international expertise in safeguarding/managing heritage sites.

Other individual assessments regarding the benefits of the WHL included the beliefs that it would enhance research and investments; that it would conduce to outside supervision (i.e., by UNESCO) in the management of heritage sites; that the World Heritage title represents a justification for the significance/uniqueness of a heritage site; and that it would benefit the local people through its positive impact on real estate prices. In addition, some views were expressed which did not address the benefits of the WHL, but directly or indirectly emphasised the List's importance. Instances of such pro-WHL views included the opinions that some archaeological sites should be placed into a special

category based on their unique features, and that there is no point in rejecting the notion of ‘World Heritage’.

Particularly striking were the views of the participants whose position was not counter to the philosophy behind the WHL, but who were cautious and critical about the importance and benefits of the List, or who suggested an alternative to the MCT’s WHL policy. Among these views, predominantly voiced by archaeologists and academics, were the following opinions: that the financial problems experienced in the safeguarding of archaeological sites can be overcome by developing projects; that the MCT needs to change its managerial understanding of heritage sites; and finally, that the safeguarding of heritage sites needs to be internalised by the role-players and stakeholders in site management, and that conducting more research at these sites should be a priority.

Remarkably, among the 24 participants, the only negative view concerning the WHL came from a local inhabitant living in Alanya Castle. Interestingly, this participant, who asserted that if Alanya Castle got on the WHL, local people would have to deal with less bureaucracy in terms of their house repair needs, saw the WHL as a tool for UNESCO to profit from Alanya Castle.

7.6 Summary

This chapter has introduced research data regarding the interface of archaeology and tourism in Antalya and at the case study sites, gathered via interviews, questionnaires, and conversations held with the 60 participants in the study. It has displayed and analysed the participants’ various opinions and assessments concerning the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya, the Church of St. Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle; visitor figures and visitor management at the case study sites; and UNESCO’s World Heritage List. The inferences drawn from these data are discussed in depth in the following chapter in connection with the analyses made in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 8. Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This discussion and conclusion chapter synthesises the analyses made in the previous chapters. It triangulates conclusions drawn from the literature on the interface between heritage management and tourism, and from policies and institutional developments regarding archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey, along with the data obtained from the case studies. The discussion on the major findings emerging from the triangulation is used to make projections regarding the implementation of the *Regulation for Site Management* and the development of cultural tourism in Turkey. The chapter also explains how the research question and aims have been fulfilled, and concludes with some recommendations which may provide guidance for future studies on site management and the interface between tourism and heritage in Turkey.

8.2 The *Regulation for Site Management*

As was demonstrated in Chapter 4, the *Regulation for Site Management* can be clearly distinguished from previous legislative instruments concerning heritage sites in Turkey. By aiming at participatory and sustainable management, the Regulation provides opportunities for various stakeholders other than the state to voice their opinions about decisions affecting heritage sites, and hence has promising potential for the development of effective management and protection measures at heritage sites in the future. This potential was also recognised by many participants in this study (those who were familiar with the Regulation at various levels), as shown in the key data points in the survey on the ‘major contributions of the *Regulation for Site Management*’ and on the ‘need for management plans’ (pages 179-180 and 212-215).

In Chapter 4, a comprehensive analysis of the factors that paved the way for the emergence of the *Regulation for Site Management* was performed. This analysis reveals the organic links between the Regulation, on the one hand, and UNESCO’s management

plan criteria for the WHL, as well as Turkey's cultural tourism agenda, on the other. It was observed that the participants' levels of awareness regarding these factors were not commensurate with one another. To put it another way, among participants who were familiar with the Regulation, there was a general awareness of the links between the WHL and the provisions of the Regulation; by contrast, only quite a small number of participants turned out to be aware of the effect which Turkey's stance towards tourism promotion via heritage has had on the Regulation as a major driver (pages 214-215).

8.2.1 *Expertise*

Since 1971, 27 different individuals have served as Minister of Culture in Turkey. When one examines the biographies of the politicians and bureaucrats making up this list, there is a clear preponderance of individuals with an educational background in the fields of law, politics, and economics. The second main group on this list consists of Ministers of Culture with backgrounds in various branches of engineering (construction engineering, electrical engineering, and mechanical engineering), as well as medicine and pharmacy. The third group – making up a rather small minority – is composed of two scholars with backgrounds in literature. Over the course of my research, I myself became familiar with the profiles of the MCT's high-level managers, which were quite diverse, and which hardly seemed in keeping with the 'culture' sector. Specifically, in July of 2008, at the very beginning of my fieldwork, I met with İsmet Yılmaz, the Permanent Secretary of the MCT at the time. Yılmaz was originally a machine engineer; before serving in the MCT, he had worked as an undersecretary in the marine sector. After his term in office at the MCT, Yılmaz served as Minister of Transport for a short while; from July 2011 onwards, he has held the position of Minister of National Defence. Similarly, in August of 2008, I met with Orhan Düzgün, the head of the GDCPM at the time, a bureaucrat who graduated from the department of political science. Prior to his managerial experience in the field of archaeology, Düzgün had served as District-Governor and Vice-Governor in different provinces and districts of Turkey; after working at the GDCPM, he was appointed Governor of Ordu province. Since May 2013, Düzgün has been the Governor of the province of Kayseri.

Confidently, it is appropriate to assume that at no time in Turkey will the administration of the Ministry of Economics, for example, be entrusted to a historian, archaeologist, anthropologist, art historian, literary scholar, sociologist, geographer, or sculptor. In support of this assumption, I would point out that the management of the economy requires expertise and experience, an argument with which I think most people would agree.

Just as in economics, relevant expertise and experience are also necessary criteria in the management of culture, as well as the numerous fields that it encompasses (such as archaeology). As a career, culture is no less important than economics; it cannot be blithely administered by every bureaucrat with managerial skills and experience in a state institution. Therefore, in bringing the cultural sector in Turkey under the umbrella of the MCT, the need for carefully chosen high-level administrators with academic qualifications and a talent for developing their visions is just as great as the need for an educated team of bureaucrats.

When examining the MCT's institutional capability and level of expertise in the field of site management, it is insufficient merely to scrutinise its departments and staff dealing with heritage sites. It is especially important to point out that since 2005 – the year in which the *Regulation for Site Management* went into effect – the concept of site management has begun to attract interest in academic settings in Turkey. A wide-ranging field of research which encompasses site management, and which has now been adopted on an international platform under the category of 'heritage management,' has been gaining prestige in Turkey since the 1990s, concurrently with Turkey's adoption of various international conventions regarding heritage sites and the environment. At present, therefore, Turkey can be viewed as a nation that is catching up with academic developments in the field of heritage management. Indeed, as was stated previously on pages 10-12, only a small number of studies have been carried out in Turkey to date on a broad range of issues pertaining to heritage management. Similarly, the number of university departments in Turkey providing postgraduate education in such subjects is quite limited.

These facts suggest that it is impossible for the MCT's staff to make progress in heritage management or site management independently of academic circles in Turkey, or for it to possess better knowledge on such subjects than is possessed in academia.

In 2008, site management projects and related bureaucratic tasks were carried out by the Department of Restoration, acting as part of the GDCPM. In fact, at the time, this department – whose main duties are quite different – contained architects, city planners, and archaeologists. This team selflessly strove to create a network of expertise for site management in Turkey; at the same time, it analysed management plans developed for heritage sites in various countries around the world. At the end of 2009, site management-related administrative duties were allocated to a new unit within the GDCPM, which is known today as the World Heritage Sites Office. Various interviews with GDCPM officials conducted during the course of my research – as well as my own direct observations of the inner structure of this institution – have shown that although the GDCPM possesses the relevant labour force in fields such as archaeology, planning, and legislation, it lacks a team of leaders with know-how in specific areas such as site management and heritage management. The overall lack of academically qualified bureaucrats in the culture branch of the MCT is especially true of the GDCPM. The clearest manifestation of this lack can be seen in the GDCPM's consultation of Turkish and foreign scholars affiliated with a number of British and American universities – with technical and theoretical expertise in the field of heritage management – in site management projects and in drawing up WHL nomination dossiers.

Despite this shortage of expertise, not only the MCT but also the municipalities (with their even greater lack of technical staff) have the potential to develop management plans with the support of academics as well as their existing professional staff. These plans may meet the needs of heritage sites in certain respects; however, in cases where there is limited participation by expert staff and administrators, management plans may have low standards in terms of their scientific underpinnings and methodology. It should especially be emphasised that site management represents an ongoing process, of which the writing of the management plan is only one part (page 49). Therefore, expertise is not merely

required during the creation of management plans; it is also necessary during the implementation, monitoring, and revision phases of these plans, and there needs to be stability in the expert staff serving on site management teams. Indeed, the findings of this study (e.g., Table 6.4) indicate that – in the short term – outside expertise is an indispensable requirement for site management in Turkey. It therefore follows that Turkey's long-term predominance in site management can be expected to correlate closely with two factors: first, the academic interest accorded to site management and heritage management on a national scale, and second, the way in which staff with sophistication in these areas is evaluated by the MCT and the municipalities.

8.2.2 Participation and Stakeholders

Participation is the backbone of site management. It is only through broad participation that the protection and management of heritage sites can be sustainable and effective. Moreover, participation is of vital importance in determining the value(s) of a heritage site and the divergent priorities of its stakeholders (Cochrane and Tapper 2006: 101; Hall and McArthur 1998: 7; Orbaşlı 2007: 71; Teutonico and Palumbo 2002: 126). In order to ensure wider participation in decision-making, site management teams should be committed to dialogue and negotiation, and should be open to the involvement of local stakeholders, interest groups, and interdisciplinary professionals (ibid.) The study participants – in interviews, meetings, and questionnaires – provided quite divergent assessments of the actors in site management and their roles (Table 6.4). The analyses performed of these assessments, to which I incorporated my own personal observations, confirmed the importance of widespread local participation in site management. Furthermore, the research data have shown that the leaders of site management projects need to remain at an equal distance from all stakeholders; they also need to adopt the principle of acting as a referee in co-ordinating with these stakeholders. The following findings concerning each of the six data groups in my research support these conclusions.

8.2.2.1 *The Local People*

The safeguarding of archaeological sites in Turkey is actually quite a painstaking task. The main source of difficulty is the large number of archaeological sites, along with comparatively limited manpower and financial resources to constantly monitor and manage problems at these sites. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the state – being aware of the existing limitations – will give archaeological sites the status of conservation areas, thus restricting access to them and contributing to their preservation.

The notion of the conservation area not only denotes a legal status but is also a tool of cognitive isolation (see Carman 2005: 120-21). From the moment an archaeological site is declared a conservation area, its value causes it to be taken over by the competent authorities. In the words of Smith and Waterton (2009: 52), matters such as research related to the site, as well as its conservation, are the prerogative of those who ‘know’ and ‘think’ about it, primarily the state and archaeologists.

Objections to conservation areas by the group in this study representing the local people (Table 6.5) should be viewed as classic expressions of an overall, countrywide opposition to legal restrictions implemented at conservation areas. This acute problem, which puts the state at odds with individuals living in conservation areas, should be dealt with via an impartial, realistic approach. In fact, there is awareness on the part of the state regarding the injustices suffered in conservation areas. A barter system has been in operation since 1983, in addition to a transfer system which was first implemented in 2004. These systems are formulas which serve to bring sites located on private property under public domain, as part of conservation areas’ needs for research and environmental planning. At the same time, these systems were developed in order to secure the property rights of those living in conservation areas. Of the two, the barter system allows real or legal persons who are property owners at conservation areas where there is an absolute prohibition on building to exchange their house or land for immovable properties owned by the municipality or to SPAs (Conservation Law 1983: Article 17/b). The transfer system, on the other hand, makes it possible for the owners of immovable properties with

restricted building rights in conservation areas to transfer their restricted rights to other areas on their property, if any, or to areas belonging to third parties (Conservation Law 1983: Article 17/c). However, in practice, there are factors that hinder the practices of exchange and transfer. As officials from the Antalya Archaeological Museum and the Regional Council in Antalya stated in personal interviews, the main factors in question are, first, the Ministry of Finance's requirement that a 1/1000 scale blueprint be drawn up for areas which are to be exchanged; and second, reciprocal disagreements in exchange/transfer negotiations between the state and the property owners regarding the financial value of the properties in question (D. Saraç, 13.08. 2008 and 02.09 2008).

The exchange and transfer systems may be viewed as reasonable options for certain residents who have been negatively impacted by restrictions at conservation areas. However, it is open to question just how satisfactory the solutions which they provide are. The question which needs to be asked at this point is how to arrive at a solution to the concerns of those who are unable to avail themselves of the options of exchange or transfer, or who will not consider these options since they do not wish to leave their places of residence. As McManamon and Hatton (2000: 11) pointed out, perceptions regarding the value and safeguarding of heritage sites can be based not only on cultural or personal factors, but also economic ones. For instance, the potential created by a touristic archaeological site can economically benefit those living around the site; this, in turn, can make a positive contribution to the site's preservation (Tisdell 2005: 182). Therefore, in reducing the problems in conservation areas in Turkey, one should not overlook the need to create alternative sources of income for them. In this context, management plans are tools that allow us to develop projects; to enhance the welfare of local people living near conservation areas; and to provide better co-ordination among local authorities who will take part in these projects (see page 272).

Smith and Waterton (2009) are right to remark that the notion of "community" is usually employed uncritically and is sometimes romanticised or even used as a tool of agitation. Communities should not be seen as groups with uniform opinions and values, constituting a righteous, oppressed party in every situation. Such a constructed image of

community can lead to unrealistic judgements regarding their relationships with heritage sites. My observations in the course of my meetings with members of the local people corroborated my views on the notion of community. First and foremost, the local people's complaints regarding conservation areas are not always well-founded. For example: it is true that many of the old houses in the Tophane and Kaleiçi quarters of Alanya Castle are in need of repair (Table 6.5). However, the claim that most of them have not been provided with water, electricity, and telephone service is baseless. Second, some of the expectations of people living in conservation areas may be unrealistic. For example, requests such as the expansion of residential areas and the construction of new facilities, despite being represented as general demands, may actually be personal in nature; at the same time, they may not take environmental conditions into account, e.g., geographical or archaeological considerations. Third, 'local identity' may be used as a means of legitimising claims of ownership as well as expectations that certain concessions will be granted. For example, some residents of Tophane and Kaleiçi stated that recent transplants to Alanya Castle (both Turkish and foreign nationals) have deliberately isolated themselves; they also accused such individuals of having degenerate cultural values. Opposing views united around the assertions that most long-standing residents of Alanya Castle are linked to one another by multi-generational ties which are fraught with internal conflicts and closed to the outside; that the new residents of the Castle are more attentive to its conservation and upkeep; and that residents who are foreign nationals are seen as potential buyers on the real estate market of Alanya Castle.

Particular sensitivity should be shown regarding two issues that bear on the representation of the local people in site management projects in Turkey. First, as I argue above, one should definitely acknowledge differences of opinion among the local people, and effective methodological tools should be employed in order to discover these differences. My research findings have led me to believe that the elected civil servants known as *muhtars* may not always be the right candidates to represent the local people, as some of them either have ties to local businesses, or political ties to local administrations. Therefore, in some cases, it may be sensible not to use a fixed mediator between the local people and site management teams. Second, the participation of the local people in the

management plan process should be seen as a principled commitment (Conti 2007; Teutonico and Palumbo 2002: 126-127). In cases where this participation is bypassed, MCT and UNESCO officials do not currently possess a monitoring mechanism with which to enforce sanctions.

8.2.2.2 *Archaeologists*

In this study, I have divided the archaeologists with whom I met into two groups, based on their approaches to site management and, more generally, to heritage management. The first group, which was in a minority, consisted of those who primarily viewed site management and heritage management as two distinct fields, but who had not probed very deeply into the connections which each field had with archaeology. The main priority of the members of this group was scientific research that remains faithful to traditional mission of archaeology (i.e., understanding and commenting upon the past via its material culture and data). The other group, which contained 13 people, did not diverge from the first group on the issue of archaeology's scientific and material embedding. The most obvious difference, however, was their openness to changing approaches to the safeguarding and management of archaeological sites. However, it should be noted that this second group included some members with a conservative outlook on "authority" and the relationship between "the local people and archaeology" in particular.

The aforementioned profiles of archaeologists and their approaches to archaeology have been well documented in the literature on heritage management. All over the world, archaeologists are criticised in many ways for their attitudes, practices, and assessments regarding heritage, archaeology, and the local people. These criticisms maintain, for instance, that some archaeologists prioritise research and their own academic interests over the local people's considerations (Meskell 2010: 196); make little or no attempt to understand and take into account public concerns as well as community involvement and consultation in the management of archaeological sites (Carman 2005: 46); have a limited perspective of heritage and are unaware of how it is valued by others (Smith and

Waterton 2009: 53); exclude other cultural heritage and focus only on archaeological sites (King 2002: 150-151); and object to the use of archaeological sites as an economic resource (Skeates 2000: 72).

Especially since the 1990s, archaeologists have become more concerned with international heritage discourses (Hodder 1998; Meskell 2010: 199; Smith 2004; Zimmermann et al 2003). Thanks to policies developed by trans-national organisations and supported by conservation and funding agencies, archaeologists have begun to grasp that the management of heritage sites is a multifaceted job that requires collaboration at various levels. In the case of Antalya, the 13 individuals mentioned above – whom I have described as receptive to changing approaches in the conservation and management of archaeological sites – can be regarded as part of this international class of archaeologists. I predict that these archaeologists will take a more active role in site management projects in Antalya in the future.

As King (2002: 145) remarked, archaeologists have a strong presence in the field of heritage management. King points out that in the US, for instance, far more archaeologists are employed in heritage management than are practitioners of various disciplines such as cultural anthropology, history, landscape architecture, sociology, and so on. King's assessment also applies to Turkey, where the discipline of heritage studies is still in its infancy (pages 10-12), and where archaeologists who deal with heritage-related issues are becoming more visible. As one would expect, this has also spread to current site management projects; a significant number of such projects include archaeological sites, where only a limited number of experts are qualified for employment. In Turkey, archaeologists who lay claim to the site at which they work or who emphasise their identity as a 'scientific authority' can be prone to ideological disagreements with managerial staff of site management projects, as I myself have observed in the case of Alanya Castle. This possibility should in no way call into question the rights of excavation directors to be represented in site management projects; however, it does support the assertion that they may not be able to achieve effective co-ordination in these projects in the capacity of manager (Table 6.16)

The archaeologists with whom I met made numerous assessments on the roles of the local people in the management of archaeological sites. The most striking detail to emerge from these assessments was the fact that the majority of these archaeologists did not view the local people as a subject of heritage itself; just as striking was the conditional nature of the responsibilities they attributed to the local people (Table 6.5). For instance, a number of archaeologists stressed the importance of raising the local people's awareness and appreciation of the significance of archaeological sites and the need to safeguard them; few among them, however, questioned their own awareness of the public's understanding of, or attitudes towards, archaeology. In fact, this one-sided, elitist outlook can be regarded as a manifestation of habits which have come down to us from the past. Thus, within the archaeological sphere in Antalya – and among archaeologists in Turkey in general – there are few who make public pronouncements on the issues of heritage and the local people, or who devote time for public outreach projects. Thus, site management projects represent an opportunity for archaeologists to make up for their own shortcomings regarding the human dimension of heritage and of archaeology – something which they have neglected to date – and to be compelled to take certain initiatives.

8.2.2.3 *The State*

In Turkey, the state possesses wide-ranging powers over archaeological sites. The limits on these powers were set in the second half of the 19th century, as the Ottoman Empire took total control of the ownership of antiquities in its territories, as a reaction to European antiquarians' interest in these artefacts (Chapter 4). From that time down until our own day, the management of archaeological sites in Turkey has been in the hands of a particular state bureaucracy which has taken on a conservationist mission. This bureaucratic class, which derives its power from the law, is used to acting in accordance with its own prerogatives in matters that concern archaeological sites.

Site management represents an important opportunity for the MCT bureaucracy, which is responsible for archaeological sites. Especially in matters regarding conservation areas, the MCT is accustomed to using archaeological museums as a means of establishing

communication with the local people. Site management projects may allow the MCT to make up for its shortcomings in the areas of dialogue and compromise. At the same time, such projects may become venues for serious ideological quarrels between the MCT and local and professional stakeholders, especially since the state has not recognised the administrative autonomy of site management teams and Monument Councils when it comes to powers of sanction. I would argue that this situation demonstrates the MCT's tendency to continually maintain its own bureaucratic power over archaeological sites, despite its limited know-how in site management. However, as the participants in this study have also suggested (Table 6.9), the state's role in site management should ideally be limited to monitoring, providing organisation and finance, consultancy, and assisting enforcement.

8.2.2.4 *The Municipalities*

It is reasonable to assume that most of the municipalities which will take part in site management projects in Turkey have a shortage of qualified staff, and that this problem is especially prevalent in districts and townships. My own observations regarding certain municipalities in Antalya give credence to this assumption. In this connection, while the Alanya Municipality clearly possesses a labour force in fields like archaeology, art history, restoration, architecture, and planning, the same cannot be said for those of Demre and Belkıs.

There are two reasons why it is untenable to suggest that the municipalities' lack of expert staff renders them incapable of supporting site management projects. First, the municipalities cannot be regarded as the weak link in site management from the standpoint of expertise. It would be incorrect to argue that archaeologists or the MCT, for example – since they possess greater experience – represent the focal points of site management and will contribute more to site management projects. Second, most municipalities in Turkey have a need for expert consultancy in site management projects. Indeed, while the Alanya Municipality was preparing a management plan for Alanya Castle, it made use of the aforesaid consultancy service. In my opinion, rather than

questioning whether the municipalities possess a sufficient number of qualified staff, it is more important to include them in the site management process. Accordingly, it is imperative to pay heed to the municipalities' views and stances regarding heritage sites. In addition, local plans and projects that will affect heritage sites ought to be integrated with site management plans.

As far as the municipalities are concerned, there are two factors that constitute a potential risk to site management projects. The first – as some participants noted – is the political identities of the municipalities (Table 6.10). By virtue of its social and cultural embedding, site management imposes a responsibility to act in a fair and democratic manner. Nonetheless, in making decisions about management plans which may adversely affect the interests of their electorates, some municipalities may behave obstructively or practice favouritism in order to benefit certain individuals or groups. The second risk factor is the conflict between the municipalities' expectations from tourism and the goals and aims of management plans. In their study touching on this point, Shepherd and Yu (2013) call attention to the fact that after the Chinese government gave the initiative to provincial and local authorities in the governance and funding of heritage sites, it was difficult to implement priorities regarding the conservation of these sites, due to the local authorities' tendency to view them as sources of revenue. The tendencies described by Shepherd and Yu can especially become an issue in areas of Turkey such as Demre and Belkıs which have a great appetite for tourism and which are rich in heritage sites. In such areas, certain expectations regarding tourism (e.g., the creation of employment, and the enlivening of social and cultural life) ought to be met, within reason; at the same time, the municipalities of these areas should be persuaded that their management plans will be performing an essential duty in specifying touristic development which is suitable for the region.

8.2.2.5 NGOs

NGOs were among the groups most criticised by the participants in this study (Table 6.6). Various judgemental opinions concerning NGOs focused, in particular, on claims that

they are lacking in expertise, productivity, organisation, and consistency; that they tend to exploit issues regarding heritage sites; and that they behave in a prejudiced manner. Notably, the findings from my examination of the activities of nine selected NGOs – and from the interviews and questionnaires I conducted with NGO officials – do not support such claims and criticisms. On the contrary, these findings demonstrate that NGOs have arrived at quite valid conclusions regarding management issues at archaeological sites, and that they will be able to make a positive contribution to site management projects.

Site management does not just refer to heritage sites *per se*, but rather to the management of individuals associated with these sites, and of the institutions which represent them. For instance, the management of an archaeological site cannot merely consist of meeting the physical needs of that site (page 49). Rather, it is an undertaking which requires compromise on the part of many different individuals and institutions in terms of their respective values, expectations and rights with regard to that site (de la Torre and McLean 1997: 6-7; Smith and Waterton 2009: 75). Considering this social dimension of site management, NGOs should not be left out of the equation. Even if the members of an NGO do not represent a specific area of expertise, they ought to have the right to share their input – based solely on their personal concerns, interests, or moral motivations – about an archaeological site; moreover, such input should have an impact on the management of the site. Furthermore, as is clear from the example of Perge (on page 275), NGOs can play an effective role in providing support for projects developed for archaeological sites, or in developing original projects.

8.2.2.6 *The Tourism Sector*

When one carefully examines academic studies of tourism and archaeology published in Turkey, a remarkably small number of academics from these two fields seem to deal with the relationship between tourism and archaeology or tourism and heritage. Most existing publications which focus on these interfaces do not contain satisfactory amount of theoretical discussion, and have not benefited sufficiently from the international literature on the subject. It is also uncommon to find sophisticated views on the relationship

between heritage/archaeology and tourism in non-academic publications. For example, to judge from proceedings of tourism-related conferences, it is apparent that those representing the heritage sector do not go beyond the standard discourses, e.g., ‘attention should be paid to the delicate balance between tourism and heritage.’ At the same time, there is a widespread tendency among tourism professionals to analyse tourism numerically, and to view cities, countries, and their heritage sites as ‘destinations.’ Moreover, these tourism professionals give the impression that they closely follow tourism-related developments throughout the world; for instance, they often refer to the growing popularity of eco-tourism and cultural tourism in the world, suggesting these as viable tourism alternatives for Turkey. However, most tourism professionals possess insufficient and uncertain familiarity with the theoretical debates concerning these two phenomena. Finally, at the governance level, the hierarchical relationships in the units of the MCT which are responsible for tourism and heritage sites are quite weak; in the general strategies planned by these units, the tourism branch takes precedence (see pages 284-285).

There is a global struggle between the tourism and heritage sectors, a struggle which stems from the nature of each sector. As characterised by Robinson and Pickard (2006: 49), the tourism sector is in an organic relationship with the private sector, trans-national companies, and various fragmented enterprises; all of these are for-profit, business-oriented groups. On the other hand, the heritage sector is made up of public and non-governmental agencies. Due to the fact that its aim is to protect heritage sites, it is focused on the public good (ibid.) When one takes into account the differences between the tourism and heritage sectors in terms of their overall structure and preferences – as well as the extent of their mutual disconnect on the academic, non-academic, and governance levels in Turkey, as I alluded to above – it comes as no surprise that archaeologists and those in the tourist sector are unable to co-operate with each other in managing archaeological sites in Turkey. The occasion for dialogue furnished by site management may make a positive contribution towards relations between the two sectors.

All the roles which the participants in this study assigned to the tourism sector in the management of archaeological sites – namely, financial support and consultation on general management, visitor management, marketing, and promotion – are reasonable (Table 6.8). To these, one could add support in souvenir merchandise and other retail sales. Furthermore, credence should be given to the tourism sector's observations regarding the issues of site presentation and interpretation from the visitor's perspective (page 59). The tourism sector in Antalya is highly fragmented. It consists of a number of privately owned and operated businesses which are difficult to co-ordinate. As a result, one needs to be selective when choosing representatives of this sector who will be included in site management projects, both in Antalya and in similar touristic regions. A seemingly rational approach would be to incorporate tourism organisations – or members of the tourism sector with close ties to the heritage sector – to the ranks of local tourism representatives involved in site management projects. My impression of the study participants who possess such a profile was as follows: these individuals and institutions may serve as a means of developing channels of effective communication between those in the tourism sector – who view tourism entirely from a business perspective – and archaeologists who are prejudiced against tourism.

8.2.3 Enforcement

The enforcement of site management – i.e., the process by which policies regarding site management are put into effect – has two interrelated components. One of these is moral obligation. Safeguarding heritage sites and managing them in a cooperative fashion imply, above all, a moral commitment and good faith. The other component of the enforcement process is its legal basis. As Teutonico and Palumbo (2002: 127) pointed out, site management plans are more effective when they are recognised as legal documents. The *Regulation for Site Management* is a legal instrument that is binding on all state agencies which take part in site management or are in a position to take action due to management plan decisions. In the words of Article 13 of the Regulation: “*State agencies, municipalities, and real and legal persons are obliged to follow an approved*

management plan; the competent authorities must prioritise the services covered by the management plan, and are obliged to allocate funds from their budget to this end.”

The *Regulation for Site Management*, despite providing legal protection for management plans, does not explicitly state what kind of punitive sanctions will be enacted in the event of failure to implement management plan decisions, violation of such decisions, or interference in the work of management plan teams. Therefore, it is quite important to ask what the criteria are for punitive sanctions in site management, which authority will be given the initiative to enforce them, and how they will be enforced. In this study, some observations were made regarding the Regulation’s powers of sanction, which are controversial and have thus received criticism. One of these observations concerned the Selimiye Mosque, located in Edirne, which went on the WHL in 2011. In a personal communication dated June 2013, Namık Kemal Döleneken, who worked on the management plan team for the Selimiye Mosque, informed that the management plan team for the Mosque had been dissolved by the Edirne Municipality in 2012. To my knowledge, the Edirne Municipality has not been subjected to any sanction on account of this decision. The second example is the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul, which recently ran the risk of being put on the List of World Heritage in Danger. An official who took an active role in the development of a management plan for this extensive area (on behalf of the Office of the Governor of Istanbul) stated that in the course of carrying out his duties, he and his colleagues were handicapped by not being able to enforce sanctions on various local municipalities concerning management plan decisions supported by the Governor’s Office (pers. com., 17.08.2009). The findings obtained from these two cases (the Selimiye Mosque and the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul) could be seen as highlighting the pressing need for a clear enumeration of the Regulation’s sanction norms. Moreover, these findings suggest that there needs to be close monitoring of the continuity of management plan teams under the control of the municipalities.

8.2.4 Funding

A chronic problem that is faced in the safeguarding of heritage sites in many countries around the world is the insufficiency of financial resources. Support for heritage sites – whether through public sources or through non-governmental and private channels – is usually limited (Starr 2010: 156). Many countries are currently grappling with issues of funding, and Turkey is no exception; it is not unreasonable to predict that financial obstacles will have a negative impact on site management projects in Turkey. In scrutinising the financial dimension of site management in Turkey, there are two important issues which need to be stressed. The first is the question of how some existing state resources – as well as tools developed by the state to create funds for heritage sites – have been put to use. The second is the issue of what alternatives have been developed by heritage managers to make up for the lack of financial resources.

8.2.4.1 Entry Fees

Revenues generated from entry fees are among the standard resources for heritage sites in Turkey. These revenues are administered by the MCT's Central Directorate for Revolving Funds, and are spent on various services (e.g., restoration, general maintenance, and security) related to heritage sites and museums (Regulation for Revolving Funds of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1980: Articles 6, 7, and 8). There are two controversial issues regarding the entrance fees for museums and heritage sites. The first of these has to do with the deductions imposed on these entrance fees. Totalling 29%, these deductions consist of a treasury share (15%), a Value Added Tax (8%), a municipality share (5%), and a social services fund (1%). The second point, which has been the subject of much more criticism, concerns the use of capital obtained from entrance fees. As some of the participants stressed in the interviews, individual ticket revenues furnished by heritage sites are not being recycled back into the sites themselves; instead, in accordance with the MCT's powers of disposal, they are distributed as needed to different heritage sites in Turkey. One handicap created by this

practice is that heritage sites with high visitor numbers – and, as a result, a greater number of administrative problems and needs – are deprived of a regular revenue stream.

8.2.4.2 Sponsorship

The changes made to the *Law on Corporate Income Tax* (No: 5422) and the *Law on Income Tax* (No: 193) in 2004 represented an important step on the part of the state to encourage sponsorship activities in the field of culture. This initiative made it possible for private companies to sponsor certain activities related to heritage sites (e.g., restoration and restitution projects, surveys, archaeological excavations, transfers, maintenance, publication, etc.), in exchange for which it provided them with a number of tax breaks.¹ However, contrary to optimistic expectations, sponsorship activities concerning heritage sites in Turkey have remained quite limited. In fact, in the 2008-2013 period, there were only a total of 49 sponsor companies licenced by the MCT (GDCPM 2014a). During the same period, only four archaeological projects in Antalya were sponsored by private firms; the total amount of support they provided was equal to 142,000 USD (ibid.).

Several reasons can be given for the lack of sponsorship for heritage sites in Antalya and in Turkey as a whole. The first is that the private sector is simply indifferent to heritage sites. As Starr (2010: 157) puts it, support for safeguarding cultural heritage is not typically high on the corporate social responsibility agenda. Second, many private companies may be unaware of the sponsorship memorandum, and of the tax breaks which it offers; this may be due to the insufficient publicity received by the memorandum. Third, archaeologists – or heritage managers in general – may not be taking the necessary initiative in looking for sponsors, or may not be doing enough to elicit interest in heritage sites on the part of the private sector. If so, this could be due to prejudices against the private sector, or the lack of an intermediary to foster communication with such individuals. Fourth, the private sector may view bureaucratic procedures (GDCPM

¹ For details, see the *Memorandum on the Encouragement of Sponsorship of Cultural Activities (Kültürel Alanadaki Sponsor Faaliyetlerinin Teşvik Edilmesi Hakkında Genelge)* (2005/13), which is available on-line at <<http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,44792/sponsorluk-mevzuati.html>>

2014b) concerning sponsorship applications as a disincentive, or as excessively complicated.

8.2.4.3 Project Development

As McKercher and du Cros (2002: 61-62) suggest: “*heritage managers should be creative to search for revenue streams above and beyond standard entry fees, sales of souvenirs, and government subsidies.*” Undoubtedly, project development is the most important tool for obtaining support from both local and international sources. In the research conducted on the five archaeological sites in this study, a serious level of inactivity was observed on this topic. These five sites have not yet seen a big-budget project carried out, but have nonetheless been host to small-scale campaigns. One such noteworthy campaign was conducted at Perge between 2006 and 2008, through the partnership of the Perge excavation team and the Foundation for Developing Cultural Awareness. The project was executed using the slogan “You Too Can Raise up a Column”; thanks to cash donations provided by volunteers, 78 broken columns in Perge were repaired, and were restored to their original locations in the Agora and on the Collonaded Street. As a show of gratitude, plaques were put up in the donors’ names, being fixed to the columns which had been set upright, thus reviving a tradition which existed in Antiquity by treating them as ‘the donors of Perge.’

The campaign clearly demonstrated the gains that had been made through the use of creative ideas, and underscored the importance of partnership with NGOs and of public outreach in creating funding.² Furthermore, it indirectly reveals a general need for management plans, which clearly represent an opportunity to develop original projects collectively, and to base the search for funding on persuasive goals and ideas.

² It should be noted that, due to these gains, the project was awarded the “Special Mention of the Jury” certificate at the 2014 European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage / Europa Nostra Awards.

8.2.5 Site Manager

In 1989, Cleere drew attention to the fact that archaeological heritage management is distinct from the discipline of archaeology, describing the requisite qualifications for archaeological heritage managers as follows:

Archaeological heritage managers must have an extensive knowledge and understanding of the archaeological record and its interpretation...They must acquire basic general management skills such as financial control and budgeting, personal management, communication, project planning, human relations...They [should] also receive training in the legislative framework of heritage protection, land use planning, health and safety, etc...and understand the workings of government at all levels and of commerce and industry (Cleere 1989: 16).

The characteristics of the ideal ‘site manager’ figure for archaeological sites as portrayed by Cleere – characteristics also mentioned by participants in some of the interviews (Table 6.16)– ought to be sought in individuals who are to lead site management teams in Turkey. Granted, some criteria in the *Regulation for Site Management* regarding the choice of a site manager (page 232) imply, to a small extent, that this position requires a diverse set of qualifications; generally speaking, however, they have not been formulated in a carefully thought-out manner.

As was emphasised earlier in the Introduction, the field of heritage management has been developing at a slow pace in Turkey, and has seen only a limited amount of research. Consequently, it is unfortunately the case that the number of candidates qualified to serve as a manager on site management projects is, at present, quite limited. In light of this fact, the Regulation’s second criterion for choosing a site manager (a research affiliation / familiarity with the site) and its fourth one (a bachelor’s degree in specified fields such as archaeology, city planning, architecture, etc.) are highly disputable, since they ignore the mechanism of qualification assessment, and favour certain individuals having ties to heritage sites. As a result, the Regulation makes it possible to appoint site managers who are unqualified – but who have ties to their specific site – to lead site managements in

urban conservation areas that are under the control of municipalities. However, it is evident that the municipalities cannot be seen in a position to check up on the academic qualifications of candidates for site manager.

Another contested issue relating to site managers concerns their area of authority. As specified in Article 14 of the *Regulation for Site Management*, site managers have the status of contracted personnel, and can be viewed as ‘public officials’ throughout their term of office. As the research findings have shown, the true duty of a site manager is to co-ordinate both within the site management team and among different institutions. In other words, site managers, and the secretariat which is subordinate to them, have no powers of sanction whatsoever. Consequently, these organs, even if they are composed of highly qualified, scientifically-minded staff, are completely unprotected against the risk of being bypassed by local administrations.

8.2.6 Defining the Boundaries in Site Management

In site management, there are certain methodological principles that must be complied with in defining the boundaries of archaeological sites. These principles were touched on in interviews conducted with participants working on different site management projects in Turkey (Table 6.15). One principle to emerge from these interviews was the issue of drawing site boundaries according to data based on scientific research. Determining the layout of archaeological sites, defining their buffer zones, and suggesting linkages to other sites within their respective cultural landscape are among the topics which require inter-disciplinary research. Furthermore, the management of archaeological sites should not be carried out independently of urban and regional planning initiatives (Chowne et al 2007: 11; Orbaşlı 2007: 69-70; Sullivan 1997: 26; Teutonico and Palumbo 2002: 128). A management plan which will be developed for an archaeological site ought to achieve the integration of that site with all of its contextual elements.

Archaeologically speaking, the management plans for Myra, the Church of St Nicholas, Aspendos, Perge, and Alanya Castle are conducive to a design that includes more than

one site; although limited in scope, archaeological surveys carried out down to the present day, as well as documented textual evidence, show a clear connection between these five sites and the many other archaeological sites in their vicinity. In this context, Perge and Aspendos, for example, could be treated as part of an integrated management plan along with the other metropolises of Pamphylia. A similar strategy could be conducted for Alanya Castle and its surrounding area. The Byzantine structures in Alanya's hinterland, as well as its Seljuk suburban gardens and pavilions (Redford 2000) could likewise be integrated into a comprehensive management plan taking in Alanya Castle. Finally, a management plan including Myra, the Church of St Nicholas, and Andriake could be broadened so as to also take in archaeological sites influenced by Myra in Antiquity and afterwards.

Due to a lack of resources, it cannot always be feasible to conduct overall management of a group of linked sites. As Sullivan (1997: 26) argued, the shortage of available funding may force authorities to limit site management projects to individual management plans; however, these can still be powerful exemplars for a district or for an entire region. Considered from this perspective, it cannot be denied that individual management plans for archaeological sites like Myra, the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle will make a positive contribution to site management efforts in Turkey, which are currently being carried out on a woefully small scale. However, this state of affairs should not conceal the necessity of approaching archaeological sites in Antalya from the standpoint of regional understanding and planning. Therefore, in order to guide future management plan projects in Antalya, general strategies should be produced on the district and regional levels, and in drafting these, plans related to tourism and development should absolutely be taken into account.

8.2.7 Site Management Projects

The fact that site management projects in Turkey, at present, are exclusively focused on heritage sites connected to the WHL is related to the MCT's goals for cultural tourism. Arguably, this strategy seems to represent a top-down decision rather than a process of

multifaceted analysis incorporating the procedure for the delineation of management sites. The MCT's dependence on the WHL in site management can be evaluated in two ways. On the one hand, it is true that the ongoing site management projects in Turkey comprise heritage sites of local and national importance. Additionally, these ongoing projects may involve various management-related intricacies and challenges, since they mostly are concerned with urban conservation areas or touristic sites. On the other hand, the MCT's agenda for site management tends to exclude heritage sites which are not related to the WHL, even though they may be subject to various physical threats.

Worldwide, site management is not necessarily exclusive to World Heritage Sites. For instance, in the UK, some nationally important archaeological sites, which are open to visitors, have been included in management planning under the auspices of funding organisations such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (Chowne et al 2007: 13). The future agenda for site management in Turkey should be driven by research-based analysis which should grant priority to those heritage sites which are most at risk. Such sites may not possess high tourism potential, but they may be highly significant for various reasons – e.g., for research and educational purposes, or because they require urgent interventions for their safeguarding.

8.3 Cultural Tourism

In the 1950s, in order to get rid of its current account deficit and generate foreign exchange, Turkey turned to 'sun and sea' based mass tourism, and has made remarkable progress on this path down to the present day. In the first half of this period – i.e., until the end of the 1980s – Turkey used top-down, conventional methods in order to build up its mass tourism, just like some other developing countries in which tourism has become a typical source of revenue. These measures mainly involved: *“the employment of state subsidy and intervention for some provision of tourism infrastructure, via inward investment, to provide the capital and encourage involvement in tourism”* (Robinson and Pickard 2006: 24). Since the 1990s, despite the gradual increase in Turkey's tourism revenues, the country has also acquired much first-hand experience of the well-known

negative impacts of mass tourism. State sources have openly corroborated just a few of these, i.e., over-concentration on selected attractive zones and pristine environments, distorted urbanisation, and environmental and infrastructural problems around coastal areas. However, the state has not conducted the necessary inquiries into the socio-cultural, ecological, and other side-effects of mass tourism, such as: the occurrence of limited beneficiaries; the impacts of dependency on the tourism industry and on tour operators; reliance on short-term gains in creating employment; unsustainable management of natural resources and heritage sites; marginal engagement by local people in tourism activities, and the omission of local needs in tourism planning (Boo 1990; McKercher and du Cros 2002: 61; Robinson and Pickard 2006: 24-25; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009: 7)

In the policies of the various governments which have been in power since the 1960s – when Turkey made a transition to planned economic development – down until our own day, there have always been clear expectations about increasing tourist numbers and tourist revenues (Chapter 4). Undoubtedly, this is an indication of the long-standing, entrenched importance of tourism revenues within the overall budget. The resume of mass tourism in Turkey, and the state's habit of interpreting tourism development in numerical terms, constitute potential pitfalls for cultural tourism, one of a number of new tools for expanding the country's resource base in tourism. Chief among these pitfalls are the risks of overlooking the preliminary investigation and planning which are necessary for cultural tourism, and – as a result – replicating the administrative shortcomings of mass tourism. The findings obtained from this study support the conclusion that this risk is a probable one.

8.3.1 *The Perception of Cultural Tourism in Turkey*

In Turkey, the state has a rather murky understanding of cultural tourism. Policy documents such as the *Penultimate* and *Ultimate Development Plans*, the *TST 2023*, and the *Regulation for Site Management*, while laying out the state's goals for cultural tourism, do not contain definitions or evaluations that clearly reveal how the state

approaches cultural tourism. However, in the objectives related to cultural tourism, the emphasis on heritage sites, especially archaeological ones, leaves one with the impression that in Turkey, cultural tourism is mainly regarded as a form of tourism in which heritage sites have been given greater priority, or are more accessible. Accordingly, considering the existing definitions in the wider tourism literature (pages 67-69), it could be argued that heritage tourism, rather than cultural tourism, is the more accurate term in the Turkish context. True, the state initiatives for cultural tourism do dwell on the issue of intangible heritage (see page 114), evidence that, under the rubric of cultural tourism, intangible heritage holds promising potential in the eyes of the state.

In the interviews and meetings conducted as part of this study, it was observed that the participants who favoured the spread of cultural tourism – whether in Antalya or in Turkey as a whole – perceived cultural tourism along the same lines as the state (Table 7.2). These participants almost exclusively viewed cultural tourism as lying within the margins of material expressions of cultural heritage, with a particular focus on archaeological sites. I would argue that this perceptual overlap stems from two factors. First, archaeological sites represent important elements in Turkey's national image as the 'cradle of civilisations,' an image it has possessed since the development of archaeology in Turkey in the 19th century. Second, within the framework of cultural tourism in many countries, archaeological sites are seen as venues of, what McCannell calls (1973 and 1999: 91-105), "staged authenticity" because of their linkages to the remote past (also Halewood and Hannam 2001; Chhabra 2010: 4; Sigala and Leslie 2005: 235).

As Robinson and Smith (2006: 9-10) and Marciszewska (2006) have pointed out, daily life culture is gradually gaining significance in cultural tourism policies around the world. This is due to the fact that it represents a democratic approach to culture, in contrast to high-profile heritage sites, or selective portrayals of the past, which can only provide tourists with a small window for understanding other places and people within their modern cultural environment (pages 69-71). In this respect, places like Myra and the Church of St Nicholas are illustrative of certain periods in the history of Demre, but, in and of themselves, are insufficiently representative of modern Demre. Arguably, the most

important element in the daily life of today's Demre consists of its greenhouses (page 127), which are more visible than its archaeological sites. Therefore, cultural tourism cannot be reduced to selective heritage sites or cultural activities, for tourists' cultural experiences are determined by all the various cultural elements they engage with (Edwards 2013: 24; Robinson and Pickard 2006: 10; Robinson and Smith 2006: 9-10).

8.4 Sustainability

Sustainable tourism development requires context-specific measures (Hall and Lew 1998: 200-201). In integrating tourism development into a region, policy makers should avoid imposing their own initiatives; instead, they should commit themselves to a bottom-up decision making process in order to gain public support for responsible tourism. This, as many authors have argued, necessitates community involvement and empowerment at all levels of tourism governance, as well as institutional and non-institutional stakeholder consultation and collaboration in policy development (Butler 1999: 67-77; Dewar 2004; Fernandes 2013: 27-33; Orbaşlı 2000: 4; Raj et al 2013: 41-43). Moreover, the process of sustainable tourism development should be driven by conservation needs and environmental management policies, in order to ensure the safeguarding of cultural and natural heritage (Robinson and Pickard 2006: 47; Rotherham 2013: 83; McKercher and du Cros 2002: 58-59).

In the interviews carried out as part of this study, there were a number of opinions which were not in support of cultural tourism, and whose implications deserve careful consideration (Tables 7.2 and 7.3). The most prominent examples were critiques of national tourism policies and of the private tourism sector in Antalya, and assessments regarding the use of archaeological sites. These called attention to the sustainability problems of continued mass tourism in Turkey, as well as the clear conflicts of interest between the state and the private tourism sector, on the one hand, and NGOs and academics on the other. At the same time, opinions about tourism revenues pointed to a strong expectation that tourism should be used in a democratic and rational manner when it comes to local employment, local control of tourism resources, and the safeguarding of

cultural heritage sites. Taken as a whole, these criticisms and assessments actually indicate a desire for a sustainable form of tourism management, rather than for an alternative such as cultural tourism. This evidence strongly suggests that in regions of Turkey where a growth in cultural tourism is anticipated, local stakeholders' priorities and expectations regarding tourism should be documented through comprehensive research. A cultural tourism policy which has not been formulated on the basis of such research has the potential to be used peremptorily to serve the one-sided goals of the MCT, which holds the ownership of heritage sites in Turkey.

8.5 Governance

The administrative apparatus responsible for archaeological sites in Turkey has undergone changes several times since 1933. From that year onwards, archaeological sites which had previously been managed by the Ministry of Education began to fall under the purview of different ministries and undersecretariats (GDCPM 2013). Different organisational needs within the structure of the state – as well as an overall political instability in Turkey – played a part in these administrative changes. The state institution today known as the MCT, which is endowed with the highest level of responsibility over the administration of archaeological sites, was first established in 1982. Split into the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism in 1989, the Ministry reverted to its present form in 2003.

Since 1982, acute discussion in Turkey about the MCT has focused on the collaboration of the culture and tourism branches of the Ministry. As stated by Talat Halman – who served as Turkey's first minister of culture in 1971 – in a face-to-face interview with the researcher (D. Saraç, 22.07.2008), there are two sides in this discussion. The first camp consists of those who hold that it will never be possible to unite the two separate domains of culture and tourism underneath the same administrative roof because of the clash between the two. The other camp argues that culture is a costly sector, and that it is therefore always bound up with revenues from tourism. This polarisation of culture and

tourism is by no means unique to Turkey. Robinson and Pickard (2006: 48), for instance, sum up the overall view of the cultural sector worldwide as follows:

The whole field of cultural policy is fraught with the problem of finding the finances to deal with the protection, preservation and revitalisation of cultural heritage. For many politicians, the field of culture is recognised to be unproductive and a drain on resources. As such, culture has been one of the first areas to be cut when budgets are tight.

The pros and cons of culture and tourism in Turkey being managed under the single roof of the MCT are entirely debatable. However, aside from the question of what the ideal administrative framework for culture and tourism ought to look like, the crucial issue when it comes to making and implementing collective decisions is that there should always be strong channels of communication and co-ordination between the two sectors and among other related fields, e.g., the environment, transportation, planning, etc. (Buckley 2010: 3; Steck et al 1999: 46). Just how harmonious is the two-way communication between the culture and tourism units of the MCT? It might be possible to provide a satisfactory answer to this question via a comprehensive study, which would need to include participant observation; such a study is highly needed in Turkey in order to scrutinise the governance of heritage sites. The present study has turned up some findings relating to the aforementioned question, ones which shed light on a number of flaws in the institutional structure of the MCT.

As can be clearly seen in Figure 2.4 (page 34) showing the central organisation of the MCT, the culture and tourism units of the MCT are not in a horizontal hierarchical relationship with one another. Rather, in the administrative order, the administrators who appear to provide communication between units are the assistant permanent secretaries; these administrators first report to the permanent secretary and then, at the highest level, to the Minister of Culture and Tourism. In interviews with two officials from the MCT, it was confirmed that the vertical organisation of the Ministry creates problems in practice (D. Saraç, 13.07.2008 and 17.08.2009). These officials stated that the lack of horizontal communication between units had, in particular, caused delays in the making of certain

decisions, and that projects and plans requiring widespread participation were generally guided by top-down directives from the Minister. On this point, a striking example shared in one of the two interviews pertains to the *TST 2023*. In the interview, an official from the General Directorate of Investments and Enterprises stated that the *TST 2023* had been pieced together by the Directorate itself, strongly emphasising that the strategy was not the product of a comprehensive joint project undertaken with the GDCPM (D. Saraç, 13.07.2008). This insider information is illustrative of the lack of co-ordination within the MCT on general strategies such as the *TST 2023*, and also that the MCT is internally dominated by its tourism wing.

8.6 Visitor Numbers and Visitor Management

The factors which determine visitor numbers at a heritage site vary. The following are considered to be some of the main determinants affecting a site's visitor numbers: the intrinsic attractiveness of the site; its location and accessibility; the cost of visiting it; its marketing; its presentation to the public and its interpretation; the quality of its immediate surroundings; the variety of other attractions around the site (e.g., other heritage sites or man-made attractions); its add-on features (proximity to good restaurants and cafés, transportation network, parking areas, etc.); the variety of shopping areas and accommodation around the site; and its facilities for special needs (e.g., access ways for the disabled) (Boniface 1995; Tisdell 2005: 226-228).

Besides the provision of services to enhance visitors' experience, the underlying principles in the management of heritage sites are controlling visitor flow, building carrying capacity, and improving conservation standards (Boyd and Timothy 2006: 62; Comer 2012: 12). The need for effective visitor management and for improving conservation measures stems from the well-known physical impacts of tourist pressure on heritage sites. These impacts usually take the form of site damage/deterioration caused by congestion (see for instance Comer 2012 and Paradise 2012, in the same volume, for the case of Petra) and wear and tear due to souveniring, touching and trampling (Tisdell 2005: 229). Since the problems related to over-crowding are widespread at many heritage

sites around the world, some proposals have been made about how to diminish the effects of tourist pressure (Boniface 1995: 73-76; Boyd and Timothy 2006: 59; Shackley 2006: 85-87; Tisdell 2005: 228-229). These include managing visits to a site; de-marketing (suspending promotion and advertisement); limiting available accommodation around sites; increasing entrance fees; developing alternative man-made attractions; and directing visitors to other sites.

Whether the annual visitor numbers for the five archaeological sites dealt with in this study are high or low is open to question. Visitor numbers for heritage sites in Turkey and all around the world can be factored into the debate, and a number of comparative analyses can be performed. However, rather than scrutinising visitor numbers as purely numerical values, a much more appropriate and rational approach is to evaluate them, as Boyd and Timothy suggest (2006: 62), on a site-specific basis, in connection with current visitor management standards. When the authors' suggestions are taken into account, it becomes evident that visitor management at the five archaeological sites in this study is generally insufficient, and that the deficiencies and problems in visitor management need to be addressed through a management plan at all five sites. In this connection, it ought to be strongly emphasised that hopes for an increase in visitor numbers at the five aforementioned sites are uncalled-for. The assessments given below, under the headings of 'accessibility' and 'interpretation and presentation,' effectively support this argument.

8.7 Physical Access

Archaeological sites should be accessible to people. Their visitors should be given the opportunity to communicate with the past, think about it and enjoy it (McKercher and du Cros 2002: 47). The five archaeological sites in this study are largely accessible to visitors. Except when absolutely necessary, no building or monument at the five sites is deliberately kept far out of visitors' reach³. However, all five sites suffer from problems

³ For instance, the Theater of Perge was closed due to the restoration works in 2008. Similarly, the Necropolis area of the site was closed to visitation due to the fact that the land it occupies was still under private ownership

of access, the reasons for which are twofold. The first category encompasses restrictions on access stemming from landscape conditions, and from a lack of facilities to minimise these restrictions. As instances of factors which hinder visits to the sites, one could note the fact that Alanya Castle is situated on a steep cliff, and that the roads going up to the Castle experience serious traffic problems; or that the Acropolis of Myra is situated on a hill which it is difficult to scale on foot. The problems in the second category comprise serious inadequacies in the use of signage and information. These shortcomings go a long way towards explaining why certain features of these five sites – ones lying outside their better-known visitor attractions – receive insufficient attention. For example, it is fair to say that the medieval buildings in the upper part of Alanya Castle's Tophane Quarter (i.e., chapels and churches) are visited solely by tourists who are especially well-informed and/or curious.

Archaeological features of Myra, the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle that suffer from restricted access are believed to be in a safer position, from the standpoint of conservation, than locations subject to frequent visits. However, it bears emphasising that none of the back-stage archaeological features at the five sites possess a system for patrolling visitor behaviours or providing routine monitoring. As a result, access restrictions at these sites actually represent an advantage in terms of their conservation and security. It is rather interesting that there was a quite obvious lack of monitoring and patrolling at these five sites' frequently visited attractions, as well. For instance, the Church of St Nicholas experiences over-crowding between the months of June and August every year⁴; the physical damage done the building's frescoes, floor pavements, and walls by groups of visitors is visible to the naked eye. Nonetheless, visitor control at the Church was delegated to a few security guards, with the result that it is impossible to carry out effective supervision of the visitors inside, given the narrowness of the building. More worryingly, a study on the Church's visitor carrying capacity has not been performed to date.

⁴ To illustrate: in July 2012, the Church of St Nicholas received 76,232 visitors. This equals 2,540 visitors per day (PDCT of Antalya 2013a)

8.8 Interpretation and Presentation

Interpretation and presentation are two inseparable instruments fostering communication between heritage sites and their visitors. They play a vital role in increasing awareness and understanding of the past, and help visitors grasp the significance of the heritage assets around them (Edwards 2013; Ham 1992; Puczko 2006: 227-240). Moreover, well-interpreted and well-presented sites can enhance the quality of visitors' experience and stimulate the local economy (Grimwade and Carter 2000). Just as important as the question 'Why interpret and present a site?' is the question 'How to interpret and present a site?' The answer to this question is not straightforward since, as Puczko mentions (2006: 227), there is no agreed way of interpreting and presenting heritage attractions in practice. However, several suggestions have been made regarding the aims of interpretation and presentation. These revolve around the importance of providing clarity in conveying information; maintaining a balance between education and entertainment; considering the various motivations behind visits to heritage sites; using a variety of media to catch visitors' attention; communicating information to various segments of society; changing subjects and styles of communication; and justifying the significance of heritage assets (Boniface 1995; McKercher and du Cros 2002: 47; Puczko 2006; Stone 1997).

There are numerous problems pertaining to interpretation and presentation at the five archaeological sites in this study. From a visitor's perspective, the most conspicuous problem concerns the use of information panels. The main shortcomings of the information panels at the five sites, which ought to be a key tool for communicating with visitors, are as follows: (i) they are usually descriptive rather than interpretive; (ii) in the case of single structures/buildings, they contain many technical terms relating to archaeology and architecture; (iii) they lack tools to communicate with young people and children; (iv) they are deficient in their use of interpretative media; (v) they are mostly monotone in style, and are unattractive; and (vi) they contain significant information disparities between the original Turkish text and translations into other languages. Nor are the problems associated with information panels limited to content and style. Some

archaeological features of the five archaeological sites have either very simple interpretation or none at all. For example, at the dockyard of Alanya Castle, which I visited in 2010, there was no visible information panel for visitors. Similarly, on the Colonnaded Street in Perge, and in front of the Basilica on the Acropolis of Aspendos, it was observed that the signage – labelled ‘Colonnaded Street (Roman Age)’ and ‘Basilica’ respectively – did nothing more than identifying the buildings.

The participants’ expectations for improvement in the visibility of archaeological sites and for making restoration and anastilosis projects more widespread (Table 7.3) should undoubtedly be addressed under the headings of interpretation and presentation. These expectations can be approached on two levels. On the one hand, as Nohlen argues (1999), *anastilosis* and restoration projects are factors that positively contribute to the presentation of archaeological sites. However, since these projects require sufficient financing and comprehensive research – and, at the same time, are subject to technical criteria – they may not be feasible at every archaeological site and under every circumstance (Starosta 1999). When these limitations are taken into account, it is clear that verdicts on the lack of restoration and *anastilosis* projects are unfair. On the other hand, the subject which truly demands attention in the participants’ assessment is the lack of presentation tools to assist in the development of visitors’ visual perceptions of archaeological sites. An example of this is the building complex known as the ‘palace,’ located within the İç Kale area of Alanya Castle (page 163). The building, few of whose architectural elements are visible today, underwent a rather unsuccessful restoration in the 2000s; it is known as the erstwhile royal seat of Sultan Alaaddin Keykubad, making it one of Alanya Castle’s premier attractions. Though the building’s existing visual elements are quite limited, the fact that a visual reconstruction of its appearance in the past is not presented to visitors raises doubts about the building’s identity as a ‘palace.’ It should be emphasised that the first people to express doubts about whether the building was a palace or not were the English archaeologists Lloyd and Rice (1958: 33).

8.9 Significance

Overall, the most important problem in the interpretation of these five sites is a failure to communicate their inherent significance. None of the sites provides a convincing justification of why they are important. Furthermore, current interpretations of the sites mostly exclude the human dimension of heritage and offer very little room for public accountability and interaction. Below are some site-based analyses of the underlying interpretative handicaps at the five sites, handicaps that bear upon questions of significance and the human dimension of heritage. Taken as a whole, these analyses suggest that such handicaps cannot be overcome unless comprehensive and interdisciplinary research is carried out and a site management framework is maintained.

8.9.1 *Alanya Castle*

As Boyd and Timothy rightly argue (2006: 57-58), the use of a 'brand image' for a heritage site requires justification; visitors want to see visible evidence of the image in question. In the case of Alanya Castle, the site is most commonly promoted by making reference to its 'Seljuk identity' and to the co-existence of Seljuk and Ottoman material culture in the same urban context. This image is accompanied by a slogan: '*2400 yıldır yaşayan kale*' ('The Castle that has been living for 2400 years'). There are two discrepancies regarding the use of the brand image and the historical discourse developed for Alanya Castle. First is the fact that the pre-Seljuk past of Alanya Castle – although used as evidence of the Castle's authenticity – receives very limited attention in on-site interpretations catered to visitors. Second, and more importantly, the question 'How the Castle has been living since Hellenistic times?' still remains largely unanswered due to an over-emphasis on 'physical heritage' at the site. As a result, the most neglected aspect of Alanya Castle is no doubt the story of human settlement within its confines. The evolution undergone by human settlement in the Castle, the transmission of different cultural modes of expression in the Castle throughout its history, Castle-dwellers' relationship to the sea (and manifestations of their contact with different Mediterranean cultures due to maritime trade), the interconnectedness of the Castle's past and its

currently existing culture: all these are just some of the important topics deserving scholarly attention and study. To reduce the Castle's value and significance to its mere physical heritage, without taking into account its human aspects and using them to create a bigger picture, is quite a narrow-minded interpretative approach.

8.9.2 *Myra and the Church of St Nicholas*

Similar inadequacies of interpretation exist in the case of Myra, highlighting the fact that Myra too is in need of the inquiries and general approach suggested above for Alanya Castle. The only part of Myra where information about its Lycian identity can be found is the Western Necropolis, a place frequented by tourists. On the information panels set up in front of the rock-cut tombs here, one can find a brief summary of Myra's historical background, as well as two short texts entitled 'Lycia' and 'Who are the Lycians?' When one takes into account the historical role played by Myra as a Lycian metropolis, and its relationship with the surrounding cities in the fascinating landscape of Lycia, it is astounding just how little information visitors are given about the significance of the site. An awareness of this situation prompted the Myra-Andriake Expedition Team to found the Lycian Museum. The museum, which is to be built at the Granarium (a Roman building dated to the 2nd century A.D.) at Myra's harbour of Andriake, promises to make a significant contribution towards remedying the handicaps in interpreting the culture of Myra and Lycia. However, the project leaves it open to question how Myra's historical eras will be dealt with via a single comprehensive approach.

This study has only been able to provide a glimpse into how the figure of St Nicholas is perceived at Demre. It is impossible to say to what extent the Muslim population of Demre shares the opinions expressed in interviews and conversations with officials from the Demre municipality and individuals from the local population, which treated St Nicholas as an 'Anatolian dervish,' a 'non-religious character,' and a 'Good Samaritan.' Strikingly, no indications exist as to how the inhabitants of the district regard the figure of St Nicholas at Demre, who remains little known outside the small perimeter of gift shops surrounding the Church, which sell his icons to members of the Eastern Orthodox

community. This state of affairs ought to rank high on the interpretation and education agenda for the Church of St Nicholas.

8.9.3 *Perge*

The grid city-plan and defence system of Perge constructed in the Late Classical period and later improved during the Hellenistic and Roman eras (pages 140-141), has been given first priority as the city's most significant features in its nomination for the WHL (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2013). Other elements which were not mentioned in Perge's WHL nomination, but were particularly emphasised by members from the excavation team in personal interviews, include the Necropolis of Perge (featuring many of the burial types known in archaeology) and its sculpture workshop (D. Saraç, 10.09.2008). In my personal observations of Perge, it was apparent that very little effort was made to justify the importance of the site's accoladed features to the visitor. For instance, none of the information panels on the route leading from the city's main gate to its Acropolis explain how city planning and architecture at Perge have shaped human life there, or how these distinguish Perge from other Pamphylian metropolises (Side, Sillyon, Aspendos), and, more broadly, from its contemporaries in Turkey. Interpretations of the significance of Perge's Necropolis and of its sculpture workshop are almost non-existent. This shortcoming can be explained, in part, by two different factors: first, the difficulty of access to the Necropolis; second, the fact that, in the absence of an on-site museum, Perge's sculpture collection is currently on display in Antalya Archaeological Museum.

8.9.4 *Aspendos*

The lack of research at Aspendos is unquestionably a great disadvantage in efforts to make the city better known. Answers are still pending to questions about the development of settlement formation at Aspendos, its social structure, the role it played in Pamphylia during the Classical Age, and many other issues. Despite the fact that this lack of research has arguably hindered interpretation of the significance of Aspendos, present data indicate that the information provided to those who visit the city is minimal. For

example, there is no on-site commentary about the aqueducts which were used to bring water to Aspendos from the Taurus Mountains (page 151). Information about the significance of Aspendos's theatre – a tourist attraction which plays a big part in publicising the city – is also severely inadequate. The structure's on-site interpretations chiefly mention its physical portrayals, yet there is no interesting or informative examination of – for example – topics such as its architecture, or its restoration and use by the Seljuks in the 13th century.

8.10 Site Management and the WHL: Considering the Case of Xanthos and Letoon

Should site management take precedence over initiatives for the WHL? This question might seem meaningless to proponents of the WHL in Turkey, or to those who presume that the respective aims of site management and the WHL can never conflict with one another. However, the experience of Xanthos and Letoon, which taken together comprise one of Turkey's 11 heritage sites on the WHL, illustrates that this question is in fact a relevant one. Since 1988, both sites have experienced important management problems, but – surprisingly – have not yet been included on the agenda for site management. Xanthos and Letoon provide a strong case for the need to question the 'benefits' of the WHL, and show us how indispensable site management is for Turkey.

Xanthos and Letoon are two separate archaeological sites located along the Eşen River approximately 90 km west of Demre, between the provinces of Antalya and Muğla (see Figure 5.2 on page 131). Of the two, Xanthos was the capital of the Lycian civilisation, while Letoon – located 8 km northwest of Xanthos – was a cult centre with three temples dedicated to Apollo, Artemis and Leto. Among the most striking features of Xanthos and Letoon are their rich epigraphic materials. Many of the inscriptions from the two sites are considered to be some of the longest and most important texts in the Lycian language (des Courtils 2003: 45, 145-146). These texts, usually engraved on rock and stone pillars, are crucial for an understanding of the Lycian culture and its Indo-European connections. Secondly, Xanthos and Letoon exhibit a number of excellent examples of the funerary art and architecture of the region. These include, in particular, Lycian-style pillar tombs and

sarcophagi (some of which are exhibited today in the British Museum), as well as many other monuments illustrating the legacy of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods (des Courtils 2003).

In 1988, Xanthos and Letoon were included on the WHL on the basis of criteria (ii) and (iii) for cultural heritage sites. The justification for the decision was Xanthos's cultural influence on both Lycia and the neighbouring provinces throughout Antiquity, as well as the fact that Xanthos, along with Letoon, bears exceptional testimony to the Lycian civilisation through epigraphic texts and funerary monuments (ICOMOS 1988). The 1988 *ICOMOS Evaluation Report*, which was conducive to the inscription of Xanthos and Letoon on the WHL, includes some important observations by ICOMOS representatives on the state of management at the two sites as of 1988. The report recommends that the MCT, the main agency responsible for the sites, (i) carry out a comprehensive study of the sites' layouts; (ii) expand the protective perimeter around Letoon; (iii) provide protection for the Necropolis zone; (iv) produce long-term solutions for the demarcation of greenhouses around the sites; and finally (v) develop a management plan encompassing both environmental control and a preservation study for the monuments, which at Letoon are threatened by seasonal rising of the ground water table (ICOMOS 1988).

The 2006 *ICOMOS Periodic Report* for Xanthos and Letoon reveals striking details regarding the course of management at the two world heritage sites, especially when compared to the 1988 *Evaluation Report*. These details clearly document that the major management problems at Xanthos and Letoon remained in effect until 2006 while certain additional problems also emerged in the meantime. Undoubtedly, one of the most remarkable aspects of the 2006 Report is its re-statement of the demand for a management plan, and the attention it draws to the lack of a steering group, manager, or co-ordinator at Xanthos and Letoon. Likewise, the report re-emphasises the rising of the water level and agricultural activities around Letoon as problems still awaiting a solution (ICOMOS 2006). Other observations made by the ICOMOS reporters provide additional interesting insights. Notably, the report documents that both Xanthos and Letoon lack: (i)

core or extra funding through world heritage status; (ii) involvement on the part of local people; (iii) buffer zones around the sites; (iv) World Heritage logos; (v) a formal monitoring system; and (vi) adequate site promotion (ICOMOS 2006). Compared with this list of problems and deficiencies, the report's positive evaluations concerning Xanthos and Letoon are very limited. The report considers the main benefits of the WHL for the two sites to lie in the field of conservation and in 'social means' (ICOMOS 2006).

Undoubtedly, Xanthos and Letoon's experience of the WHL has so far been a disappointing one. The continuation of several management problems at Xanthos and Letoon down to the present day is actually related to the multi-level administration and planning structure that has persisted at both sites. Briefly, in 1990 the region including Xanthos and Letoon was declared a Special Environment Protection Area (SEPA) due to the integrity of its archaeological and environmental features. Until 2011, the Special Environment Protection Agency⁵, part of the Ministry of the Environment, was the main authority responsible for setting up principles for the protection and use of natural heritage sites – as well as the enforcement of CDPs and other plans – at SEPAs (Law on the Foundation of Special Environment Protection Agency 1989: Chapter One/Articles 1-2). At the same time, at SEPAs located on archaeological sites, all sorts of projects are subject to the authorisation of the High Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties, as well as that of the Regional Councils. Finally, as mentioned earlier, municipalities are responsible for the implementation of CDPs. In 1992, Xanthos and Letoon were delineated as a Grade I archaeological conservation area. This was followed, in 1995, by the preparation of a CDP for the sites. However, the expropriations and all other infrastructure works prescribed in the CDP have not been carried out. As determined in detail by a representative of the Regional Council in Antalya in an in-depth interview with the researcher on July 25th, 2008, the major reasons for this included negligence by local authorities, lack of co-ordination, and a clash of responsibilities among the government institutions holding initiatives at Xanthos and Letoon.

⁵ Since 2011, the General Directorate for the Conservation of Natural Properties of the Ministry of the Environment and Urbanisation. It is important to note that all initiatives associated with natural heritage sites and the SEPAs in Turkey were transferred to the Ministry of the Environment and Urbanisation, which was founded in 2011.

The case of Xanthos and Letoon offers a suitable basis for questioning the practicality of the jargon-filled discourses used to promote the WHL (page 116). The nature and variety of the management problems in the 2006 *ICOMOS Report* for Xanthos and Letoon clearly illustrate that World Heritage status would not lead to a solution on the part of the stakeholders responsible for and working at the two sites. In this regard, the 2006 Report's evaluation of the benefits of the WHL at Xanthos and Letoon seems controversial, as there are no relevant parameters for making such an evaluation. Besides the general lack of public involvement, Xanthos and Letoon – the only two world heritage sites in Antalya – are also distant from Antalya's main visitor attractions when compared with other archaeological sites in the same region. The official statistics for Xanthos, which extend back to 1995, demonstrate that the 47,198 people who visited the site in 1997 represent the highest number in the entire 1995-2012 period (PDCT of Antalya 2013a). As is also evident from these statistics, the visitor figures for the 1999-2002 and 2004-2009 periods are less than 50% of those for 1997.

As Schuster argues (2002: 5), the protective measures stipulated by lists like the WHL merely represent initial steps, ones which demand plans and programmes. The chief aim of lists such as a national register or the WHL is to bring the items on the list to the public's attention, and thus change how these items are perceived. All too often, the relevant safeguarding measures end up being neglected in practice (Hall 2006: 24; Sharland 2000). An alarming scenario about site management in Turkey is that management plans may be treated only as 'homework' to be done on the way to obtaining a visa for the WHL, thus serving larger goals for national tourism. Moreover, they may be interrupted once World Heritage status is secured. The case of Xanthos and Letoon can be used as evidence of such a scenario: long-standing problems at both sites show that their World Heritage title has proved useless in the face of an urgent need for a comprehensive management plan. Likewise, the interruption of site management activities for the Selimiye Mosque, and the subsequent dissolution of its site management team by the Edirne Municipality after the site was inscribed on the WHL in 2011, raise important question marks regarding the intentions behind site management plans in Turkey, as well as the sincerity with which they are adopted.

The WHL should not be seen as merely conferring privileges on the sites selected for inclusion. Many studies have drawn attention to the fact that some of the most pronounced advantages of the WHL, as those spelled out by some participants in this research, especially in the fields of conservation, funding, tourism, promotion and visitor numbers, are debatable (Ashworth and van der Aa 2006; Hall 2006; Leask 2006). Furthermore, case studies and empirical analyses have made valid criticisms of the more politicised aspects of the WHL (arguing, for example, that the WHL is Eurocentric), and have pointed out the discrepancies between its philosophy and its selection criteria (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Leask 2006; Steiner and Frey 2011; Turtinen 2000). So far in Turkey, there is neither a literature debating the WHL nor research-based evidence justifying the gains made through the List by the country's 11 heritage sites of outstanding universal value. The lack of such a literature strengthens the MCT's cliché propaganda for the WHL, while also obscuring the limitations of the List.

8.11 Conclusion

This study has sought to answer the question, ‘How much of a difference will the *Regulation for Site Management* make in the management of archaeological sites and the development of cultural tourism in Turkey?’ The four aims listed at the outset of this thesis, along with their respective sets of objectives, have been used to answer the research question. Below are the conclusions drawn from these four aims.

Aim 1: To analyse the main features of the *Regulation for Site Management* with regard to the current administrative and legislative framework related to archaeological sites and conservation areas

- The analysis of several aspects of site management and the monument council (their systems of authority, planning, and methods), as well as the investigation of how these aspects are viewed by the audience of the *Regulation for Site Management*, provided various insights on the formulation of the Regulation. These insights should be taken into account by policy makers in revising and modifying the Regulation.
- The MCT and the municipalities possess limited institutional capacity in the field of site management. The fact that most currently ongoing site management projects in Turkey benefit from expert consultancy services is an indication of the paucity of experienced academic staff in site management – and, more generally, heritage management – in Turkey.
- The research findings indicate that potential risks concerning the implementation of the *Regulation for Site Management* are related to the Regulation’s lack of enforcement at various levels and its lack of punitive sanctions; its financial limitations; and the likelihood that overbearing expectations related to tourism and the WHL will cause authorities to neglect the issue of the sustainability for management plans.

Aim 2: To analyse the objectives related to cultural tourism in the *Regulation for Site Management*

- In Turkey, the state has a murky understanding of the concept of cultural tourism. Policy documents provide no definitions and assessments of this concept which might offer a clear indication of how the state views cultural tourism.

- Objectives for cultural tourism in Turkey give the impression that it is mainly regarded as a type of tourism in which heritage sites are given greater priority or are more accessible to tourists. In this connection, Turkey is no exception given that the scope and definition of cultural tourism is still widely open to debate worldwide.
- The Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos, and Alanya Castle suffer from various tourism pressures. I observed that these five sites typically have serious management problems in the areas of visitor control, access, interpretation, presentation, and significance.
- Site management plans should be seen as instruments to identify local stakeholders' priorities and expectations regarding tourism, and to develop an ideal, sustainable form of tourism management.

Aim 3: To analyse prior initiatives for archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey

- An analysis of the current literature on archaeology in Turkey shows that major institutional and legislative developments related to archaeology have five distinct phases. Each differs from the others in various respects, on the basis of socio-political factors.
- From the 19th century to present, the influence of the West has been ever-present in the legal and institutional evolution of archaeology in Turkey. State policies concerning archaeological sites in Turkey are responsive to the concepts and approaches developed by Western scholarship.
- In Turkey, concrete developments in the field of tourism began in the 1950s, when liberal economic policies were followed. From that period until the present, priorities regarding mass tourism have played a decisive role in national tourism policies.
- At the governance level, the tourism and culture sectors in Turkey are in conflict. The entrenched influence of tourism on the national income scale, the problematic hierarchical relationships of the tourism and culture units at the ministerial level, and the lack of an integrated policy and planning approach all work against the culture sector.

- The *Regulation for Site Management* is clearly distinguishable from previous pieces of legislation for archaeological sites in the sense that it provisions participatory and sustainable management organisation.
- The *Regulation for Site Management* is a policy tool with two major components. It is a statement uniting a new policy for heritage sites with state initiatives for cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is one of a number of privileged types of tourism which have been on Turkey's agenda since the 1990s.

Aim 4: To locate site management in Turkey within a theoretical framework of heritage management and tourism literature

- Turkey has taken care to adopt current international policies in the field of heritage management. However, academic foundations are weak in Turkey with regard to theoretical and practical issues concerning heritage management and tourism.
- In the main legal documents concerning heritage sites and tourism in Turkey, the terms 'cultural property' and 'natural property' are widely used instead of 'heritage.' This can be understood as an indication that the conventional measures of conservation, protection, and management for cultural and natural properties which have been in place in Turkey since the 1980s are still dominant today. In this regard, heritage management represents a transparent field in Turkey.
- Turkey has created a legal framework for site management simultaneously with most other countries, and this framework (i.e., the *Regulation for Site Management*), operates, like in many countries, in accordance with the World Heritage Convention

The *Regulation for Site Management* is not a set of guidelines expressly formulated to remedy the management problems and omissions faced by heritage sites in Turkey (pages 115-117; 256). The driver for the introduction of the Regulation was tourism; and, related to this, the desire to develop World Heritage designation in Turkey for tourism promotion. Thus, the provisions in the *Regulation for Site Management* actually reflected a need to conform to UNESCO's norms in management plan development for WHSs, such as participatory site management processes. These provisions were not 'drivers' in the development of the Regulation but they presented an 'opportunity' for a new course of management for heritage sites in Turkey.

As a policy tool, the *Regulation for Site Management* has the potential to produce solutions for several entrenched management problems at heritage sites in Turkey (e.g., Chapter 6/Tables 6.5 and 6.14; Chapter 7/Tables 7.1 and 7.3). By aiming at participatory management processes, it represents a positive step forward, and this central provision of the Regulation may improve the channels of dialogue and negotiation over site management plans. Moreover, the Regulation can be seen as an effective medium, which may increase academic interest in site management and, at a larger scale, in various issues related to heritage management in Turkey. Considering that the MCT's appetite for the WHL is strong (page 117), it can be estimated that management plans will retain their significance in Turkey in the near future. From this, one can anticipate that the number of site management plans will increase, and this may provide a productive platform to exchange practical experiences among various site management projects in Turkey.

The research findings explicitly indicate that potential obstacles concerning the success of the *Regulation for Site Management* are mainly related to the Regulation's lack of enforcement at various levels and its lack of punitive sanctions (Chapter 6/Table 6.13; page 272); its financial limitations (Chapter 6/Table 6.14; pages 273-275 and 294-295); and a prospective clash between overbearing expectations related to tourism and the WHL, and the sustainability of site management plans (i.e., the cases of Xanthos, and Selimiye example). Additionally, the MCT's limited institutional capacity and know-how in the field of site management can be regarded as strong risk factors for site management projects in Turkey (Chapter 6/Tables 6.9 and 6.14; pages 257-260).

The future of cultural tourism in Turkey is uncertain (Chapter 7/Tables 7.1 and 7.2; pages 279-282). The first reason for this uncertainty is the short-term impossibility of realising the planning and investment necessary for the spread of cultural tourism. Second, there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the extent of the private sector's interest in the state's allocations for cultural tourism. Within the Turkish tourism industry, which is accustomed to mass tourism, it is highly likely that the private sector will prefer to invest in locations which will provide a swift return (i.e., coastal areas), and will regard 'cultural

tourism’ – of which it has no experience – as risky from its own point of view (Chapter 6/Table 6.8; Chapter 7/Table 7.1; pages 269-271).

Management plans ought not to serve the interests of those with top-down approaches to tourism (Chapter 7/Tables 7.1 and 7.2; pages 58-60 and 279-281). Instead, they should be seen as one of the tools to be used in setting expectations for tourism on the local scale, and for creating tourism development that is suitable for the region. Moreover, management plans are necessary in order to rein in the pressure which tourism exerts on heritage sites, and in order to raise the standards of the various services catered to visitors. The assessments regarding certain management problems at the case study sites in this thesis have made it clear that solving these problems should be a higher priority than increasing visitor numbers at these sites.

8.12 Recommendations for Further Research

Several avenues for further research are addressed throughout this thesis. At present there is a scarcity of local literature on heritage management, the interface of heritage and tourism, and site management. Therefore, future academic research focussing on these three topics, including various aspects that have not been covered as part of the aims and objectives of this study, will be valuable contributions which will help fill the current knowledge gap on these subjects in Turkey. As far as site management is concerned, it is recommended that future research be undertaken to investigate the implementation process of the *Regulation for Site Management*. Such an investigation is highly necessary in order to identify the practical drawbacks and limitations of the Regulation and, in a wider sense, to make sure that it remains on the agenda in Turkey.

Appendix A¹

Regulation on the Substance and Procedures of the Establishment and Duties of the Site Management and the Monument Council and Identification of Management Sites

Regulation on the Substance and Procedures of the Establishment and Duties of the Site Management and the Monument Council and Identification of Management Sites

Published in the Official Gazette on: 27.11.2005 Number: 26006

CHAPTER ONE

Aim, Scope, Legal Ground and Definitions

Aim

Article 1 — The aim of this regulation is to ensure that archaeological sites, conservation sites, their interactive areas and junction points be conserved and evaluated within the scope of a sustainable management plan in coordination with public institutions and organisations, civil society organisations, and put forward the substance and procedures for the identification and development of management sites, preparation, approval, implementation and supervision of management plans and the determination of the duties, powers and responsibilities of the advisory board, site manager, coordination and audit board, audit unit and monument council that will have the function of managing the site.

Scope

Article 2 — This regulation covers the substance and procedures regarding the identification of the management sites of conservation sites, archaeological sites and interactive areas and junction points, the drawing up, approval, implementation and supervision of management plans and the terms of reference of the advisory board, site manager, coordination and audit board, audit unit and monument council that will manage the site.

Legal ground

Article 3 — This regulation is based on additional article 2 of the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property numbered 2863 and dated 21/07/1983.

¹ This English version of the Regulation was downloaded, in 2008, from the website of the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums. Except some format adjustments no changes were on the document.

Definitions

Article 4 — In this regulation the following shall mean:

Ministry: Ministry of Culture and Tourism,

Law: the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property numbered 2863

General Directorate: General Directorate for Cultural Property and Museums,

Competent authority: the Ministry or the relevant municipality authorised to identify a Management Site within the scope of this Law and Regulation,

Civil society organisation: Representatives of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB), Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB), Turkish Bar Association, Turkish Medical Association, Chamber of Tradesmen and Artisans, and if applicable, relevant associations, foundations and universities,

Interactive area: Areas integral to conservation sites, envisaged to be and develop in harmony with conservation sites in terms of density and settlement, completing, affecting or affected by the conservation site and connecting the conservation site with areas not under the scope of the conservation plan,

Monument: Immovable cultural property identified by the Ministry by taking into account its state of use, location, function, concentration of visitors, historical and artistic characteristics,

Monument Council: A board set up exclusively for an immovable cultural property that has the quality of a monument,

Urban conservation site: The area of a city or the area of the remains of a city that is product of various civilizations before and after recorded history and reflects the social, economic, architectural a.s. characteristics of the periods of these civilizations,

Archaeological conservation site: Area with concentrated cultural property that has been the stage of social life or important historic events,

Natural conservation site: Area to be protected due to its documented characteristics,

Advisory Board: Board set up to present proposals to assist decision-making and implementation of the draft management plan of the site management,

Coordination and Audit Board: Board authorised to approve and supervise the implementation of the management plan,

Audit unit: Unit of the coordination and audit board that executes audit, if deemed necessary,

Proposed management site: An area proposed as such where the powers of the site management are yet to be determined,

Management Site: Areas that have been delineated by the Ministry by obtaining the view of the relevant administrations to ensure coordinated planning and conservation between central and local government and civil society organisations with the aim of preservation the natural beauty, revitalization, evaluation, development around a specific vision and theme of conservation sites, archaeological sites and interactive areas and with the view of meeting the cultural and educational needs of the society.

Cultural property: All movable and immovable property on the ground, under the ground or under the water pertaining to science, culture, religion and fine arts of before and after recorded history or that is of unique scientific and cultural value for social life before and after recorded history.

CHAPTER TWO

Principles of Site management

Objectives of site management

Article 5 — The following shall be the objectives of site management:

a) Accurate delineation of the area for conservation, development and evaluation in its historical, social, cultural, geographical, natural, artistic integrity, and of its interactive areas and associated historical, cultural, geographical, natural, artistic junction points,

b) within the scope of a management plan, demonstrating ways to find an appropriate balance between the needs for conservation, access, sustainable economic development and the interest of the local community,

c) development of overall strategies, methods and tools to raise the value of the area to an international level, location of resources and fund raising,

d) set up an active network of international cooperation and sharing with the view of developing cultural tourism,

e) drafting implementation plans to develop regional cultural systems comprising conservation sites that have the potential to form a cluster by being associated with each other in a specific region,

f) cooperation between public institutions and organisations, civil society organisations, persons with right to property in the area, persons and organisations working on a voluntary basis and the local community in conserving and evaluating management sites,

g) in addition to conservation through maintenance, repair, restoration, restitution, exhibition, arrangement and landscaping of conservation sites, architectural sites and interactive areas in line with site management objectives within the framework of international principles of conservation and convention provisions, determination of principles and limits of use and development,

h) Utilisation of high standards in the management of cultural property, site of conservation, design and implementation, expertise and equipment.

Identification of the management site

Article 6— The competent authority shall identify the Management Sites. The following shall be abided by in the identification of management sites:

a) Studies shall be conducted to explore conservation sites, architectural sites and their interactive areas and junction points and evaluate the collected data. According to the study results, in line with the Law, Regulation and Resolutions, the proposed management site shall be delineated or demarcated. For the delineation of the proposed management site, the views of the relevant institutions and organisations, professional chambers, universities and civil society organisations and persons with right to property in the area shall be taken into account.

b) The borders of the proposed management site shall be notified to the relevant public institutions and organisations the services of which are necessary for the area. The organisations shall forward their proposals and views within thirty days to the competent authority. A coordination meeting shall be organised to coordinate the planning and conservation of the area with central and local government and civil society organisations with the view to obtain their views.

c) If the relevant civil society organisations submit their views on the identification of the management site, their views shall be evaluated by the competent authority in line with these principles.

d) The final management site determined as a result of these studies shall be notified by the competent authority to the relevant institutions and organisations.

Management plan

Article 7 — The draft management plan shall be prepared by a team composed of experts and consultants from different professions depending on the characteristics of the area in coordination with the site manager appointed by the competent authority according to these principles.

Prior to and during the preparation of the draft plan by the competent authority, at least two meetings shall be organised and attended by stakeholders such as public institutions and organisations, local community, civil society organisations, professional chambers, universities, selected private sector representatives and persons with right to property in the area to give information and determine the issues that will constitute the data of the management plan. These meetings shall be announced to the public by means of posters attached by local governments and to the others by the competent authority.

Authority and methodology

Article 8 — The draft management plan of conservation sites, architectural sites and their interactive areas that have been delineated as management site shall be directly prepared by

- a) the municipality responsible for the urban conservation site,
- b) the Ministry for archaeological, natural and historic conservation sites,
- c) the Ministry, if the urban conservation site is not attached to any municipality,
- d) by the relevant municipality if urban conservation sites and other conservation sites are located together,
- e) by the relevant municipalities in a coordinated manner, if the urban conservation site borders extend into more than one municipality, by the Metropolitan Municipality if the area is within its borders; if the area is outside its borders by the Ministry in coordination with the relevant municipalities

Alternatively, the above shall be tendered out by these in line with the substance and procedures of the procurement legislation.

The General Directorate shall execute works undertaken by the Ministry with regards identification of the management site, preparation of the management plan and site management.

Preparation of the management plan

Article 9 — The content of the management plan of the management site shall be composed of the following parts:

- a) Existing situation: needs analysis related to the management, function and conservation of the area and contacts with relevant institutions and organisations.
- b) Site analysis: identification of the significance, problems, bearing capacity of the area and functional and managerial analysis of the area.
- c) Vision of the site and basic policies: Policies and strategies on management, conservation, use, presentation, promotion and visitors within the scope of the management plan

that will point out the future vision of the area with the aim of presenting and promoting the area at the national and international level by putting forward operational, managerial, administrative and financial models.

d) Work schedule, timing and generation of projects: Terms of reference of institutions and persons to participate in the site management, their work schedules and budget analysis, identification of financial resources, an action plan entailing short-term, medium and long-term activities to be carried out and promotion of projects.

The table to be used in the action plan shall be as follows:

Topic	Required activity	Institution in charge of activity	Financial resources	Target date
Topic 1				
Topic 2				
Topic 3				

e) Definition of monitoring, evaluation and training processes: drawing up programmes to monitor, evaluate and train stakeholders to implement the management plan.

Management plan team

Article 10 — If management plans are prepared by the competent authority or the competent authority tasks another party with preparing it, a team to draft the plan shall be set up under the responsibility of an expert consultant. The team shall have at least the following members:

a) for urban conservation sites and historic conservation sites: graduates from architecture, urban and region planning, art history, public administration, business management and economic departments of universities,

b) for archaeological conservation sites: graduates from architecture, urban and region planning, art history, archaeology, public administration, business management and economic departments of universities,

c) for natural conservation sites: graduates from urban and region planning, public administration, business management, environmental engineering, depending on the nature and characteristics of the area graduates from forestry engineering, geology/geomorphology/geology engineering, agricultural engineering, landscaping architecture, hydrology, biology, zoology a.s. departments of universities.

Depending on the quality of the area, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, economists, tourism business managers, advertisers, public relations managers, and communication experts and a management plan consultant may take part in the team.

Evaluation of the management plan

Article 11— The advisory board to be set up in line with the principles of this Regulation shall evaluate the preliminary draft of the management plan. The site manager shall be present at the evaluation meeting of the board.

The competent authority shall finalise the preliminary draft of the management plan by taking into account the proposals and decisions of the advisory board at the end of its meeting.

Approval of the management plan

Article 12 — The draft management plan shall be examined and submitted by the competent authority to the coordination and audit board for approval by consensus that is set up according to the principles of this Regulation.

The coordination and audit board shall examine the plan and, if necessary, shall instruct the plan drafting team to make the necessary corrections. The management plan shall be adopted with the votes of three forth of the board members attending the meeting. The adoption procedure shall be completed in six months at the latest.

After the adoption of the management plan, it shall be copied and disseminated to the relevant institutions and organisations. Management plans shall be open. The competent authority shall have the duty to ensure openness.

Objections before administrative courts against the decisions of the coordination and audit board can be raised in due time.

Implementation and control of the management plan

Article 13 — Public institutions and organisations, municipalities and real and legal persons shall be obliged to follow the management plan approved by the coordination and audit board. Competent authorities shall prioritise the services covered by the plan and be obliged to allocate funds from their budget to this end.

The site manager, institutions and organisations responsible for the implementation and the competent authority shall work in coordination to perform the tasks defined in the management plan.

The management referred to in the management plan shall make an annual performance assessment with the help of the audit unit regarding the work undertaken in the area in line with the strategies of conservation, presentation, promotion and visitor management, and shall prepare the work schedule and budget for the following year. The assessment reports shall be evaluated

by the coordination and audit board and the work schedule and budget of the following year shall be adopted. In addition to the annual assessment, the audit unit shall review the objectives and policies once every five years and submit them to the coordination and audit board for consideration.

During the implementation process of the management plan by the coordination and audit board, the competent authority shall prepare a draft addendum to the management plan, if the audit unit proposes a change in the vision, objectives and policies, and consult with the advisory board before the coordination and audit board adopts it.

The competent authority can form temporary project teams for technical assistance in project development and implementation regarding the works defined in the management plan.

All kinds of building and physical works and functional changes in immovable cultural and natural property and conservation sites of the management site to be undertaken within the scope of the management plan and the related plans and projects shall be decided by the Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property.

CHAPTER THREE

Establishment and Duties of the Site Management Units

Site manager and his/her duties

Article 14 — A site manager, who has previously worked on the area, has adequate knowledge of the area, can develop a specific vision for the area, has knowledge on new approaches to cultural and natural property management, is experienced in management policies and implementations, is a graduate from university departments such as architecture, urban and regional planning, archaeology, art history, public administration, business management and economics shall be appointed by the relevant municipality to manage the area of urban conservation sites and shall be appointed by the Ministry to manage non-urban conservation sites.

Persons, who are site managers ipso facto shall receive payment from the Revolving Funds Operations Central Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism exempt from taxes except for the stamp tax at the beginning of each month following work, the amount of which shall be determined by the Minister, but which shall not exceed the amount calculated by multiplying the monthly coefficient for government officials (20000) with the indicative number.

The competent authority shall execute the secretariat work of the site management. The competent authority shall provide an appropriate place for the site management units to be able to do their work. It shall allocate a sufficient number of staff and adequate funds from its budget.

The duties of the site manager shall be as follows:

a) Devise the work schedule together with the competent authority to attain the annual objectives set forth in the management plan, to raise funds,

b) Prepare the annual budget proposal,

c) Prepare together with the competent authority all kind of contracts and draft specifications regarding the procurement of services and equipment for the presentation, promotion, education, repair, safety and needs of visitors,

d) Ensure cooperation between institutions and persons involved in the management of the natural and cultural property of the area,

e) Coordinate the preparation of the annual audit reports by the audit unit and the presentation of these reports to the coordination and audit board.

Establishment and duties of the Advisory Board

Article 15 — The advisory board shall be composed of at least five members from persons with the right to property in the area, professional chambers, civil society organisations, relevant university departments, site manager and members to be determined by the competent authority. The advisory board shall elect a chairperson from among its members.

The advisory board shall meet at least once a year. If deemed necessary by the competent authority, and coordination and audit board, the advisory board can be summoned to an extraordinary meeting. The advisory board shall hold its meetings locally.

The advisory board shall examine the draft management plan and submit proposals for decision-making and implementation regarding the plan.

All issues and proposals negotiated by the advisory board shall be protocolled for submission to the coordination and audit board.

The Coordination and Audit Board and its duties

Article 16 — The coordination and audit board shall be composed of at least five members, one of them being the site manager, two members to be elected by the advisory board from among its own members and at least one representative from each of the administrations the services of which are needed within the scope of the management plan. The site manager shall be at the same time the head of the coordination and audit board.

The competent authority shall summon the coordination and audit board at least twice a year. The audit unit and the competent authority shall identify the agenda of the board meeting.

Upon request of the site manager or the competent authority, the board can be summoned extraordinarily. The board shall meet with absolute majority and decide based on at

least three fourths of the votes of the attending members. The coordination and audit board shall meet locally.

The coordination and audit board shall examine the draft management plan, approve it in six months and control its implementation.

Audit unit and its duties

Article 17 — An audit unit can be set up to perform the control function of the coordination and audit board.

The audit unit shall have at least five members who shall be the controlling officers taking part in the preparation and implementation process of the management plan and expert personnel with a university degree in architecture, urban and regional planning, art history, archaeology, public administration, business management and economics to be appointed by the competent authorities.

The audit unit shall supervise the implementation of the management plan. It shall make the annual performance assessment of the work undertaken by the unit in the area in line with the strategies of management, conservation, presentation, promotion and visitor management identified in the management plan and prepare the work schedule and the budget for the following year.

The audit unit shall be authorised to request any kind of information and documentation from the relevant institutions and organisations and third parties regarding the management plan and its implementation.

CHAPTER FOUR

Establishment, Duties and Working Principles of the Monument Council

Establishment of the Monument Council

Article 18 — Each immovable cultural property of monumental quality shall have a dedicated monument council. The monuments to have a dedicated council shall be determined by the Ministry with the approval of the administration having a right of discretion on the monument.

The monument council shall be composed of at least seven members with at least one of them an academic representing local universities, professional chambers, civil society organisations, local governments and donors contributing to the conservation and development of the monument as deemed appropriate by the Ministry and representatives of the administration with the right of discretion regarding the monument.

The tenure of the council members shall be five years as of appointment to the council. Members can be re-elected at the end of their tenure. If a member resigns, a new member shall be elected with the same procedure to substitute the former for the rest of the tenure.

The secretariat work of the monument council shall be undertaken by the administration that has right to discretion on the monument. The Ministry or the administration that has right to discretion on the monument shall provide a place to the monument council to be able to carry out its work. It shall allocate a sufficient number of staff to this work and adequate funds from its budget.

Duties of the Monument Council

Article 19 — The council shall perform the following duties:

a) Prepare and implement annual and five-yearly conservation and development projects covering spatial, physical and thematic development and vision, conservation and development, promotion and exhibition of the monument.

b) Promote the monument.

c) Collect donations to conserve and develop the monument.

d) Extend awards to honour persons who provide in kind, cash or in person aid and assistance to conserve and develop the monument.

e) Prepare regular reports on the level of conservation and development of the monument, submit these reports to the relevant administration and have them implemented.

Chairperson of the Council and his/her duties

Article 20— A representative from the administration with the right to discretion shall chair the monument council.

The chairperson of the council shall assume the following duties:

a) Execute activities aimed at conserving, maintaining, repairing the monument and visitor management.

b) If necessary, summon the board extraordinarily.

c) Organise the council meetings.

d) Ensure coordination between the administration and real and legal persons.

Principles of the work of the Monument Council

Article 21 — The council shall meet at least twice a year with two third quorums. It shall decide with absolute majority of the quorum.

The bureau and secretariat work of the board shall be undertaken by the administration with the right to discretion on the monument.

All kind of physical intervention to the monument must be permitted and controlled by the regional council for conservation of natural and cultural property.

The administration with the right to discretion on the monument shall be obliged to take note of the council reports. The administration with the right to discretion on the monument shall justify in writing before the council issues related to activities referred to in the report that cannot be realised.

CHAPTER FIVE

Final provisions

Enforcement

Article 22 — This regulation shall take effect as of its publication.

Execution

Article 23 — The provisions of this regulation shall be executed by the Minister of Tourism and Culture.

Appendix B

The Interview Questions

[SET 1]

- 1) Do you think archaeological sites should have a management plan?
- 2) [If yes] What major issues should be addressed in the management plans?
- 3) [If yes,] Who should become involved in the development and implementation of these plans?
- 4) [If no] Why should archaeological sites not have management plans?
- 5) What role(s) should local people have in the management of archaeological sites?
- 6) What role(s) should NGOs have in the management of archaeological sites?
- 7) What role(s) should archaeologists have in the management of archaeological sites?
- 8) What role(s) should the private/tourism sectors have in the management of archaeological sites?
- 9) What role(s) should the Ministry of Culture and Tourism have in the management of archaeological sites?
- 10) What role(s) should municipalities have in the management of archaeological sites?

[SET 2]

- 11) What do you think has been the major contribution of the *Regulation for Site Management*?
- 12) What are your thoughts about on-going site management projects and sites where site management should be implemented?
- 13) What must the principal conditions be for site management?
- 14) What financial and administrative obstructions might exist for site management?
- 15) What pre-conditions must exist in identifying the boundaries of management sites?
- 16) What are your thoughts regarding the appointment and duties of a site manager?

[SET 3]

- 17) With reference to the Church of St Nicholas/Myra/Perge/Aspendos/Alanya Castle and Antalya in general, what do you think of the current state of the relationship between tourism and archaeology?
- 18) What should be the priorities regarding the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Antalya and the Church of St Nicholas/Myra/Perge/Aspendos/Alanya Castle?
- 19) The Church of St Nicholas, Myra, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle are the most visited archaeological sites in Antalya. What are your opinions on the visitor numbers of this distinctive group of sites and their visitor management?
- 20) What do you think of the importance and benefits of the World Heritage List?

[SET 4]

- 21) From a management point of view, what characteristics of [Aspendos/ Alanya Castle/the Church of St Nicholas/Perge] should be at the forefront? Why?
- 22) What are the main issues you regard as being important concerning [Aspendos/Alanya Castle/the Church of St Nicholas/Perge] and its surroundings?
- 23) [if applicable] What are the major problems/potential threats related to the management/safeguarding of [Aspendos/Alanya Castle/the Church of St Nicholas/Perge]?
- 24) [if applicable] What are the current projects or future plans regarding the management of [Aspendos/Alanya Castle/the Church of St Nicholas/Perge]?

Appendix C

Consent Form

Dinç SARAÇ

Research Postgraduate

International Centre for Cultural & Heritage Studies,

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Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

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Tel: Removed

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Research Title: Site Management and Cultural Tourism in Turkey: A Case Study on the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle

Research Abstract: My research investigates site management and cultural tourism in Turkey, and aims at answering ‘How much of a difference will the *Regulation for Site Management* make in the management of archaeological sites and the development of cultural tourism in Turkey?’ In answering my research question I will triangulate my analyses: [a] on the prior initiatives for archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey; [b] on the general literature on heritage management and tourism; and [c] my findings from four case studies comprising five archaeological sites (Myra and the Church of St Nicholas, Perge, Aspendos and Alanya Castle) in Antalya.

Research Aims

Aim 1: To analyse the main features of the *Regulation for Site Management* with regard to the current administrative and legislative framework related to archaeological sites and conservation areas

Aim 2: To analyse the objectives related to cultural tourism in the *Regulation for Site Management*

Aim 3: To analyse prior initiatives for archaeological sites and tourism in Turkey

Aim 4: To locate site management in Turkey within a theoretical framework of heritage management and tourism literature

This interview will be used to fulfil the four aims of my research.

As the interviewee,

- I confirm that I have read the statement provided for the above research project and I have the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without needing to give a reason.
- I agree to be audiotaped so the researcher has a precise record of this interview.
- I can request to verify the subsequent transcripts.
- I will not be identified by name at any point in this study.
- I am reassured about the confidentiality of any information provided during the interview and that this information will only be used for academic purposes.

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Dinç Saraç	Date	Signature

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