

Rethinking Rural Transitions: The Case of Bozcaada, Turkey

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Abstract

This thesis presents an empirical study of rural transitions, focusing the socio-economic and the cultural transitions on the island of Bozcaada, a Turkish island on northern Aegean Sea, during the last three decades. In a novel way, this research brings together a diverse body of literature on rural development, tourism and gentrification in rural areas and informed by an original empirical research, developing a new conceptual framework on rural transitions.

The thesis presents a qualitative case study of a small community experiencing a series of complex transitions alongside sectoral shift in its local economy. The findings suggested that the island's local economic change from viniculture to tourism was initiated under challenging circumstances of neo-liberal agricultural policies for small producers. Meanwhile in-migration of urbanites to the island triggered socio-economic and cultural changes on the island as well as endorsing the change in the local economy. In the 2010s, local tourism activities to supplement decreasing income from viniculture became the main income source for most the local community while the number of newcomers on the island has been increasing continuously. These changes in the local economy and the socio-cultural structure of the island intertwined and co-produced current phenomenon: seasonal out-migration of the residents, and inherited gentrification on the island.

This research makes three main contributions to the existing body of literature. First, it offers a new understanding of rural transitions by producing a new conceptual model: the evolution of Bozcaada into a tourism destination, which demonstrates rural transitions of Bozcaada through exploration of changes in local economy, characteristics of newcomers, landscape and local services, and annual cycle of life on the island. Second, it adds a new concept to the literature on gentrification: inherited gentrification, a generational process of rural gentrification based on characteristic differences of gentrifiers. Third, it reveals a unique pattern of seasonal migration, characterized by seasonal movement of local population with lifestyle motivations.

Keywords: Rural transitions, Viniculture, Tourism, Gentrification, Seasonal migration.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Rural Change in Turkey

As a transitional economy, Turkey has been undergoing a series of structural transformations to develop a market-based economy since the 1980s. In line with its wish to join the European Union and be part of the most powerful economies of the global North, as a member of the G20 Turkey started to follow economic development programmes imposed by transnational organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Union. One of the most profound transformations took place in the rural economy through the abandonment of state support mechanisms in agricultural production. Considering the rural population in the 1980s constituted more than half the country's whole population, and the majority of the labour force were in the agricultural sector, these changes in the rural economy had an immense impact on the livelihood of many households in the countryside.

To understand the transformations in the contemporary countryside, it is important to briefly become familiar with previous changes in the socio-economic structure of rural Turkey. These changes can be observed in three dimensions: traditional household formation; rural land ownership; and state policies in the rural economy.

First of all, the traditional extended family structure, which was common in rural areas, has undergone a substantial transformation under the complex circumstances of modernisation and has dissolved into a contemporary nuclear family structure. This transformation cut the dependence of individuals from the extended family unit and helped them to increase their ability to move (Kıray, 1999). This increased mobility, in conjunction with the transformation of the rural economy, occurred through the out-migration process from the Turkish countryside (İlcan, 1994).

After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, traditional land ownership¹ in rural areas started to change. In the 1920s, less than 10% of all arable lands were cultivated, and

¹ In the Ottoman era, ownership of rural land was regulated by local villagers. Although, in most cases, land was collectively owned by village inhabitants, it could be owned by individuals and extended families. In 1858, the Ottoman Land Code, requiring landowners to register ownership, was introduced. During this

39% of these cultivated lands were owned by 1% of rural households (Ulukan, 2009). In 1929, the semi-feudal system of the Ottomans was abolished and a land reform was put in place to redistribute the land to landless peasants (Köymen and Öztürkcan, 1999). After World War II, technological improvements and the increased political weight of the peasantry helped to create a “*universe of small owners*” in the Turkish countryside (Keyder, 1983, p. 35). Over the years of this republican era, the average size of arable lands owned by agricultural holders decreased continuously due to inheritance (Akçay, 1999). According to statistics in 1980, 82% of all agricultural producers in Turkey owned less than ten hectares of land (ibid.). According to the data in 2006, 79% of all agricultural holdings were less than ten hectares, which covered 34% of all the agricultural land (Öztürk *et al.*, 2014b). The average size of an agricultural holding is six hectares in Turkey and is 12.6 hectares in the European Union (OECD, 2011). Thus, it is clear that rural areas in Turkey still continue to practice small-scale family farming.

In the 1980s, in parallel with the majority of the world, Turkey embraced neo-liberal economic policies, which caused a significant shift in agricultural and, consequently, rural policies (Aydın, 2010). The Keynesian protectionist policies of the government based on agro-based public enterprises and sales cooperatives, which had been in place since the 1950s with the objective of helping to sustain the livelihood of rural communities in the light of mechanisation, were abandoned in favour of a shift towards the free market economy (Aydın, 2002).

Although the transformation of Turkish agriculture was initiated in the 1980s, the most radical measures were taken in the early 2000s in order to ensure Turkey’s integration into the free market system by the enforcement of binding international agreements by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Union (Yalçınkaya *et al.*, 2006). The abandonment of productive resources such as inputs, credits and marketing facilities had a critical role in the decline of small-scale producers’ earnings and the rural economy, as they became unable to respond to market fluctuations and sustain their production (Aydın, 2010).

registration process, many peasants did not register their land, as it would be subject to military service, taxes and registration fees. In addition, collectively owned lands were registered under an individual’s name, and peasants working in these communal lands became tenants of landowners (Ulukan, 2009).

Although “*commercial opportunities introduced by global circuits ... led to a thriving market in products, land and labour*” (Keyder and Yenil, 2011, p. 60), this resulted in the rapid deruralisation of the population in most regions of Turkey. Small-scale agricultural producers became unable to compete with the new free market system in the agricultural sector (Keyder and Yenil, 2011). As the withdrawal of state support from agriculture continued, small- and medium-scale farmers attempted to diversify their income-earning activities, not to supplement their income from agriculture but rather to sustain their basic livelihood (Aydin, 2010). It was argued that “*the transformation in the lives of small-holders is the result primarily of the deepening of commodification in Turkish agriculture*” (Keyder and Yenil, 2011, p. 82).

The Turkish government’s neglect of the implications for the rural population of the transformation of the rural economy led to irremovable problems in rural areas (Tekeli, 2008). Under neo-liberal agricultural policies, the nature of family farms and village communities altered irreversibly; the majority of farmers in Turkey entered into non-agricultural economic activities in urban areas by abandoning agriculture (Günaydin, 2009; Aydin, 2010). Due to the decline of resource-based employment opportunities in the countryside, the surplus labour force started to migrate, first to nearby provinces in the region, and then to metropolitan cities across the country (Aydin, 2002). In a 30-year period, the rural population dropped to less than a quarter of the whole population of the country. Usually, economically dependent groups such as the elderly and children remained in the region of origin, while the economically active section of the local population moved to urban areas for employment. Consequently, rural areas lost their social and economic dynamism, which led to more out-migration from the countryside (Köymen, 1999).

This transformation of the rural economy and its implications for small-scale farmers was also explored by the author via an empirical study in the Thrace region in the north-west of Turkey (Okumus, 2013). During this study, in addition to interviews with small-scale farmers in the region, the local and regional public institutions such as the regional development agency and the provincial directorate of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock were also interviewed. These interviews with public officials revealed that diversification of income sources was advised for the struggling local farmers. In particular, tourism development in

rural areas with high potential was seen as the optimum strategy for diversification and was supported through loans and grant schemes by the regional development agency. However, it was seen that the possible transformation that tourism would generate in the socio-economic and cultural structure of an area went unnoticed by the officials. Therefore, this research is set to investigate these socio-economic and cultural transitions through a case study of Bozcaada.

1.2 The Case of Bozcaada

Bozcaada is a small Turkish island located in the north of the Aegean Sea, four miles away from mainland Turkey and connected to it via a regular ferry service. This small island presents excellent examples of socio-economic and cultural changes that are seen in contemporary rural areas. The island's local economy was based on viniculture for centuries until the last couple of decades. During the last decade, Bozcaada became one of the most prominent domestic tourist destinations for the residents of Turkey. Although viniculture is still one of the characteristics of the island, it is only carried out by a number of boutique local wineries on the island. The local economy of the island is now predominantly based on tourism. Almost every household on the island is directly or indirectly involved in tourism.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of employment over the main economic sectors to illustrate the beginning of this shift in the main economic activities on Bozcaada, as the statistics on the labour force for Bozcaada in these sectors are accessible only for the years 1985, 1990 and 2000. Although this data is not up to date, it can still be seen that the distribution of the labour force over the main economic activities has changed in favour of the service sector, while the labour force in agriculture was almost reduced by half in 2000.

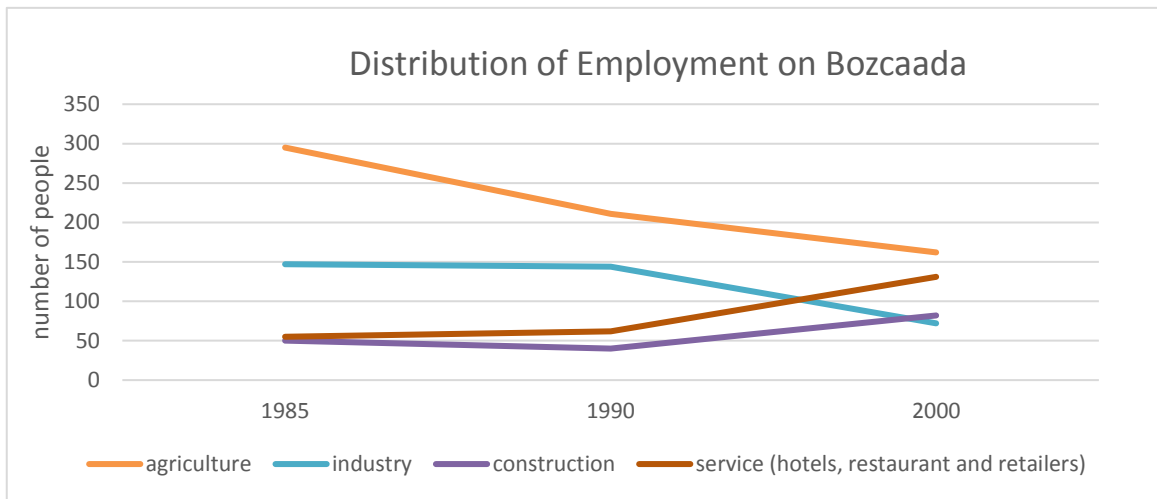


Figure 1: Distribution of employment on Bozcaada (adapted from TUIK, 2015))

The changes on the island are not limited to the local economy. The social structure of the community has been changed as a new population, mainly urbanites, has started moving to the island. Table 1 below shows the population percentages according to the birthplace of the residents on Bozcaada.² As can be seen in table 1, in a 24-year period, the proportion of the population who were born in Canakkale, the province where Bozcaada is located, decreased from 69% to 58% of the total population, while those born in Istanbul, which has the highest share after Canakkale, increased from 3% to 11% of the total population.

Birthplace of residents	1990	2000	2010	2014
Canakkale (%)	69	61	66	58
Istanbul (%)	3	7	8	11
Total population	1903	2427	2324	2773

Table 1: Population according to birthplace of residents on Bozcaada (adapted from TUIK, 2015))

Considering the fact that Turkey was a transitional economy that had been undergoing a substantial industrialisation and urbanisation period (Öztürk *et al.*, 2014a), the common trend of migration was towards cities, and especially to Istanbul. However, Table 1 shows the exact

² Since migration statistics according to provinces are not available at district level, changes in the birthplaces of the residents over the last two decades have been used in order to reveal an in-migration pattern on Bozcaada. The table only shows Canakkale and Istanbul, since the data for other provinces as birthplaces did not present a significant change.

opposite trend; it shows that the proportion of the native population³ has been decreasing, while the total population of Bozcaada has been increasing since 1990. This demonstrates that in addition to population growth due to birth, Bozcaada has been receiving people from other regions of the country, predominantly from Istanbul. This change in the composition of the local population on Bozcaada may have led to direct and indirect transformations in the socio-economic and cultural structure of such a small island, which is the main focus of this research.

1.3 Rationale for the Research

In the light of the aforementioned changes on the island, to comprehensively explore the case of Bozcaada it is of critical importance to understand the socio-economic and cultural transitions elsewhere in the Turkish countryside. Therefore, three main areas of research were identified to review the existing literature on Turkey: rural transformation, rural in-migration and tourism in rural areas.

The literature on rural transformation in Turkey focused on the transformation of agriculture through the application and implications of neo-liberal agricultural policies in Turkish agriculture (Keyder, 1983; Sirman, 1996; Akcay, 1999; Oyan, 2004; Aysu, 2008; Köymen, 2008; Günaydin, 2009; Güven, 2009; Aydın, 2010; Keyder and Yenal, 2011) and the responses and survival strategies of small-scale Turkish agricultural producers within this transformation (Ilcan, 1994; Kiray, 1999; Aydın, 2002; Ulukan, 2009). No known study has yet been undertaken to explore and understand complex transitions in the Turkish countryside in a wider, interdisciplinary perspective.

Meanwhile, there are only two studies that have examined, to an extent, the notion of rural gentrification and in-migration in rural areas in Turkey. The first study, which was undertaken by Basaran Uysal and Sakarya (2012), examined the rural gentrification process that emerged along with rural tourism activities in two villages in the northern Aegean region. While locals were satisfied by the diversified employment opportunities and increase in value in their villages at first, as the villages attracted more entrepreneurs and investors from outside, they

³ It is important to note that “Canakkale” as a birthplace includes people who were born within the borders of the province, not just in Bozcaada district. Therefore, it also includes in-migrants born in other districts within the province.

became overwhelmed with the dominance of the newcomers (Basaran Uysal and Sakarya, 2012). Another study that touched on counter-urban migration in Turkey, instead of gentrification, was undertaken by Akgün *et al.* (2011). In their study, they investigated the roles of local and newcomer entrepreneurs in rural development through a comparative meta-analytic study, and found that newcomer entrepreneurs are relatively older, better educated and develop more non-agricultural business, appearing to be predominantly attracted by a rural lifestyle (Akgün *et al.*, 2011). Although they did not mention gentrification, the profile that they drew for rural newcomers in their study overlaps with the common gentrifier profile of the gentrification literature.

The Turkish literature on the subject of rural development through tourism so far has focused on the possible costs and benefits of rural tourism (Çeken *et al.*, 2007; Yıldırım *et al.*, 2008; Çeken *et al.*, 2012; Güdücüler, 2012; Un *et al.*, 2012) and the perception of local communities of possible tourism development in the Turkish countryside (Tosun, 1998; Uslu and Kiper, 2006; Cengiz and Akkuş, 2012; Eren and Aypek, 2012; Ertuna *et al.*, 2012; Duran, 2013). Some other studies also looked at the role of rural tourism within overall rural and regional development by the examination of quantitative data (Özkan, 2007; Ucar, 2010; Demiral, 2012; Un *et al.*, 2012; Civelek, 2013). However, there has been no published research yet offering an in-depth investigation on the processes of tourism development in rural areas.

The literature mentioned lacks a comprehensive understanding of the process of socio-economic and cultural transitions in rural areas, which would be useful in understanding the case of Bozcaada. The rationale to undertake this research lies in this research gap in the light of the current developments and the government's policies in the Turkish countryside.

1.4 Place of Tourism in Rural Development Policy in Turkey

Although there is no comprehensive rural tourism strategy yet, Turkey's high potential for rural tourism development has recently been emphasised in many government documents and development plans. Figure 2 shows the role of rural tourism within the Turkish government's policies for rural development.



Figure 2: Rural tourism in sectoral development strategies and policies in Turkey

The National Development Plans are prepared every five years by the Ministry of Development in Turkey and set the national framework for the social and economic development of the country with priorities and targets for all sectors. Sectoral policies designed and implemented by all the other public institutions must be in consonance with the current national plan. According to the Tenth National Development Plan 2014–2018, the main aim of rural development policy has been identified as *“to improve the employment opportunities and the life standards of rural communities in situ”* (Tenth National Development Plan, 2014, p. 476). The framework set for rural development policy in this plan consists of the enhancement of the rural economy and employment, the development of human resources and mitigation of poverty, the improvement of social and physical infrastructure, and the protection of environmental and natural resources.

The National Rural Development Strategy 2014–2020 is a comprehensive policy framework that has been prepared as an implementation tool of the Tenth National Development Plan. In the strategy, the development of the rural economy and the increase in employment opportunities were presented as the primary strategic aim of the latest rural development strategy. Under this first strategic aim, two priorities were identified: firstly, the improvement of competitiveness in the agriculture and food sectors; secondly, the diversification of the rural economy. The development of rural tourism was identified as the first measure to

support diversification (National Rural Development Strategy, 2014). However, this strategy does not specifically identify what rural tourism means and what features it may include.

The IPARD (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development) programme is an important part of the overall rural development strategy of Turkey. It provides support to agricultural and rural development within the framework of EU pre-accession assistance. The programme, in line with the current National Rural Development Strategy, refers to rural tourism as one of the six areas of investment, with the aim *“to improve the rural economy and reduce the migration from rural to urban areas”* (IPARD, 2014, p. 64). Although the programme does not include a definition statement of rural tourism, it promises to address the relevant aspects of rural tourism development via the programme budget as follows: *“development of micro scale boarding & lodging infrastructures, development of recreational activities – notably linked with the natural milieu: outdoor recreational and sportive activities, horse riding, discovery of nature and environment, along with the discovery of the local heritage and promotion of the local tourism”* (IPARD, 2007, p. 177).

In addition to the national rural development policies, the Turkish Tourism Strategy Plan 2023 also aims to promote diversification in the tourism sector and alternative tourism activities (Turkey Tourism Strategy, 2007). In the strategic plan, alternative tourism types to be promoted are identified as river tourism, highland tourism, hunting, climbing, outdoor sports, bird-watching, and speleological and plateau tourism, as well as more luxurious types of tourism such as golf and yachting. Although the plan does not specifically mention rural tourism, the alternative tourism types that the plan promotes the development of are common rural tourism activities. Besides, as shown in Figure 3, the proposed development zones in the action plan correspond to mainly rural areas of Turkey.

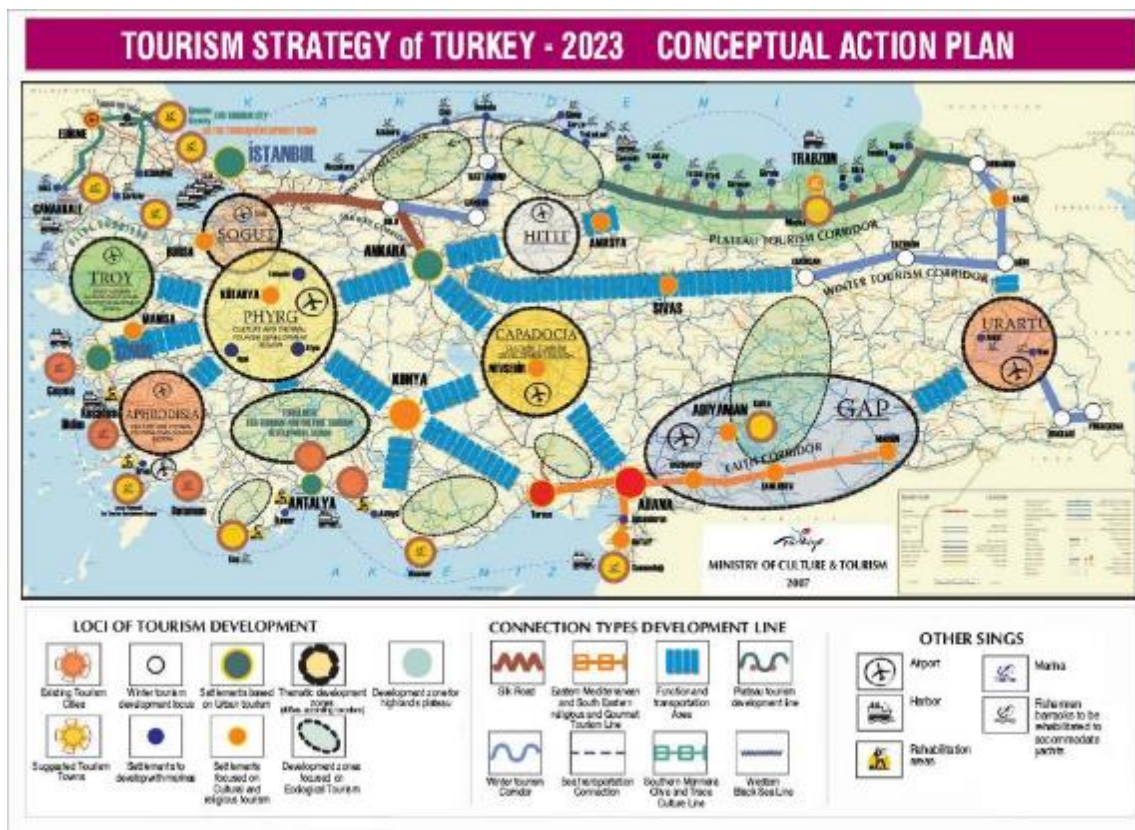


Figure 3: Tourism strategy of Turkey: Conceptual Action Plan (Turkey Tourism Strategy, 2007)

That Turkey was to go through a significant transition process from the 1980s was inevitable, and its rural population has happened to be the most affected group due to structural changes in the rural economy and, consequently, rural living (Akçay, 1999; Aydın, 2010; Keyder and Yenil, 2011). Development has been taken as synonymous with industrialisation for many years, and rural areas and the rural population have been neglected until recently (Tekeli, 2008). Poverty and the consequent depopulation of rural areas in many regions have started to be the subject of national development strategies in the last decades. Although these strategies show some direction and provide important tools for local development in rural areas, they fail to consider the process of such a substantial transition itself. As has been stated before, governments tend to highlight the socio-economic benefits of tourism development in rural areas in order to ensure diversification of the local economy for the least cost (Ribeiro and Marques, 2002). However, other implications of tourism in rural areas, such as those concerning the social structure and local cultures of rural communities, are mostly ignored. This is also apparent in Turkey's rural development strategy, as it is

believed that rural tourism is an efficient way to reduce rural-to-urban migration, as well as enhancing the local economy through diversification of income sources.

The rural areas mainly located on the coasts and in close proximity to big cities have already been used for secondary housing and recreation purposes for a long time (Akgün *et al.*, 2011). Additionally, considering the national tourism strategy of Turkey, it is likely that this usage of non-urban areas will gradually increase and tourism activities in those places will diversify.

1.5 Aim and Objectives of This Research

The changes in Turkey's rural economy and population were reflected also on the island of Bozcaada. These changes, which are observable from statistical data, showed that Bozcaada has been going through a series of substantial transitions. However, what cannot be seen through statistical data is how the overall transition of the island is taking place and in what form the implications of the transitions are revealed on the island. Considering the state agenda of boosting tourism development in rural areas, exploration of these transitions on the island may set an example for other rural areas planning to invest in the tourism sector. Therefore, the aim of this research is to investigate the socio-economic and cultural transitions on Bozcaada. In order to meet the aim of the research, two objectives have been set:

1. To undertake an original empirical research to identify and explore the socio-economic and cultural transitions on Bozcaada.
2. To bring together a diverse body of literature to develop a new conceptual framework on rural transitions.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introduction chapter, the second chapter of the thesis explores the existing literature on rural development, tourism in rural areas and the concept of rural gentrification in order to set out a conceptual basis for discussions of the findings of this research. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodological approach taken to undertake the research with detailed explanations of the case study choice, the data collection process and the analysis of the empirical data.

The case study findings start in Chapter 4, which illustrates the local economic change of the case study area, Bozcaada, from viniculture to the tourism sector. This chapter opens with the struggles of the local viniculture economy, continues by describing tourism development on Bozcaada with special emphasis on the transitions within the local tourism sector, and closes with the perceptions and predictions of the participants on the future of Bozcaada in terms of both viniculture and tourism.

Chapter 5 focuses on the social changes in the demographics, the socio-cultural environment and the built environment of Bozcaada. This chapter analyses the social sections of the local community and looks at their relationship with each other and within the wider community. The chapter also looks at the physical changes on Bozcaada, concentrating on the local housing market and aesthetic changes in the built environment.

Chapter 6 explores the seasonal differences in the local social and economic life of Bozcaada. It also investigates the seasonal migration of the local community, with emphasis on the motivations of the migrants, the effects of this migration on the local community, and the efforts of local administrative bodies to avert it. Then, Chapter 7 looks at tensions over the management and government of the island with current examples. It focuses on the points where these conflicts emerge and how different social and political groups take part within these conflicts.

Chapter 8 discusses the findings of the previous four chapters. The discussion focuses on the evolution of Bozcaada from a small viniculture community into a tourism destination, the concept of gentrification in terms of discussions on the typology of rural newcomers and displacement of lower income groups, the seasonal migration of the local community as a dilemma and, lastly, the role of tourism in the transition of Bozcaada.

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by summarising the key findings and discussions of the research. Then, it underlines the applications of the findings to the national policies that were introduced in Chapter 1. The contributions of the research to the existing literature, such as the model of Bozcaada's evolution into a tourism destination, the new concept of inherited gentrification and the unique seasonal out-migration pattern of the local residents, are also discussed in this chapter. Finally, application of the model in other geographies and

investigation of the concept of inherited gentrification and seasonal migration patterns elsewhere are suggested for further research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the conceptual framework of this research. It consists of three main bodies of literature: rural economic and social change, gentrification in rural contexts and tourism in rural areas. The first section focuses on the rural development literature with emphasis on changes in rural economy and in rural social structure and demography in order to establish a base for later debate.

Firstly, changes in rural economy through the more recent theories of rural change such as post-productivism, commodification and the global countryside are discussed. To examine changes in rural social structure and demography, the literature on amenity migration, counterurbanisation and rural gentrification are focused on.

The second main body of literature reviewed in this chapter is that of rural gentrification. First, the section starts with different theoretical approaches taken to explain and conceptualise gentrification cases. After comparing the two main approaches, it explores the commonalities of these approaches to set out a framework. Focus then is placed on the concept of gentrification in the rural context and how it takes place within the wider gentrification debate. Then, the differences in rural gentrification studies from other rural in-migration studies are examined. The final part of this section focuses on land use and housing policies as “agents” of gentrification and concludes with an exploration of the concept of self-gentrification.

The third main section of this chapter focuses on tourism in rural areas as a strategy for rural restructuring in terms of diversification of the rural economy. This section starts with the debate on defining rural tourism and continues with the impacts of tourism activities in rural areas. At the end, it examines three models of tourism development in the literature: Butler’s (1980) “*tourist area cycle of evolution*”, Mitchell’s (1998) “*creative destruction and enhancement model*”, and finally “*evolution typology of rural tourism*” by Cánoves *et al.* (2004).

2.2 Rural Change

Over the 20th century and moving into the 21st century, rural areas around the world have been through structural changes that have been reflected in every aspect, such as the economy, social structure and demography, and the composition of the community and rural land (Woods, 2005). Globalisation, neo-liberalism, technological innovations and social change are often identified as drivers of these interconnected and manifold changes occurring in rural areas, which are often referred to as “rural restructuring” (Marsden *et al.*, 1990).

2.2.1 Changes in rural economy

During the 20th and early 21st century, rural areas have been going through substantial economic and social structural transformations around the world, due to the decline in production-based activities as employment opportunities for rural populations (Lowe *et al.*, 1995; Woods, 2005). The globalisation of capital restructuring, internationalisation of trade, increased international residential mobility and geopolitical reorganisation have been identified as the main components of socio-economic transformation of rural areas (Ilbery, 1998). Most governments in the developed world responded to these rural changes by predominantly adopting reforms to agricultural policies that “*encourage a transition away from productivism*” (Woods, 2005, p. 301). Over the last couple of decades, a range of theories has been created to conceptualise these changes taking place in the contemporary countryside. The most renowned theories of rural change – the post-productivist countryside, the commodification of the countryside, and the global rural – are reviewed.

2.2.1.1 Productivist to post-productivist countryside

Following World War II, the governments of many capitalist countries in the global North introduced interventionist policies in the countryside, such as subsidies for inputs, price guarantees for outputs, support for development and tariffs against global competition to maximise agricultural production and enhance food security and self-sufficiency (Marsden, 1998). During the 1990s, the term *productivism* was adopted by many rural researchers to describe this era of extensively state-led policies that put agriculture in the centre of development (Lowe *et al.*, 1993; Shucksmith, 1993; Ward, 1993; Marsden, 1998). Lowe *et al.* (1993) described this state support as “*a commitment to an intensive, industrially-based and*

expansionist agriculture" (p. 221). This productivist agriculture and the position of farming in the rural economy started to be challenged in the 1970s and 1980s in line with political, social and broader economic factors such as public awareness of the environmental damage of intensive agriculture production, the social and economic cost of overproduction, and globalisation and the neo-liberal economy (Mackay *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, the productivist countryside that existed in the post-war period has been "dismantled" as "*the concerns over food security and self-sufficiency have been replaced by concerns about managing and disposing of surplus food, the cost of farm subsidies and the environmental problems of intensive farming*" (Ward *et al.*, 2008, p. 118).

This process of major transformation in the countryside was commonly called "*rural restructuring*" (Woods, 2005). Hoggart and Paniagua (2001) pointed out that the term *rural restructuring* is often loosely used in the literature to simply explain changes happening in one rural sector that have a burgeoning effect on the other rural sectors. They highlighted that "*restructuring involves fundamental re-adjustments in a variety of spheres of life, where processes of change are actually linked*" (Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001, p. 42). Woods (2005) further clarified this point by stating that "*sector specific changes such as farm diversification or closure of rural schools cannot be considered to be 'restructuring' in their own right. Placed in wider context, however, they can be interpreted as the local expressions of inter-connected processes of rural restructuring driven by globalization, technological innovations and social modernization*" (p. 41).

While changes were taking place in the countryside, especially in Britain, many researchers stated to highlight that the processes of rural change are spatially variable and uneven (Lowe *et al.*, 1993; Murdoch and Marsden, 1994; Marsden, 1998). Murdoch and Marsden (1994) developed the idea of differentiated countryside typology: that each of four types described represents different spatial outcomes of different processes of rural change. The first type of differentiated countryside typology is the "preserved countryside" and represents the most accessible rural areas around cities, characterised by preservationist and anti-development attitudes of middle-class residents who expertly use their power to influence land-use processes for their interests. This type of countryside is also highly demanded for new

developments in leisure and residential property. The second type is the “contested countryside” where traditional agricultural interests are still dominant but, due to its high amenity value, attracts urbanites who adopt the same preservationist ideas as with the previous type. Therefore, in this type of countryside, tension occurs between old and new residents as newcomers oppose new development. The third type is the “paternalistic countryside” where development and local politics are mainly controlled by established landholders who are large farms. In this type of countryside, the diversification of the local economy is used as a response to the crisis in primary production and is not opposed by others due to low in-migration. The final type is the “clientelist countryside”, which represents remote rural areas with a reliance on state-subsidised agriculture. Local politics is only based on the welfare of the local community, especially in employment. Any external investment also depends on state support due to the less favourable conditions of the area.

The transition from productivist to post-productivist countryside is often characterised by the shift from increasing farm output by continuous modernisation and industrialisation of agriculture to “*the integration of agriculture to broader rural economic development and environmental objectives*” (Ilbery (1998, p. 57). Also, three structural shifts were pinpointed in both eras: the productivist countryside was associated with intensification, specialisation and concentration, while post-productivism linked up with a move towards extensification, diversification and dispersion. However, the notion of post-productivism has been critiqued by rural researchers from outside the UK on the basis of its applicability (Argent, 2002; Wilson and Rigg, 2003). In their research, which aimed to test the applicability of the term *post-productivist transition of the rural economy* in the global South, Wilson and Rigg (2003) reviewed post-productivist transitions researched in developed economies. They identified six interconnected indicators used to elaborate post-productivist transition: policy change; organic farming; counterurbanisation; and the involvement of non-governmental organisations in policymaking, consumption of the countryside and farm diversification. Wilson and Rigg (2003) argued that productivist and post-productivist regimes in the rural South may be present at the same time, and the transition of rural economies does not follow a rigid sequence of events. Therefore, in order to explain structural changes in the rural South, they introduced another term: *de-agrarianisation*.

In the light of the critiques of post-productivism, the notion of multifunctionality was suggested by some researchers to replace the dualist shift from the productivist to the post-productivist countryside (Wilson, 2001; Holmes, 2002; McCarthy, 2005). Wilson (2001) claimed that rural areas around the world differ in terms of the extent that they become post-productive, while in many of them the productivist and post-productivist countrysides still coexist. Therefore, the notion of multifunctionality better captures “... *the diversity, non-linearity and spatial heterogeneity that can currently be observed in modern agriculture and rural society*” (Wilson, 2001, p. 96).

Similarly, McCarthy (2005) also argued that productivism is still very dominant in many rural areas around the world; therefore, it may not apply to other places outside western Europe due to its highly generalised nature, and it fails to capture the variations in rural change. He suggested that the term *multifunctionality*, which he referred to as a direct outcome of neo-liberal reforms, would be more appropriate instead of post-productivism, stating that “*it offers a positive characterization rather than a negative one; it recognizes the continued importance of commodity production in rural areas; and it is inherently sensitive to spatial and social differentiation, the fact that different rural areas clearly can and will produce very different, even unique, combinations of use values*” (ibid, p. 774).

2.2.1.2 *Commodification of the countryside*

Another term which has been used to explain the changes happening in rural areas is the *commodification* of the countryside. It is claimed that rural areas have changed from being places of primary production only to places of both production and sale of non-traditional rural commodities, services, lifestyle products and even experiences (Cloke, 2006; Perkins, 2006). Although commodification of the countryside draws many parallels with multifunctionality and post-productivism, it is one of the outcomes of the cultural turn in social sciences that mainly focuses on non-agricultural aspects of rural areas (Mackay *et al.*, 2009).

Perkins (2006) argued that commodification is an integral part of the process of rural change and “*it works itself out in myriad ways across the globe as capital seeks to accumulate and interacts with national and international regulatory arrangements and local production and consumption practices*” (p. 254). During this process, interconnected and overlapping

forms of rural commodities or “products” are maintained, adapted and created, while rural landscapes, production processes, social relations and representations of the rural are accordingly and continuously changed. Perkins (2006) described these rural commodities or products as *“well-established and new agricultural and horticultural commodities; a diverse range of rural settlement types associated with counterurbanization; short and feature films incorporating rural landscape made with the support of regional film commissions and place promoters; and a plethora of recreation and tourism products and activities”* (ibid, p. 254).

2.2.1.3 *The global countryside*

Woods (2007) and McCarthy (2008) examined the way in which rural areas are being produced through globalised forms and relations as an outcome of global trade liberalisation. Outsourcing the production of food to less developed countries has led to the commodification of domestic rural landscapes in developed countries. McCarthy (2008) suggested that the contemporary countryside is being remade, linked and commodified as an outcome of current global forces such as amenity migration and increasing international tourism as well as economic, social and political activities. The rural areas are much more exposed to activities of complex local, regional and global actors in their local economics, politics and social compositions (McCarthy, 2008; Woods, 2011).

Woods (2011) argued that the capacity of local communities to become involved and act in this contemporary countryside that is shaped by these global processes is increasingly being challenged, and the countryside is becoming a place of negotiation, contest and conflict, which is reconstituted to involve interactions between local, regional and global actors. He supported his global countryside thesis by an empirical study undertaken in Queenstown Lakes District in New Zealand, where the local socio-economic and landscape changes have been dominated by amenity migration and a rural housing development boom and consequent population growth. Due to the increased investment and interest in the area, the Queenstown Lakes District became linked to a network of global actors such as international tourists and non-local investors. Woods (2011) highlighted that although it seemed that the locality is dominated by the global actors and shaped by the globalisation process, this is actually a new hybrid form of relations between local and global actors in contemporary rural

areas. Shucksmith (2010) also examined the roles of state and different actors at multiple levels and how they interact with each other in providing sustainable rural development in an increasingly globalised context with illustrations from Scotland. He suggested that development should be articulated horizontally and vertically in the sense that it derives from multiple actors and creates negotiating ruralities, which leads to non-linear and continually emergent development process (Shucksmith, 2010).

2.2.2 Change in rural social structure and demography

Changes in the rural social structure have been progressing simultaneously with changes in the rural economy. The dominant migration pattern for rural areas had been towards cities and metropolitan areas during most of the 20th century. However, parallel with economic restructuring – such as sectoral shifts in the rural economy and consequently in the spatial division of labour – in addition to improvements in transportation and infrastructure, migration patterns between urban and rural areas were reversed in some regions later in the century (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Woods, 2005). These reversed migration patterns reflected the social composition of rural areas. Together with various factors, this led to a much more diverse population structure in rural areas.

Demographic and social changes in rural areas have been examined widely across the globe. However, the terminology used to explain and conceptualise these changes varies in the literature. Amenity migration, counterurbanisation and rural gentrification are the most common concepts used to illustrate these changes, which are closely related to the transition of rural areas in the more developed communities.

2.2.2.1 Amenity migration

Amenity migration is a notion that is commonly referred to in order to explain demographic changes occurring in transition from the productivist to the post-productivist or multifunctional countryside, most commonly in North American and Australian studies (Moss, 2006; Argent *et al.*, 2007; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). Despite the fact that there is no consensus on what amenity migration as a phenomenon implies, Gosnell and Abrams (2011, p. 303) argue that the generic definition of amenity migration is “*the movement of people based on the draw of natural and/or cultural amenities*”. As opposed to economic motivation

and forced relocations due to conflict or natural disasters, for example, amenity migration is driven by choices that people make voluntarily to relocate themselves with specific lifestyle motivations, which in this case usually overlap with the conditions in rural areas (Matarrita-Cascante, 2017).

The most visible difference of this notion from counterurbanisation is that it emphasises the pull factor of the in-migration movement in rural areas. Natural amenities that rural areas have to offer are the main pull factor of the phenomenon. However, exactly what “amenity” is in a rural context may differ from one to another. Argent *et al.* (2007) argued in their study based on the Australian case of amenity migration patterns that there are three variables that influence in-migration in Australian rural areas: distance to beaches; employment opportunities in recreational or related services; and irrigation water resources. They suggested that what amenity means to Australians today is “*easy access to good surfing and swimming beaches; coastal views; riverine areas for recreation, and the services and facilities that compliment these environmental and geographical attributes*” (Argent *et al.*, 2007, p. 231). In addition to these characteristics of amenity migration in Australia, Buckley *et al.* (2006) included mountain areas, wine-growing areas, national parks and former lodging towns. Moss (2006) highlighted that apart from physical and natural amenities, the cultural amenities of rural areas can act in the same way to attract in-migrants. He defined the process of amenity migration as “*the migration to places that people perceive as having greater environmental quality and differentiated culture*” (ibid, p. 3).

2.2.2.2 Counterurbanisation

Counterurbanisation is an outcome of social and economic restructuring occurring in both rural and urban areas, in line with social changes and technological advancements that allow people to communicate and travel more easily than in previous generations (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Woods, 2005). Since service-sector employment opportunities in the countryside have risen with the decline in traditional agricultural industry in the transition to the post-productivist countryside, the counterurbanisation movement has emerged (Halfacree and Boyle, 1998).

Despite Berry's (1976) original explanation of the term as "population deconcentration", which was based on American rural in-migration experience, Woods (2005) noted that the notion encompasses both decentralisation and deconcentration of population. Woods (2005) suggested that although counterurbanisation is characterised by movement of population from urban to rural areas, it can also be indicated by differentiated rates of population growth in urban and rural areas. He argued that "counterurbanisation", as widely used, is not a straightforward term, and presented "*four caveats*" that should be considered while researching the population dynamics in contemporary rural areas (Woods, 2005): first, "*the emphasis placed on counterurbanization in Anglo-American literature has understated the diversity of national trends*" (p. 78); second, "*there are regional differences in population dynamics and regional factors may be more important than rural factors in explaining migration*" (p. 78); third, "*even in areas of rural population growth there can be pockets of local depopulation*" (p. 81); and fourth, "*counterurbanization can disguise different migration patterns for different age groups and social groups*" (p. 82).

Additionally, Mitchell (2004) argued that counterurbanisation, as a term, is chaotic and insufficient to capture the complexity of the phenomenon. She identified three sub-categories of counterurbanisation at local level: "*ex-urbanization*", when migrants keep their urban links and commute to cities often; "*displaced urbanization*", when people move to rural areas in search of employment or a lower cost of living; and "*anti-urbanization*" when migration is based on lifestyle motivations (Mitchell, 2004).

Kontuly (1998) identified a six-part classification of key factors used by researchers for explanation of the counterurbanisation movement: economic cyclical factors; economic structural factors; spatial and environmental factors; socio-economic and socio-cultural factors; implicit and explicit government policies; technological innovations (see Table 2).

<p>Economic cyclical factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Business cycle fluctuations Regional boom and bust experiences A new cyclic pattern of capital investment in property and business
<p>Economic structural factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deconcentration of jobs to rural areas and new spatial divisions of labour
<p>Spatial and environmental factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agglomeration diseconomies Housing availability and cost Environmental amenities Expansion of tourism and recreation industries
<p>Socio-economic and socio-cultural factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A change in residential preferences and social values The growth in state welfare payments Changing socio-demographic composition Regional entrepreneurial skills
<p>Implicit and explicit government policies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Planned deconcentration initiatives Improvement of social infrastructure in rural areas
<p>Technological innovations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transportation and communication technologies

Table 2: Explanation of counterurbanisation phenomenon (adapted from Kontuly, 1998).

2.2.2.3 Rural gentrification

The phenomenon of rural gentrification is used to explain socio-cultural and demographic changes in the countryside, as are counterurbanisation and amenity migration. However, the extent of the notion of rural gentrification is much broader than the others, as it includes the economic dimensions of these changes. For example, Sutherland (2012) described rural gentrification as “a counterurbanization with the displacement of the low-income groups” by adding the social-class dimension into the ongoing migration debate. Therefore, it can be said that the rural gentrification literature encompasses the counterurbanisation and amenity migration phenomena together. On the other hand, Phillips (2010) argued that the concepts of counterurbanisation and rural gentrification are highly commensurable concepts, although

the former has been used much more widely in the literature. Smith (2002) claimed that rural gentrification failed to obtain recognition among the gentrification literature – which is dominated by an urban focus – or among the rural and population literature due to its politically challenging focus on class. A detailed review of rural gentrification can be found later in this chapter.

2.3 Gentrification in a Rural Context

The gentrification phenomenon has been largely debated in Anglo-Saxon urban studies and inherently taken as an urban concept. Gentrification was first described as the *“transformation of an urban neighbourhood through the gradual arrival of middle-class or well-to-do residents who eventually replace poorer or working-class residents”* by Glass (1964) in her study examining social and physical changes in London. Although the term *gentrification* was first used in 1964, in the 1970s and early 1980s it became more widely used by researchers in order to refer to changes occurring in urban spaces (Phillips, 2009).

2.3.1 Different approaches to gentrification

There are two main schools of thought that explain causes of gentrification. First, the Marxian or productivist/supply-side approach is centred on economic structures of gentrification. According to productivist theories, *“gentrification is shaped by legal, institutional, economic and political structures whose principal architects aim to produce, accumulate and distribute profits”* while calling for significant financial, human and material resources (Lees *et al.*, 2008). Secondly, consumption/demand-side approaches are centred on social and cultural characteristics of gentrifiers who give rise to gentrification.

2.3.1.1 Production/supply-side theories

Production-side theories claim that the notion of gentrification should be investigated through the productive investment of capital, which relates to the “rent-gap” theory of Smith (1979). According to Smith’s theory, the “rent-gap” refers to the gap between the actual payment for a property, which can be rent or the purchase price, and the potential value of a property in that specific area. This lower level of actual payment is usually a result of disinvestment in the area. There is a profit to be made by owners or other institutions in this area in case of reinvestment, and then also an opportunity for greater rental value for those who invested in

the area. Therefore, Smith (1979) claims that gentrification occurs as a result of this cycle of disinvestment and reinvestment.

Although the production-side approach to gentrification theories has been widely explored in the urban context, it has been relatively little used in rural studies. Phillips (1993) has drawn an analogy between post-productivism and rural gentrification theories. The notion of the post-productivist countryside in rural studies relates to the devalorisation of land and buildings with respect to agricultural production and its uneven revalorisation with respect to more consumption-oriented capital networks. Therefore, rural gentrification can be seen as *“one form of the revalorisation of resources and spaces which have become seen as unproductive or marginal to agrarian capital”* (Phillips, 2005, p. 479). Conversion of barns and other rural buildings into residential, retail or leisure facilities are the most visible examples of post-productivist explanation of rural gentrification and the process of devaluation and revaluation (see Table 3).

Types of capital and associated practices of gentrification			Phase in circuit of capital	Type of agency gentrification
Labour/products	Physical infrastructure	Finance		
Architectural restoration	Conversion of old town houses and lofts	Investment in “avant-garde” art, restaurants	Direct capital investment	Individualised
Production of gentrification products	Creation of ensemble of facilities to create a downtown “scene”	Creation of local real estate market	Intensification of capital	Individualised but more empowered
Publication of magazines	Creation of “landmark” districts	Agencies adopt area as a tourist and retail destination; fictitious capital encourages expansion	Symbolisation of capital	National and multinational firms
Circulation of ideas and personnel	Expansion of central business district	Investment in new office construction	Diffusion and corporatisation of capital	Large corporate capital

Table 3: A stage model of rural gentrification incorporating flows of capital and agencies of gentrification (Phillips, 2004)

Darling (2005) adopted a productivist approach in her research exploring the applicability of Neil Smith’s rent-gap theory to rural gentrification in the Adirondack State Park in upstate New York, suggesting that the cycle of devaluation and revaluation is also applicable to the park, which has a unique set of legislative restrictions; she named this unique case of gentrification “*wilderness gentrification*”. She suggested that the wilderness character of the area led to devalorisation of the region due to the special land-ownership patterns and conservative regulations of the state. This “*peculiar condition*” of Adirondack State Park has conditioned an “*underutilisation of ground rent*” and underpinned the preservation of the landscape, which became very desirable to tourists and subsequently stimulated capital investment in the area (Darling, 2005).

Production/supply-side and post-productivist approaches to gentrification are criticised for lacking a historical and cultural approach. According to Zukin (1990), gentrification as a “*socio-spatial complex*” should be considered “*schematically as a large circuit of cultural capital that is in turn made up of smaller, specialized circuits, each of which joins labour, finance and capital investment in physical infrastructure*” (p. 49).

2.3.1.2 *Consumption/demand-side approaches*

In contrast with productivist/supply-side approaches, consumption/demand-side approaches emphasise the movement of people rather than capital. Consumption approaches of gentrification also identify the typology and motivation of gentrifiers, and are usually based on empirical, place-based researches. Therefore, consumption-side approach research focuses on socio-cultural changes in the countryside, consumer preferences and middle-class concepts of rurality regarding gentrification (Ley, 1987; Smith and Phillips, 2001; Skeggs, 2004; Butler, 2007)

Studies adopting consumption-side approaches have been predominantly covered under various titles such as counterurbanisation, rural in-migration, rural population change, rural mobility and so on, exploring social changes in the countryside rather than rural gentrification, due to the fact that gentrification studies in the urban context were widely related to capital flows and Smith’s theory. However, Stockdale (2010) claims that those studies failed to make explicit conceptual linkages, which the concept of rural gentrification did, and summarises rural gentrification as “*counterurbanization which leads to displacement*”.

Consumption-side approaches of rural gentrification are much more diverse than productivist approaches. Therefore, due to the “*peculiarity*” of each case of rural gentrification, researchers have been encouraged to rename the term according to the special processes in their case studies, such as “*wilderness gentrification*” by Darling (2005). Smith and Phillips (2001), for instance, developed a new term, “*greentification*” to emphasise in-migrants’ (or ex-urbanites’) motivation to move to rural areas, driven by their perception of the idyllic rural lifestyle and natural environment, and suggested that this term may be a substitute for “*rural gentrification*”. However, Phillips (2005) later criticised it, as “*the term ‘greentification’ lacks the class associations of gentrification*” (2005, p. 478).

Glass's (1964) conceptualisation of gentrification highlighting middle-class in-migration and working-class displacement has been applied to a significant number of rural studies, especially British ones. In the rural context, middle-class ex-urbanites migrate to rural areas and displace working-class rural locals and their rural way of life by outbidding them in the housing market, dominating local and social organisations and the market sector also (see, for example, (Phillips, 1993; Cloke *et al.*, 1995; Phillips, 2002; Phillips, 2005; Guimond and Simard, 2010; Scott *et al.*, 2011; Shucksmith, 2012; Sutherland, 2012)). However, debates over the definition of "middle-class" have a critical importance when defining gentrifiers in gentrification studies. Although income is the primary parameter in use to describe the socio-economic and socio-cultural structure of a particular population, it is very important to support it with other parameters such as employment, education level, occupation and so on, as one can be poor in economic capital but rich in cultural capital, which makes one a "good" gentrifier (Stockdale, 2010).

In addition to problematic definitions of the contemporary middle classes and working classes, Hamnett (2009) also criticises class colonisation and displacement perspectives of rural gentrification for disregarding the general decline of the working classes and increasing the volumes and sub-fractions of the middle classes at the national level. He stated that: *"If we are to see gentrification as a class-based process, it is important to address the questions of where the expanded middle-class has gone, and what the connections are between gentrification, social class change and displacement"* (Hamnett, 2009, p. 476).

Common explanations of rural gentrification tend to be based on consumption approaches, since "gentrifiers" are largely named as ex-urbanites who "consume" rural space. However, consumption/demand-side theories of gentrification have been criticised for being excessively focused on gentrifiers' actions while paying little attention to other components of the gentrification process. Smith (1979) stated that *"the gentrifiers as consumers are only one of the many actors participating in the process. To explain gentrification according to the gentrifier's action alone, while ignoring the role of builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents and tenants is exclusively narrow"* (p. 540).

Nonetheless, the split between the production side and the consumption side in rural gentrification studies is not very polarised. For instance, Phillips discussed the notion of rural gentrification through both approaches by using both conceptual and empirical references in his research (Phillips, 1993; Phillips, 2002; Phillips, 2004; Phillips, 2005). Additionally, these concepts started to be seen as complementary to each other and this gave rise to many integrated theories of rural gentrification (Hamnett, 1991; Clark, 1992; Clark, 1994; Lees, 1994; Lees, 2000; Gkartzios and Scott, 2012).

It is important to acknowledge that the focus of rural gentrification studies is not limited merely to rural housing stock. Transformation of the use of agricultural land from commercial production to “hobby farming” alongside barn conversions and housing development on agricultural land is also a concern of rural gentrification. This also brought about another term, “*agricultural gentrification*” (Sutherland, 2012). Sutherland conceptualised agricultural gentrification as resulting “... through in-migration, which reflects increasing demand for lifestyles associated with occupation of farm land and buildings in combination with declining economic value of agricultural land and buildings for commercial production of agricultural commodities” (Sutherland, 2012, p. 569).

2.3.2 Parameters of gentrification

Gentrification is widely accepted as a process which is diverse and varies in its outcomes. However, Davidson and Lees (2005) give some “*evidence[s] of change*” that are also interlinked with each other: reinvestment of capital; social upgrading of the locale; landscape change; displacement of low-income groups.

Reinvestment of capital through purchase and refurbishment of existing housing stock leads to changes in the landscape, while social upgrading of the locale through the migration of the middle classes leads to displacement of low-income groups. Even though this conceptualisation of gentrification breaks down the concept into four main “changes”, it does not necessarily imply an order among the changes. For example, displacement of low-income groups does not have to be the last outcome of the process; it can take place before the migration of the middle classes by “clearance” of space through forced evictions due to intentional and place-based legislative changes. The cases from Turkey (Turkun, 2011; Uysal,

2012) are good examples of such displacement before in-migration of newcomers. In June 2005, the Turkish Parliament passed Law no. 5366, which authorised municipalities to implement large-scale urban regeneration projects with the right of expropriation in deteriorating historic areas and zones of degeneration to take precautions against earthquake risks. In practice, however, it is clear that most of the areas designated as “urban transformation/renewal areas” are either historic areas where construction has been restricted, or squatter housing districts that occupy highly valuable urban land. In areas with mainly lower-income groups, residents have been evicted, allegedly for earthquake precaution reasons, by the authority of this law and the space has been “cleared” for a series of major transformation/renewal projects that target upper-middle income groups in the important historic sites of Istanbul: Sulukule, Tarlabasi, Suleymaniye and Fener-Balat (Turkun, 2011; Uysal, 2012).

2.3.3 Gentrification in rural context

Although gentrification phenomena in the countryside did not attract attention in the academic literature as much as their urban counterparts, they have been presented in a growing number of studies since the 1980s (see, for example Bowler and Lewis, 1987; Little, 1987; Richmond, 1987). This complex urban phenomenon emerges in the countryside with similar principal indicators (Guimond and Simard, 2010): a change in the socio-economic composition of its citizens; an emphasis on cultural or national heritage and aesthetics; the emergence of new institutions leading to the closure of older ones; diversification of products and services; changes in property values.

There are significant commonalities of the gentrification processes in rural and urban contexts. However, it is critically important that rural researchers should avoid importing all the ideas and practices of urban studies directly into rural space, as there are diverse geographies of rural gentrification emerging in different forms and processes that need to be interpreted in different ways (Smith and Phillips, 2001; Darling, 2005; Stockdale, 2010) .

Guimond and Simard (2010) claim that, unlike its urban counterpart, rural gentrification does not necessarily lead to displacement of locals and lower-income groups due to the opportunity for new build development in rural places. However, Murdoch and Marsden

(1994) state that once higher income groups move into rural settlements, they resist further development in the area, which subsequently leads to an increase in housing prices and subsequently the inevitable displacement of lower-income groups.

According to Phillips (1993), there are two principal problems with applying urban phenomena to the countryside. First, the transformation of the built environment occurs differently in each context. For example, in urban areas, it appears as the renovation of dilapidated buildings, while in rural areas, it is usually in the form of new construction.

The second of two principal problems of applying urban phenomena in the countryside that Phillips (1993) describes is the different characteristics and motivations of gentrifiers. He describes the *“rural gentrifier mother”* who *“migrate[s] to the countryside for the well-being of her children”* and the *“professional mother”* (or urban gentrifier mother) who prioritises the *“convenience of [a] central neighbourhood allowing them to save time”*. Therefore, it is crucial to keep in mind that there are some differences.

Gentrification is not a standard and stereotype in either the urban or the rural context. Although there is *“evidence of change”* as Guimond and Simard (2010) suggested, *“rural areas themselves may be sufficiently differentiated to render the idea of an overarching, homogeneous ‘rural gentrification’ suspect”* (Darling, 2005, p. 1015). Thus, it is inevitable that there will be geographical differences produced by different agents (Phillips, 2005; Scott *et al.*, 2011). It is a *“multi-faceted process”* (Stockdale, 2010) that evolves through different stages and subsequently generates different outcomes according to geography, time and agents.

2.3.4 Counterurbanisation and rural gentrification

As discussed earlier, since rural gentrification has been defined through demographic socio-cultural change in the countryside, especially by consumption-side theories, it has been discussed under a diverse range of topics related to the influx of population towards rural areas. Counterurbanisation as a *“migration movement”* (Mitchell, 2004) is the most popular concept that correlates with the rural gentrification concept. For example, Sutherland (2012) described rural gentrification as a counterurbanisation with displacement of low-income

groups by adding the social-class dimension into the migration debate. Therefore, counterurbanisation studies take a significant place in the rural gentrification literature.

As in rural gentrification, defining such complex “*socio-spatial structure*” runs the risk of narrowing and limiting diversity (Halfacree, 2001; Mitchell, 2004). By avoiding the conceptualisation of counterurbanisation, Gkartzios (2013) presents three “*interrelated elements of differentiation*” in counterurbanisation “*stories*”:⁴ *locality, motivation and social group*. These elements can also be used in the context of rural gentrification.

Locality: since the concepts of the rural and the urban are heavily contested (Woods, 2010), research on counterurbanisation has focused on diverse environments from small market towns to remote rural areas. Research focusing on the distance of counterurban moves showed that the locality has an effect on the motives and characteristics of in-migrants (Stockdale *et al.*, 2000; Bijker *et al.*, 2012).

Motivation: Migration decisions are based on two main rationalities in counterurbanisation studies; economic/employment (push-led) and quality of life/lifestyle (pull-led) considerations. Mitchell (2004) proposed three sub-terms of counterurbanisation in order to distinguish between its motives. According to Mitchell (2004), “*ex-urbanization*” describes the movement of middle-class commuters to accessible peri-urban rural areas, motivated by environmental amenities associated with rural living, while “*displaced urbanization*” describes relocations motivated by the need for employment, a lower cost of living and affordable housing, and “*anti-urbanization*” describes the movement of urban residents motivated by anti-urban motives (i.e. crime, pollution, etc.) and idyllic perceptions about rural life. Motives of in-migrants or gentrifiers in the gentrification context are a very important element of rural gentrification processes, as what they expect from the area (usually idyllic perceptions or environmental concerns) correlates to landscape changes, especially planning regulations (Murdoch and Marsden, 1994) that may cause a substantial increase in housing prices and the subsequent displacement of lower-income groups (Darling, 2005).

⁴ Gkartzios uses “*counterurbanization stories*” instead of typologies in order to emphasise the unique patterns of each case.

Social group: a significant number of counterurbanisation research studies have concentrated on the diversity of rural in-migrants such as marginal settlers (Halfacree, 2001), artists (Mitchell, 2004) and pre-retirement groups (Stockdale, 2006). The social groups of “gentrifiers”, aside from “class” based on income, have occupied a significant place in rural gentrification debates as well (Phillips, 2002; Stockdale, 2010; Gkartzios and Scott, 2012).

2.3.5 Land-use planning, housing policies and gentrification

Rural gentrification from a planning perspective has been mostly examined through issues of housing supply, housing affordability and the subsequent displacement of locals. Planning regulations that restrict the supply of new housing and further development in the countryside can act as a “*gentrification agent*” (Scott *et al.*, 2011; Gkartzios and Scott, 2012). Especially in the UK, the dual pressure of a restrictive housing supply and the effect of rural in-migration has resulted in an acute affordability issue for local communities, which eventually leads to the issue of displacement (Stockdale *et al.*, 2000; Best and Shucksmith, 2006; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2007; Shucksmith, 2012). Gkartzios and Scott (2012), however, showed that in countries where rural planning regulations (if they exist) or house-building processes in the countryside are more flexible, rural in-migration/counterurbanisation is less likely to generate the displacement of locals.

“In rural areas ... the increase in the middle-class residents, leading to the gentrification of many villages, has been encouraged by planning policies which show more concern for the aims of environmental conservation and the economic principle of resource concentration than for the alleviation of social need.” (Little, 1987, p. 197)

In addition to the above quotation from Little, Cloke (1983) also claims that pressured rural areas with restrictive policies attract the gentrification process and prevent the building of dwellings for local need. In her study in the Adirondack region, USA, Darling (2005) stated that the material production of nature, such as the national park and preservation areas, by the state management of local landscape, creates the conditions for gentrification to take place. Moreover, as it promotes more interest towards the area through alternative tourist activities, it underpins not only the displacement of locals but also the exclusion of newcomers who

came to the area with employment-led motivations, due to the increased number of second homes and holiday homes where housing stock was already limited. For example, in the Webb area of Adirondack, the shortage of year-round rentals due to the high demand for weekly rentals has forced workers to double or triple up with other workers to avoid long commuting journeys every day (Darling, 2005).

2.3.6 Gentrification from within

Sutherland (2012) has described the gentrification process in non-commercial farming in the UK, arguing that “*while gentrification can occur ‘without’ through in-migration and displacement of existing farmers, it can also come from ‘within’ through reorientation of commercial farmers*” (p. 574), and introduced the concept of “*gentrification from within*”, referring to “*social upgrading*” through “*agricultural gentrification*” that occurs at farm (rather than neighbourhood) level, achieved through the influx of wealth generated from non-farming activity – pluriactivity.⁵ Having agricultural land as a productive resource alongside housing and other farm building is the major feature of agricultural gentrification that makes it possible for farmers to “self-gentrify”, increasing their social status without relocation. In her research on the Scottish countryside, Stockdale (2010) also identified the particular importance of diversified farmers, especially those with commercial activities that drew on rural resources. This self-employment through diversification in the countryside is related to the “production of rurality”, particularly through tourism or retailing.

2.4 Tourism in Rural Areas

2.4.1 Defining rural tourism

Sharpley and Roberts (2004) suggest that rural tourism is a “*dynamic phenomenon*” which emerges in different forms and takes place in a wide range of economic, physical and political environments (p. 119). Therefore, a unified and more specific definition aiming to capture a global meaning would be “*illusive*” and “*unsatisfactory*” (Dashper, 2014, p. 3). However, for

⁵ “*Pluriactivity refers to the regeneration, by farm household members, of income from on-farm and/or off-farm source in addition to income obtained from primary agriculture. Thus it involves both farm diversification and other gainful activities*” (Ilbery, B. and Bowler, I. (1998) 'From agricultural productivism to post-productivism', in Ilbery, B. (ed.) *The Geography of Rural Change*. Harlow: Longman, pp. 57-84.

the purpose of budget allocation, grant applications and other management and development policies, defining rural tourism is still valuable for planners and policymakers (Hall *et al.*, 2003).

One of the most influential definitions of rural tourism was coined by Bernard Lane in the early years of rural tourism literature, in preparation for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's rural development policy report (OECD, 1993). Lane (1994) described rural tourism as a form of tourism with conditions. It should take place in rural areas; should be rural in scale, character and function; should represent the complex pattern of rural environment, economy, culture and history; and should be based on farms in villages or small towns. However, the concept of rural tourism has been also changing alongside other changes occurring in rural areas and in the tourism industry. In the last two decades, new types of "niche" tourism forms with specific interests have emerged (Jamal and Robinson, 2009). Fifteen years after his first definition, Lane (2009) enlarged his definition by including new trends and reaching beyond farm-based or agriculture-based tourism. He defined rural tourism as an "umbrella term" that includes other tightly defined tourism forms taking place in rural environments, such as ecotourism, adventure tourism, agritourism, nature tourism, food and wine tourism, and cultural and heritage tourism (2009, p. 356).

2.4.2 Impact of tourism in rural areas

As the significance of agricultural production diminished in rural economies, tourism was perceived as a natural route to diversification and to promote a more service-based economy in the countryside (Jenkins *et al.*, 1998). Although tourism seemed to be a response to changes occurring in rural areas, it became an actor of the change itself with varying implications for the local economy, the social and cultural structures of the local communities, and the environment in rural areas.

The most acclaimed feature of rural tourism, or tourism in rural areas, is its economic benefits for local populations in rural areas under circumstances of economic decline, through the diversification of the local economy, creation of new employment opportunities and establishment of a more stable economic base for development (Gannon, 1994; Lane, 1994; Oppermann, 1996; Jenkins *et al.*, 1998; Iorio and Corsale, 2010). Additionally, social and environmental positive outcomes of tourism in rural areas in relation to rural change and

development have been pointed out several times in the literature (Gannon, 1994; Smith and Krannich, 1998; Roberts and Hall, 2001; Sharpley, 2002; Hall *et al.*, 2003; Lane, 2005). These benefits include the maintenance of local rural services such as schools and public transportation, the opportunity to increase social contact and cultural exchange in remote rural areas, mitigating out-migration, repopulation of declining or ageing local communities, and a stimulus for the preservation and improvement of the natural and cultural heritage. Keen (2004) suggested in her study in New Zealand that in small rural towns, the local population can be involved in the tourism industry merely for its social benefits rather than for financial profit. She highlighted that the motivations of her participants were the contribution they felt they made in the sustainable development of their area and their community.

Butler and Hall (1998) remind us that tourism as a sector requires very specific requirements to meet market needs and trends to successfully prevail; therefore, it may not be the most convenient route to development. Although a rural area may be able to meet those requirements, this does not necessarily mean that it is immune to the negative effects which may arise (Butler and Hall, 1998). For example, if tourism in a rural area grows extremely rapidly to the point that the number of visitors exceeds the number of the local residents before necessary precautions are taken to accommodate all, the carrying capacity may be exceeded and cause a change in the dynamics of the local community (Roberts and Hall, 2001; Reid *et al.*, 2004).

Ribeiro and Marques (2002) questioned the validity of the common argument that rural tourism is an effective tool to overcome the problems of declining rural areas via an empirical research study carried out in less favoured rural areas of northern Portugal. Their research pointed out that the actual benefits of rural tourism for the local community and the local economy in the studied areas conflicted with what the political and academic discourses suggested. They found that the employment opportunities created by rural tourism development did not meet local employment needs and that most of the created jobs were seasonal and low in quality with minimum pay. They also claimed that rural tourism did not bring sufficient benefit for the local economy due to the "*inability and incapacity*" of the local

community to induce tourists to spend more money in the local economy (Ribeiro and Marques, 2002, p. 218). However, they also highlighted that although tourism does not have a direct and immediate effect on income and employment, it can play an important role in the dynamics of development in remote rural areas as the *“catalysis of ideas, initiatives and energies”* (ibid, p. 218).

Commonly, rural tourism is symbolised by small-scale family-based businesses. Fleischer and Felsenstein (2000) suggested that rural tourism businesses that are principally operated from a low capital base with low-level skills and experience are in a position to encounter high market failure. Moreover, due to the fact that lack of entrepreneurship, capital and sectoral knowledge is common in rural areas (Bramwell, 1994), entering the sector is more challenging for small-scale rural tourism businesses (Wilson, 2001). Under these circumstances, tourism may have more negative effects on the local communities than the possible benefits promised by authorities (Janecka, 2009). As Scheyvens (2002) once pointed out, when finance capital to initiate tourism businesses is not available locally, the development of rural tourism *“transforms a community of self-sufficient farmers and traders into a community of employees reliant on seasonal jobs as cleaners and service personnel”* (ibid, p. 8).

Other implications of tourism in rural areas that have been indicated in the literature include the replacement of local services with tourism-oriented facilities; displacement of less wealthy groups of local residents as prices increase; overuse and misuse of natural resources and cultural heritage; crowding, which hinders the daily life and privacy of local residents; alteration of cultural and traditional values; and conflict between different groups of local actors (Cánoves *et al.*, 2004; Iorio and Corsale, 2010; Brandth and Haugen, 2011; Godfrey, 2012; Page and Connell, 2014).

It is commonly suggested in the rural tourism literature that tourist activities and the pressure they exert for further development cause a conflict between newcomers and long-term residents. Smith and Krannich (2000) argued in their study on rural communities in the Rocky Mountains that the common view that urban in-migrants in rural areas are anti-development due to the fear of losing the rural idyll which attracted them to the area, as opposed to the view of rural locals, was in contrast to their findings. They found that

newcomers may be in favour of growth and development if they are employed in the recreation and tourism industries, which are usually characterised by low-wage and seasonal jobs, as they see the growth as a way to improve their economic quality of life. On the other hand, long-term residents can see tourism and economic development as a threat to their traditional lifestyle and structure of community, despite the wealth they may generate (Smith and Krannich, 2000).

Another implication of tourism in rural areas is the seasonal fluctuation of the local economy in rural areas in relation to the seasonality of the tourism sector (Nadal *et al.*, 2004). The temporal imbalances in visitor numbers, expenditures and employment opportunities for the local population are the most common determinants of seasonality in the local economy of the host community (Cannas, 2012). Although the seasonality of the tourism sector is widely considered to be a problem that needs to be tackled with comprehensive planning and policies (Baum and Lundtorp, 2001), Flognfeldt (2001) argued that seasonality means opportunity, especially in rural locations, where the local economy still sustains other economic activities such as agricultural production. Alongside its economic impacts, the socio-cultural impacts on the host communities in remote and peripheral areas such as islands have been investigated by tourism researchers (Lundtorp *et al.*, 1999; Andriotis, 2005; Cuccia and Rizzo, 2011; Vargas-Sánchez *et al.*, 2014; Ruggieri, 2015). These studies identified that the most common problems that local people suffer during peak season are traffic congestion, access to commercial and public services, and an increase in the costs of services and goods (Baum and Lundtorp, 2001; Cannas, 2012). However, so far, the socio-cultural implications of seasonality on the host community during the off-season has been largely neglected in the literature on tourism in rural and remote areas.

Both the positive and negative impacts of rural tourism on local communities, local economies and the environment vary depending on several factors from the geographic location of the place and the socio-cultural characteristics of the rural community to the robustness of the local economy. The nature and extent of rural tourism practices in the locality and how and by whom tourism is planned and implemented have a significant influence on the level of such impacts (Page and Connell, 2014). The literature suggests that

tourism in rural areas is considered to be a successful response to rural economic decline and a route to rural development only if all impacts are taken into account and the benefits are not outweighed by the costs (Ribeiro and Marques, 2002; Sharpley, 2002).

2.4.3 Models of tourism evolution

Positive and negative implications of tourism in rural areas vary depending on many factors. They may occur at different stages of tourism development in a particular area. The common feature of these models is that most of the benefits of tourism may be obtained in the early stages and that local communities show a greater desire for local tourism development. As local tourism advances in the area, the local community tend to lose control over the local economy and they become more reluctant or opposed to further development.

2.4.3.1 Butler's model

Butler (1980) offered a cycle of evolution for tourist areas that consists of seven stages. The first stage is the exploration stage, which is characterised by a small number of tourists with an irregular visitation pattern. At this stage, there are no tourist-specific services. Visitors use the local facilities and come directly into contact with the local community. The social and physical fabric of the areas remain unchanged. The second stage is the involvement stage, when the local community starts to provide facilities for visitors as their number increases. A tourist season emerges and the local residents who are involved in tourism make adjustments in their day-to-day lives within this season. Advertising of the area and organisation of travel arrangements is carried out.

The third stage in Butler's theory (1980) is the development stage, when the tourist market is well defined. At this stage, the involvement of local residents starts to decline as larger and more elaborate external providers enter into the local tourism market. There are noticeable physical changes in the area, and the natural and cultural attractions, which are mainly man-made, are developed and marketed specifically for consumers. As the number of tourists increase and exceed the local population, a seasonal influx of workers from outside the area begins. Accordingly, the profile of the tourists changes as the market widens. The next stage after development is the consolidation stage, where the increase in tourist numbers starts to slow down. The majority of the local economy becomes dependent on tourism. Therefore,

advertisements and marketing intensify in order to extend the tourist season. At this stage, franchises and chain companies start to show interest in the area for investment. Disputes and clashes among the local community emerge on the basis of increased tourism activities and the deprivation or restriction of their daily activities.

The fifth stage of Butler's evolution cycle (1980) is the stagnation stage. This is the stage at which the number of visitors hits its peak point. As the capacity of many variables in the area are reached or exceeded, environmental, social and economic problems emerge. Although the area has a well-established image, it starts to lose its popularity. Therefore, businesses make a greater effort to maintain the level of visitors. At this stage, unique natural and cultural attractions may be superseded by artificial and imported facilities. After the stagnation stage, the area enters the decline stage, when the area is not capable of competing with new areas and no longer appeals to tourists. At this stage, the market declines and, consequently, property turnover is high. The local community may become involved in tourism again as the prices of facilities reduce. Many tourist-oriented facilities may be converted to non-tourist use, such as housing or retirement apartments, as the attractions of the area, which were the key for tourism development, make it attractive for permanent settlement. In the end, Butler claims that "*the area may become a veritable tourist slum or lose its touristic function completely*" (1980, p. 9).

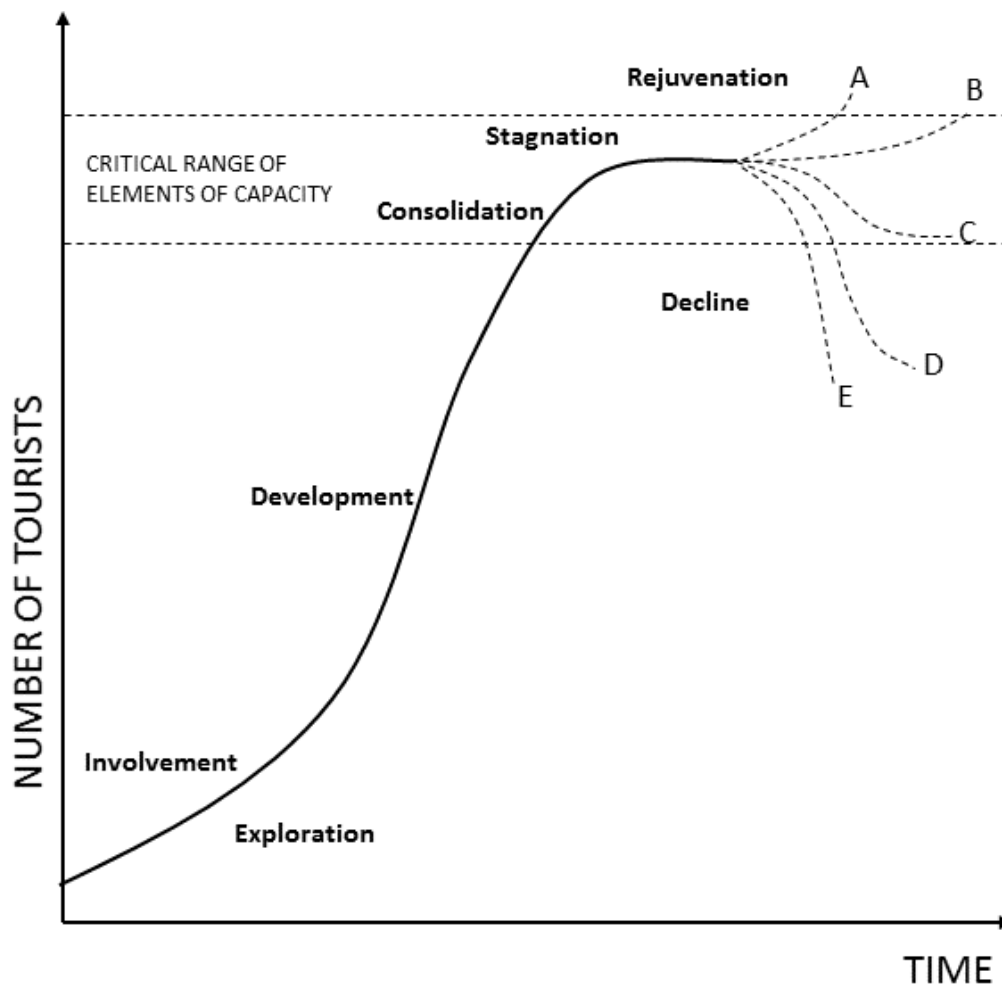


Figure 4: Butler's hypothetical evolution of a tourist area (Butler, 1980)

The final stage in Butler's theory is the rejuvenation stage, which is almost impossible to achieve without a complete change in the attractions that tourism was based on or the addition of man-made attractions such as casinos and amusement parks. He also acknowledged the fact that these stages of the evolution cycle may not be seen with clear-cut divisions in all tourist areas. In particular, the final stage of rejuvenation may never appear at all at some destinations; it mainly depends on the strategies of the public and private sectors, as it requires an absolute transformation of the market (Butler, 1980).

2.4.3.2 Mitchell's creative destruction and enhancement

In her study, Mitchell (1998) developed a stage model of community development that predicts the fate of communities based on their development pattern of rural heritage commodification. The model of "creative destruction" is based on the theory of Schumpeter (1943), which explains the cycle of growth and decline in capitalist economies. In her model,

there are three trends occurring in rural space: entrepreneurial investment, consumption of commodified heritage and destruction of the rural idyll. While the relationship between these variables occurs through time, the rural heritage village evolves through six stages⁶ in the process of creative destruction (Mitchell and de Waal, 2009). With this model, Mitchell argues that in the absence of proactive planning, the commodification of rural heritage leads to the destruction of the rural idyll as perceived by the local population.

⁶ In her original article, Mitchell (1998) developed a model with five stages; however, in 2009, Mitchell and de Waal revisited the model and added the first 'pre-commodification' stage.

Stage	Activities of drivers	Consumers (host and guest)	Attitudes towards tourism	Dominant landscape
Pre-commodification	Inactive	Few	Largely positive	Productivist
Early commodification	Private-sector investment in commodification may be initiated. Policy promoting development may be implemented	Some heritage-seekers	Some awareness of negative implications among ruralities	
Advanced commodification	Active private-sector investment in commodification. Preservation may be active: some may oppose non-heritage-type investments. Public-sector policy/action promoting development may be implemented or continue	Growing numbers of heritage-seekers	Increasing awareness of negative implications among ruralities	Post-productivist heritage-scape
Early destruction	Very active private-sector investment. Some will deviate from the heritage theme. Preservationists may actively oppose non-heritage investments (often unsuccessfully). Public-sector policy/action promoting development may be implemented or continue	Heritage-seekers accompanied by post-tourists	Much awareness of negative implications among ruralities	
Advanced destruction	Scale of private-sector investment increases (e.g. hotels) with much deviation from the heritage theme. Preservationists may actively oppose non-heritage investments (often unsuccessfully). Pro-development actions/policies may be implemented or continue	Post-tourists are in the majority	The majority of ruralites offer negative comments: an out-migration of this cohort may occur	
Post-destruction	Non-heritage private-sector investments dominate. Preservationist activity may be diminished. Pro-development policies may be in place	Numbers of heritage-seekers is very low	The overall attitude in the community should be positive as fewer ruralites remain. Those ruralites who chose to remain will either maintain their negative attitude or express one of resignation	Non-productivist leisurescape

Table 4: The revised six-stage model of creative destruction (Mitchell and de Waal, 2009)

The first stage of Mitchell's model is pre-commodification, where the productivist landscape is very dominant. The second stage is early commodification, where local or non-local entrepreneurs who acknowledged the potential to generate profit start to invest in the area. For example, old buildings are purchased with public or private funding to convert into showrooms where handcrafted items or unique, local products are offered to "heritage-seekers" who are in search of the "glorious" past. At this stage, tourism is viewed as favourable

by the local community as investments and consumption increase. When the investment level increases, the community moves to the third stage of advanced commodification, where local services and facilities leave their spaces to new services in order to meet increasing demand. Investors collaboratively advertise the local community as an “experience” of the countryside, and consumption levels continue to increase. At this stage, for that portion of the population who are not directly gaining economic benefit from tourism, the idea of rurality may partially start to erode.

After the destruction of the rural idyll begins, at least for part of the community, the community moves to the next stage of early destruction, where public or private investment in the commodification of the rural heritage still continues to increase. At this stage, alongside the investment in heritage, non-heritage investments such as fast-food restaurants also emerge, which may be opposed by preservationists. The dominant tourist type also starts to change in this stage, in parallel with services: “*post-tourists*”, who are “*consumers embracing increasingly inauthentic, commercialized and simulated experiences offered by the tourism industry*” (Smith *et al.*, 2010, p. 129). The local community is widely aware of the negative implications of tourism in the area.

The fifth stage is advanced destruction. If it remains uncontrolled, the investment level increases as well as the consumption level. At this stage, for example, in the absence of strong opposition, bigger complexes start to replace small-scale accommodation. Accordingly, out-migration of preservationists may occur, which also leads to a loss of sense of community and integrity. At the end of this stage, the rural idyll is completely destroyed. The last stage of the creative destruction model is post-destruction, which predicts that non-heritage investments will continue but opposition will diminish due to the out-migration of preservationists. Accordingly, the attitudes of the local residents towards tourism may be more positive.

Since it was first published in 1998, Mitchell’s model of creative destruction has been applied to several rural heritage sites in Canada (Mitchell and de Waal, 2009; Mitchell and Vanderwerf, 2010), Australia (Tonts and Greive, 2002), China (Fan *et al.*, 2008) and Japan (Chang *et al.*, 2011) in order to identify the current commodification stages of rural areas and predict the future of communities. In 2013, Mitchell defined another term, *creative*

enhancement, as “*the addition of an innovative function*” (Mitchell, 2013, p. 376). She explained that these innovations coexist with the others that emerged during the early stages of commodification, but do not cause displacement of existing functions. These “*twin*” processes of commodification of a rural space are influenced by three factors: consumer demand; spatial placement; and the motives or ideology of the stakeholders (ibid, p. 384). Creative enhancement prevails in small and isolated settings without tourist investment and significant visitor numbers where a multifunctional landscape is essential to sustain local livelihoods. However, in larger places, proximity leads first to creative enhancement and then destruction. Additionally, stakeholders who desire preservation and pleasure will foster multifunctionality and the place may experience a creative enhancement, while the creative destruction process may prevail in places where there is a desire for profit and growth (Mitchell, 2013).

2.4.3.3 *Evolutionary typology of rural tourism*

Cánoves *et al.* (2004) described an evolutionary typology of rural tourism which consists of three stages. The first stage is based mainly on lodgings where tourists rent rooms in the private houses of rural residents. At this early stage, tourism activities do not pose a threat to agricultural production. The second stage is the diversification of the services that rural tourism has to offer in order to attract a more diverse range of clients. At this stage, things go beyond simple accommodation and provides activities related to nature and rural life in the beginning and more specialised, sophisticated products at the more developed stage. This is the point at which some rural residents start to abandon agriculture as it becomes less profitable and more demanding in comparison with tourism. The third stage is the maturity of rural tourism, which Cánoves *et al.* (2004) also call “*tourist professionalism*” where farmers claim to deliver high-quality services to their clients. At this final stage, rural tourism is a commercial activity in its own right rather than a diversification of agriculture in the rural economy.

2.5 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was to outline the conceptual framework for this research by reviewing the diverse body of literature on rural development, rural tourism and rural

gentrification under the wider concept of rural transitions. By doing so, this chapter provided a framework focusing on the interplay of development, tourism and gentrification in rural areas to investigate the socio-economic and cultural transitions on Bozcaada.

First of all, in the light of the literature review, this thesis acknowledges that, although there are different processes, rural areas gradually move away from traditional rural economies based on agricultural production, and from the traditional rural social structure based on a conservative, homogeneous population. Globalisation, neo-liberalisation, innovation in technology and transportation, and social changes in wider society are important interrelated factors in these transitions, and they all bring about a complex structure of changes. The literature review demonstrated that rural change has been predominantly researched in the context of the developed countries of the global North, where the rural socio-economic structure and the processes of rural change are fairly correlative. This research aims to fill this gap by an original empirical research study from Turkey, where the socio-economic composition of the countryside is different, although the direction of rural change coincides with that of the global North.

Secondly, this research noted that different actors involved in the rural gentrification process can affect others or be affected in different ways, which can be both negative and positive. It also acknowledges the fact that applying an urban-born concept in a rural context requires significant consideration in the interpretation of the process and assumptions about its outcomes, due to dissimilarities in the physical and social environments.

Thirdly, this thesis intentionally uses the term *tourism in rural areas* instead of *rural tourism* as a section heading, in order to reflect upon the claim that rural tourism is an umbrella term that accommodates a diverse range of tourism activities in the countryside (Lane, 2009). This thesis also acknowledges the fact that both positive and negative impacts of tourism in rural areas occur and that these impacts are also dependent on the process of tourism development and the characteristics of the location and the local community.

This review of the literature on tourism and gentrification in rural areas influenced the fieldwork in terms of the participants with whom to engage and the data to collect. For instance, changes in the local real estate market, accessibility to affordable housing, aesthetic

change and land-use/conservation regulations were researched alongside the demographic changes while exploring the social changes on Bozcaada; likewise, how and by whom tourism development was initiated on the island, as well as the different actors involved in the process, were taken into account.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the details of the empirical research undertaken for this thesis. First, the chapter starts by explaining the methodological approach taken for the study and how the case study area for this empirical research was chosen. This is then followed by a brief introduction of the chosen case study area and the preliminary research undertaken in order to plan the fieldwork. The second section of this chapter explains the data collection and analysis processes in great detail, with profiles of participants. The last section presents the ethical considerations and confidentiality of the research.

3.2 Methodological Approach

This research aimed to investigate the socio-economic and cultural transitions in Bozcaada by undertaking original empirical research to identify and explore these transitions. In order to achieve this aim, a qualitative research method based on the multi-phase case study approach was embraced.

3.2.1 Multi-phase case study

Yin (2003, p. 13) defined the case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Yin (2003) also stated that the case study method of research is the most appropriate approach when the research proposes to find answers to ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions. Therefore, such an approach was taken in order to understand the socio-economic and cultural transitions on the island of Bozcaada. The case study was formed around semi-structured and in-depth interviews with the local residents and administrative bodies as the primary data collection method. The secondary data collected to support the primary data and observations were based on the local digital newspaper, the local periodic magazine and the archive of the local cultural museum as well as the statistical data.

The fieldwork on the case study area was planned to be conducted in two phases of primary data collection, one during the peak season and one during the off-season in terms of local

tourism activities in order to capture seasonal differences. Before these two fieldwork phases, preliminary research was undertaken to become familiar with the social dynamics and the local community of the island. As a result, a structure was set up for the data collection process.

3.2.2 Rationale for the choice of the case study area

In order to choose an appropriate area for the case study, criteria were developed under five headings. The first criterion was the familiarity of the case study area to the researcher. Considering that Turkey is a culturally diverse country and rural areas tend to have more conservative societies than those of urban areas, it was important that the researcher was familiar with the customs and local dialect in the area in order to easily make a connection with the local society. As the researcher was more familiar with the northwest and the west coast of Turkey, the Marmara and Aegean regions were chosen to narrow down the search for a case study.

The second criterion was the accessibility of the case study area from major tourist destinations. Places within a daily commuting distance to major tourist destinations are dominated by daily visitors. In order to minimise the effect of mass tourism patterns, it was critical that the chosen case study area was not in the vicinities of these destinations, such as Istanbul, Izmir, Antalya and Muğla.

The third criterion was a shift in the main economic activity of the case study area more than ten years previously. The sectoral shift needed to be from the traditional agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector. This criterion was particularly important to be able to identify and explore the social and cultural transitions alongside the local economic shift. Additionally, the fourth criterion was that the case study area had to have experienced a change in its socio-demographic structure. This is directly related to the previous criterion, as the research investigates socio-economic and cultural transitions.

The fifth criterion was the presence of small-scale alternative tourism patterns. As discussed in the literature review chapter, there are various definitions and understandings of rural tourism. This thesis adopts the idea of rural tourism that is based on small-scale, family-run businesses, where nature, local culture and traditions are valued by tourists.

The status of 'rural settlement' was not considered to be a criterion for choosing the case study area in this research. In Turkey, the definition of a rural place is based only on population size and administrative boundaries, and lacks comprehensive criteria to understand the characteristics of rural areas (Gülümser *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, having 'rural' as a title in Turkish settlement classification was not a criterion for choosing the case study area in this research. However, the research undertaken by (Gulumser *et al.*, 2009) that mapped out Turkey's rurality by applying OECD and EU standards was taken into consideration in choosing the case study area.

3.2.3 Case study area

Taking into account the previously determined criteria for the case study area, Bozcaada, an island located in the northwest of the Aegean Sea, was chosen as the case study area for this research.

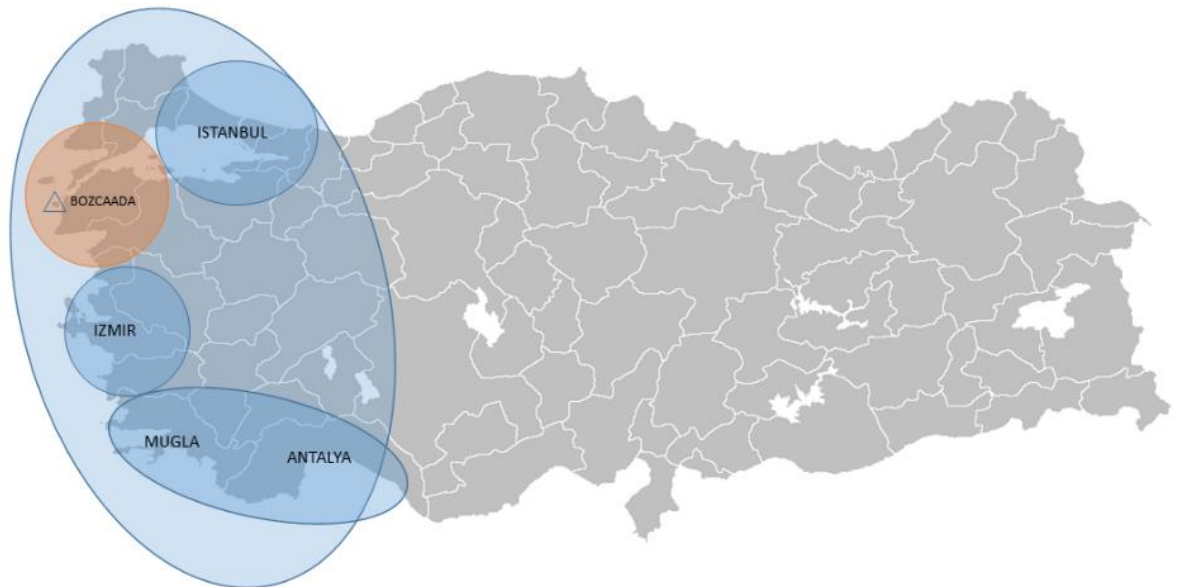


Figure 5: Choosing the case study area

Bozcaada is a Turkish island in the northern Aegean Sea and covers an area of 37.6 km². It is four nautical miles away from and connected to the mainland by ferryboats departing from Geyikli port. The island's registered population is 2,643 according to the 2015 census. However, the population increases by almost five times and exceeds 10,000 people during the high tourism season, which is a three-month period from mid-June until mid-September.

During the other nine months of the year, the population dramatically decreases down to between 500 and 700 people.

Throughout history, the island's economy was based on viticulture and fishing alongside maritime commerce. Today, maritime commerce has completely disappeared from the island. Fishing, however, has significantly decreased in volume, while vineyards still cover one-third of the island's land and 80 per cent of the total agricultural land. Although the island's vineyards are still in place, since the late 1990s Bozcaada's economy has been mainly based on domestic tourism.

Considering that in the Turkish context, the definition of 'rural areas' is based on population size and administrative boundaries, Bozcaada could have been classified as a rural area due to its population size and density.⁷ In terms of administrative boundaries, it is designated as a district municipality with a locally elected mayor and an assigned governor, making Bozcaada an urban settlement. The rationale behind its designation as a district municipality, even though it does not meet the requirements for this, may be explained by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.⁸ This treaty exempted two Turkish islands, Bozcaada and Gökçeada, on the Aegean Sea, from population exchange with Greece and stipulated that they would be governed with a degree of autonomy (Durmuş, 2006). The only way to give them some autonomy but still keep them within the national administrative structure was to make them local municipalities. Therefore, these two islands were designated as district municipalities in order to implement the edicts of the Treaty of Lausanne.

3.2.4 Preliminary research

The preliminary research in Bozcaada was conducted in July 2014 in order to understand the local social dynamics, build up a network and make connections with potential gatekeepers. This research was also beneficial for the design of a more suitable data collection method for

⁷ Bozcaada was also identified as a 'remote rural area' in Gulumser *et al.* (2009), which analysed the rural structure of Turkey on the basis of various rural indicators, including EU and OECD classifications.

⁸ This was the peace treaty signed to settle the conflict that had existed between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies of the First World War. With this treaty, the borders of Republic of Turkey were defined and its sovereignty was recognised.

the fieldwork. This was particularly helpful in identifying different social groups within the local community and understanding the tension and/or clash between the groups.

The preliminary research was formed as a pilot study based on observation and unstructured interviews with locals. The researcher visited the case study area for a week, staying in a family-run bed and breakfast (B&B) and building up a connection with the family, who migrated to Bozcaada in 1989 to work in various jobs, including as labourers in construction and vineyards. Building up a relationship with them and listening to their experiences were valuable to see particular break points in the recent local history of the community. This family played the role of key informants of their social group during the main fieldwork, which was conducted in May–June 2015.

3.3 Research Methods

One of the objectives of this research was to explore the socio-economic and cultural transition of Bozcaada through a qualitative empirical study. Therefore, a set of primary and secondary data collection methods based on qualitative research was followed throughout the research. Primary data collection was undertaken by two-phase fieldwork, while secondary data was collected continuously over the research period.

3.3.1 Primary data collection

The primary data of the research, based on in-depth interviews with the local residents and semi-structured interviews with representatives of the local and regional administrations, was collected during the fieldwork conducted in May–June 2015 and in March–April 2016. During the fieldwork, a total of 39 interviews were conducted, each with an approximate length of 60 minutes. Thirty of these interviews were in-depth interviews conducted with the local residents. Five of the interviewees were tourists, three of whom had come to the island for the first time, and two of whom were regular visitors. Four of the interviews were semi-structured interviews conducted with representatives of local government: two of the local governors, the regional development agency and the mayor of Bozcaada.

Figure 6 below shows the primary data collection plan that was prepared prior to the fieldwork. It shows the six different groups of participants contacted and what techniques were used for data collection. Although a framework for each interview was prepared, in-

depth interviews were conducted with the local residents in order to let them express their perceptions about the transitions freely. With the other participant groups, semi-structured interviews were undertaken in order to stay within the scope of the research.

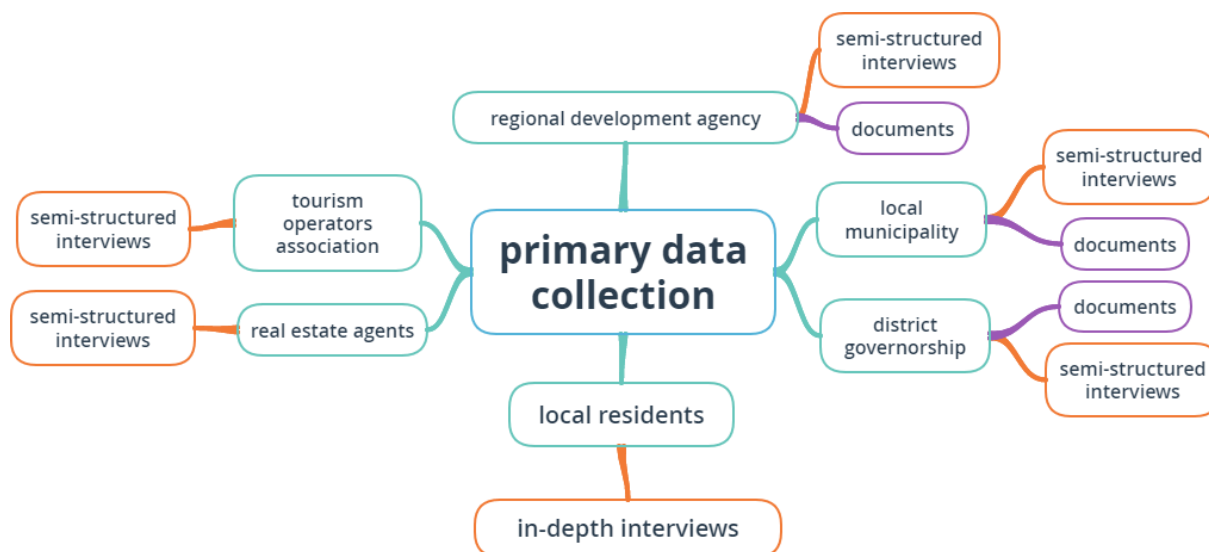


Figure 6: Primary data collection

3.3.1.1 Interview technique

The interviews were designed according to the outcome of the preliminary research conducted in July 2014. It emerged that the most appropriate method of primary data collection that would maximise the number of responses and receive more genuine answers was to conduct in-depth and semi-structured interviews. The initial plan of operating focus group discussions with the local residents as a data collection method seemed to be problematic after visiting the island. The practicalities of having focus group discussions were discussed with the key informants during the preliminary visit to the island. The main issue with conducting a focus group meeting on the island was the possible low attendance at such meetings due to constraints of time and space for individuals, plus lack of interest. Therefore, the primary data collection method was redesigned as one-to-one in-depth interviews with the local residents.

The majority of the local residents are involved in local tourism businesses. The peak season for local tourism is three months between mid-June and mid-September. The quietest season for the island's social life is the winter months between November and March. The key

informants stated that the best time to reach people for interview was the period at the end of the winter months and just before the peak season, when they are preparing for the season, but are not quite as busy as in summer. Therefore, the first fieldwork period for primary data collection was scheduled between mid-May and June 2015. The second part of the fieldwork was initially scheduled to take place in November 2015, in order to be able to capture the seasonal differences in the island. However, ill-health prevented the researcher being able to travel to the island. Therefore, the second part of the fieldwork took place between the end of March and mid-April 2016.

The interviews were designed to be semi-structured. The researcher prepared a specific schedule for each group of interviewees. Although the questions were predetermined by the researcher, they were not asked directly one by one. During the interviews, questions were kept to a minimum as much as possible in order to let the interviewees express their opinions freely.

Every interviewee was informed about the nature of the research and given the information sheet which explained the research process and their right to withdraw from the research. After reading the information sheet, every interviewee was given the consent form to read carefully and tick the boxes they agreed on and sign.

The interviews were voice recorded when the interviewee agreed to this. When the interviewee did not give consent for voice recording, the researcher took notes during the conversation. In total, 30 of the interviews were voice recorded. Voice recording was not particularly welcomed by the state officials interviewed, due to the current political sensitivities in Turkey. Thus, these interviews were recorded by taking notes. Only the mayor of Bozcaada gave consent for voice recording of his interview. The representatives of local government, regional development agency and the former mayor did not agree to be voice recorded, but only accepted note-taking during the interviews.

The researcher updated a fieldwork diary and separate notes straight after every interview. Being reflexive through these notes and the diary was particularly helpful during the field research for the continuous development of the research strategy.

3.3.1.2 *Sampling strategy*

The main sampling technique for the semi-structured interviews was the snowball technique, beginning with key informants who had been identified in the preliminary research in July 2014. Reviewing the local newspapers and websites was also undertaken in order to identify the people who had an influential role in the local community. They were contacted either by email or by telephone, where contact details had been given by a friend who had been interviewed previously.

Interviewees' interest in the research was relatively high. At the end of the interview, every interviewee was asked if they could suggest more people who would like to participate in the research. It was particularly helpful that most of the interviewees called other people to arrange a time and place for the interview. On the other hand, it was also acknowledged by the researcher that this method of reaching potential interviewees included the risk of interviewing like-minded people, which might mislead the research findings. At this point, reviewing local websites, forums, blogs and newspapers and arranging interviews with their authors was particularly beneficial to access various opinions.

3.3.1.3 *Interview participants*

After the preliminary research, six main bodies of potential interviewees were identified: the tourism operators' association, real estate agents, the regional development agency, the local municipality, the local governorship and the residents (see Figure 7). The residents were also divided into two sub-groups as 'locals' and 'newcomers'. The term 'locals', as a sub-group of the residents, means those residents who were born on the island or who had been living on it for more than 30 years, when tourism was not a factor. The term 'newcomers', as a sub-group of the residents, refers to those residents who had moved to the island more recently from big cities, after the development of local tourism.



Figure 7: Interview groups and question themes

Interviews with residents

During the interviews with residents, before moving on to open-ended questions, some closed questions were asked in order to get an idea of what social group the interviewee belonged to. These questions were mainly based on age, occupation, ownership, education and the history of their personal residence on the island, such as how long they had been living on the island, whether they had moved away for a while and moved back, and whether they owned or had sold a property on the island. Of course, the personal residence history questions for newcomers differed from those of the locals. The newcomers were mainly asked about their motivation and expectations when they decided to move to the island.

The origins of local tourism on the island and what changes it brought for the local community was the main topic of the interviews with residents. First, they were invited to discuss how they would describe the patterns of local tourism and what kind of tourism they were involved in on the island. Sometimes, the conversation was started by asking about how tourism had emerged in Bozcaada. The perceived impact of tourism on the local economy and the socio-cultural and environmental structure of the island were discussed. Residents were also interviewed on their predictions about and expectations of local tourism and the future of the island and the local community in general.

Interviews with representative of local and regional administrations

During the fieldwork, four interviews were conducted with representatives of local and regional government; one with the regional development agency, two with the local governorship, and one with the municipality. Only the interview with the municipality was voice recorded, as the others did not give consent for voice recording, and therefore these interviews were recorded by the taking of notes.

The relevant regional development agency for Bozcaada is *Güney Marmara Kalkınma Ajansı* (GMKA). In the first place, they were contacted by the researcher via email to ask for their participation in the research and an appointment for an interview if they were willing to participate. They replied and agreed to participate, but requested the questions beforehand. The interview took place in the GMKA headquarters in Balıkesir with three representatives,

and the semi-structured interview framework that had been prepared specifically for the regional development agency was followed.

Interviews with the local governorship (*Bozcaada Kaymaklığı*) took place twice, once in 2015 and once in 2016, as the local governor changed in late 2015. Each interview was conducted with the governor at that particular time. The second interview was extremely useful, as the new governor had a different perspective from the previous one, which enriched the data.

The local municipality (*Bozcaada Belediyesi*) was first contacted by the researcher via email prior to the fieldwork in 2015 in order to ask for their participation in the research and an appointment for the interview if they were willing to participate. Their response to the email was extremely positive, and the researcher was invited to visit the municipality at any time during the fieldwork, and was assured that a representative would be there to answer her questions and provide the documents requested. However, when the researcher arrived at the municipality, she was not welcomed as promised. When the researcher explained her position and the documents she was requesting, she was asked to make a formal written enquiry, which would be discussed at the council meeting, and a reply by way of a formal letter would be sent to the address the researcher provided. When the researcher reminded the municipality of the earlier welcoming email, she was told that the documents for which she was asking were sensitive; therefore, the matter should be discussed at the council meeting. The documents that were requested from the local government were the previous and current planning reports, the migration statistics, and the available council tax rates from 1980 onwards. A formal letter, sent as a reply to the researcher's request, was received three months later, saying the requested documents were not available.

Another informal visit was paid to the local municipality during the second part of the fieldwork in 2016. This time, the researcher was able to conduct a semi-structured interview with the mayor himself. The main subject of the interview was the development of local tourism and its consequences. Also, as the mayor was himself a doctor who was assigned to

the island in 2004, the challenges of finding affordable housing for civil servants and the transition that the island was experiencing were also discussed during the interview.

Interviews with local real estate agencies

There are two formal real estate agencies operating in the local housing market on the island. The interviews with the real estate agencies on Bozcaada were designed to get an idea of how and to what degree tourism has an effect on the local property market and who is interested in investing in or living on the island. However, due to lack of documentation and record-keeping, it was not possible to draw a meaningful and valid picture of the local housing sector through these interviews.

Interviews with tourism operators' association

The issue of the lack of record-keeping was also an obstacle to conducting more in-depth interviews with the tourism operators' association. The framework of these interviews covered the subjects of the recent history of tourism development on the island, the dominant tourist profiles and the institutional agenda, in addition to the perceived impacts and future trends of the local tourism sector.

3.3.1.4 Profiles of the residents

Table 5 shows the profiles of the local residents that were interviewed during the fieldwork in 2015 and 2016. These profiles were developed based on the analysis of the interviews. The interviewees were divided into four different groups based on their residential status on the island. For example, "ISD" stands for the islanders who had lived on the island for many generations, "LX" stands for the locals who moved to the island after the departure of the Rums⁹, and "NC1" and "NC2" stand for the newcomers who moved to the island in the last two decades. The detailed explanations and characteristics of these groups will be given in Chapter 5.

Considering that Bozcaada has a population of around 2600 people, some of the local residents fell into more than one group. For example, the head of the tourism operators who

⁹ The members of this group is referred as "localXs" throughout this thesis to distinguish them.

was interviewed in this research has also lived on the island for generations; therefore, he was also an islander. The real estate agent interviewed was also a newcomer, who moved to the island because he inherited his father`s property and started a business there.

The majority of the newcomers that were interviewed during the fieldwork study moved to the island more than 20 years ago for various reasons before tourism became the dominant sector. Two of those who moved to the island more recently have inherited the houses of their parents, who were once newcomers, and converted the houses into B&B accommodation. It can be seen in table 5 that the majority of the newcomers moved to Bozcaada from Istanbul. This is the main reason for locals calling newcomers ‘Istanbulians’ no matter where they come from. The average education level on the island is very high, considering education levels in the national context. Almost every family on the island is involved in the tourism sector. Many of them are involved with tourism directly through having a business such as a restaurant, B&B or retail shop, while some people, especially women, are involved informally by making homemade jams and cookies and selling them on a bench in front of their houses.

no.	interview	identifier	place of origin	length of residence	gender	age	education	occupation
1	record	ISL-A	.	.	female	35	high school	restaurant
2	record	NC2-A	Istanbul	3 years	male	35	postgrad	B&B
3	record	ISL-B	.	.	male	50	high school	shop and B&B
4	record	NC2-B	Istanbul	5 years	male	45	undergrad	B&B
5	record	NC2-C	Eskisehir	8 years	male	45	undergrad	architect, gallery
6	record	LX-A	Kayseri	25 years	male	30	high school	B&B, reporter
7	record	NC1-A	Istanbul	27 years	male	75	postgrad	retired professor
8	record	ISL-C	.	.	male	70	high school	restaurant
9	record	LX-B	Canakkale	20 years	male	40	high school	worker, restaurant
10	record	NC1-B	Istanbul	20 years	male	65	undergrad	café
11	record	NC1-C	Istanbul	16 years	female	40	undergrad	B&B
12	record	ISL-D	.	.	male	35	postgrad	restaurant
13	record	ISL-E	.	.	male	35	undergrad	employee
14	record	ISL-F	.	.	male	40	undergrad	restaurant
15	record	LX-C	Canakkale	32 years	male	55	high school	real estate agent
16	notes	LX-D	Canakkale	27 years	male	50	elementary	B&B
17	notes	LX-E	Canakkale	35 years	male	65	elementary	former mayor
18	notes	NC1-D	Istanbul	15 years	male	70	postgrad	retired manager
19	record	ISL-G	.	.	male	35	undergrad	employee
20	record	NC2-D	Istanbul	1 year	male	35	postgrad	self-employed
21	record	OFF-A	.	5 years	female	35	undergrad	teacher
22	record	OFF-B	.	2 years	male	30	undergrad	teacher
23	record	OFF-C	.	9 years	male	40	undergrad	teacher
24	record	NC1-E	Istanbul	25 years	female	75	undergrad	B&B
25	record	ISL-H	.	.	female	35	high school	restaurant
26	record	LX-F	Canakkale	20 years	male	30	high school	taxi driver
27	record	ISL-J	.	.	male	35	high school	café
28	record	ISL-K	.	.	male	35	elementary	neighbourhood rep

Table 5: Profiles of the local residents

3.3.2 Secondary data collection

3.3.2.1 Statistical data

In this research, statistical data is used to obtain a general understanding of the case study area in context. Demographic and employment statistics were collected and documented by the Turkish Statistical Institute. However, inconsistencies in the time range of the data made it difficult to come to a worthwhile conclusion. For example, employment statistics were used in order to reflect the change in the dominant economic sector. The statistics on the labour force on Bozcaada in the main economic sectors are accessible only for 1985, 1990 and 2000. Although this data is not up to date, it still proves that the distribution of the labour force in the main sectors has changed in favour of the service sector, while agriculture has been losing its labour force.

Due to the fact that some statistical data are not available at every administrative level, this led to indirect interpretation of the data. For example, migration statistics are not available at the district level. Therefore, changes in the most common birthplace of the residents over the last two decades were used in order to reveal an in-migration pattern and the origin of the migrants in Bozcaada.

3.3.2.2 Archive review

It was particularly difficult to get reliable, documented information about changes in property values and the development of tourism on the island due to the nature of small businesses and professional associations such as real estate agencies and the tourism operators' association on Bozcaada. Those institutions were usually run through personal connections among members who were already neighbours or close friends. Therefore, any reliable document showing the increase in property prices or exact number of visitors was not available.

On the other hand, Tenedos¹⁰ Local History Research Centre, which was launched by a collector, Hakan Guruney, in 2006, has a museum where his collection was exhibited. The museum archives and exhibitions were an invaluable source of information on the local history of the island, through official national and international archival records and visual recordings of interviews with former and current residents. The data obtained from the archives and

¹⁰ Tenedos is the Greek name of Bozcaada.

exhibitions of the museum were used to elaborate on the life and demographic change on the island before the 1980s, especially the emigration of the Rum population from Bozcaada.

3.3.2.3 Review of the news

Local news websites, forums and magazines were extremely valuable in helping to find out about current discussions in local society and to follow up those discussions after the fieldwork. The most active website, which is run by the locals and which circulates local news on the island on a daily basis, is 'www.bozcaadahaber.net'. This website, in addition to spreading news about the island, works as a platform for discussion for its followers, who are either residents of or regular visitors to the island. People are allowed to give comments on the news with their real names. In order to provide diversity in terms of opinion, those who expressed their opinions with their real names on the website were contacted and asked to participate in the research during the fieldwork. However, the website was followed by the researcher on a daily basis, especially to keep up with the processes of local development and internal conflict.

3.3.3 Data analysis

To analyse the data collected throughout the research, some tools of the grounded theory approach were used, such as open coding, theoretical sampling and constant comparison. All the interviews were undertaken in Turkish and translated into English by the researcher herself. The voice-recorded interviews were transcribed in full by the researcher using a function in NVivo,¹¹ which allows the direct transcription of interviews into the program while listening to the recordings. Interview transcriptions, notes, pictures and fieldwork diaries were all saved within NVivo. Alongside primary data, secondary data such as websites, local newspapers and magazines were also saved within the same software. NVivo was only used for the organisation of the data and codes. None of the software analysis tools were used, apart from the coding tool. Figure 8 below shows the data analysis process of this research.

¹¹ An analysis software package for qualitative data.

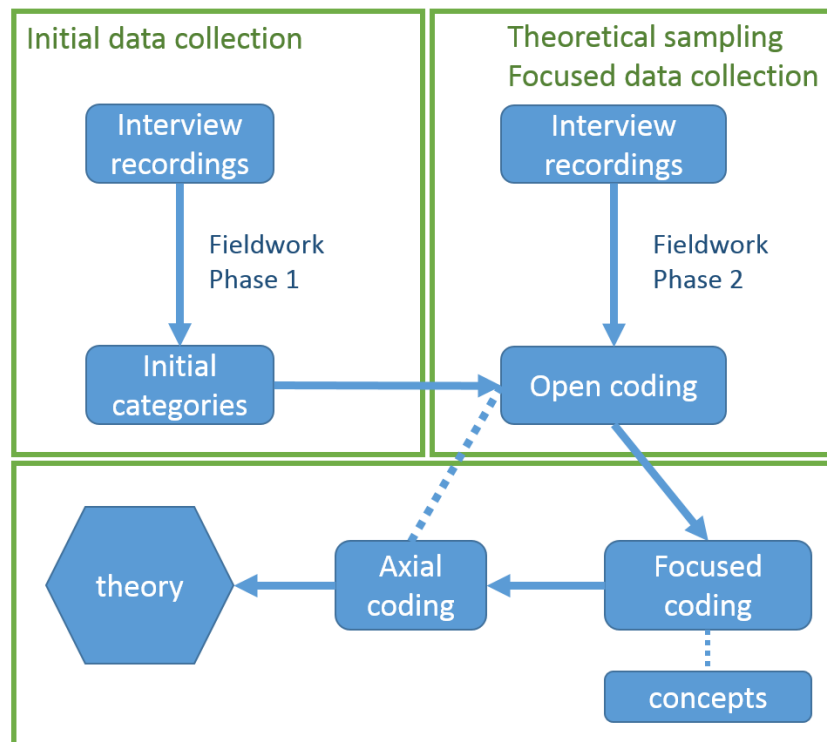


Figure 8: Data analysis process

The coding process was started as the voice-recorded interviews were being transcribed. During this stage, the researcher took notes on the initially emerging categories while listening to the interviews. Once all the recordings were transcribed, line-by-line analysis of all the interviews was carried out. At the end of this initial stage of analysis, 271 open codes were generated under 26 categories. This process helped to grasp what the data might be indicating, as Strauss and Corbin (1997) suggested, and also helped to identify participant groups and to prepare an outline for the second part of the fieldwork.

After the completion of the fieldwork, the new interviews that had been conducted during the second part of the fieldwork were transcribed by using the same method as for the previous interviews. Then, all interviews were put through the process of open coding together for a further time. This time, coding was conducted while listening to the recordings where possible. Listening to the recording at the same time as coding helped the researcher to capture the emotional reactions, hesitations and sarcasm of the interviewees, which were not possible to notice from the transcripts. At this point, some new categories and open codes were generated, while some of the existing open codes were merged together, separated or rephrased. At the end of this second stage, 179 open codes were generated under 16 categories.

After the open coding stage, focused coding of the transcripts was carried out. The starting point for the focused coding process was the open codes and categories. Constant comparison between the open codes and the raw interview data helped to develop the concepts, which laid out a framework for the findings chapters. During the writing process of these chapters, the concepts were also constantly compared with the interviews and the secondary data.

The next step of the data analysis process was axial coding. It was applied to identify concepts cutting across the data. This part of the data analysis process was undertaken to reassemble the data that had been broken up by open coding and to make sense of it (Charmaz, 2014).

3.4 Positionality

There are many areas that require the researcher to be aware of their position within the wider society and how this position might influence the research process and the outcomes. This is especially the case when undertaking a qualitative research, which involves in-depth and semi-structured interviews with participants. In this research it is acknowledged that being white, young and woman, as opposed to male, might have helped, particularly with regards to local cultural sensibilities, to approach a wider range of interviewees during the data collection in the field.

The researcher was aware that the fact that she is a middle-class Istanbulian was a significant factor, which might have had an influence on the interviewees' approach to the research and on their trust in the researcher. This might have influenced different social groups of the case study area in differing ways. For example, having a similar background to that of the newcomers might have helped the interviewing process with them while being an obstacle with the long-term residents. However, the fact that the researcher had spent a long time in the region prior to the research and that she was familiar with the locality, the local culture and history, helped to interact and build bridges with the local population.

Being reflexive about the positionality, throughout the research, was also crucial. The researcher paid attention to being self-critical and self-conscious in every stage of the research process, in particular during the interviews. Transcribing the interviews was also found helpful to keep being reflexive. This process was adopted also during the data analysis where the voice-recorded interviews were listened to several times. This was not possible for the interviews recorded through hand-written notes.

Another component of positionality that the researcher needs to acknowledge are her personal opinions and perspectives on the issues and situations on the Island. For example, being willing to have, in the future, a tranquil life in a rural area and being a potential newcomer might have influenced the research process. To minimize the bias of personal opinions on the interviewees, the researcher paid particular attention to both not to reveal these during the interviews and to balance the literature review by taking account of various perspectives on rural development, tourism and gentrification, prior to the fieldwork.

3.5 Ethics

Prior to the fieldwork in 2015, the full ethical approval form was filled in by the researcher and approval from Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Newcastle University was obtained. The researcher introduced herself and the purpose of the study before conducting any research in the field. It was ensured that every interviewee was informed about the purpose of the research and the consequences for them of taking part via the participant information sheet, which was translated into Turkish. The sample consent form of Newcastle University was modified to be customisable by the interviewee in order to provide flexibility on the subject of anonymity and voice recording. Two copies of the consent forms were filled in and signed by both the interviewee and the researcher. Each interviewee kept one copy for future reference, while the other copy was kept by the researcher.

The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the research at any time without giving a reason if they wished, and that they could ask for a copy of the interview immediately and a copy of the research when this was completed. They were also provided with the full contact information of the researcher, and the work addresses of the research supervisors.

Participation in the research was entirely voluntary. All participants were given time to consider whether they would like to participate. The research did not aim for the participation of any vulnerable members of the community and did not cover any sensitive or critical subject in the participants' personal lives.

3.5.1 Confidentiality

In the consent form, there was an option for participants about whether they preferred to be anonymous or their real name to be used. Although all participants gave permission for their real name to be used in the research, every interviewee was given an identifier in relation to

what social group they belonged to, such as “ISL” for the islanders, “LX” for the locals and “NC” for the newcomers.

All the electronic data, including the voice recordings of the interviews, were saved securely on password-protected computers to which only the researcher had access. All the physical materials were kept in a locked cabinet to which, again, only the researcher had access. The data collected throughout the research will be stored securely for ten years in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998, as stated by the Newcastle University guidelines.

Chapter 4. Local Economic Change

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the changes in the local economic structure of Bozcaada since the 1990s and how the local population perceive the impact of these changes, based on interviews with local residents and administrative bodies on Bozcaada. The chapter begins with the struggles within viticulture and carries on to talk about the transition period from viticulture to the tourism sector as the dominant economic activity on the island. Thereafter, the local tourism sector is explored in detail, both through the impact of tourism and the changes within the local tourism sector. Lastly, the future of Bozcaada as envisaged by the residents, local and regional administrative bodies is examined.

The fact that Bozcaada is an island, and has had limited accessibility to the mainland, pushed local people to create some sort of self-sufficient economy until recent years. Local households were mainly involved in viticulture or fishing; however, they also used to grow their own vegetables and farm sheep and goats for their own consumption (Guzel, 2012). In today's Bozcaada, animal husbandry and sponge fishing are completely diminished, while fishing contributes a very small part of the local economy. Nonetheless, viticulture maintains its importance, but in a different way, which this chapter elaborates on.

4.2 Viticulture

The fact that the soil structure and climatic conditions of Bozcaada are very favourable for viticulture had determined the island's local economy for centuries until the last two decades. There are two main characteristics of the island that made it a "wine island": the soil structure, which is loamy sandy soil with andesite composite, and the dominant northern winds, which help to create a difference between the daytime and night-time temperatures (Bozcaada Governorship, 2016).

Vineyards on Bozcaada cover 11.85km² of land, which is equal to one-third of the whole land mass of the island, and 80% of all agricultural land. At present, approximately five million grape stocks are cultivated on the island, and these produce around 1600 tonnes of table grapes and 3900 tonnes of wine grapes. Although, in total, there are seven different types of table grapes and eight different types of wine grapes being produced, only four of these are unique to Bozcaada: "Bozcaada Cavusu", "Vasilaki", "Kuntra" and "Karalahna" (Bozcaada Governorship, 2016).

Wine production on Bozcaada had been only carried out by the Christian population, the Rums,¹² because alcohol consumption was considered to be a sin in Islam. Therefore, the Muslim population, the Turks, had produced grapes and sold them to wineries but had not been involved in wine production until 1925. In 1925, Hasim Yunatci (Camlibag Winery) had bought a wine factory from a Rum and became the first Turk on the island involved in wine production. In 1927, the second Turkish winery, Ataol, was founded by Osman Ataol. Later, in 1948, Hayati Talay founded the Talay winery (Durmuş, 2006). These three winemakers are the only ones that still continue business from the early 20th century on the island.

In 1956, the local wine producers of Bozcaada collectively founded the Bozcaada Wineries Incorporated Company. They imported new machines from France for wine production and the first mechanisation started in the local wine production business. The period from the 1960s to the 1980s are recalled as the “golden years” of Bozcaada for wine production (Guzel, 2012). In this period, there were 13 wineries on the island, producing approximately seven to eight million litres of wine annually. During this period, around 100 households were employed in the wine factories (Durmuş, 2006).

In the 1980s, viticulture on Bozcaada started to lose its economic power. Many small wineries shut down, and in the 1990s, annual wine production dropped down to two million litres from eight million in the 1960s (Durmuş, 2006). With the closure of one of the biggest wineries in 1990, there were only three wineries left in business. In his study, Durmuş (2006) places the reasons for the decrease in viticulture on two main causes: the departure of the Rums and extra taxation of wine. When the majority of the Rums left the island, it was not only the population that was diminished, but the socio-economic situation of the island also received a blow as knowledge and experience of viticulture decreased with the Rums' departure.

The second main reason for this sharp fall in viticulture, according to Durmuş (2006), was the extra taxes on wine production that had been introduced in 1982. A total of 62% of the sale price had to be paid as tax, which led to the bankruptcy of many small wineries. Durmuş (2006) also mentions the impact of global warming on the quality and the productivity of vine

¹² Bozcaada was inhabited by many civilisations throughout history. Before the conquest of the Ottomans, it was inhabited by a local Christian community, the Rums. They were the largest section of the island's population until the mid-20th century; however, they started to leave in the 1960s and 1970s. This is elaborated on in detail in Chapter 5.

cultivation and transfer of ownership of vineyards as further causes of the downfall of viniculture on Bozcaada.

In 1998, in order to sustain viniculture on the island, the last remaining wineries were financially supported with 100 billion Turkish liras (worth £30,000 at the time) allocated from the Turkish government at the time. With this funding, three wineries renovated their factories and started to increase the quality of wines they produced by importing new grape varieties and technologies. In 1999, the wineries also opened up their own shops, and started to organise tours of factories and vineyards, helped by the increasing volume of local tourism activities. However, this did not result in an increase of the total amount of wine produced (see Figure 9) but enhanced the quality of the wines and helped to create an image of local tourism on Bozcaada. Now, there are six wineries in business on Bozcaada, with four of them distributing their products at national level.

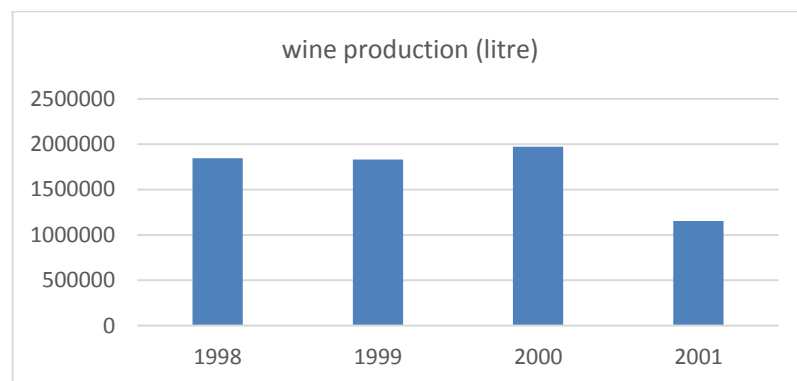


Figure 9: Wine production from 1998 to 2001 (Durmuş, 2006)

Although the financial endorsement for the three remaining wineries of the island in 1998 created a positive impact for these businesses, its effect on the farmers who grew grapes and sold them to these wineries was limited. Figure 10 shows a dramatic drop in the number of the cultivated vineyards from 1989 to 1997. Despite the financial boost, the number of cultivated vineyards increased only slightly from 1997. Thus, the farmers who had abandoned the land did not return to the practice of viniculture after the wineries received government financial support at that time.

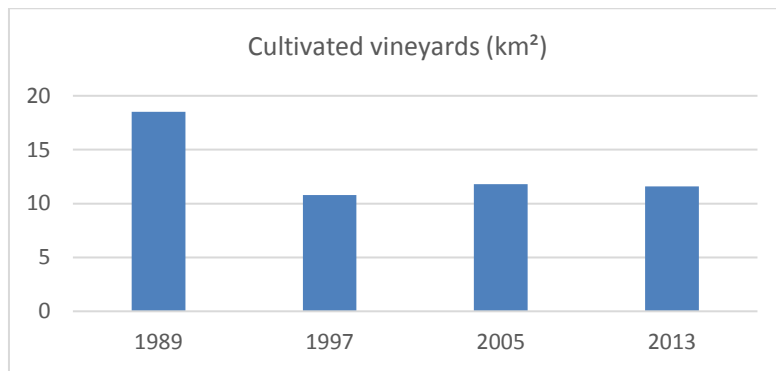


Figure 10: Change in area of cultivated vineyards on Bozcaada (adapted from Dardeniz et al. (2007) and TUIK (2015))

4.2.1 Towards the death of viniculture

Viniculture practices on Bozcaada were mainly based on grape cultivation for wine production. While some of the locally produced grapes were processed into wine in local wineries, others used to be sent to Istanbul to be sold as fruit. However, as the local community recalls, the volume of grapes produced to be sold in the market rather than to local wineries has declined dramatically compared with two decades ago. Now, most of the locally produced grapes are sold to tourists and the rest are sent to nearby towns. An interviewee shared his childhood memories of two decades ago when viniculture was the main economic activity.

“I was 5 years old when we came [moved in]. I remember those days. There was no tourism; everybody had his or her jobs [other than tourism]. Fishing was more developed ... there were many more people in viniculture. I remember clearly that seven to eight trucks of grapes were delivered to Istanbul every day [during harvest season]. They used to send a ferry only for grapes every day. Now you do not see even one or two.” (LX-A)

During the fieldwork, one of the interview topics discussed was the trigger of local economic change on the island, with a focus on the transition from viniculture to tourism. The interviewees expressed different opinions for the reasons behind the downfall of viniculture on Bozcaada. Although the most common opinion was the excessive tax for wine producers, some interviewees suggested that the local population opted in favour of tourism rather than agricultural production, which required greater effort.

The study by Gumus and Gumus (2009) suggests that the biggest struggle that wine producers have recently faced in Turkey is the very high “special consumption tax”¹³ (ÖTV) and the current government’s attitude towards alcoholic beverages. A study showed that from 2009, ÖTV for wine increased by 218% until the first quarter of 2016 (Buzrul, 2016). In addition to that, there is another tax, “value added tax” (KDV), that is paid after ÖTV is calculated, which results in the taxation of a tax. According to the tax rates in 2016, approximately 40% of wine sales prices consist of taxes, which puts extreme economic pressure on small-scale boutique wineries in particular, such as the ones on Bozcaada.

Another struggle for wine producers is the advertisement and promotion ban on alcoholic beverage companies, due to Law no. 6487, passed by Parliament in 2013. This law prohibits alcoholic beverage-producing companies from any kind of advertising of their products and from sponsoring activities, festivals or sports competitions. With this regulatory change, the Bozcaada Wine Tasting Days, a three- or four-day event run by the local wineries on Bozcaada since 2004, had to be cancelled just three weeks before the event in 2013. The termination of this well-established event not only affected the local wineries but also local tourism on Bozcaada, according to an interviewee, an early newcomer:

“Viniculture should be promoted and supported more. For example, we now have a sunset ritual of drinking wine. We used to organise tours to vineyards and wine testing sessions there. Then people used to buy house wines [pre-bottled wines directly from the winery] and take them home. Now, due to these bans, we cannot make advertising or promotions. We cannot take people to vineyards. Because of this bigoted mindset, the [tourism] development of this island is being hindered.” (NC1-A)

During the interviews, the local people confirmed what Gumus and Gumus (2009) noted, that taxes and the government’s policies were considered to be the biggest issue from which viniculture on Bozcaada suffered. Many interviewees stressed the attitude of the current political powers on alcoholic beverages due to religious motivations and constraints through high taxes and advertisement bans.

¹³ The “Special Consumption Tax” (Turkish: ÖTV) is a tax applied to luxury products including alcoholic beverages. It was established first in 2002 and dramatically increased in 2010 by the government of the Justice and Development Party (AKP).

“Now grape cultivation doesn’t make money, so winemaking doesn’t either. Now the big bosses of wineries have the same problem, their wine does not make money either. They hardly consume their own grapes. How can they buy grapes from farmers? Today a cup of tea is 1 TL, a kilo of grapes is 40 kurus [0.4 TL]. That is the result of state policies.” (LCX-B)

“People used to employ 60 to 70 workers during grape harvest time. But the price of grapes is so low now, they cannot find workers for harvest [to work at a lower rate] or they cannot pay them [at the previous rates].” (LCX-F)

Many interviewees expressed that the decline of viticulture on Bozcaada is largely due to central government policies hindering alcoholic beverages, since the current ruling political party is known for their religious identity and promotion of an Islamic lifestyle. However, the tax (ÖTV) does not only cover alcoholic beverages, but also tobacco products and fizzy drinks, luxury products, automobiles and other vehicles, and petroleum products.

Although the struggles of the agricultural sector on Bozcaada are associated with the recent policies of the current government’s position against alcoholic beverages, the diminishing livelihoods of small-scale agricultural producers under neo-liberal policies in Turkey after the 1980s played a more important role (Okumus, 2013). Because small-scale viticulture farmers could not support themselves via grape cultivation any more, they chose to abandon this traditional agricultural practice and become involved in the development of local tourism on Bozcaada. One of the interviewees emphasised how viticulture became a hard struggle for the local community as follows:

“Viticulture is finished, due to the fact that people could not get anything in return after all their efforts. They work all year round and are still in debt at the end. So why would they break their backs then! Instead they rent out a room for two to three weeks in the summer and get by.” (ISL-C)

4.2.2 Deterioration of the vineyards

One opinion regarding the downfall of viticulture on Bozcaada concerned the damaging effect of increasing tourism activity on the island. Approximately 15 years ago, Dardeniz *et al.* (2001) suggested that the fact that Bozcaada was becoming a well-known tourism destination was putting its vineyards in danger. They claimed that as vineyards with vineyard houses are

bought by “rich” people who do not see viniculture as an income source, vineyards have become neglected, which has an effect on overall production on Bozcaada due to the spread of diseases and bugs from unmaintained vineyards (Dardeniz *et al.*, 2001, p. 34). Although the tourism-driven handover of vineyards had been perceived as a problem as early as 2001, when the local tourism sector on the island was just starting to flourish, this is still a notable matter of debate on Bozcaada. Many interviewees expressed their concerns about neglected vineyards owned by seasonal-home owners.

“[For example,] you bought that vineyard, do not know anything about it, hired people to look after it. Nevertheless, it does not make any money but costs money. So you would try for a couple of years and then give up.” (LX-F)

“Due to tourism, now we face the issue of vineyard houses, which is one of the worst. People come and build houses in the vineyards they bought, just for pleasure. After a while when they have satisfied their desires, they stop looking after it [the vineyards]. Now all of them are unmaintained. It affects all the other vineyards very badly as diseases or bugs spread around onto other vineyards.” (ISL-D)

In addition to the quotations from long-time residents above, a newcomer also shared their experience of failure in taking care of a vineyard twice. This is a particularly important statement among the others, as the newcomers are usually the ones who are mainly the object of such criticism.

“We bought a vineyard when we first moved in, but sold it after a while. It is quite a hard job. You need to know how to deal with it, when to do what, etc., then we wanted to try again and got a small [vineyard]. However, this time we were about to strangle it, without realising, with all the fruit trees we planted around the garden. In the end we sold that one too.” (NC1-C)

Another issue expressed by the interviewees is the possible alteration of the island’s character through the change in the dominant vegetation of the island. Because vineyards require great effort to take care of them properly, and are not profitable any more, some

people choose to dig up the grape plants and plant maintenance-free trees and bushes in their garden/vineyards.

“Some people find [owning a vineyard] hard. Because grapes do not make money any more, they do not make the effort. Therefore, they dig up vineyards and they plant trees instead. But the island is losing its characteristics. It is an island of vineyards.” (NC2-B)

Although it is usually the newcomers who are blamed for the unattended and poorly managed vineyards, some interviewees attributed this issue to the former landowners who gave up on viticulture in the early period of tourism development on the island with the increasing interest of Istanbulians for the vineyards. This was also one of the opinions given about the decline of viticulture on Bozcaada. Two interviewees quoted below explicitly referred to those who *gave up* on viticulture as one of the reasons.

“There was no Soil Protection Act¹⁴ before; it is a new thing. Until then, people saw that land itself makes money here as Istanbulians pay a lot. They stopped working on it, split up the land and sold the plots to Istanbulians and bought flats in Canakkale [the city centre]. That is another reason why viticulture is dying here today. [People think of] only money, nothing else.” (LX-F)

“They sold their vineyards to Istanbulians here, bought two or three flats in the city. Now they live in one, rent out the others [flats] and enjoy their time.” (LX-B)

4.3 Tourism development

Early forms of tourism on Bozcaada had started to emerge in the 1970s. In this period, there was only one hotel, which was to accommodate seasonal workers, not tourists. Tourists who were visiting the island used to be hosted by local people in their own houses as guests. The 1970s was also the decade when the departure of the Rums was still continuing. Some Rums sold their houses to these tourists as holiday homes when leaving the island (Guzel, 2012).

¹⁴ The Soil Protection Act restricts the division of particular plots, such as agricultural land, into smaller pieces by sale or inheritance. The minimum land size may not be less than 0.5, 1 or 2 hectares, depending on the regional regulations.

As mentioned widely during the interviews with the local residents of Bozcaada, tourism gained a great momentum due to the movies set on the island. On the other hand, some interviewees stated that the issue of easy accessibility to the island played a big role in Bozcaada becoming a popular tourist destination. Bozcaada was only accessible via the local fishing boats for many years. The local fishermen used to carry passengers from the island to the mainland and return. There was only one fisherman, Yakar Kaptan, with a boat that could carry one or two vehicles, and he used to make a daily return journey, departing from the island in the morning and coming back in the evening. In the years between 1985 and 1996, there was a “retired” military landing boat carrying passengers and a limited number of vehicles. The boat used to make two to three return journeys per day. In 1996, new ferryboats started to ply their trade between Bozcaada and Geyikli port,¹⁵ and the journey time has now gone down to 30 minutes from an hour and a half. Unfortunately, there is no data on the number of passengers regarding those years which would allow us to make a comparison; however, Figure 11 shows the increase in the number of passengers and vehicles from 2003 to 2012.

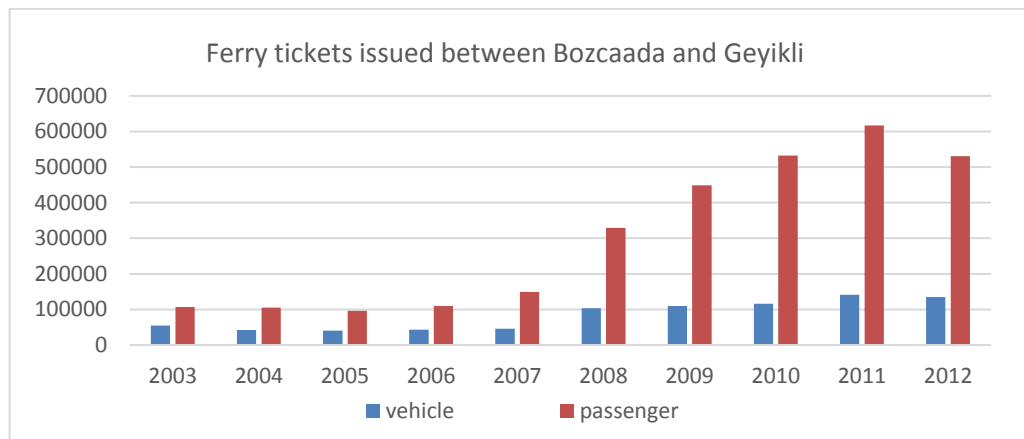


Figure 11: The number of ferryboat tickets issued for passengers and vehicles (adapted from Dogan (2014))

Figure 12 shows the number of tourist accommodation facilities from 2002 to 2014. Such accommodation facilities include hotels, hostels, camping sites and guesthouses on Bozcaada. The amount of accommodation almost quadrupled between 2002 and 2014. With this dramatic increase, at present Bozcaada has a capacity of 3000 beds, with an average of 18.7 beds per accommodation facility. Although there is only one holiday resort on the island with

¹⁵ Geyikli is the district on the mainland closest to the island. Therefore, ferries to the island depart from this port.

120 beds, the average number of rooms per accommodation facility is 8.1. Consequently, it can be said that the local tourism sector on Bozcaada is broadly based on small-scale family businesses.

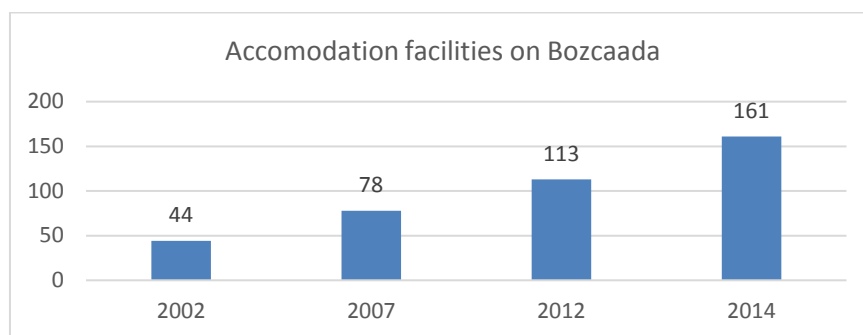


Figure 12: The number of tourist accommodation facilities (adapted from Durmuş (2006); Ayhan (2007); Dogan (2014)).

Nonetheless, accommodation options for visitors are not limited to formal hotels and B&Bs on Bozcaada. Many people rent out their own houses or rooms on a daily or weekly basis during the high tourist season between June and September. The numbers presented in Figure 12 only represent registered accommodations. Thus, it is inevitable that the real number of bed spaces on Bozcaada may be much higher.

4.3.1 Transition period

After viticulture lost its power in Bozcaada's local economic life, tourism became the main economic activity in the mid-2000s. The island has been receiving visitors since the 1970s. Nonetheless, the local people who were involved in agricultural production were reluctant to participate in the development of tourism, since the volume of economic gain from tourism was limited compared with that of viticulture. However, agricultural production started to become unprofitable for small-scale producers in the 1990s, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. In the same period, Bozcaada was gaining popularity among domestic tourists. This was a major opportunity for the local population, and they started to shift to practices to encourage tourism rather than viticulture. One of the newcomers interviewed on Bozcaada described the situation when she arrived on the island in the early 1990s before the dominance of tourism in the local economy.

"They [the locals] were tired [of the island]. They asked me, 'What do you really find here? Show us what is beautiful'. They were disgusted ... we came here at a time at which fishing was dead, the Rums were gone, wineries and vineyards were in distress ..." (NC1-E)

The local economic transition can be seen through the distribution of the local labour force among the main economic sectors, as shown in Figure 13. Comparing the data from 1985 and 2000,¹⁶ the number of workers in the agricultural sector has decreased by nearly half from 295 to 162 people. The same drop is also evident in the industrial sector, which decreased from 147 to 72 people. It is not surprising to see this, considering the fact that “industry” mostly represents wine factories and their non-agricultural suppliers.

In Figure 13, there are two columns for the service sector. The first “service” column refers to services directly related to tourism, such as restaurants, hotels and guesthouses, and retailers. The second column for the service sector refers to “other services”, which includes state institutions such as schools, public administration offices, etc. The number of people employed in the tourism-related service sector has more than doubled, from 55 in 1985 to 131 in 2000. Meanwhile, the number employed in “other services”, which includes civil servants and employees of governmental bodies, has also increased slightly. Therefore, it is evident that there was a shift in the dominant local economic sectors in the years between 1985 and 2000.

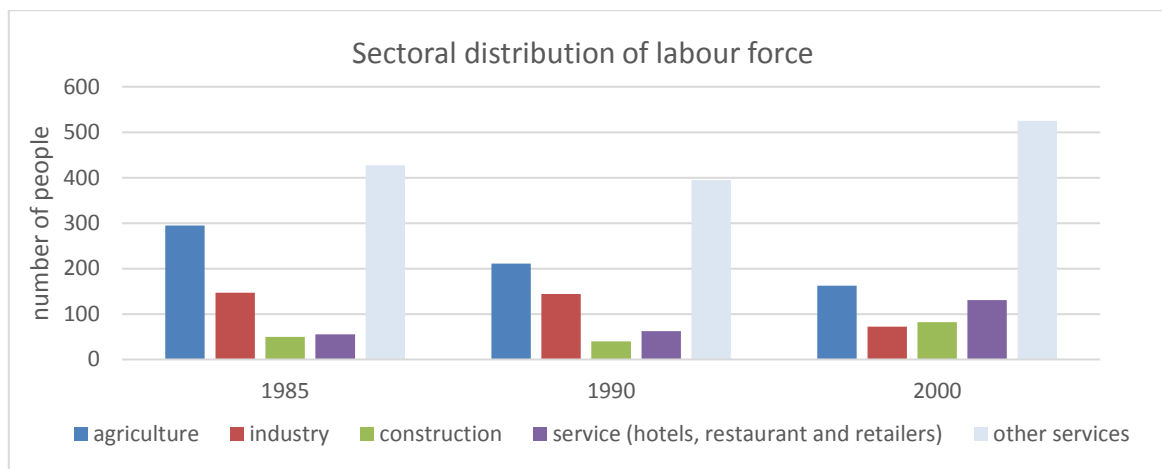


Figure 13: Sectoral distribution of labour force between 1985 and 2000 (TUIK, 2015).

The downfall of viniculture on Bozcaada pushed the local population to become involved in tourism, which became the primary income source on the island. Although there had been groups of people visiting the island since the 1970s, this was not on a scale to call it an economic income source for local households. There were no businesses or facilities that specifically targeted visitors. Visitors and holidaymakers used to use the same facilities that

¹⁶ Unfortunately, labour force statistics are not publicly available at district level after this year.

the local residents used all year round. An interviewee who has run a restaurant on Bozcaada since the 1950s emphasised that tourism was not an industry; his family restaurant served local residents who live and work on the island, whereas now it serves mostly tourists who replaced the locals.

“... Only the people who knew the island were coming for a holiday. The same people or their friends and relatives. Some of them bought land and settled here later on as well. However, there was no tourism like today. People had their own jobs ... I was running my restaurant not for tourists, because there were people [living] here all year round.” (ISL-C)

4.3.2 Dominance of tourism

The establishment of a regular ferry service between the mainland and Bozcaada in 1996 was one of the milestones of the development of local tourism on Bozcaada. A regular transportation service with modern ferries, which can carry approximately 30 passenger vehicles, made the physical accessibility of the island easy and caused an impact on the number of visitors (Dogan, 2014). However, the level of tourism-related business was limited only to accommodation run by local families renting out their own houses or spare rooms. At the same time, the newcomers who had work experiences of the service sector and possessed a spirit of entrepreneurship started to offer more professional and diversified tourist services, which boosted the image of Bozcaada as a tourist destination. This is reflected in the following quotes from two newcomers:

“We opened a souvenir shop and rented out bicycles first. We started organising tourist tours from Istanbul. We did inform people [about Bozcaada]. In those years, there was not even a map or information office on Bozcaada. I can say that we started almost everything you see now on the island in relation to tourism. It grew by our hands.” (NC1-B)

“They call us Istanbulians [in a complaining manner] but it was Istanbulians who started tourism here and everybody has benefited from it.” (NC1-E)

Another milestone for local tourism on Bozcaada was the release of the first two movies set on Bozcaada in 1999. The movies *Gule Gule* (Turkish: “Goodbye”) and *Eylul Firtinasi* (Turkish: “September Storm”) were set on Bozcaada and released in the same year, and had

great success at the box office. Since that year, nine other movies have been set on the island. However, most of the interviewees took the year 1999 as the beginning of tourism as the main local economic activity for the local community of Bozcaada due to these movies.

“Actual tourism boomed with the movies. There were tourists coming to the island, Istanbulians buying houses before the movies too but it was very limited. [Those are] only the people who knew the island [regular visitors]. With those movies, many more people got to know Bozcaada and came here out of curiosity.” (ISL-D)

Clearly the movies set on Bozcaada had a vast impact on the island recognition by wider population and consequently on the development of the local tourism sector. The release of the first and second movies of a trilogy, *Eyvah Eyvah*, in 2010 and 2011, which had record success at the box office, helped the island gain wide popularity all around the country. According to data from Dogan’s (2014) study, the number of tourists visiting the island increased by 84% from 2009 to 2011. The fact that these movies attracted different socio-cultural groups of people as audiences had an effect on local tourism in terms of tourist profiles and behaviour on Bozcaada, which is discussed later on in this chapter.

The development of local tourism that started in the mid-1990s gained momentum at the end of the decade. As the demand for services was scaled up with the increasing number of visitors, more and more local residents made a step into the local tourism sector in all sorts of ways, from providing accommodation to selling homemade jams. Locals who did not have experience of the service sector successfully copied tourism entrepreneur-newcomers on the basis of how to provide services, as expressed by the newcomers as follows:

“Until 1999 tourism was not known here. People were very cautious and acted with suspicion ... The fact that the urban population [newcomers] opened up places with good services and also others took them as an example helped [tourism] development here enormously.” (NC1-C)

“This wasn’t something that locals knew how to do; people who came and invested in tourism by running a hotel, restaurant, shops etc. made Bozcaada a well-known tourism destination. Also they learned a lot from them.” (NC2-B)

Although the above quotations are from the newcomers, other participants did not contradict these statements. However, it is worth noting that the services that they provided in the early years of local tourism development on the island were somehow different from each other, based on their expertise and past employment experiences. For example, apart from accommodation services, the local products and souvenirs offered by the newcomers were more specialised products such as ceramics, jewellery made from wine corks and glass, and poppy jams unique to the island, while the islanders and the localXs offered homemade marmalades and jams, and local herbs and spices.

It was the newcomers who ignited professionalism in the local tourist industry of Bozcaada with their experience in business and entrepreneurship, but all social groups, specifically the local landowners, made a great profit out of this development by renting out their own living spaces to visitors, particularly in the early stages of local tourism when there were not enough accommodation facilities to meet the increased demand. In addition, some of them invested in the tourism sector again with the profit they made by renting out their own rooms and houses. For example, the two interviewees below, who came to the island to work in various jobs, told their personal stories of involvement with the local tourism sector on Bozcaada. Although these are their personal stories, they are remarkably similar to each other and to those of others who moved to the island for employment, became landowners and finally tourism entrepreneurs.

“After the movies people got to know the island. Many more people started to visit. But we didn’t have enough accommodation. That’s how local people started renting their rooms. We used to live in Baytur¹⁷ in those years. We also had a kind of storage place in the town centre. We, as a whole family, moved into that one room and rented out our house for the summers. We saved good money from renting, and also sold our house in Baytur and bought a plot in the town centre and built a small hotel with five rooms. Then we sold that and built another one in the space of five or six years. Then we sold that one too and found a loan and built a big one with 21 rooms in another quarter.” (LX-A)

¹⁷ Baytur is a new quarter next to the old one. It was built in the 1990s by Emlak Bankasi, a state bank that offers low interest loans for housing cooperatives.

“I came here to earn my living. I started working on farms, carried stuff around and worked in construction in the end for many years here. Then we bought a small house and got married. A couple of years later I sold that one and bought land to build on it. I was working on other people’s hotel construction so I learned how to do it. Then I built this hotel by myself at weekends. It took eight years. It has been two years since we all [the whole family] work and live here.” (LX-D)

4.3.3 Vineyards for tourism

Certainly, viniculture is one of the most significant elements of local tourism development on Bozcaada, as the island’s wine production history goes back millennia. However, the relationship between vineyards and tourism for people on Bozcaada is much more complex than simply being one of mutual benefit.

At the very beginning of local tourism development on the island in the 1990s, tourism had been seen as something damaging for the island’s viniculture based on the interviews. The local community at the time believed that tourists visiting the island would harm the island’s vineyards and cause a decline in grape production; therefore, they were uninterested in tourism at the beginning. Considering that everybody on the island is directly or indirectly involved in tourism, their views seem to have changed over time. However, there are different perspectives given by the interviewees on the reason for this change. While some believe that the local people have seen that tourism had no significant impact on grape production, others think that they had no other choice but to get involved in tourism due to the economic downfall of grape cultivation. Undoubtedly, both claims about the sectoral change on Bozcaada are true to a certain extent. Perhaps those two factors played a role together.

“In the early days, they didn’t want tourists to come here in fear that vineyards would be harmed. Now everybody is somehow in tourism. At that time, people were more conservative in terms of vineyards; they used to care much more that vineyards would be damaged or grapes would decline, etc., but there was some gain from vineyards at that time.” (ISL-B)

“Tourism was a ‘kiss of life’ for people here. If it wasn’t for tourism, people would have starved to death here.” (LX-E)

The abandoned viticulture and converted vineyard houses are one of the main concerns expressed by the interviewees on Bozcaada. Almost every participant mentioned the increasing number of holiday homes in vineyards as a problem. However, their concerns were mainly for the future of the local tourism sector rather than about losing the local tradition of viticulture. Some interviewees emphasised that vineyards were the main component of the island's tourism; therefore, this would have a detrimental impact on local tourism in the future.

"The island is identified with its viticulture and vineyards, consequently our guests want to see these [features] ... tourism will exist as long as viticulture exists here." (NC2-B)

"Tourists are coming now, but won't come in the future if everybody sells their vineyards. They won't come for the sea and the sand here. Because there are not those good old quiet beaches any more. They [the beaches] are crowded and dirty. On top of that, if we lose vineyards nobody will come here. In the short run, big money is being earned, but in the long run the island will be over if no measures are taken." (NC2-D)

With the dominance of the tourism sector in the local economic structure of the island, the vineyards became an asset for the tourism industry and lost their role in production. They became a symbol and image for local tourism marketing, rather than an economic activity to earn income in their own right.

4.3.4 Change in the local tourism pattern

Since the early years of the 2000s, the local tourism pattern on Bozcaada has been transformed in terms of tourist profiles, accommodation facilities, available tourist activities and average time spent by visitors on the island. Inevitably, all these changes throughout the time of the island's tourism development are very closely related to the heavy workload people have to surmount and the amount of profit they make in return; this was one of the main subjects that the interviewees reflected on during the fieldwork. Table 6 summarises the changes in the local tourism pattern as perceived by the interviews on Bozcaada.

Changes	Early stages of local tourism	Current local tourism
Tourist profiles	Mainly wealthier	Less wealthy, more middle-class
	Intellectuals, artists, academics	General public
	More middle aged	More young adults
Tourism pattern	Longer stays – average of 1 week	Short stays – average of 1.5 days
	Cycling, wine testing, traditional cuisine, resting	Sightseeing
Facilities	Households renting out rooms, family-run B&Bs	Boutique hotels, guesthouses, family-run B&Bs
	Amateur spirit: host and guest relationship	More professional: customer and service provider relationship
	Local shops and restaurants	Local shops, branches of popular restaurants and bars

Table 6: Changes in local tourism pattern on Bozcaada

Interestingly, the word that most interviewees used to describe the difference between the most common tourist profiles in the earliest stage of local tourism and the current one was “quality”, although what they implied by “quality” varied. While some referred to the attitudes of the tourists, further explaining their point by saying “people with good manners”, some referred to the socio-economic status of the tourists. However, the change in the amount of money that tourists bring to the local economy may not only depend on the economic status of the tourists. Undoubtedly, the length of stay on the island and the number of facilities have an impact on the expected returns of the local tourism sector. The increase in the number of accommodations, restaurants and other tourism services on the island in the meantime may have caused a decrease in the share of the returns for each stakeholder in the local economy.

The change did not only occur in the profiles of tourists visiting Bozcaada. However, the local people’s attitude – as the service providers since tourism became the main income source for most of the local population during the last decade – also changed. In the early stages of tourism on Bozcaada, accommodation services were provided by local households

renting out their spare rooms, while food was provided by the local shops and restaurants, which were prominently for the use of local residents. In the absence of tourist-oriented services on the island, visitors were able to experience the true local culture by taking part in the daily life of the island. Also, the relationship between the host and the guest was based more on “gratitude”, where guests were grateful for the hospitality of the host family. However, this relationship based on “gratitude” has shifted to a “demanding” relationship in the current situation of local tourism on Bozcaada, where economic life depends greatly on the spending of tourists. The guests turned into customers and started demanding value for money.

“When tourism here started to be ‘the big thing’, it started to dominate the community. When we first came here [in the early 1990s] local people were not into tourists much. You would eat whatever they cooked that day, no menu etc., and you would be very grateful for that dish. Now people have started to complain why they don’t have that kind of bread at breakfast.”

(NC1-A)

One of the concerns about the professionalisation of local tourism expressed by the interviewees was the danger of losing that “sincere” and “innocent” tourism, which is seen as one of the important factors for local tourism development success by the interviewees.

“For example, eight years ago, when they were selling homemade jams, it was really made at home by the seller. Now they say ‘homemade jams’ but they are produced in a factory. So, people try to become ‘professional’ and ‘institutionalise’. But then you lose that characteristic of Bozcaada. That is why people are coming here. Otherwise you wouldn’t have a difference from other holiday places.” (OFF-C)

“Since people started to sell their land and move towards hotel and B&B businesses, tourism is not as beautiful and innocent as in the beginning any more ... one of my regular guests said something, which I totally agree with, that he doesn’t feel the same happiness when he comes to Bozcaada any more. He said that ‘everything was boutique before. For example, when you go into a coffee shop you would greet others or you would have dinner at

the same table with your host family. Now it does not exist anymore. It is like any place in Istanbul.' Now that sincerity is lost, they think of value for money." (LX-A)

Some of the interviewees drew attention specifically to what they think has caused this change in the local tourism pattern. For instance, the average time spent on the island has decreased drastically in the last decade, from a week to one and a half days. There are certainly many factors which caused this change; however, one of the causes most mentioned by the interviewees was the increased accessibility to the island, especially during the summer months.

The establishment of a regular daily ferry service between the mainland and the island in 1996 has shortened the average journey time from one or two hours, depending on weather conditions, to between 30 and 45 minutes. The number of services provided daily has gone up to three times in both directions from only once in 1996. With the increased popularity of Bozcaada and the demand for a ferry service, which is the only way to reach the island, the number of services has increased to eight times a day¹⁸ in the peak tourist season and has allowed more people to visit the island easily. The frequent ferry service, according to some interviewees, has caused an increase in the number of visitors and a decrease in the period of stay.

The other cause expressed by the interviewees for the current trend of short stays was the day-trippers who visit the island for a day, usually with a prearranged tour, and leave the island around late afternoon or early evening. Some of the participants believed that the excessive number of day-trippers disturbs the other long-stay tourists, who usually visit the island regularly and stay for longer periods of time, and discourages them to keep returning to the island for their future holidays.

"The duration of stay has decreased. The reason for this is the fact that 'fast visitors' dismiss the others [who stay longer] because they look at it very practically. They go to [see the] sunset, go to the beach, eat something and think, 'We are done on the island', and leave. But the others come here for

¹⁸ In the summer of 2017, the number of ferry return journeys was increased to 20 per day.

its beauty and calmness. They used to come here to live, to experience. However, this fast tourism has spoiled it.” (ISL-D)

“Apparently the duration of stay was very long before. [They say] people used to come here for ten days. Now very few people do that. Most people stay at most two days and then leave. They only come to see the island, just to have a look.” (NC2-A)

As mentioned before, the movies featuring the island had an impact on the popularity of Bozcaada. Some of the interviewees pointed to these movies, stating that their different targeted audience profiles and how they featured the island had an impact on the change that occurred in the local tourism pattern of Bozcaada during the last decade.

“To be honest, with Gule Gule [in 1999] more quality [!] audiences came to Bozcaada. I know that it is not nice to discriminate between people in tourism, but Gule Gule brought people who were more appropriate for Bozcaada’s tourism. With Eyvah Eyvah [2010], the day-trippers started to come, just to see the island with tours. That is what everybody thinks here. For example, with Bir Eylul Meselesi [2014], groups of girls 18 to 25 years old came. Because those are the ones who watched that movie. But my personal belief is that Gule Gule [1999] contributed [to tourism] the most.” (LX-A)

The movie *Gule Gule* was about five elderly close friends who were born and bred on the island. Although the main story of the movie was fictional, it was built around the real scenery of the island. The characters’ daily lives and relationships with each other and the local community in the movie may have led audiences to romanticise life on the island and construct an idyllic image of Bozcaada, based on strong local cultural values and community spirit in a unique remote setting.

The movies set on the island featured the original settings of the island with actual references. For example, it showed real locations and names of shops and restaurants, bars and beaches. In addition to movies, travel magazines, newspaper articles and TV programmes started to feature Bozcaada very often, giving “things to do/see” lists. This also changed the local tourism patterns in line with the tourist profile on Bozcaada, as an interviewee – an early newcomer – suggested.

“Now, they [tourists] come here with lists in their hands, which they tick off at every corner. The other day one of them came to me and asked, ‘What [is there] to do here?’ I said, ‘Enjoy your time, drink local wine and relax.’ But no! He said, ‘We have only one day [and] we want to see this and that.’ This is not a place to see in a day. People used to come here to live a life, talk to neighbours and make friends. Now they come, tick boxes and go.” (NC1-B)

Another change occurring in the local tourism on the island in recent years is the increasing interest in the island of mainly Istanbul-based establishments such as restaurants and cafés. Parallel with Turkey’s peak holiday season, which is between June and September, the daily population of the metropolitan cities, especially in Istanbul, decreases visibly as substantial numbers of middle-class people, who can afford to go on a holiday, spend their holidays in coastal towns and cities in the south and the west of Turkey. Many entertainment businesses, therefore, have their “summer branches” in the prominent international and local tourist destinations of the country. Recently, with the increased popularity of the island, some of these establishments moved to it. However, it is worth noting that these are still relatively independent businesses, rather than national or international businesses or retail corporations; for example, a well-known restaurant from Canakkale and a café from Istanbul.

4.3.5 Perceived impact of tourism

The local tourism development had a substantial impact in every way on Bozcaada, including the economic, environmental, socio-cultural and physical. However, this section looks at the impacts of tourism on Bozcaada in two dimensions – benefits and problems – as they have been perceived by the interviewees.

Certainly, one of the most prominent benefits that tourism has brought to the island is the economic development and opportunities for economic survival for the local community after the collapse of viticulture and fishing practices on the island. The natural and cultural features of Bozcaada promoted by the first generation of tourists and the newcomers laid the groundwork for tourism development. Although the “pioneer” of this development can be said to be the entrepreneurship of the newcomers in the late 1990s, the local population quickly joined in and the island’s economy survived through harsh times thanks to tourism.

“If it were not for tourism, we would have been suffering much more now. People would have to sell a vineyard every year. But thanks to tourism, they

sell one every five or six years instead, and they have to sell those anyway [as they don't practice viticulture any more]." (LX-B)

Another prominent outcome of tourism as perceived by the interviewees is the restoration of the local architectural heritage. Although the island was declared a conservation site before the tourism development began,¹⁹ tourism has drawn more attention to the local heritage and provided capital for restoration projects for the local homeowners.

"First of all, as people visited the island, places started to be renovated. People earned [money] thanks to tourism and wanted to improve more. They started to restore their derelict houses, which they didn't have money to do before." (ISL-A)

A more socio-cultural outcome of tourism perceived by the local residents is the widening social network of the local population. Especially due to the fact that local tourism was largely based on small-scale family businesses, hosts built up friendships with their regular guests, which paved the way for an extensive social and cultural exchange for the local community.

"Thanks to tourism, we have friends all over the country. For example, a couple from Istanbul came here four or five years ago and stayed in our house. We became friends and they started to come every year since then. The next week, we went to visit them in Istanbul with my kids ... not just us but everybody has made good friends all around the country now." (ISL-A)

The second part of this section is based on the interviewees' perceptions of negative outcomes of the local tourism development. One of the most detrimental outcomes of tourism on Bozcaada, according to the interviewed local residents, is pollution, especially on the beaches, due to the excessive number of visitors in the summer months and the insufficient cleaning service provided by the local municipality.

Bozcaada has nine bays with various sizes of beaches (see Figure 14). Four of these bays (numbered 1–4 in Figure 14) located on the south coast of the island are very popular among tourists due to their larger dimensions, being protected from northern winds, and their easy access by personal cars and the local minibuses. Apart from Ayazma Bay (numbered 3 in Figure

¹⁹ Bozcaada has been a conservation site since 1982. This subject is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

14), there are no kinds of public or private services available at other bays and beaches. Ayazma Bay, with long-standing restaurants, has been the most popular beach on the island among both tourists and local residents. Because of the highly increased number of visitors in recent years, tourists started to use the other bays, which made waste collection difficult for the local municipality with its existing human and financial resources. An interviewee explained the waste management problem of the bays and expressed the lack of capacity of the local management bodies to tackle this problem.

“The most urgent problem here is waste. The municipality is only able to manage the rubbish in the town centre somehow in the peak times but beaches, especially the ones without any businesses running, are suffering a lot. Some volunteers come together to pick up litter on those beaches from time to time but that is not enough. I think the beaches are suffering from tourism more than the vineyards.” (NC2-D)



Figure 14: Bays on Bozcaada

Since Ayazma Beach is the most popular beach on the island, its management sparks an issue on the island. The local governorship has been in charge of the management of this beach; however, it has been managed by the local football team since 2003 via a special arrangement by the local governorship to provide a means of financial support for the team.

The team has been running some basic services for tourists, such as renting out sunbeds in return for a small charge (the equivalent of £1 for each sunbed as at 2015) and were also in charge of cleaning the beach at the end of the day, in addition to the regular refuse collection service of the local municipality. In April 2016, the local governorship abolished this arrangement due to new legislation on the management of state assets in conservation and protection areas (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2013b). This legislation orders that these assets can be rented to private parties only via auctions organised by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. Therefore, the local governorship took back the management of the beach. The legislative and local management side of this issue will be discussed in Chapter 7. However, what is considered here is the waste management of the beaches, which is seen by the interviewees as one of the problems that tourism brought to the island. An interviewee who used to work on Ayazma Beach for the local football team expressed concerns about the other beaches on the island which are not maintained at the moment.

“I worked on Ayazma for eight years and saw how much waste people throw away in a day. We used to pick it up every evening and tidy up the beach somehow, but on the [other] beaches there is no one to do such a thing.”

(LX-A)

Another negative outcome of tourism articulated by the interviewees on Bozcaada is the change in social relations among the local community. The highly competitive nature of the tourism sector had an impact on the local community and transformed the traditional close relationships between inhabitants of the island. An interviewee who has been part of the community for many years shared his observations on how people who have been neighbours and friends for many years recently became competitors under these circumstances.

“Tourism increased people’s income here but also increased competition. Since people’s level of competence stayed the same, this competition started to be very wild and visible. It turned into jealousy instead. But I am also aware that this is not special to Bozcaada, this is capitalist community behaviour. But we didn’t have such things before, like five years ago. Those warm relations and cheerful people, which tourists used to come here for, have gone now.” (NC1-C)

Although the dissolving of relationships in the local community has been acknowledged by all social groups on Bozcaada, some interviewees stressed that it was the newcomers who caused this transformation by imposing their urban values and competitive business traditions, which they were used to in big cities. However, it is undeniable that the social composition of the local community on Bozcaada has changed and, therefore, the relations within it have also changed.

“I will be frank, there is devastating avarice now. It wasn’t like this before. But it came with people who came here and opened up a business. Locals learned from them. For example, he came here five years ago and sold a glass of water for five liras [expensive], so attracts quality tourists [wealthy]. Then everybody started to copy him. It wasn’t like this before because locals didn’t know [that they could charge such prices for a glass of water]. But now they all have itchy palms. They want to make as much money as they can in a short time.” (LX-A)

With the dominance of tourism in the local economy of the island, the rhythm of life on the island has also changed alongside the social structure. When viniculture was the main economic activity of the island’s population, local social life was constructed around cultivation, trimming, weeding and harvest times or fishing seasons for the fishermen. However, the dominance of tourism did not only occur in the local economy, but also the local social life. An interviewee who moved to the island in 1999 observed this transformation and gave an example of a typical conversation between the local residents now and then in the local coffee shop.

“If we were having a chat here in 1999, the topics of the conversation would have been whether we had cut the weeds in the vineyard, trimmed the vines, made jams for winter, etc. I mean we would have talked about daily life here. But with the development of local tourism here, especially the last five years, we talk only talk about whether the rooms are full, whether the tourism season will be good this year or whether we will earn more or less than last year, who is selling what for how much money, etc.” (NC1-C)

Since tourism became the main income source for almost every household on Bozcaada, annual routines have changed according to the requirements of tourism businesses. People who used to work all year round started to work only three months during summer, which make up the main tourism season in Turkey in parallel with school holidays. Some people extend this period in the spring with preparations and repairs for the season and stay open until November for tourists visiting the island at weekends if the weather allows. Only a few hotels and restaurants provide services out of tourist season; the majority close down for the winter period. From November to May, Bozcaada goes into a sort of hibernation period in terms of the local economy, which has a vicious cause-and-effect relationship with the seasonal out-migration of local residents. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Increased development pressure on the island, especially in the vineyards, was mentioned by the interviewees as an important negative outcome of tourism on Bozcaada. Apart from the houses that were already built in the vineyards and used according to their purpose for viticulture, new vineyard houses have been built by the newcomers and holidaymakers (see Chapter 5). Although the exact number of houses built and used as holiday homes in the last decade in parallel with tourism development is unknown to the researcher, the scale of ongoing development in the vineyards of Bozcaada is clearly visible to the local residents and long-term visitors of the island. During the fieldwork, many interviewees expressed their concern about the pressure that the vineyards and agricultural land of Bozcaada are facing due to the increasing demands of tourism.

“We were the last house in this road. There were no other houses after us. Now there are tens of them. They all are Istanbulians who only use the house for a week or two in the year. The plants [vines] are all uncared for. I have always held that we should create a cooperative for the vineyards but it never happened. It is pity that people use those as second homes. It is true that I am not here all year round either but I have my helpers [employed hands] to maintain the vineyard and make my wine.” (NC1-A)

Due to high demand, rents and sale prices for housing on the island have been continuously increasing since Bozcaada was discovered by the wider public. A total of 70% of the inhabitants on Bozcaada are homeowners or inhabiting a property on which they do not pay rent (Izmir Institute of Technology, 2010). Therefore, civil servants and seasonal workers are the group

of local residents most affected by this price increase (see Chapter 5). However, the inhabitants who are directly involved in tourism businesses such as B&Bs and restaurants, in particular, do not see this highly inflated property market as a negative outcome of tourism for the local population, but as an obstacle to further development and improvement of service quality in the local tourism market of Bozcaada. They expressed that this limited and expensive rental housing issue on Bozcaada pushes the local employers to compromise on the standards of the accommodation that they provide for their seasonal workers. Many of them have to stay in crowded shared houses and rooms, which discourages highly qualified tourism employees from working on Bozcaada. Apparently, not being able to hire highly qualified staff for some tourism businesses is one of the main handicaps in attracting the “quality” tourists, as they state:

“Qualified, educated staff go to the south; we get all the leftovers here. It is a big problem to find a place to stay for the staff here. Rents are so expensive in the season [summer]. So, people have to accommodate as many people as possible in a rented house. But the ones who are well-equipped don’t like the conditions, of course.” (NC2-D)

The downfall of viticulture and winemaking pushed the local people to find other sources of income. The popularity of the island at this time led many people to become involved in the local tourism sector, for both their economic survival and to take a share of these new developments on the island. During the 2000s, tourism gradually took the place of viticulture and became the main income source for the local residents. Before the dominance of tourism, the local economic activities on the island varied from agricultural production to retailing, including local services for the local community such as butchers, barbers, patisseries, etc. However, the dominance of tourism as the main income source caused a change in this diversified local economic structure of the island, which seems to have had a dreadful effect on the island’s livelihood and the inhabitants’ quality of life.

“There are other income sources such as fishing or viticulture but [those people] also run B&Bs. Fishing and viticulture have become side jobs now. Previously, everybody used to live on those jobs only, but now the only income source is tourism. Everybody is involved in tourism somehow, some

rent out their own house, some rent out a room, and some make and sell jewellery or jam. Everybody sells something here.” (ISL-A)

“When we came here [approximately 20 years ago] everybody had different jobs: viniculturists, fishermen, barbers, butchers, etc. Now, everybody has to be in tourism. Or you have to be a civil servant if you can.” (LX-A)

The increased popularity of the island in recent years, via its effects on land value and property prices, led to the launch of new services mainly based on tourism, at the expense of the older local services (see Chapter 5). The former economic structure, which generated less income but was more diversified, converted into a better-earning but monotype form that left the new generation on Bozcaada no choice of occupation except tourism. The quote below belongs to an interviewee who lived on the island for generations. At the beginning of the interview, she shared that her uncles were fishermen and her father worked in a local winery, two main income sources of the island at the time. She is now married to another islander whose family have run a restaurant on the island for generations. In the quote below she expressed how she got into the tourism sector due to the lack of diversity in local employment opportunities.

“I started working right after school. There was nothing else but tourism. Where else can you work? You work either in a hotel, a B&B or a restaurant. So I started working in a restaurant to support myself. When we got married we took over here [the restaurant].” (ISL-A)

However, for some, this new uniform local economy is seen as an opportunity for specialisation in the tourism sector. By growing up on the island and gaining experience through businesses run by their families, it is very common among the younger generation on the island to pursue a career in tourism. It was reported that many teenagers on Bozcaada continue working in their parents’ business after high school. In addition, some of the island’s younger generation moved onto the tourism profession away from the island, while others had to move out to pursue a career in other professions. An interviewee proudly remarked that his niece and nephews who grew up on the island became tourism professionals not just on Bozcaada, but also around the country.

“One of my nephews runs the Rock Bar in Bodrum [a highly touristic city], the other is in SuAda [a famous restaurant in Istanbul], and another is working with me here. In short, everybody is in the tourism business. Tourism is a must on Bozcaada.” (LX-B)

4.4 Future of Bozcaada

One of the topics that was discussed with the interviewees during the fieldwork was the future of the island. This section of the chapter focuses on people’s predictions of the island’s future, including the local and regional administrative bodies as well as the local residents. Although most of them expressed that they do not have much hope for the future, some interviewees also mentioned their own strategies based on their own perception of the “problems”. In this section, these proposed strategies and how they differ from one another are also examined.

At this point, it is important to start with the 1:100,000 Balıkesir and Canakkale environmental plan, which is one of the most prominent tools for determining the future of Bozcaada. This plan, in line with the national development goals, defines the land-use allocations for agriculture, industry, housing, transportation and other services, as well as population projections and sectoral endorsements. What the plan envisages for Bozcaada in the future has to be reflected in the more specific lower-scale plans due to the hierarchy of plans (see Chapter 7). Therefore, it is strictly binding for any plan produced or decision made at local level.

The environmental plan projects the population of Bozcaada to be 3,780 in 2040. This projected population is approximately 45% higher than today’s population (2,613 as at 2016). In order to accommodate almost half as much again of the current population in a place where there is already a shortage of housing for year-round use, the plan proposes new settlement areas on the south coast as well as expansion towards the west and the south of the current town centre (areas marked yellow in Figure 15). Although the extreme population pressure that the initial plan put on the island has been averted,²⁰ the same controversial area, on the south coast of the island, is still designated for future development. Even though the conditions of construction will be determined by the master and implementation plans, which will be prepared by the local municipality for this area, the fact that the area concerned is

²⁰ When the plan was first announced, the predicted population for 2040 was 11,000. For details of this plan, please see Chapter 7.

entirely detached from the main town centre and located next to the designated beaches of the island suggests that it will possibly be used for the construction of more second homes and hotels.



Figure 15: 1:100,000 Balıkesir and Canakkale environmental plan (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2016)

The environmental plan projects a first-level road running around the island (bold black line in Figure 15). The plan states that this road is to improve connections from the south of the island to the centre and to create a panorama route around the island by upgrading the existing road (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2016). Although, in this scale plan, measures for roads are not presented, according to the road standards determined by the Turkish Standards Institute, a first-level road should have a minimum of four lanes with each lane a minimum of 3.60m wide (Tekin, 2007). This means a road a minimum of 15m wide and at least double the width of the current road. Considering the size of the road and the fact that the projected road creates a ring around the island by going along the south coast where the designated beaches of Bozcaada are located, and finishing at the port near the town centre, it is evident that the road will serve tourists rather than the local residents.

The plan shows Bozcaada as a “services sector development area” within the region. It also highlights agriculture as the primary sector to be endorsed. Subsectors of agriculture to be

promoted are identified as fishing, vegetable and fruit cultivation, viticulture, and animal husbandry. The second sector to be promoted is identified as the service sector, consisting of tourism and a separate category of alternative tourism. The plan also mentions what kinds of tourism are to be promoted: sea tourism, water sports tourism, eco-tourism and agro-tourism. However, it does not give any description of the differences between tourism and alternative tourism. The idiosyncratic point here is the employment projection (see Table 7). The plan predicts that employment in the agricultural sector will drop from 17% to 11% of the total employment by 2040. Table 7 represents the employment distribution in 2012, which is well after the collapse of viticulture on the island. Despite the fact that the same plan gives priority to agricultural investments to be endorsed on the island, this substantial drop to 11% of employment from 17% in 2012 portrays a change in the traditional method of agricultural production on the island, which is based on labour-intensive production.

	Agriculture	Industry	Services
2012	17%	7%	76%
2040	11%	9%	80%

Table 7: Distribution of employment among various sectors (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2016)

4.4.1 Future of viticulture

The future of viticulture on Bozcaada is the topic the local residents are concerned about. The most common prediction about the future of viticulture on the island was that it would disappear from the local economy. Although some of the interviewees attributed this prediction of disappearance to the handover of the vineyards to “Istanbulians”, some attributed it to the new generations’ lack of interest in viticulture.

Due to the loss of economic gain from viticultural activities, it was reported that the youth of Bozcaada prefer not to undertake viticulture any more. Accordingly, what most of them intend to do is to transform the assets of their families, such as vineyards or town houses, into tourism businesses in order to engage with the local tourism sector instead of viticulture. An interviewee who came to the island for the first time more than two decades ago shared his memories of the “good old times” of viticulture and the current situation on Bozcaada and how the local youth think about viticulture.

“In my [younger] times, viniculturists used to go to Istanbul to be paid for their grapes which they had sent. They used to live like kings with that money for the whole year. Now, grapes do not even go to Istanbul. Grapes do not make money anymore. So, the new generation is not into viticulture, they do not want to work in vineyards, do not want to deal with it. They all want to build a hotel or run a B&B.” (LX-B)

During the interviews, every interviewee agreed that the future does not look very bright for viticulture on Bozcaada. However, some interviewees expressed their concerns on the basis of the loss of the traditional agricultural practice of viticulture on Bozcaada, while others stressed its possible negative effect on local tourism. The quotes below show these different meanings assigned to viticulture on Bozcaada after it lost its traditional role for the majority of the population. In the following quotes, the islander who said he had grown up in the vineyards of Bozcaada, and wanted his child to be able to do the same, emphasised the loss of viticulture as a loss of tradition. However, the newcomers, who have been living on the island during the last five to seven years, emphasised the risk of losing the tourist image of the island.

“If you ask me what will happen in ten years here, I will say viticulture will die completely. All vineyards will be possessed by Istanbulians, and they won’t be able to do this job; because vineyards need attention 11 months of a year. It cannot be done with a remote control. It is a pity!” (ISL-F)

“If everybody keeps selling their vineyards here, these tourists are still coming but will not come in future. They won’t come just for the sea and the beach ... Because it won’t be different from any other island then.” (NC2-D)

“The island is identified with viticulture and wineries. Therefore, people want to see those [features] here. If we lose these vineyards, we lose tourism as well. We are unfortunately getting there, day by day.” (NC2-B)

However, in the case of Bozcaada, the launch of new boutique wineries by two newcomers represents a substantial investment and dedication in order to promote the local traditional products and consequently the identity of the island. The setting up of new wineries and vineyards in a place that is already suffering from the decline in viticulture as an income

source was not welcomed warmly by the local community and the existing vine producers at the beginning. However, the innovations they brought to the local vine production and the branding works of the local grape varieties were appreciated and replicated by the other wineries later on. Another newcomer told the stories of these new boutique wineries and how they were seen by the local community:

“They were making fun of him [the founder of Corvus Vineyards], saying that he is mad as he is trying to grow a vineyard there. But now he has the most beautiful vineyards of the island. Can you believe that? He is one of the newcomers ... Maybe Corvus is the best boutique winery in Turkey now ... They [the founders of Amadeus Wines] also moved here after they met me. They came here and bought land and grew vineyards. They founded a new winery on the island. The other winery owners were upset in the beginning but then they learned from Amadeus. They saw how passionate Amadeus is about this, so they also started to follow them and make changes.” (NC1-E)

4.4.2 Future of tourism

Despite the financial benefits that tourism brought to the island during the period of economic struggle for the local viniculture, the residents of Bozcaada do not hold out great hopes for the future of local tourism. Most of them believed that if things continue in the same way as now, without any precautions or interventions, the local tourism sector will fail to help the island survive in the future, both economically and socially. However, there were different scenarios envisaged for the collapse of local tourism. One of them suggested that the highly inflated rates for tourism services would eventually lead to a decrease in the number of tourists visiting the island.

“Because the demand is high, hotels ask as high prices as possible for a room in the summer, regardless of what they have to offer. With that money, you can almost have a nice room in London or Paris ... It is already happening. Some of the regular guests don’t come anymore. They say they had a week-long holiday in the Greek islands with the money they spent here for a weekend only.” (LX-A)

The fact that Bozcaada became relatively more expensive in recent years without offering greater value for money had broad repercussions in the press nationwide, often in a very negative manner. Although this criticism was not accepted by some of the interviewees, who thought that this was one of the requirements of a modern capitalist economy in terms of supply and demand, others believed that these inflated prices would give a bad reputation to Bozcaada's tourism and damage the island's image, which might have a detrimental impact on the future of local tourism.

The need for an intervention in the local tourism activities and the way they are carried out was articulated commonly during the interviews. Moreover, many interviewees also suggested various ways to prevent a collapse in the local tourism sector on Bozcaada. One of the most common complaints from the local tourism businesses and the residents was the extreme number of tourists visiting the island during the peak season. They especially mentioned the day-trippers as the main cause of the other complaints such as crowdedness, traffic congestion and pollution. The most extreme suggestion made to keep the number of visitors under control is to limit access to the island, forcing visitors to stay longer by making it physically impossible to leave the island.

"[For example,] there should not be a ferry crossing every hour here. There should be such a system that once they come here they have to stay two days at least." (ISL-D)

On the other hand, although sharing the same motivation of limiting access, some interviewees proposed a limitation on the variety of services and tourist attractions offered on the island, which would limit the accessibility of the island, not physically but socio-economically, for some parts of society. This idea was also supported by the local NGO (BOZTID)²¹ in order to attract the "right" targets for tourism on Bozcaada.

"We cannot hold the door ... [they] can come here but won't be able to find what they are looking for here. For example, if we offer water sports, cycling, tracking etc., people who like these activities will come. If we offer local food and wine, those who appreciate those will come. Those are the ones who are

²¹ BOZTID: Bozcaada Tourism Operators Association, which is an association to promote the tourism sector and regulate the local tourism businesses on Bozcaada.

more appropriate for our kind of tourism. We don't want too many people; we want the right people.” (BOZTID)

BOZTID supports the idea that the local tourism sector on Bozcaada should be targeting alternative tourists, which they referred to as the “right” kind of tourists for the island, by offering a tourist environment based on the cultural and natural features of the island. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, alternative tourism was also one of the sub-categories of tourism on the island to be promoted according to the 1:100,000 Balıkesir and Canakkale environmental plan. Up until now, the desired types of tourism on Bozcaada at both the local and regional authority levels have seemed to be consistent with each other. However, during the interview with GMKA,²² it was reported that Bozcaada needs to promote special kinds of tourism that attract wealthier sections of the public.

What GMKA visualises is “natural but luxurious tourism” for Bozcaada. GMKA supported the idea that the institutionalisation of tourism businesses, especially family-run hotels and B&Bs, is of primary importance to attract wealthier tourists to luxurious elite tourism on the island. This contradiction of the envisaged futures of tourism on Bozcaada between the local population and the regional development agency is a very important point to emphasise, since the development agency is the primary body for the distribution of investment funds in the region. Therefore, what they choose to give the available funds priority to would have a critical impact on Bozcaada and the local economic dynamics.

The expectations of the local and regional bodies for the future of Bozcaada’s tourism differ on many points; however, both parties share the same opinion on one thing: to attract more international tourists in order to achieve the desired type of tourism on the island. Their main objective, to support international tourism on Bozcaada, is mostly based on a presumption that international tourists are more educated, well-mannered and wealthier. Therefore, they consume and pollute less but input more money into the local economy.

“We should focus on foreign tourists instead, if you want to preserve the island. Because they read something about the island before coming here first. They know the history, visit the museum and visit the art galleries. For

²² GMKA: South Marmara Development Agency. This public institution has a critical importance for the future of Bozcaada, as it is the regional representative of the Ministry of Development and responsible for the distribution of financial endorsements and EU grants to public and private projects in the region.

example, if 1000 domestic tourists come to the island, only five of them will visit a gallery, 20 of them will visit the museum, as opposed to 300 to 500 foreigners.” (NC1-A)

The proportion of international tourists visiting the island was around 5% between 2009 and 2012 (Dogan, 2014). In 2013, Bozcaada district governorship conducted a project, “Integration of the Tourism of Bozcaada into the Global Market”, which was supported by all institutional stakeholders of the local tourism sector: GMKA, the local municipality and BOZTID. The main goal of this project was the marketing of the island within the international tourism sector, and as part of the project, representatives attended international tourism destination expositions, produced a multilingual website and informative materials about Bozcaada. Although this project did not continue after this initial phase, in 2014 the holiday company Thomson announced that it would include the island in its destinations to visit on their Mediterranean route, which caused a divergence of opinions on the island. While some people supported this as a step forward in reaching the international market, others opposed it, arguing that this would ruin the island by bringing more crowds than the island could take (Ilik, 2014). In May 2015, a cruise ship anchored off the island for the first time and visited the island 12 times during the season. During the interviews, which took place right after the second visit of the cruise ship, the interviewees who supported the arrival of cruise ships were disappointed, while those who opposed it were relieved by the impact of the ship on the island. In 2016, only six cruise ships anchored off the island and the number of foreign tourists that disembarked was relatively lower (Ilik, 2016).

“I was hopeful with the ship but very few people came to the island, just for a couple of hours. Apparently, the ship had 2000-something people on board, but they also offer trips to Assos, Troy and Gallipoli.²³ So only 200 to 300 people came here.” (LX-B)

“We were scared about these ships coming here with thousands of people but in the end it wasn’t as I expected. Only a bunch of them came in with a boat. Mainly retired couples. They walked around, had coffee and bought some wine and left in the afternoon.” (NC1-E)

²³ Assos, Troy and Galipoli are other historical and archaeological sites on the mainland in Canakkale.

Another survival strategy proposed for the future of Bozcaada's tourism was to promote the branding of the island as "wine country", highlighting and building upon the local viniculture history with investment in wine production, not only as an industry but also as a component of the service sector. Bozcaada had already attempted to do this in the early 2000s, with wine tasting days and vineyard tours. To some degree, it also gained some recognition as a wine island, doubling the number of local wineries and making a name for itself in the national and international markets, thanks to award-winning boutique wineries. Although, later in the decade, this development had to be abandoned at the larger scale due to legislative obstacles, all wineries had to find a way to overcome this by launching their own bars and cafés in order to offer tasting.²⁴ Nonetheless, such efforts remained at the individual level. An interviewee who moved to the island in the late 1990s, bought a vineyard and produced his own wines, described the "ideal" kind of tourism for Bozcaada by sharing his observations about the USA:

"Now the most popular tourism in the world is the kind of tourism they call wine country ... people invest, buy land and practice viniculture. Then they make their wine and set up tasting houses. People from around the world come there for their holidays. For example, you pay 20 dollars and taste 20 different wines. They you go to eat in their restaurants in the vineyards. You pay 100 dollars for a meal instead of 35 dollars in any other place, but you get to drink their best wines etc. This is an expensive [form of] tourism, because it is a cultural tourism, with people who appreciate viniculture ... so you attract more quality tourists. Then, Bozcaada will be a place which is exclusive, expensive but with higher cultural standards." (NC1-A)

It is important to point out here that the main supporters of the idea of "wine country" are the newcomers, who usually fall into the group of people who can be described as the consumers and also the entrepreneurs of such a type of tourism in the context of Turkey. Although it is not surprising to see their support for the idea that the future of tourism on Bozcaada depends on the "wine country" branding, it was claimed that the local population,

²⁴ With Law no. 6487, offering free samples of alcoholic beverages was also banned.

especially the locals, hesitate to support the idea, as they are not knowledgeable enough to provide an appropriate quality of service within such a kind of tourism.

“The people who came from Bayramic [the localXs] don’t know viniculture or how wine should be served etc. That’s why they were not into much when we tried to boost this culture here. Because they don’t know how to compete in that area.” (NC1-B)

Apart from this suggested solution for the future of the island’s tourism sector, the local municipality and BOZTID organise festivals and events in collaboration with the governorship out of peak season in order to stretch the local tourism season. The peak tourist season for the island, as well as all the other coastal regions, is the three months of summer from mid-June to mid-September when schools are closed for the summer holiday. Although the island starts to revive from April to November in terms of tourism, in these periods it is mainly limited to weekend visitors. However, in recent years, the local tourism season has been expanded, to some extent, with niche festivals and events such as the New Balance Half Marathon and the Bozcaada Theatre Festival in May, the International Local Tasting Festival in September or October, and BIFED (Bozcaada International Festival of Ecological Documentary) in October or November.

“I might have been empty this week [end of May]. The marathon passed. The 1st of May, 19th of May [bank holidays] passed. People would stay home until the schools’ closure, but organised events such as this theatre festival bring the island alive again. Maybe just for this festival, ten or 20 households will come here, artists will come too. Such events are so important for us ... because we live on this tourism.” (ISL-A)

Although the idea of stretching the tourism season is to maximise the financial gain of tourist businesses, it was also initiated by the local municipality in order to keep the local population occupied and keep the social life alive as long as possible by delaying the winter migration of residents. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the changes in the local economic structure of Bozcaada since the 1990s from viniculture to tourism and the local population’s perception of these changes.

Bozcaada, being a small island, has a limited resource base for local economic development. The climate and soil structure of the island favoured viticulture as the main income source for inhabitants for centuries. However, viticulture became unprofitable for the majority of today's households. In particular, small landholders and active farmers are not able to earn a living from vine cultivation any more. In addition, high taxes and legal wrangles put extra pressure on the boutique wineries of the island, pressurising the small-scale grape farmers accordingly. The rising reputation of the island as a domestic tourism destination in Turkey turned into an opportunity for the diversification of income sources for many local households who were then experiencing economic struggle in viticulture for a period. However, this diversification of the local economy later became the main economic activity of the island in the 2000s, and the island started to experience important changes within this new local economic sector.

With the further help of the newcomers, local tourism started to flourish on the island by the end of the decade. Movies set on the island and the image they attributed to Bozcaada had a tremendous effect on the local economy in terms of tourism revenue. During the 2000s, Bozcaada had already become a tourist island, with almost every household financially benefiting from tourism.

Although the shift from viticulture to tourism became unavoidable for smallholders later on, not many people on the island leaned towards investing in tourism as an economic activity at the beginning. The main reason of those who resisted at the beginning was the possible damage that tourism might cause to the vineyards. When local tourism businesses, or simply their estates and land, brought more profit than practising viticulture, the local population started to support tourism development on the island. This shift happened voluntarily for some, as they saw that they could make more money in a short time; but involuntarily for others, as they saw there was no other source of income on the island any more.

Likewise, the effect of tourism on the vineyards is a topic of discussion among the local community. On the one hand, some saw a mutual relationship between viticulture and tourism, as the local viticulture practices attract tourists while the revenue from tourism helps to finance the maintenance and protection of the vineyards. On the other hand, viticulture is the victim of tourism development due to the conversion of vineyard houses to holiday homes and the consequent abandonment of viticulture on Bozcaada. Both types of relationship

between viticulture and tourism very probably exist at the same time. Therefore, it is hardly possible to claim that tourism favoured or harmed the local viticulture. However, the local residents believe that the latter seems more likely to happen in the near future, considering the central government's attitude towards the production and sale of alcoholic beverages.

The change in the local economy was not limited to the move of the main economic activity from viticulture to tourism. After this sectoral change, the current main economic activity evolved from "amateur" to "professional" tourism on Bozcaada. The local tourism sector expanded vastly during the 2010s, which resulted in some changes to the characteristics of local tourism. As reported by the interviewees, the number of visitors increased while the average time spent on the island decreased. It is also claimed that the quality of the services offered by the local businesses dropped while the prices of the services increased. The relationship between the locals and tourists was also spoiled as the profile of tourists visiting Bozcaada altered. Although these changes were not appreciated by any of the interviewees, the underlying causes of the changes varied. Increased accessibility of the island over the last decade was seen as the main cause of these recent changes by some interviewees, while others pointed out the lack of comprehensive strategies for local tourism development.

Before tourism arrived, according to the interviewees, the island's local economy was more diverse, despite the fact that it was largely based on viticulture. The services existed to meet the demands of the local population rather than tourists. The island is claimed to be in danger of exceeding its capacity unless precautions are taken by the local and regional authorities.

The necessity of strategic planning for local tourism development to ensure the survivability of the island in the future was pointed out by all the actors interviewed. However, the strategies they envisaged for Bozcaada varied. The regional development agency (GMKA), which is the key actor preparing projections and development strategies for the region and the island, advocates "luxury tourism" on the island, while the local municipality and the association of local tourism businesses (BOZTID) support "boutique tourism", which they describe as alternative tourism, but targeting middle- and upper-middle-class tourists. These different perspectives of the local and regional administrations sparks a conflict and hindrances to both economic and spatial development of the island, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Chapter 5. Changes in Social Fabric

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the transitions in the island's social fabric during the last two decades. The chapter draws upon the semi-structured interviews with local residents and estate agents on their perceptions and interpretation of socio-economic and physical transformations on Bozcaada.

The first section of this chapter briefly presents the demographic changes on Bozcaada during the last century. The second section looks at the current sections of local society and the relationships between them. The third section shows the evidence of changes occurring in the built environment of Bozcaada, including rising property values and their implications for the local housing market and the residents.

5.2 Demographics

Due to its position at the mouth of the Dardanelles strait, thus being a gateway to Istanbul and the Black Sea, Bozcaada (aka Tenedos)²⁵ has been invaded and inhabited by many different communities throughout its history. The civilisations that have inhabited Bozcaada are, respectively, the Pelasgians, Phoenicians, Athenians, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians (Alexander the Great), Byzantines, Genoese, Venetians and Ottomans.

After the conquest of Istanbul in 1456 by the Ottomans, Tenedos become important for the Ottomans due to its strategic location in preserving the security of the straits leading to Istanbul. Sultan Mehmet II had rebuilt the island's forts with a prison and the island had been also used for the detention of disobedient soldiers. In order to increase the Ottoman population on the island, the Sultan introduced tax exemptions for people who resided on it (Uzunçayirli, 1999). This was first time that the Turkish population started to inhabit the island alongside Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians (aka Rums)²⁶ who had been the local population up until that time.

The Rum community coexisted peacefully with the Turkish community on Bozcaada for hundreds of years. Until the mid-20th century, the Rums were always the majority population on Bozcaada. Figure 16 shows an increase in the Christian population from the 1900s, while

²⁵ Tenedos is the Greek name for Bozcaada.

²⁶ 'Rum' is a Turkish word referring to the Greek-speaking people who are members of the Orthodox Christian church.

the Muslim population was relatively stable. Figure 16 also shows a dramatic increase in the Christian population around the 1920s. This was explained as due to the in-migration of Greek-speaking Christians from Anatolia as a consequence of the turmoil between Greeks and Turks during the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1923) (Durmuş, 2006).

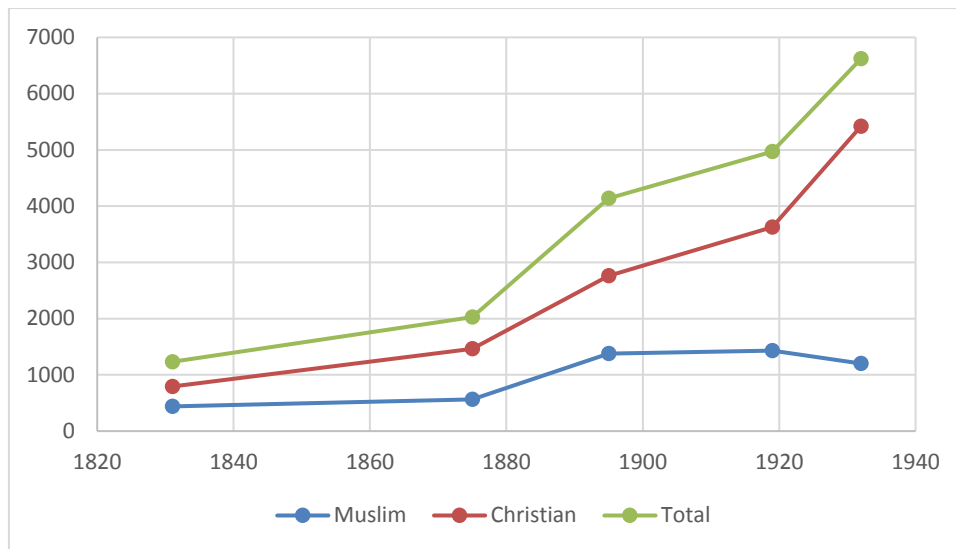


Figure 16: Distribution of population in the 19th and early 20th centuries (adapted from (Korkmaz, 2011))

5.2.1 Departure of the Rums

At the end of the Turkish War of Independence, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923 in Switzerland. By virtue of this treaty, Bozcaada became part of the newly formed Republic of Turkey. An agreement between Turkey and Greece was signed concerning the exchange of the Greek population living in Turkey and the Turkish population living in Greece. In accordance with this agreement, approximately two million people were displaced; 1.5 million Anatolian Greeks from Turkey and 0.5 million Muslims from Greece.²⁷ However, the Greek population who lived on Bozcaada, Gokceada and Istanbul were exempted from this exchange.

Although there are not many reliable sources on the social life of the islanders on Bozcaada during Ottoman sovereignty, the late Ottoman archives of public order reports on Bozcaada suggested that the Rums and the Turks lived peacefully (Durmuş, 2006). However, the two communities lived in two separate neighbourhoods; Alaybey (aka the Turkish quarter) where

²⁷ “Nationality” in this agreement was not based on the language or ethnic origin of communities, but only religious identity, and involved nearly all the Orthodox Christian citizens of Turkey, including its native Turkish-speaking Orthodox citizens, and most of the Muslim citizens of Greece, including its native Greek-speaking Muslim citizens.

the mosque was located and Cumhuriyet (aka the Rum quarter) where the church was located. The neighbourhoods were divided by a stream and connected by small bridges (see Figure 17). This river and bridges no longer exist.



Figure 17: A picture from the 1910s. The Muslim and Christian quarters were divided by a stream bed (Gürüney, 2009).

The unfortunate events that took place during the War of Independence and afterwards have deeply damaged the relationship between many Turks and the Rum minorities around the country. Although there was no evidence of a hostile environment within the local community of Bozcaada, the Rum population started to feel insecure and disconnected, and the emigration of the Rums then started gradually (Gürüney, 2012). The main breaking points were the closure of the Coeducational Greek School in 1964 and the Turkish military invasion of Cyprus in 1974. After these events, most of the last remaining Rums on Bozcaada emigrated to countries like Greece, France, Australia and Canada. In these years, many Rum businesses, homes, restaurants and vineyards changed hands (Gürüney, 2012). For the first time in Bozcaada's history, the Turkish community became the majority in the local population. In 2009, there were only 20 Rums living on Bozcaada, mostly over 60 years old.

5.2.2 Population increase

It can be seen in Figure 18 that the gradual decrease of Bozcaada's population due to the departure of the Rums ended in the 1980s, and turned into a steady increase with minor fluctuations between 2000 and 2010. The increase after the 1980s corresponds to the arrival of agricultural workers from the surrounding areas on the mainland, who used to work in grape harvesting and the winemaking industry, as a result of the gap in the local community and the local economy created by the departure of the Rums.

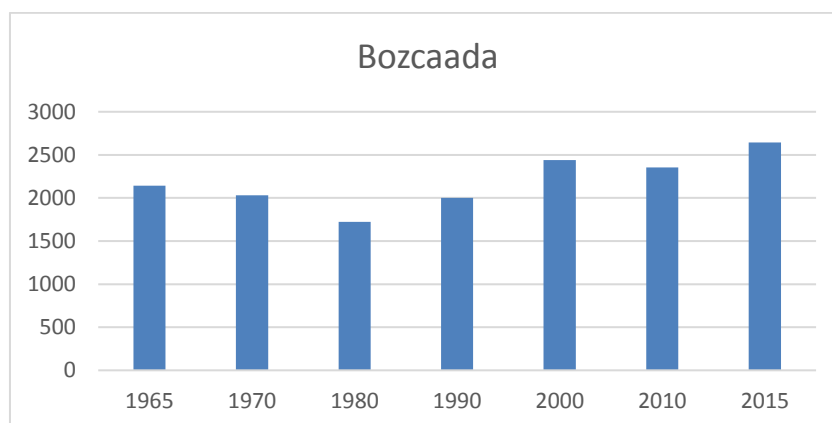


Figure 18: Population changes on Bozcaada since 1965 (TUIK, 2015)

The small fluctuation in the population of Bozcaada between 2000 and 2010 coincides with the period in which tourism was becoming the main economic activity on Bozcaada. As stated during the interviews with the local residents, there were families who were keen to move from the island but not able to afford to do so. Local tourism development and the increasing popularity of the island in these years helped those families to sell their property for higher prices than they expected and finance their out-migration. Since the properties that sold in this period were mainly used as holiday/second homes, we see a small decrease in the registered population on Bozcaada. After this early period of tourism on the island, the trend of population increase on Bozcaada continued.

5.2.3 In-migration

One of the most commonly used indications of gentrification and counterurbanisation movements is the migration pattern. However, to be able to make a more accurate critique of migration patterns on Bozcaada, detailed migration statistics showing the origins of the migrants in certain time periods are needed. Unfortunately, this data is only available at regional and provincial level. Nevertheless, Table 8 shows the proportional population change on Bozcaada between 1990 and 2014 according to the birthplace of the residents. This proves

that the proportion of the local population who were born on the island has been decreasing since 1990. It is important to note that, in Table 8, “Canakkale” includes the population who were born either on Bozcaada or anywhere within the borders of Canakkale province, including the population who moved to the island from the surrounding rural areas after the departure of the Rums.

Birthplace (%)	1990	2000	2010	2014
Canakkale	69	61	66	58
Istanbul	3	7	8	11
Balikesir	2	3	3	3
Bursa	1	1	1	2
Abroad	1	2	2	2
Total population *	1903	2427	2324	2773

Table 8: Distribution of Bozcaada’s population according to birthplace (adapted from TUIK (2015))

The notable point of Table 8 is that it shows possible counterurbanisation movements on Bozcaada. Table 8 only shows those provinces that are the birthplaces of at least 2% of the current population on the island.²⁸ The three cities of Bursa, Balikesir and Istanbul are the closest metropolitan cities to Bozcaada. The proportion of Bozcaada residents who were born in metropolitan areas has been increasing gradually every decade. Nevertheless, this figure may not clearly show the increase of in-migrants in the local population, as it also shows a steady increase of the population who were born in Canakkale province. The percentage of local residents who were born in Istanbul has increased from 3% to 11% since 1990. However, during the same period, the number of residents born in Canakkale dropped from 69% in 1990 to 58% in 2014. This represents a clear indication of a gradual increase of Istanbulians on Bozcaada; however, it should be recognised that this deduction is based on the data, which cannot give an absolute portrayal of the local community on Bozcaada. Therefore, the interviews and observations undertaken during the fieldwork were of great importance in identifying the social component of the current local community.

²⁸ Taking into account Turkey’s internal migration patterns, Bozcaada has a community with a population that was born in over 60 different provinces, as do many towns. For the sake of readability, only those provinces that are the birthplaces of more than 2% of the population in 2014 are shown in Table 8.

5.3 Socio-cultural Environment

5.3.1 *Social sections of the local community*

On Bozcaada, there were two distinctive social groups who had lived together for centuries: the Rums and the Turks. This situation has changed with the departure of the Rums in the mid-20th century. The gap created by the out-migration of the Rums has been filled with the arrival of new groups: the seasonal agricultural workers (aka “localXs”) from rural areas in the vicinity and the newcomers from big cities. At present, three distinctive social groups are present on Bozcaada: the islanders, the localXs and the newcomers. This classification has been made via the guidance of the fieldwork observations and interviews. The labels used for the social groups are the actual labels used amongst them. However, to make a distinction between the population who have been living on the island for many generations and the population who moved from other regions of the province, the second group is labelled the localXs even though they call themselves “*yerli*” (Turkish: local) while the other groups call them “*Bayramicli*” (Turkish: from Bayramic).

The islanders are the people who have lived on the island for many generations. The localXs are those who used to work as agricultural or seasonal labourers, coming from the surrounding rural areas on the mainland, mainly from Bayramic, and then settled on the island and got into the tourism business. Finally, the newcomers are the people who came from big cities. The newcomers are generally called “Istanbulians” by the other groups. Although this does not necessarily mean that all the newcomers have moved from Istanbul, it reflects that the early newcomers were mostly from Istanbul.

The newcomers on the island are also divided into two sub-groups. The first sub-group are the people who came to the island regularly for many years and bought a house for their holidays and retired. The “first wave” of newcomers are those who bought their houses in the 1980s or early in the 1990s (aka NC1). The second sub-group (NC2) are usually young families who escaped from big cities and moved to the island with a dream of a modest and peaceful life. This “second wave” either inherited their houses from their parents – who belonged to the first wave – or bought a disused house, renovated and converted it into a B&B. Although these three groups are not in explicit conflict, one can deduce that they have fundamental differences in terms of their relationship with Bozcaada and with each other as well.

One of the main differences between these three sections of the local community is their cultural background, especially between the localXs and the newcomers (aka the Istanbulians). The localXs, who used to work in agriculture and live in villages in the vicinity, and the newcomers, who usually used to be in well-paid professions and lived in metropolitan areas, do not share the same lifestyle aspirations or professional experiences. An interviewee who moved to the island five years ago offered his observations of what he called “*implicit conflict*” between the localXs and the newcomers. According to him, the fact that both of these groups who are involved in the local tourism sector but do not share the same qualities in the service sector resulted in some kind of competition within which one of the sides feels constantly insecure. When this competition in business actually happens to be on an island with a very small community, it is predictable that some implications of this competition may occur in the everyday social relations of the local community.

“There are people who in-migrated [from Bayramic]. They are mainly in the hotel and pension businesses or in restaurants or in a couple of different businesses at the same time. They feel insecure as they came later on. Tourism is not a professional life for them, [it is] something that they got involved in later on, so they feel insecure and are constantly trying to protect it. And then there are other people who moved to the island later on. They are in the hotel and restaurant businesses as well ... they are professionals, they came here well-equipped. So, the implicit conflict emerges from here.”

(NC2-C)

One of the ways that this “implicit conflict” between the localXs and the newcomers became apparent is on the basis of origins. Distinguishing between who is “local” and who is a “migrant” is an intricate subject in Turkey due to the high level of internal migration. Since the late 1950s, people have been migrating to cities from rural areas, or from smaller towns to larger cities in Turkey, for many reasons such as employment, education and terrorism (Öztürk *et al.*, 2014a). Within this mobile population, calling someone either a local or a migrant, especially in big cities, is not very straightforward. However, in the countryside, due to the size of local communities and the common trend of out-migration, in-migrants tend to be minority groups. Unlike the usual countryside settlements, on Bozcaada, the “local” population, which is identified in this thesis as “the islanders”, are almost in the position of

being a minority. Based on the fieldwork observations and interviews, it seems that on Bozcaada being local is taken as something associated with being familiar with the regional culture rather than living on the island for generations. The localXs who came from other districts in the region do not consider the newcomers, who mostly came from Istanbul, as “locals”, regardless of how long they have been living on Bozcaada. While explaining that the social groups of the island usually get along well together, one of the newcomers referred to this situation as “*discrimination*” but only when “*something happens*”. That “something” can be seen particularly in the latest planning debate, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

“If something happens, we are ‘Istanbulians’. Even though he came from Bayramic, younger than me or his father came here in the same year with me, because he came from Bayramic he calls himself ‘local’, me ‘Istanbulian’ although I have been living here much longer than him. Unfortunately there is such discrimination.” (NC1-B)

Another main difference between the local social groups, which mostly applies to the relationship between the islanders and the localXs, is the difference in the socio-economic classes that used to be present until the middle of the 20th century. Initially, the earlier localXs came to the island to work as a basic labour force in the vineyards and wineries of the islanders, who were the only landowners at the time. Although the master and servant relationship ended many years ago, it is inevitably still part of the collective memory of the local community. Even today, it is still very possible to hear the islanders frequently referring to the localXs as the “*labourers*”, especially when they are criticising the tourism services they provide. For example, during the first visit to the island, the researcher stayed in a B&B run by a localX family who moved to the island at the end of the 1980s and worked in many different jobs from gardening to construction, until they finally built their own B&B and settled into tourism. While the researcher was becoming familiarised with the local community, during an informal conversation with other members of the community, they frequently asked where the researcher was staying. The answer surprised some of the islanders and the usual reaction was to ask further questions about the service quality, while emphasising that “*they [are] the labourers*”. In addition, the situation was also observed and mentioned by one of the newcomers as follows:

“As far as I have observed, there is some sort of class difference between people who lived here for generations and people who came from Bayramic, and the second one’s father was the butler of the first one. Although that kind of class system has vanished now, these groups are still somehow self-contained.” (NC2-C)

5.3.2 Newcomers

In rural gentrification literature, active agents of gentrification are usually middle-class or upper-class ex-urbanite newcomers who are usually in search of *“a retreat from the pressures of the modern world”* (Smith and Phillips, 2001, p. 464). On Bozcaada, the profiles of the newcomers correspond to this mainstream profile of rural gentrifiers in terms of being ex-urbanites escaping from the distressing *“big city life”*. However, not all the newcomers are from the relatively wealthier upper or middle classes. Some of the newcomers are young families who cannot afford a property with their savings yet, but they inherited or took over their parents’ properties, which were once in use as summer houses. One of these second-generation newcomers turned their properties into B&B accommodation and started running it themselves while trying to continue their jobs in part-time positions:

“He [the husband] teaches at the university. It was very appropriate for us as he is pretty much free in summer and we have got a little child; we always wanted her to grow up in such a natural environment. We are free in summer and already have a property here from his parents, so why not put it to good use ... We were able to come here as we already have a property [from his parents]. Otherwise it would be impossible as we don’t have such money to buy a property here.” (NC2-A)

“We settled permanently here last year. I studied advertising at university, my wife as well. We were working in different companies but as advertising managers. However, we decided that we don’t want to work in constant pressure in this economic system. And also, Istanbul has its own problems like traffic jams, population increases, earthquake risks etc. ... Therefore, we wanted to escape from Istanbul, but didn’t think of Bozcaada at first. Then we thought that we already had a house which we used as a summer house

for years, let's go to Bozcaada and try and see what we can do there. So we came here and have been living here for a year.” (NC2-D)

Since the newcomers tended to be regular visitors to the island before moving in, they are usually familiar with the local social environment. Therefore, integration into the local community may not be an issue. During the fieldwork, none of the interviewees explicitly reported any challenges to integration with the rest of the community. Although two interviewees below explained that their integration period with the community was smooth, they also emphasised that there is a “*superior–subordinate relation*” based on the length of time lived on the island, as in the military ranking system.²⁹

“There is no owner of the island, no indigenoussness here if you look back [in history]. Being an islander is something everybody here can earn. But there is also this ‘you came later, hold on’ ... like in the military.” (NC2-C)

“Usually the first wave does not like the second wave, just like older generations do not like younger generations. It is in human nature.” (NC1-A)

Another newcomer also explained how their integration into the local community was not a problem for them since they were already familiar with each other. However, those who they referred to as “*the people*” in the quotation below were actually the other newcomers whom they already knew or whom they felt close to due to the similarity of their motivations in moving to the island. This may be seen as a representation of the closeness of social groups within the local community.

“Because people here are the people whom we always see in Istanbul. The people who moved in here and trying to run a business are usually the ones that used to have a very busy work life and got tired of the greediness and traffic of Istanbul. They are very close to us. Therefore, it was very easy to get integrated in the life here.” (NC2-A)

Apart from the integration of newcomers, in-migration of more affluent groups is generally viewed as a threat to local communities, due to the fact that in many cases it results in the

²⁹ In the Turkish language, a “superior–subordinate relation” is commonly referred to as the military ranking system.

displacement of local community members. However, a change in the local social fabric, usually through in-migration of more affluent and well-educated groups, may also have positive outcomes. One of the main “benefits” is the catalysis effect of newcomers on the development of local tourism on Bozcaada, as discussed in Chapter 4. Besides, based on the interviews undertaken on Bozcaada, the newcomers brought “quality” and “awareness” to the everyday practices of the local community. The interviewees below explained their opinions of how the newcomers helped with local tourism and the social development of the island.

“Sometimes they [the newcomers] love and watch out for the island more than us. Because they can see what we don’t see. For example, I was born and bred here, never got off the island. But they come well-educated, they help us a lot.” (ISL-A)

“Before the Istanbulians came, the situation in the schools was not very good. Because parents were not getting involved. They were even hardly going to parent–teacher meetings. Then young families came here with children. They sent their children to the local school and got involved in the school board etc. so the quality has increased since then.” (NC1-E)

“Some people [from the newcomers] give free classes for children here. Some give photography, another gives English, another gives ceramic courses.” (ISL-E)

In addition to free classes for the local children, the newcomers initiated something else that happened to be a very important contribution to the local socio-cultural life: the local online newspaper “www.bozcaadahaber.net” and the local monthly journal *Mendirek*. The online newspaper was founded in 2014 with the assistance of two newcomers who worked as journalists and provides daily news about the island. The same group started to publish a local journal with the motivation of creating an archive of the island. However, both of them are currently prepared by an editorial board that includes members from the three social groups of the local community: the newcomers, the localXs and the islanders. The online newspaper and the journal also work as important tools to make connections with the outside world as

well as creating a platform for discussion and participation on the island. This is discussed in detail later on in Chapter 7.

5.4 Built Environment

The change in the social fabric of the island brought along other changes to the built environment on Bozcaada. Rising prices in the local housing market, aesthetic transformation of the streets and the facades, and improvements and conservation of the architectural heritage are examined in this section.

5.4.1 Housing market

The most visible change in the island's built environment during the last two decades was inevitably the housing market, with ever-increasing prices for any kind of property. Increased demand for property on the island brought extreme benefit for the landowners of Bozcaada, but also seriously affected the younger generations of the local community and the civil servants who were appointed to the island.

5.4.1.1 Rising property prices

It is a basic principle that if the housing supply cannot meet the housing demand, property prices will increase. This is what has been happening on Bozcaada in the last two decades. Bozcaada has become more and more popular since the late 1990s as a tourist destination and a "getaway" for urbanites. This increasing popularity inevitably caused an increase in demand and in the price of properties on the island. For example, Figure 19 shows a list of the properties for sale at the local real estate agent on Bozcaada. According to online searches and field observations in 2015, the average property was on sale for approximately £1,860 (6,661 TL) per square metre on Bozcaada. This figure is almost double the average price of £946 per square metre in Istanbul, which is the most expensive city in the country and holds second place in the world for the highest increase in property prices in 2015 (Satterlee, 2015).

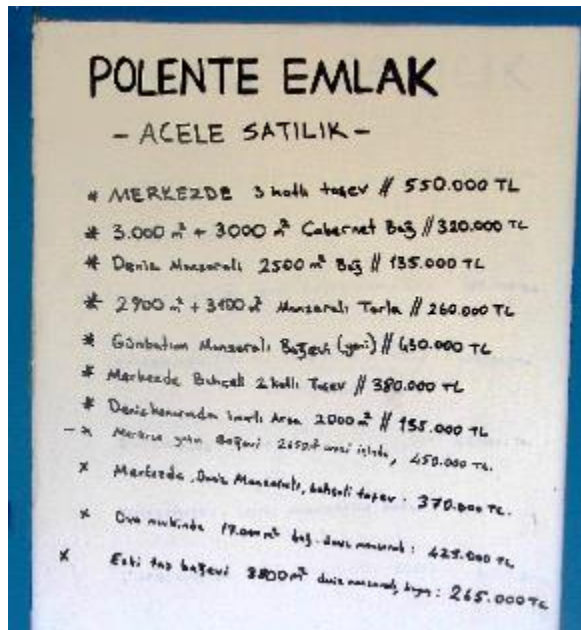


Figure 19: A list of properties for urgent sale in the local real estate office on Bozcaada (Okumus, 2014)

Inevitably, there are many reasons for rising property prices, such as the increase in demand as well as the shortage of supply in the local housing stock on Bozcaada. Being a tourist destination played the biggest role in the increase in housing demand. However, being subject to strict conservation regulations also limits the number of possible actions to meet the demand within the existing built environment, and consequently causes the price increases. A real estate agent interviewed on Bozcaada gave an example of this ever-increasing value in the local property market and how “everybody wins” since the 1990s in the local real estate market on Bozcaada.

“... there was a piece of land at that time [the early 1990s], since then it has changed hands seven times and the price increased at every sale; each seller made a profit out of it.” (real estate agent)

These highly inflated property prices have both negative and positive outcomes for the local community. On the one hand, they provide enormous financial support for the residents who own a property to rent out, since rents also increase. On the other hand, the other part of the community who do not own a property struggle to find accommodation. Even if the price were not an issue, finding an available place may be a challenge due to second homes and short-term holiday rentals on the island.

5.4.1.2 *Second homes and short-term rentals*

During the high season of local tourism, which covers around three months of the summer, the population of the island goes up to 10,000 on average. Given that the total number of beds on the island is 3000 and the local population is around 2500, the remaining 4500 people, more than half of the summer population, are holidaymakers who do not stay in formal hotels or guesthouses but in short-term rentals or their own holiday houses. For example, on the AirBnB website, there were 74 properties being advertised for short rentals on Bozcaada as of November 2016. Although it should be noted that some of those advertisements are people who rent out their spare rooms, short-term rentals seem to be the most visible cause of the lack of affordable housing on the island. This issue was even raised by the mayor during the interview.

“There is a serious housing problem. Also, there is big demand. So even though you found a house, its rent is very high. Because people make very serious income through tourism in summer, they do not want to rent out their houses in winter. They make the same money in ten days that they can make if they rent out the house all year round.” (mayor)

The mayor mentioned the local community that rent out their spare properties in summer. However, another point made by another interviewee focused on the second home owners who have bought a property on the island to use occasionally. Due to the fact that property prices on the island are very inflated, only the wealthy can afford to buy a house to use for a limited time and keep it locked up for the rest of the year. The interviewee suggested that these houses, which are unused for the majority of the year, contributed to the shortage of housing on Bozcaada.

“If somebody pays 500K TL for a house to use only a month in a year, it means that that person does not need money. So he [or she] does not give his [or her] house to another person to rent. He [or she] comes and stay a month here and keeps it locked up for 11 months.” (ISL-D)

5.4.1.3 *Lack of affordable housing*

As the housing demand on Bozcaada exceeds the supply, the prices and rents of the existing houses increase enormously. This situation has an immense effect, particularly on the people

who come to the island to work. The civil servants who are appointed to work on the island, such as doctors and teachers, have difficulty in finding affordable places to live all year round. As mentioned earlier in the mayor's quotation, the local homeowners prefer to rent out their houses in summer for a short period. Therefore, they either keep them vacant for the rest of the year, or rent them out from October to May only. Two interviewees who are teachers in the local school shared their experiences of finding accommodation when they first moved to the island:

"They said that, 'If you stay all the year round you [will] hamper our tourism income,' so they asked me to evacuate the house before May. Because they rent the house as a pension in summer." (OFF-B)

"... if you wanted to stay for the whole year, they were asking for 1000 TL at that time [nine years previously]. My salary was around 1800 TL at that time, so I had to pay the rent with more than half of my salary." (OFF-C)

There are 48 lodgement houses³⁰ on the island in total. Twenty of them are reserved for the local municipality and another 20 are reserved for governorship officials. The remaining eight lodgement housing units are allocated for the civil servants in education and health. However, this number is lower than what is needed. Some of the single civil servants had to share their flats with others. In particular, new arrivals are the ones who suffer the most from the lack of affordable housing, which subsequently pushes them to ask to be appointed elsewhere. This situation has also effects on maintaining good public services on the island, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

"Rents are so high. Civil servants who have been appointed here do not want to stay here, because there is not enough lodgement for everyone. A teacher who is paid between 2000 and 3000 TL has to pay a rent around 1500 TL."
(NC2-D)

³⁰ Lodgement houses are accommodation provided to employees by employers. Lodgements were mainly built by the state for bureaucrats and civil servants who served in Anatolian towns and cities in the early years of the Republic of Turkey (1923–1960). The number of lodgement houses built decreased every year from the 1980s, and building of them by the public sector ended in the late 1990s due to their cost and the trend of privatisation. Although the state does not build lodgements any more, some of the existing lodgements are still in use by civil servants in peripheral areas.

Lack of affordable housing on Bozcaada is not a problem only for the new residents who recently came to the island for work purposes, but also for the locals who do not own a property on the island. In particular, the young adults of the local community are in the group who are most affected by these high rents and property prices. The younger generations who want to move out from their family house may not be able to do so under these conditions. One of the interviewees below gave an example of his friend's experience as well as his own. Another interviewee was also highly critical of the landowner's behaviour and also the conditions that he has to live in while paying such a high rent:

"Rent here is so expensive. Thankfully we have a house from my grandparents, so we all live there. One of my friends had to wait two years to get married because they couldn't find a house to move into. In the end, they got married and continued to live with his parents." (ISL-G)

"Many people ask for a year's rent in advance. And also, if the roof is leaking etc., they don't repair it. They expect the tenant to pay for it. It is ridiculous! I am living in a 42m² flat and paying 1000 TL for that ... but there is no other option." (LX-F)

Another issue that was raised during the interviews was the accommodation problem for seasonal tourism labourers due to the lack of affordable housing on the island. As the number of tourists on the island rapidly increases during summer, the demand for services and labour such as housekeepers, waiters/waitresses and cooks also goes up. Due to the high rents on Bozcaada, the employers struggle to find accommodation for their seasonal employees. Many employers rent a house for a short time and accommodate their employees there in bunk beds. However, the conditions of these houses are not always favoured by the employees, and subsequently affect their performance or are conducive to their early departure. During the interviews, this situation was also raised as an obstacle to providing quality tourism services.

"Accommodation for personnel is problematic. There are 15 people working here only [a restaurant]. But we rent a house for them only. A two-bedroom house for ten people. There is another room behind the restaurant for the

family [the cook's family]. Our standards are a bit better than others.” (LX-B)

“If you want a certain type of tourist, you need to provide that kind of service. They call for proper chefs and service assistance, but they put them all in one room. Of course, they don't want to work in such conditions. They either ask for more money or leave the next day.” (NC2-D)

5.4.2 Aesthetic change

Gentrification does not only bring changes to the social fabric of a place, but also its material elements, as well as the use of the existing built environment. One of the changes that has been occurring on Bozcaada since the early 2000s is the aesthetic change in the built environment. Alongside casual repairs and maintenance of infrastructure and superstructures undertaken by the local municipality and the local governorship, restorations of existing buildings were undertaken by private property owners as well. An interviewee who moved to the island in the early 1990s compared an earlier period of the island with the current situation in terms of the physical condition of the buildings.

“There were many tumbledown buildings. Every year some of them got repaired and carefully renovated in accordance with their original features. Now every street is clean and shiny.” (NC1-E)



Figure 20: Examples of houses undergoing restoration (Okumus, 2015)

In addition to many restoration project applications in the old streets of Bozcaada, there is a noticeable increase in the number of houses with ornaments and flower pots in front of painted wooden doors, in which tourists show a great interest. During the interviews on Bozcaada, it was expressed that the pioneers of this new popular appearance of the streets are the newcomers. One of the newcomers emphasised how people thought that she was mad when she decorated the part of the pavement in front of her house. Then, this look was picked up by the locals when tourists showed interest in these decorations, and it became part of the tourist attractions on Bozcaada.



Figure 21: Some examples of colourful doors on Bozcaada (Okumus, 2015)

"I was tiling my front door sill with small stones and putting flowers in pots. They were seeing me doing this kind of thing and asking why I bothered with such things. 'Look at this mad woman!' Then they also started doing it. Now it is everywhere." (NC1-E)



Figure 22: An example of ornamentation on facades (Okumus, 2015)

This shift in the built environment was not confined only to the look, but also the use of the buildings. New local service provisions “*pop out*” to meet the demand of the new population, “*possibly at the expense of old fashioned everyday stores*” such as grocers, butchers or bakeries (Higley, 2008, p. 119). On Bozcaada, there are many new “unusual” commercial services that have started to emerge in the local economy, such as opulent cafés, bars, restaurants, and also art galleries and workshops that the local residents have not been used to before. Nevertheless, these are “temporary” services that usually serve holidaymakers during the high tourism season and close down off-season. Returning back to Higley’s (2008) point, the transformation of services is undeniable on Bozcaada. However, it may not be fair to claim that these services popped up at the expense of everyday stores, considering the population decrease that occurred prior to the emergence of the local tourism sector and the arrival of newcomers.

Evidence of aesthetic change is not only appearing in the historical town centre with its unique architecture and multicultural lifestyle, but also in the agricultural land of Bozcaada. What Sutherland called “*agricultural gentrification*” results “... *through in-migration, which reflects increasing demand for lifestyle associated with occupation of farm land and buildings in combination with declining economic value of agricultural land and buildings for commercial production of agricultural commodities*” (Sutherland, 2012, p. 569). Consequently, another change occurring in the built environment of Bozcaada is the use of vineyard houses, as they are now in use for recreational purposes rather than production, as discussed in Chapter 4.



Figure 23: An old vineyard house on Bozcaada (Takaoğlu, 2013)

The vineyard houses are small shelters that were used as temporary accommodation and storage space during harvest time in the vineyards.³¹ The high demand of holiday homes on Bozcaada caused a change in the traditional use of the vineyard houses. When the economic crisis in viniculture, which pushed farmers to abandon their lands, coincided with the pressure of tourism and the arrival of the newcomers, many vineyards changed hands and many new vineyard houses were built. The deterioration of the vineyards was examined in Chapter 4. An islander below expressed how he felt devastated when he returned to the island after 15 years:

“I was so surprised when I returned to the island [after 15 years]. There were houses everywhere outside the town. The distance between them is 50–100 metres or 200 metres at most. It is incredible. Those places were only vineyards and fields in my childhood. Now houses are everywhere.” (ISL-E)

The conversion of the vineyard houses into holiday homes would seem to be reutilising the buildings that are not in use any more due to the collapse of local vinicultural practices. However, it has damaging effects on agricultural land and vegetation. Extensions to the houses being made with modern lifestyle requirements spoil the quality of the fertile soil, while pests from unattended vine plants spread to neighbouring vineyards and damage the healthy plants (Dardeniz *et al.*, 2007).

“Vineyard houses are one of the worst things to happen on the island. People come and buy a vineyard, build a house inside. It is only an 80m² stone house,

³¹ The landowners are only allowed to build a stone house around 80m² that is restricted by guidelines in order to conform to the traditional architectural style.

but as these people do this just for their pleasure, after a while they start not to look after the vineyards. They also think differently. They think, 'It is my land, I will make a parking space here, a porch there,' etc. It looks so easy but the vineyards get badly affected." (ISL-D)

5.4.2.1 *Emergence of new services*

The changes in the social fabric of Bozcaada are reflected not only in the physical built environment, but also in the emergence of new local services on the island such as opulent cafés, bars, and art galleries and workshops, which are usually launched and run by the newcomers. For example, the first art gallery on the island was founded by a newcomer in the late 1990s. Now there are three art galleries, a glass workshop, a ceramic workshop (Figure 24) and many small handicraft workshops that are mostly owned and run by the newcomers themselves.

It is inevitable that the changes in the social makeup of the local community requires new services to be provided for the new sections of society. Therefore, some of these new services run by the newcomers mostly tend to serve the newcomers in regard to their needs or preferences. However, some of the newcomers, especially those running art workshops, work in collaboration with the local school and families to provide free courses for the children of the island, as pointed out earlier in this chapter.



Figure 24: Ceramic workshop on Bozcaada (Okumus, 2015)

Here, the launch of new boutique wineries by two newcomers should be noted as the emergence of new services as well as a contribution to the local viniculture, as pointed out in Chapter 4. It also represents great investment and dedication in order to promote local traditional products and, consequently, the identity of the island. Another newcomer, NC2-E, cited in Chapter 4, told the stories of the new boutique wineries of Bozcaada: Amadeus and Corvus. In that quotation, the interviewee also put an emphasis on the fact that both of these entrepreneurs moved to the island after they met her, which shows that the newcomers have a pull effect for further investment and revitalisation in the locality.

The pull factor of these new services and the newcomers is an undeniable fact in the case of Bozcaada. As mentioned earlier through a quotation by a newcomer, NC2-A, they tend to know each other prior to their move to the island. When they move to the island, they somehow bring their community as well as their lifestyles with them. Therefore, the service provision of the island has been changing.

5.4.3 Conservation

In 1982, the entire island of Bozcaada was designated as a conservation site for the first time. With this decision, the settlement area of the island was designated as an urban conservation area, the historical monuments and necropolises were designated as archaeological conservation sites, and the rest of the island was protected as a natural conservation site. The current designated conservation areas with conservation levels are shown in Figure 25 below. These different levels of conservation represent the level of restriction of human interference in the area. For example, a first-level archaeological conservation site must be preserved as it is and no interference must take place except those for scientific studies of conservation, while a second-level conservation site can be used under the terms that are determined by the conservation boards in the region.

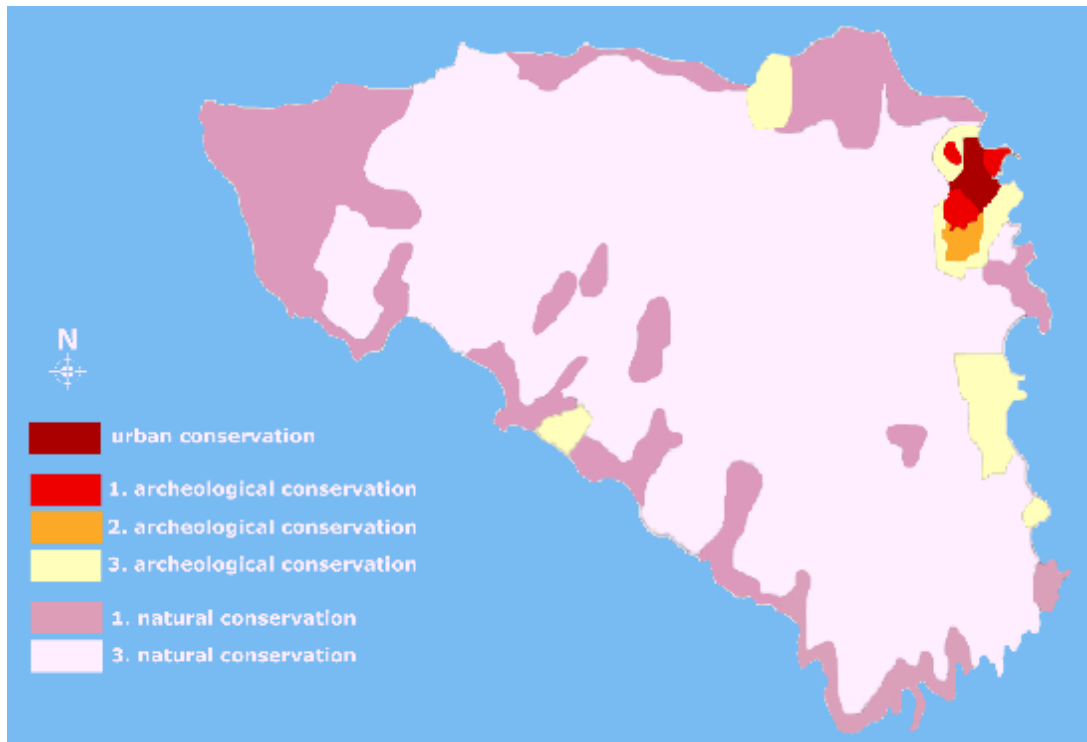


Figure 25: Designated conservation sites on Bozcaada (adapted from (Ayhan, 2007))

The fact that Bozcaada as a whole was designated as a conservation area before the development pressure of tourism helped to protect the historical and cultural heritage of the island, which now became the primary component of the island’s identity in promoting the local tourism sector. However, this is not always perceived as a positive feature by some interviewees in the local community due to very strict restrictions and complicated regulations to follow, while others believed that the same strict regulations were the “*saviour*” of the island against the increasing pressure of development.

Because the traditional layout and architecture of the town centre is under conservation, possibilities for spatial development in the town centre are very limited. One of the interviewees shared how these limitations prevent major investors and entrepreneurs from investing on the island and help to protect it from the development pressure of the tourism sector. Another interviewee emphasised the importance of conservation for tourism by giving an example of another island, Avşa,³² which is not considered to be a tourist destination any more.

³² Avşa is an island located to the north-east of Bozcaada in the Sea of Marmara.

“If you come here and say, ‘Find me a 200m² place’ [footprint], I will pay whatever you want,’ you cannot get anything. There is no such place. So those big businessmen don’t come here to invest.” (LX-B)

“Avşa was a wonderful island in my university years back in the 1960s, just like Bozcaada before the 2000s. With untouched nature, very quiet beaches and B&Bs, inexpensive and good wine ... but it has never been declared a conservation site like here. So, they couldn’t control the development. All the vineyards were gone, tall buildings by the coast, beaches became polluted as well. Now you wouldn’t even hear the name of the island as a tourism destination any more.” (NC1-A)

Although the title of conservation area helped both to protect the heritage and to promote a unique identity for tourism, living in a conservation site comes with its benefits and costs for the local residents of Bozcaada. On the one hand, the value of their properties has gone up more than they would expect due to the rising popularity of the island as a tourism destination, which created such a high demand. On the other hand, renovating their properties or making small repairs costs significant time and money due to the bureaucracy. In conservation sites, any building or modification application must go through several different levels of administrative bodies from the local municipality to the regional conservation council to obtain approval. An interviewee explained how this gruelling process puts some buyers off, as well as leaving the local residents reluctant to renovate their properties:

“They discover older foundations during excavation and think that those are ancient remnants ... of course they stop everything and call the council of monuments and inform them ... then people get dispirited and don’t want to buy a house and renovate it.” (ISL-E)

Figure 26 shows a construction that has been suspended, as the builders came across the remains of an older building in the site. According to the regulations, the construction cannot continue until the experts appointed by the conservation council complete their investigation of the remains and its significance as a historical artefact. Figure 26 was taken during the

second visit to the field in 2015. Almost a year later, this site was still waiting for an affirmative report from the conservation council in 2016.



Figure 26: Construction disrupted due to discovery of remains of an older building during excavations (Okumus, 2015)

Planning and conservation regulations are able to act as a “gentrification agent” by restricting new spatial development (Gkartzios and Scott, 2012). The limitations on the existing built environment also play the role of the gentrification agent due to the tedious processes of obtaining approval. It was suggested by an interviewee that having to deal with time-consuming and costly bureaucratic works of renovation or rebuilding on Bozcaada allows only the wealthy to buy a property on the island. It is possible that this leads to indirect displacement of lower-income groups by excluding them from the local property market. It also consolidates the change in the socio-cultural structure on Bozcaada.

“Bureaucracy runs so slowly. If you want to take this stone and put it there you need to go to so many different offices and contact so many different people ... So only wealthy people can buy a property here, or people who can access important people and bypass bureaucracy.” (ISL-E)

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored changes in the social fabric of Bozcaada, focusing on demographics, the socio-cultural environment and the built environment. The chapter showed that the emigration of the Rums due to political issues in the 1970s initiated a substantial change in

the local community of Bozcaada. The gap in the local population was filled by the in-migration of Turks who used to work as seasonal agricultural workers on the island. The changes continued with the in-migration of urbanites in the 1990s.

Currently, there are three distinctive social groups within Bozcaada's local community: the islanders who have been living on the island for generations; the localXs who moved to the island from nearby rural areas on the mainland after the departure of the Rums; and the newcomers who moved to the island from urban centres, predominantly Istanbul. Due to their cultural and socio-economic background differences, there are implicit disputes between these groups. The disputes usually arise via the question of being "local", especially for the newcomers, and also via the question of being "labourers", especially for the localXs. However, the point at which the actual explicit dispute between these groups rages is the issue of spatial development and the local management of the island. This issue is discussed further in detail in Chapter 7.

It was observed that there are two distinctive groups of newcomers on Bozcaada: the first-generation (NC1) and the second-generation newcomers (NC2). They differ from each other in respect to their main motivation to move to Bozcaada. The first wave are more middle-aged, affluent ex-urbanites who moved to the island in search of a place to retire to, with the desire of a quiet, peaceful country living. Although the "escape from urban ills" such as traffic and pollution is the common motivation for both waves, the second wave of newcomers tend to be much younger families whose motivation was also to get away from stressful working environments in cities and be self-employed in a much more relaxed environment. It was also revealed that Bozcaada was not their first choice in which to settle, but they chose the island as they already had a property there, usually inherited from their parents who belonged to the first wave. The second generation is relatively less wealthy and contributes to the local economy in productive ways by engaging with tourism rather than being consumers.

The change in the social fabric of Bozcaada is also reflected in the built environment. While the restoration of traditional housing and buildings helps to restore the identity of the island, ornamentation and decoration styles brought by the newcomers also add new features to it. The interest of tourists in these new features such as coloured doors and flower pots caused the spread of the trend across the island, which became synonymous with the "place

branding” of Bozcaada. Now, there are many ornamentations and murals in the streets that are commonly associated with Bozcaada.

The interest of the newcomers in the traditional houses on Bozcaada has inevitably had some positive effects, as it has led not only to the restoration of local architectural heritage, but also to the creation of small-scale construction businesses during the decline of agricultural employment in the 1990s. However, the high demand of property and the low supply in the housing market due to the conservation status of the island at the same time resulted in highly inflated property prices and rents on the island. Young adults and tenants are the most affected groups of the local community on Bozcaada. Additionally, the use of the existing housing supply as holiday homes and short rentals puts extra stress on the issue of affordable housing on the island for seasonal workers and also the availability of year-round rentals for the civil servants.

Chapter 6. Seasonality

6.1 Introduction

Seasonality is one of the most distinctive features of the tourism sector in peripheral destinations such as islands (Andriotis, 2005). Particularly in the case of small islands, accessibility issues such as high dependence on carriers, ferries or charter flights are common reasons for seasonality (Nadal *et al.*, 2004). Additionally, the motivations of tourists to visit an island, which predominantly fall into the category of “sea, sun and sand”, also constitute a significant part of the reasons for seasonality in the tourism sector on island destinations (Baum and Hagen, 1999; Getz and Nilsson, 2004).

Seasonality in small communities where the dominant sector is tourism has outcomes not only on the local economy through the fluctuating levels of employment, trading and services, but also on the socio-cultural life and consequently the liveability of the local community. This chapter focuses on how the local community of Bozcaada perceive the seasonality of local tourism and how the seasonal differences have impacted on their lives on the island.

Based on the data collected through the semi-structured interviews with the local community, this chapter will explore the phenomenon of seasonality through a recent winter out-migration trend on the island; how the liveability of the local community is affected by this seasonality; and the local community’s efforts and proposals to avert seasonal out-migration.

6.2 Seasonality in Bozcaada

In parallel with domestic tourism trends in Turkey (TUIK, 2016), the main determinant of seasonality in the case of Bozcaada is one of institutional conditions in the form of lengthy school holidays. The formal school holiday period covers a three-month period between mid-June and mid-September in Turkey, which is also the period when the average weather temperature hits its peak. Therefore, this three-month period constitutes the highest tourism season for domestic tourism on Bozcaada, as in most of the coastal destinations of Turkey.

According to the interviews, apart from the main tourist season, the period from April to November constitutes the “shoulder” season in tourism for Bozcaada, with visits usually limited to weekend breaks and bank holidays (see Figure 27). The usual off-season on Bozcaada is the period from December to March. The dramatic changes between high season

and off-season can be observed not only in the island’s economic life but also its socio-cultural life. The most significant change occurs in the size of the local population. Although the official registered population of Bozcaada is approximately 2,600 people, as in 2015, the number of people staying overnight goes up to approximately 10,000 people in summer and down to 700 people in winter.

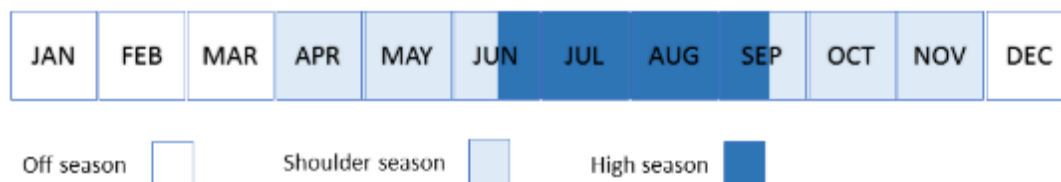


Figure 27: Tourism seasons of Bozcaada

6.2.1 Summer

The direct effects of tourism, both negative and positive, are felt at the highest level by the local community in the summer months. The most predominant negative effects of tourism identified by the local community are traffic congestion and pollution, as discussed in Chapter 4. In addition to these, some interviewees also mentioned also water shortages in the summer months due to high demand. Clean water sources are very limited on the island. Therefore, the water is supplied from the mainland via undersea pipelines. The shortage, as mentioned by the interviewees, is a temporal decrease of pressure in the tap water pipes at higher altitudes in summer, when the island accommodates the highest number of tourists and holidaymakers.

In addition to the school holiday period, the extended holidays³³ in summer are the times that the number of visitors reaches its peak. For example, in 2016, the Ramadan festival, which is usually a three-day national holiday, was extended to a total of nine days by the state (with the inclusion of weekends). According to the local newspaper, based on the ticket sales data of the ferry company, approximately 40,000 people entered Bozcaada, which caused long queues and delays in providing services, such as in the local restaurants, bars and shops.

³³ When lengthy holidays such as the Ramadan festival, which is a three-day event, occur on weekdays, sometimes the other two weekdays are also declared as holidays by the government. With the inclusion of the weekends before and after this week, this makes nine days’ holiday.



Figure 28: People queueing in front of the local bakery in Bozcaada (Amarandabozcaada, 2016)

In 2015, during the same holiday, which lasted six days, approximately 50,000 people visited the island (Bozcaadahaber, 2016b). It was also noted in the same source (the local newspaper) that the local bakery ran out of not only bread but also the ingredients to make more bread. Considering that bread is the main element of the Turkish daily diet, the newspaper used this to emphasise the level of the crisis during the peak season (see Figure 28). The comments below illustrate and summarise the general frustration felt among the local community during the high season.

“We live on an island but cannot enjoy the beach or local coffee shop in summer. There is no table in the restaurant we usually eat at. People are everywhere. You see people sleeping in their cars if they cannot find a place. It is too much. Sometimes we cannot even find bread in the bakery.” (OFF-A)

“We put up with summer since we make money; otherwise it is unbearable for us.” (ISL-A)

The increasing number of visitors and holidaymakers puts extra pressure on the management of both the infrastructural and human resources of the island in high season, as these resources have been planned for and provided according to the registered population. Additionally, the lack of any study carried out to determine a carrying capacity for Bozcaada while both the supply and demand for local tourism were continuously increasing during the

last decade posed even more uncertainty about the future of the island, as well as putting the island's resources at risk by overuse. Nonetheless, the local municipality of Bozcaada has contracted out a new project to a group of researchers from Batman University. The main aim of the project is to carry out research to identify the carrying capacity and set limits for further development in the local tourism sector on Bozcaada. The project was to be carried out between February and November 2016; however, by January 2017, there had been no public announcement made with regard to the project.

6.2.2 Winter

Winter is the off-season in terms of local tourism on Bozcaada. The concerns of the local community are generally based on the difficulties of inhabiting an island, in contrast to those of the summer, which mainly gather around the local tourism sector and its negative impact on the local community's life due to the excessive number of visitors and the dynamics of the local economy.

One of the most prominent issues on the island is accessibility. The only means of transportation between the island and the mainland are the ferries run by GESTAS, a semi-private company.³⁴ Due to the numbers of passengers differing greatly in winter and summer, the number of return journeys decreases to three times per day in winter from the eight to ten in summer. Besides, due to its geographical location, Bozcaada is open to strong winds from the north and the northeast in winter. In the event of these strong winds, ferry journeys are often disrupted or cancelled. These climatic conditions and the decreased number of journeys on the ferry schedule create an inconvenience for the local residents, who are dependent on the ferry to reach to the mainland and to receive supplies from the mainland.

"For example, you make a plan to go to the city. But the ferry isn't running. So it is over, you are stuck here that day." (ISL-A)

"I have an appointment in the hospital, or in the courthouse. If the ferry isn't running that day at that time, you have no option but to cancel everything. Or if you are there [on the mainland], you aren't able to come home. It is fine

³⁴ GESTAS is run as a private company but owned by the Canakkale Provincial Special Administration, which is a public body.

if you can find a place to get through the night. Otherwise, you sleep on a bench.” (LX-F)

Hard weather conditions in winter constrain the access of the local community to the mainland not only for leisure and cultural activities, but also health purposes. In cases of emergency, patients are taken to the nearest general hospital on the mainland by surface travel via a ferry, or by an air ambulance, as the local community health clinic is not capable of treating serious and life-threatening conditions. However, sometimes it is not possible for any of these ambulances to work due to the severe weather conditions. This situation poses a significant risk for those in need of immediate medical attention, such as elderly and people with chronic illnesses. According to the interviews, this situation of limited accessibility to the island in case of emergencies has forced some people to move to the city centre.

“I lived here [on the island] for a couple of years after I retired. But then this thing happened [a stroke]. I was kind of lucky it didn’t happen here, otherwise I am not sure I would be alive now. Ever since then, we have lived in the city centre ... we only come here on weekends or for a short break.” (NC1-D)

6.3 Seasonal Migration

While the overnight population of the island in summer has been increasing every year, the number of people spending the winter on the island has been decreasing gradually during the last decade. Although there is no officially published data available on the number of households spending the winter on the island, the estimated number, based on the interviewees’ observations, is between 500 and 700 people, and this continues to decrease every year.

“The population here used to be 2000 and something but 600–700 people stay here in winter. Every year there are 10–20 families leaving the island for winter. This winter there will be even fewer [people remaining], maybe 400 people.” (LX-B)

As the interviewees mentioned, the majority of those who migrate temporarily go to the city centre of Canakkale, while a few families go to Istanbul and other cities. This seasonal out-migration of the island’s residents also causes disruption to family life. Some of the migrating

families become separated, as the mother and the children move to the city centre in winter while the father stays on the island. The family usually reunites on the island during school holidays and weekends. However, this pattern is also changing, since some of the fathers have started to join to the rest of the family in the city centre instead.

“They used to come back for weekends and holidays. There used to be some sort of liveliness on the island during mid-term breaks in winter. Now they don’t come anymore.” (ISL-A)

Exactly who moves to the city in winter is a topic of discussion among the local residents. During the interviews, many of them stated that people with elderly members or with school-age children are the ones who migrate in winter, without specifying any of the social groups of the local community. However, some of the interviewees stressed that they are those *“who are not accustomed to the island life”*, especially the tough winter conditions in Bozcaada. One islander confidently expressed that this group are those *“who came later”* and who are not satisfied by what the island has to offer in winter.

“Of course the ones who came later on from Bayramic or Istanbul [are those who migrate]. They say there is nothing here in winter. This is what we like about Bozcaada.” (ISL-A)

6.3.1 Reasons for seasonal migration

There are several reasons propounded by the interviewees as causing seasonal migration from Bozcaada. The most profound reasons are low-quality education, health concerns and the cost of living on the island.

6.3.1.1 Education

As perceived by the interviewees, the first and the most important reason for seasonal out-migration is the insufficiency of education provided on the island. Currently, there are three state-run schools on the island that provide all three stages of compulsory education for the local children; the primary school, the middle school and the high school. In 2016, the primary school provided education for 55 local students aged from six to ten, while the middle school had 47 local students aged between 10 and 14, and the high school had 18 students aged between 14 and 18.

According to many interviewees, the quality of education provided at the local schools seemed to be problematic. Although they agreed that there was insufficient education, they differed on the underlying reasons behind this situation. The quotes below present examples of such differences. The first quote from ISL-B did not explicitly suggest that education is poor on Bozcaada but implied that it is better in the city, and he shared his intentions of moving to the city “eventually” for his daughter’s education. The second quote from LX-F drew attention to a very vital point that connects the quality of education with the living standards on Bozcaada. He suggested that due to the cost of living and the lack of affordable housing on the island, the local teachers are not “happy”. Therefore, the education they provide for the children is not satisfactory. The last quote from FX-B attributed the poor level of education to the lack of students to create a competitive environment in the classroom in order to push the students further.

“We are here all year round now as our daughter is still young but will move to the city eventually when she starts primary school. Education is better there.” (ISL-B)

“The schools are not good ... teaching is not sufficient ... also teachers are not happy, they try to get by here with a limited budget. Everything is expensive for them. First of all they cannot find a place to live. So how can this person teach properly if she is not happy?” (LX-F)

“Education here is not good enough. There are three or four students in some classes. So the students do not take it seriously. No one to challenge, compete.” (LX-B)

Regarding the above quotes, one of the interviewees claimed that the quality of education is not sufficient due to a lack of competition in schools, as there are only a few students in every class. However, the local teachers disagreed with this “misbelief” and supported the view that this almost private, one-to-one education is a privilege for the local children. Additionally, the fact that students from the local primary and middle schools received many awards at regional and national level in 2015 and 2016 (Bozcaadahaber, 2015a; Bozcaadahaber, 2016a) do not support the claims about the quality of education on Bozcaada.

The local teachers, and an islander quoted below, claimed that the families blame the schools and use the quality of education as the primary excuse to move to the city.

“People use education as an excuse as they cannot admit that they fell in with the attractiveness of urban life. Education here is even better. We almost give one-to-one education to the children. We know everyone and their families very well. We can see and talk to their parents anytime here. In the city, a teacher has to deal with 30–40 students.” (OFF-C)

“They go to Canakkale because they see that the life there is easier and cheaper. But when they go, they won’t say so. They will always say that they are moving for their children’s education.” (OFF-B)

“There are many people who became doctors and lawyers from here. How did they make it then if the education is so bad here?” (ISL-A)

6.3.1.2 *Cost of living*

Bozcaada, as a small island, is profoundly dependent on ferries to access the mainland. The access between the island and the mainland is provided by a private company, GESTAS. The company has one ferry that has a capacity of 62 passenger cars and approximately 500 passengers. As it is the only means of transportation, both people and goods are carried by this ferryboat.

The transportation of people has been examined in Chapter 4. In this chapter, the focus is on the transportation of goods, which contributes to the costliness of living on the island, as the interviewees suggested. As suppliers use the same ferry service to deliver goods to the island, they are charged with the usual tariff that was set by the ferry company. The transportation cost is then reflected in the prices of goods. Therefore, the end buyers, who are the residents of the island, end up paying the cost of transportation.

“Bozcaada is an area of hardship. The ferry is so expensive. Suppliers charge us for the ferry ticket too. So I pay four lira for the same tomato that they sell for one and a half lira on the mainland.” (LX-B)

"I pay 84 lira for a 'tube' [gas cylinder] which costs 55 lira. [This is] because they carry tubes via a separate ferry and charge us the cost of the ferry." (LX-F)

Because of this extra transportation charge, some of the residents prefer to do their shopping when they are on the mainland, while still others prefer to do their shopping on Bozcaada itself. Two interviewees (below) explained how they prefer to do their shopping on the mainland, while one of them also emphasised that they *"have to do so"*. Another interviewee underlined that she specifically does her shopping at the local shops on the island, in order to support the shops regardless of the expense.

"I do my shopping in Canakkale. Every time I cross to the city I fill the boot of the car. Or sometime I ask my friends, whoever is going to the city that day. I do shop here too but not much." (OFF-A)

"When I go to the mainland I buy things that can stay fresh longer, like canned food and detergents etc. I stock them. So I only buy fresh things from here. I have to do so." (OFF-B)

"It is true that things are more expensive here than the mainland, but I buy every single thing from the local shop here anyway. We need to support them, otherwise they will shut down and we won't find anything here in cases of urgency." (NC1-E)

Although the expensiveness of the local market on the island was acknowledged by all the interviewees, the quotes above are particularly important as they also show the preferences of people who belong to different income groups. For examples, OFF-A and OFF-B, who are teachers at the local schools, belong to an income group lower than NC1-E, who owns a boutique hotel on the island. Their different preferences reveal that the residents with relatively limited budgets feel forced to obtain their needs from the mainland.

As suggested during the interviews, another factor that contributes to the costliness of living on Bozcaada is the cost of heating. Many people on Bozcaada still use wood burners for heating, as there are no natural gas pipelines provided to the island. Only a few houses have gas central heating fitted, as the running costs are very high. The gas for those houses is carried by tankers on a separate ferry, which increases the cost for the buyer even further and

prevents many families from using central gas heating. On the other hand, the houses in the city centre with central heating provide a comfortable option with lower running costs.

“For example, she got tired of lighting the stove. She went to Canakkale [the city centre], and pays 500 lira rent including gas and water. It is very comfortable and convenient. Because she has money now, she doesn’t want to put up with this [the tough conditions on the island] anymore.” (ISL-A)

“For the first time my mum rented a flat in Canakkale this winter and stayed there four or five months. It has central heating. They can go out whenever they want. They went to the cinema for the first time.” (LX-A)

6.3.1.3 Health

Inadequate health facilities on Bozcaada were another reason expressed by the interviewees for the seasonal out-migration. Although there is a community health clinic on the island, this clinic is only able to meet the basic medical needs of the local community. For more particular or life-threatening emergencies, patients are transferred to the nearest general hospital on the mainland by ambulance via the ferry or a helicopter. However, harsh weather conditions in winter do not always allow the ferry to operate or a helicopter to land. An islander shared his experience and how particularly the older residents are concerned about the lack of a comprehensive health facility on the island; therefore, they prefer to spend the winter in the city if possible.

“We still don’t have a proper hospital. Last year my father had a heart attack. We took him to the general hospital in 20 minutes thanks to the helicopter. But this was in summer. Imagine if it had been winter and the helicopter couldn’t operate because of storms. Then he would have died. This has happened to many people here. People died because they couldn’t take them to the hospital. So especially the elderly are afraid of staying here in winter.” (ISL-D)

“Elderly people are afraid to be here in winter. And they are absolutely right. Sometimes even I feel that fear at the times when the ferry can’t operate because of storms. So if they can, they spend the winter in Canakkale instead.” (LX-B)

Regarding the health concerns of the population stemming from the limited accessibility to and from the island in winter, the local governorship proposed a project to build an integrated hospital with a laboratory, medical screening units and an emergency department, in addition to the services provided by the existing community health clinic. The purpose of this compact hospital project was announced by the local governorship as to eliminate the need for travel as much as possible. The proposal of an integrated hospital for the island was approved by the Ministry of Health in December 2015 (Bozcaadahaber, 2015b). In this announcement, although no estimated completion date was given, it was explained that the feasibility study would be carried out immediately to identify need physical infrastructure needs. However, as of January 2017, there has been no further public announcement made concerning the progress on this project since that of December 2015.

6.3.1.4 *“New trend” and ostentation*

Although education, the cost of living and health concerns are claimed to be the reasons why people move to the city for winter, many interviewees believed that spending the winter in the city is just a *“new trend”* among the local community. It was suggested that spending the winter in the city centre is seen as an indication of social status and a way to ostentatiously display their increased wealth to others. During the interviews, this phenomenon within the island was emphasised by the mayor as well as the community members.

“This is a new trend. Living in Canakkale in winter has become a symbol of social status on Bozcaada.” (Mayor)

“People move to Canakkale in winter just to show off. They come here at weekends and say how comfortable they are there.” (LX-F)

“They don’t want to be outdone. ‘Her kid goes to that school in the city, I will take mine there too,’ they say. Just not to look beaten.” (ISL-A)

In addition to such ostentation, many of the interviewees attributed the winter migration to the increase of the local population’s economic power through the development of local tourism on the island in the last two decades. The standards of living in cities may seem much higher than on the island for many people in the local community, especially the ones who have never previously experienced living in a city. Such city life may be highly desirable for those who have suffered from the difficult conditions of living on the island. As an interviewee

below pointed out, such an experience of “life in the city” was not previously affordable for many people in the local community. Since the purchasing power of the local residents has been increasing with the local tourism sector, they became able to afford another house in the city centre.

“Not everybody could afford to go to and live in Canakkale [the city centre] before. Since people started to make money, they got a chance to live in another place in winter.” (LX-A)

“Tourism finances this [winter migration]. The purchasing power of the people increased with tourism. Everybody has a business [in tourism] here. They work in summer, make money and spend it in Canakkale in winter. So tourism finances this migration.” (ISL-D)

The islander quoted above suggested that the local tourism development on the island was used as a tool to fulfil a dream that a part of the local population had had previously. Therefore, it can be seen as one of the outcomes of tourism development in the case of Bozcaada.

6.4 Effects of Seasonal Migration

According to the interviewees, the island population drops to 500–700 people during winter. Inevitably, this dramatic decrease in population has an impact on local socio-economic life. Many B&Bs and hotels are closed during the winter. Only two restaurants continue in service according to the interviewees. The very crowded and lively streets of Bozcaada turn into a deserted village in winter. During the interviews, one of the interviewees, LX-A, stated, *“It became a camping site”*, using “camping site” as a metaphor to emphasise how the island became a place where people live seasonally.³⁵ Another interviewee, ISL-B, stated *“now, life is part-time here”*, referring to the change in the island’s social and economic life in winter.

Since the number of local residents spending the winter on the island decreases year by year, public services provided by the state or private companies started to be withdrawn from the island, as there is not enough demand for the service. One of them, the most talked about, is Bozcaada Adliyesi (the courthouse). The courthouse was relocated to the mainland in 2014,

³⁵ In Turkey, camping sites are mostly used in summer. In winter, these areas turn into ghost towns, with facilities left unattended.

to Ezine, which is the nearest district. As explained by the local governor during his interview, the justification of relocation was the cost of running the service on the island. The governorship claimed that in the last year that the courthouse was running on the island, the average number of operations processed in a week was only five. Therefore, it was relocated by the Ministry of Justice in 2014. Other public services relocated from the island due to diminished workload were a pay office of the regional electricity supplier and a district branch of the weather office. Although the relocation of these services does not seem to have a direct effect on the public services provided for the residents, it has caused a further decrease to the number of year-round residents in Bozcaada, as the personnel employed move off the island together with the services.

6.4.1 Effects on residents

The fact that more than half of the local population move to city centres in winter makes life even more challenging for those who stay on Bozcaada. This section focuses on the perception of the local community of conditions on the island in winter and their reaction to the seasonal out-migration.



Figure 29: The same street in winter (left) and in summer (right). (Selin, 2014; Salkimbozcaada, 2016)

The dramatic decrease of the local population on the island in winter affects socio-cultural life as much as the local economy. The majority of the shops, restaurants and cafes in Bozcaada close during the winter, as well as hotels and B&Bs (see Figure 29). The dynamic social and economic life of the island during the summer months, when the number of tourists and holidaymakers peaks, disappears first with the departure of tourists, then with the

departure of the seasonal migrants. As expressed during the interviews, “loneliness” is the most common feeling that the local community has in winter.

“There is everything on the island but there is nothing as well. It has a municipality, a governorship and all the other institutions. The hustle and bustle is until September only, then we are left to our fate here.” (ISL-B)

“People feel lonely here in winter ... there were not many social activities before either, but there were many people.” (LX-A)

A video interview recorded by the local newspaper, *Bozcaada Haber*, in the winter of 2015, asked the local residents to explain what winter means to them in three words (Bozcaadahaber, 2015c). In this video, the two words chosen most were “loneliness” and “tranquillity”. What is interesting in this video is that those who expressed that they appreciated the quietness of winter on the island are mainly the newcomers, and many of those who chose “loneliness” are either islanders or locals as far as is known to the researcher. Therefore, the video reflected that winter is mostly appreciated by the newcomers who live on the island all year round. This was also stated in the fieldwork interviews with the newcomers. Many newcomers expressed that they rest and truly enjoy the island in winter:

“Winter is beautiful here for me. I have a couple of good friends and get together with them quite often. I take a long walk on nice days. We charge ourselves up for the upcoming season.” (NC1-E)

“... [Winter] is very quiet and peaceful here. The whole island is left to us. Very beautiful.” (NC2-B)

As promoting a destination is in the nature of the tourism sector, it may create an idyllic and unrealistic representation of an actual place. This may mislead future visitors to the destination. Some people, who only knew the island from the media or have been on the island only during the high tourist season and fell in with these “idyllic” images, are likely to be unaware of the difficulties of living on an island and in a small community, particularly those who did not choose to move onto the island but who are posted there as civil servants. For example, OFF-A, a teacher in the local school, who previously visited the island as a tourist, expressed how her anticipation of island life changed after she moved to Bozcaada.

"[Before moving to Bozcaada] I thought that it was going to be a bed of roses; a beautiful and peaceful island life. But there are real difficulties in living here. It is a real problem to live in such a small place. Our social lives are very limited. It is always the same people you see around." (OFF-A)

However, the newcomers who chose to move to the island took a more accepting position towards the difficulties of living on an island in winter. One of the newcomers based their adaptation to these tough conditions on the fact that they had already "given up" on the comfort of city life.

"We have already given up on the comfort [of urban life] and moved here. We have already consented. So what I say here [about winter life] is just an observation, not a complaint. One learns to live with these difficulties in the end." (NC2-D)

The seasonal out-migration of the local community plays an important role in the local residents' impressions of the island in winter. In addition to the challenging conditions of the island in winter, the ever-decreasing number of residents during winter puts extra pressure on those who stay. For example, one of the interviewees who lived on the island for generations stressed how she felt betrayed by those who migrated, while another interviewee believed staying on the island in winter was a price to be paid.

"I think they shouldn't do this to the island. There used to be a life, a system here." (ISL-A)

"When it starts getting cold they get on the ferry and move. We are always here. We pay the price ... the price of loving this island so much." (LX-B)

6.5 Efforts to Avert Seasonal Migration

Considering the effects of the seasonal out-migration, it is very likely that the current year-round residents of Bozcaada will have to leave the island in winter if this trend continues. It was revealed that many people were already aware of this possible outcome of the out-migration. During the interviews, the most common suggestions to avert this out-migration concerned addressing the problems on the island to which the people referred as the reasons for it. However, there were also other possible actions that the interviewees pointed out,

which, they believe, would cease and even reverse the out-migration, saving the island's future as a habitable place.

6.5.1 Education faculty

The most strongly supported idea to save the social and economic life of the island in winter was a faculty offering education, particularly in tourism and viniculture. There used to be a college offering two years' vocational education³⁶ on tourism and travel services on the island. The college was started by the Canakkale 18 March University in 2007. However, the university relocated the college to another campus on the mainland in 2012. The main reason the university administration put forward for this relocation was the limited capacity of the island to provide adequate study and accommodation facilities for its students.

Prior to its relocation, the college was training 160 students in its Department of Tourism, Travel and Entertainment Services. Considering the small size of the island's population, the students were critical in boosting the local economy and social life in winter. They were also being employed by the local businesses to meet temporary staff needs during the local tourism season in the summer. However, the island's housing issue caused problems for the students in finding accommodation. The classrooms and the offices of the college were not of adequate quality for the training of 160 students. Therefore, the university board decided to relocate the department to one of the existing campuses of the university on the mainland.

In 2014, when the local courthouse was also relocated, with the collaborative efforts of the local municipality and the governorship, the Ministry of Justice transferred the building, which used to be used as a prison, to the university. With this in hand, the senate of the university made a decision to relaunch the vocational college with two departments – the Department of Hotel, Restaurant and Catering Services and the Department of Tourism and Travel Services – in February 2015. However, the Council of Higher Education, which has the primary authority to give approval to such institutional changes, declined the proposal based on Article 7/d2 of the *Law on Higher Education* no. 2547 (1981).³⁷ This refusal was largely taken as a

³⁶ Although the university has a separate School of Tourism and Travel Services that provides four years' education, the college only provides two years' vocational education in order to provide temporary staff for the sector.

³⁷ This article declares one of the functions of the Council of Higher Education as "*to make decisions and to have them implemented directly or on the basis of proposals made by universities, regarding the opening, unification, or closing down of departments, sections, research and applied studies centres, as well as the opening of conservatories, higher vocational schools, preparatory schools or units.*" (Available at: <http://www.lawsturkey.com/law/the-law-of-higher-education-2547>).

consequence of the clash of political opinions between the parties that run the central government and the local municipality in Bozcaada.

“We battled for the college here but unfortunately it didn’t happen due to political reasons. Simply because we are the opposition and we wanted this.”

(Mayor)

Although the idea of an education faculty was supported by most of the interviewees on the island, what they would like to gain from its presence differed significantly. What the newcomers, including the mayor, envisaged was a faculty providing education at undergraduate and postgraduate levels on tourism, viticulture and aquaculture, which would help the local community to protect the vineyards, enhance winemaking, improve the quality of tourism services, and also bring back the social and economic dynamism of the island in winter. However, a part of the local community, mainly the shop, hotel and restaurant owners, supported the idea of a faculty on the island as it would create an economic boom in the winter and provide workers in the summer.

“A hundred students would bring in one million lira in the off-season. That is very good money for the people here in winter.” (LX-B)

6.5.2 Greek islands model

As mentioned earlier, the dependence on ferries makes the cost of products on the island higher than in other places within the region. The insularity of the island makes life even more difficult in winter. In order to mitigate these difficulties, some interviewees supported the idea that the state should introduce initiatives favouring the population who spend the winter on the island. Although they did not specify what kind of initiative should be introduced, they mainly referred to the example of the Greek islands. What they mostly mentioned in the case of the Greek islands were the free-of-charge electricity, transportation of goods and rent/housing aids.

“They should separate us from others [who migrate in winter] ... if you go to any island of Greece you will see that they don’t pay for transportation of vegetables. They don’t pay for the electricity ... just to retain the population there. They do the exact opposite here.” (LX-B)

Although they referred to the Greek island case for exemptions and subsidies, in reality, only some of the islands, depending on their population size and distance from the mainland, obtain a reduction of 30% on VAT of the transportation of goods. However, because these reductions and subsidies are offered to service providers, this is more likely to increase the profit margin of intermediaries rather than cutting the cost of living for the residual community of the islands (Andriotis, 2004).

Besides, it is known that during the Ottomans' sovereignty over the island, to protect the straits, both the Christian and Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire who chose to live there had been given concessions with respect to taxes (Gürüney, 2012). At present, there are no concessions, exemptions or subsidies to ease the difficulties of living on the island.

6.5.3 Proposals from other governmental bodies

The local governorship and the regional development agency are the most influential decision-making authorities for the future of the island, since both institutions work as local bodies of the central government. Therefore, their institutional views on the matter of seasonal out-migration from Bozcaada have substantial importance for possible interventions or measures to be taken in the future.

In between the two fieldwork periods in 2015 and 2016, the local governor changed and both governors were interviewed within the same framework of questions. These revealed the difference between the governors' proposals to mitigate the winter out-migration from the island. The former governor believed in the importance of boosting local economic activities in winter, with the idea of expanding the tourism season, while the new governor supported local agricultural development in order to generate diversified income sources and employment opportunities for the local population. Moreover, at the end of summer 2015, the new governor also announced that he was initiating a project which would include grants for agricultural production and that the details of the project would be given at a later date. Nonetheless, this project was cancelled before the public briefing because "*it might encourage the local farmers to convert their vineyards to fields as they could make more money*" (Bozcaadahaber, 2016c).

Another institution which has significant power regarding the future of Bozcaada is the South Marmara Development Agency (GMKA), which is the regional development agency in charge of the region that includes Bozcaada, since they are responsible for preparing the

environmental and development plans for the region. Their views on and provisions for the island have a direct impact on future investments from both the private and public sectors.

It was apparent during the interview that GMKA did not consider the temporal migration of population in winter to be one of the issues on Bozcaada. However, when asked, they pointed to the lack of economic and social life in winter as the primary reason for migration. Moreover, they also claimed that the social and economic life of the island could be only be revived through a population increase, referring to the environmental development plan that projected a population of 11,000 people on Bozcaada by 2040³⁸, which is more than four times the existing population. In order to trigger such a population increase, private companies should be encouraged to invest in agriculture on the island, which would help to boost the diversity of the island's economy and also create permanent, year-round employment for the local population.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on seasonal changes to the local social life and the perception of the local residents of these changes. The crowdedness and supply shortages due to the excessive number of visitors and lack of infrastructural capacity during the high season are the most significant impacts of tourism identified by those interviewed on the island. However, such impacts are not only limited to the high season. During the off-season, the majority of the local population migrate to city centres for several reasons.

Although the difficulties of living on an island have always been present, technological developments and investments have helped to ease the situation on the island. Accessibility to and from the island was substantially improved with the introduction of the new ferry service in the second half of the 1990s. An air ambulance supplied by the provincial general hospital on the mainland has shortened the emergency response time. The awards obtained by local students in recent years demonstrated the quality of education among nationwide state-run schools. However, the cost of living on the island seems to be increasing for the local community as they compare it with the standards and cost of living in the city centre, Canakkale. Although the purchasing power of the local community increased with local

³⁸ This projection was revised later on. Details of this plan and its revisions is explained in Chapter 7.

tourism development, it is thought-provoking that the cost of living on the island has been suggested as one of the reasons for the off-season out-migration from Bozcaada.

The issue of seasonal out-migration concerns almost every stakeholder on the island, particularly the local community, the municipality and the local governorship. However, the regional development agency remain more detached from this problem. Considering that this agency is the body preparing strategic development plans for the region and leading public and private investors, this has great significance for the future of the island. As they do not think that the seasonal migration is a problem, this makes it more difficult for the local community and the municipality to resolve this issue.

The majority of the interviewees had no hope for the return of seasonal migrants who had already made a life for themselves in the city. Besides, the application of any of these strategies and actions may not avert the seasonal out-migration from Bozcaada, as it seems that it is mainly based on lifestyle motivations.

Chapter 7. Governance and Management

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the special status of the island and the issues of local management on Bozcaada. The chapter starts by examining the special law regarding Bozcaada as well as explaining the governance system in Turkey in order to set the context. Although the first section of the chapter presents a different level of analysis from the rest of the research, it is important to examine this special law in detail, as it was referred to many times during the interviews with the local residents. In addition, the local political situation and what it means in terms of governance on Bozcaada is also explored in this section.

The second section of this chapter explores the issues with local management on the island and internal conflicts based on the recent discussions among the local community, such as the location and construction of a sewage purification plant, and the spatial development of Bozcaada in the regional environmental plan. The second section ends with a discussion on the interference of the central government on the basis of management of local natural assets, such as the bays around Bozcaada, which are also of importance in terms of the local economy.

7.2 Governance

The general principle of Turkey's administration structure is set out by the Constitution (Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1982). The organisation and duties of public administration are divided between "central administration" and "local administration". Nonetheless, provinces, as local administration units, are subordinated to the centre, as Turkey has a unitary administration structure. Therefore, central administration is the core of the administrative structure (Bayraktar, 2007). Local administrations are established to provide services in places through municipalities and represent the central government via governorships. Figure 30 below shows a simplified diagram to represent public administration in Turkey.

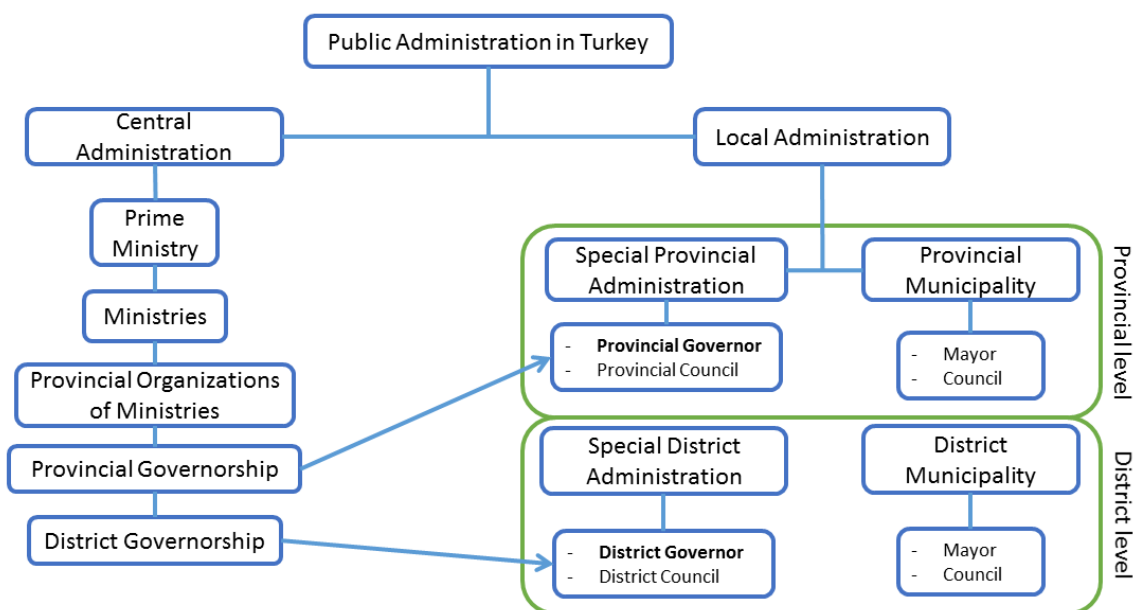


Figure 30: Public administration in Turkey

The main difference between a governor and a mayor, apart from one being appointed and the other being elected, is their set of duties. The governorship has the duty to manage the juridical, martial, educational, etc. issues of the town, while the local municipality mainly has the duty to manage the physical infrastructure. At present, Bozcaada has a governor who is appointed by the central administration and a mayor who is elected locally.

7.2.1 Law no. 1151

Bozcaada was invaded by the Greek navy in November 1912. From that point, the island was under the control of the Greeks until the end of the Turkish War of Independence in 1923. The war ended with the Greeks' defeat in Anatolia and the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. By this treaty, Bozcaada and Gokceada – two islands by the mouth of the Dardanelles Strait – were transferred to the new Turkish Republic under special administrative conditions. In order to secure the rights of local populations on these two islands (mainly the Rums), Article 14 was written into the treaty.

Article 14: "The islands of Imbros [Gokceada] and Tenedos [Bozcaada], remaining under Turkish sovereignty, shall enjoy a special administrative organisation composed of local elements and furnishing every guarantee for the native non-Moslem [non-Muslim] population in so far as concerns local administration and the protection of person and property. The maintenance of order will be assured therein by a police force recruited from amongst the

local population by the local administration above provided for and placed under its orders. The agreements which have been, or may be, concluded between Greece and Turkey relating to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish population will not be applied to the inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.” (Lausanne Peace Treaty, 1923)

In accordance with Article 14 of the Lausanne Treaty 1923, Law no. 1151 on Local Administrations of Imroz [aka Gokceada] and Bozcaada was passed in 1927 by the Turkish government. These two islands have become “administrative districts” through Law no. 1151. This special law, with 20 articles, imposes a special status and administration for Bozcaada and Gokceada that differ from other administrative units within the country. Law no. 1151 provides a kind of financial and administrative autonomy for the local government of these islands. Although Law no. 1151 is still in force, some articles have never been put into practice or have been only partially enforced since the introduction of the law (Mag, 2015). The fact that the law is not fully in force was critiqued, and sometimes claimed to be a solution to the struggles of the island, by the local community. Therefore, it is relevant to examine Law no. 1151 briefly.

Article 90 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey requires that the provisions of laws based on an international treaty or an agreement shall prevail in the case of a conflict of laws due to differences in provisions on the same matter (Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1982). Therefore, Law no. 1151 cannot be amended or abolished via another law. Other laws can be applied on these islands as long as they do not contradict Law no. 1151 (Aybay, 2007). However, Article 90 has been violated by the application of other laws: the Law for Provincial Administration (no. 5442), part of the Law on Municipalities (no. 5393) and the Law on Special Provincial Administration (no. 5302) (Mag, 2015).

Law no. 1151 (1927) prescribes a specific model for local governance on these islands. It is called the “district administration board” and moderated by the local governor, who is appointed by the central government, and ten locally elected delegates with the authorisation and responsibilities of provincial administration boards. Provincial administration boards hold a wider authority and power than district administration boards according to the hierarchy of administrative units. Therefore, this model of the “district administration board” in Law no. 1151 gives more power to the local government.

However, this model has been partially neglected. Instead, the provisions of Law no. 5442 on Provincial Administration, which prescribes another model called the “special district administration” has been applied, as in the rest of the country. Currently, in Bozcaada, a combination of these two models is in place but it is called the “special district administration” and chaired by the district governor. On the one hand, the other delegates of the council consist of other appointed civil servants such as the district health, education and fiscal directors, according to Law no. 5442. On the other hand, it has the authority and responsibility of its provincial counterparts according to Law no. 1151.

Another inactive provision of Law no. 1151 orders that municipalities, village administrations and councils on these two islands shall be abrogated and all their properties and duties shall be transferred to the district administration boards. However, there are district municipalities on both Bozcaada and Gokceada, and Law no. 1151 has been violated again by Law no. 5393 on Municipalities. This law is a key law that prescribes the principles, functions and responsibilities of municipalities. It dictates that regardless of population size, municipalities shall be established in provincial and district centres.

Currently, in Bozcaada, both the municipality and the special district administration are responsible for the local administration and management of the island. Figure 31 below shows the structure of local administrations that are prescribed by the laws mentioned, and the current system on the island.³⁹ With this system, the absence of locally elected members in the special district administration is mitigated by the locally elected municipality members and the mayor. However, it should be noted that the duties of these two local administrative bodies are different. The special district administration is responsible for executive, advisory and juridical decisions on subjects such as education, security and health services, while the local municipality is responsible for infrastructure and superstructure services. This situation, therefore, somewhat limits the self-management capacity of the local area (Bayraktar, 2007).

³⁹ In figure 31, green circles represent locally elected members, while blue circles represent centrally appointed civil servants. The numbers of circles are irrelevant.

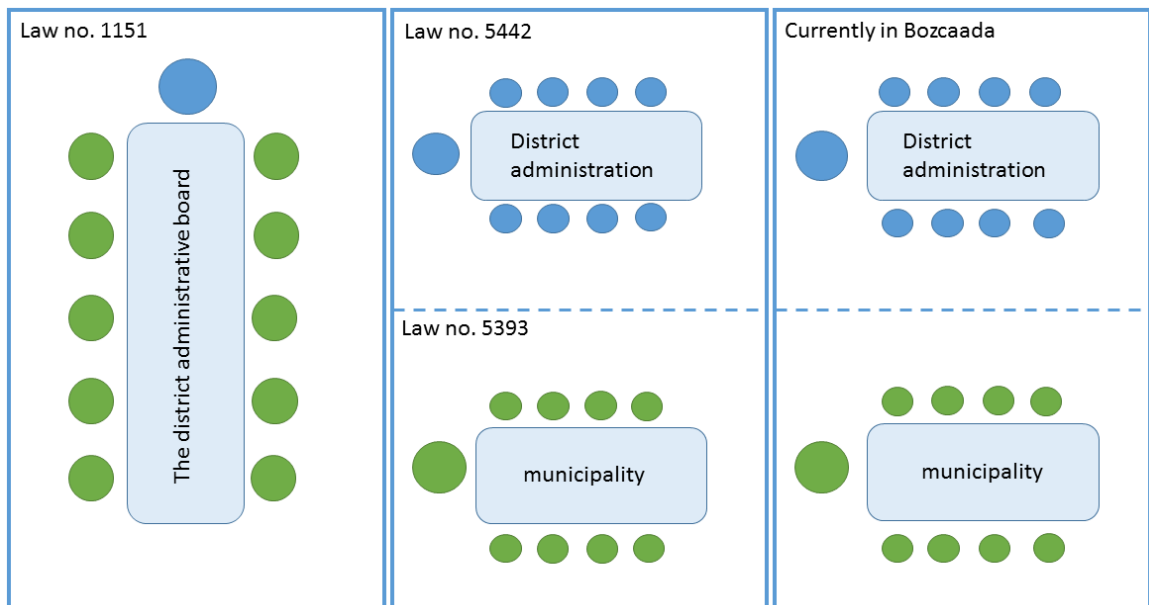


Figure 31: Local administration systems

Law no. 1151 has provisions on the financial autonomy of the islands, and these are carried out. The local administration manages its budget, which is transferred from the central government, at its sole discretion, as Law no. 1151 prescribes. According to Law no. 5442, the budgets of special district administration boards are pre-allocated by the relevant provincial boards, and district boards are not allowed to use them for any other purpose. However, the island receives a general budget and self-determines what it is to be spent on in accordance with local needs. Despite the limited application of these provisions, the financial autonomy of the islands is particularly important to address local needs fittingly and promptly (Mag, 2015).

The existence of Law no. 1151 is also widely known by the local community. During the interviews, it was suggested that the implementation of the law was being hindered by the central government, due to the political differences between the central government and the majority of the local population.

“We have our own law but they [the central government] don’t apply it. They don’t want us to benefit from it since there are not many votes for them here.” (LX-C)

Although these political differences are examined later in this chapter, it is worth noting that Law no. 1151 and the other laws that replaced some of the articles of Law no. 1151 were introduced at least two decades before the current government took power in 2003.

Another point that interviewees attributed to Law no. 1151 was taxation on locally produced goods. It was suggested that the tax on alcoholic drinks could be abolished using Law no. 1151 for wines produced on the island and this would help to preserve the local tradition of viticulture and winemaking. However, Law no. 1151 does not explicitly mention any tax, tariff or pricing for goods produced on the islands. Therefore, the taxation of goods produced in Bozcaada, including local wines, is subject to the relevant laws and regulations rather than Law no. 1151.

“With that law, all wines produced in the island could be sold with zero tax. This would save the viticulture here. But they [the central government] don’t want to do [apply] that because it ... has both good parts and bad parts. It is hard to do [apply] anyway.” (ISL-D)

Although the quote above represents a common misconception about taxation among the local community, it also shows awareness of the fact that Law no. 1151 clashes with other laws that were promulgated afterwards. It may be challenging to favour Law no. 1151 over other laws, such as the laws on municipalities and provincial administrations, since these laws are the fundamental laws for local administrations.

To sum up, eight out of 20 articles of Law no. 1151 are either not applied or only partially applied. However, the most prominent articles of the law, which concern financial autonomy and the status of the administrative district, are still in place and provide a special status and flexibility to the island.

7.2.2 Political tension

Turkey has been undergoing increasing political polarisation in the last decade. There are four main political parties represented in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which are: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP), *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP), *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (MHP), and *Halkların Demokratik Partisi* (HDP).⁴⁰ Table 9 shows their percentages of support in Turkey

⁴⁰ Respectively: Justice and Development Party, Republican People’s Party, Nationalist Movement Party and People’s Democratic Party.

overall and in Bozcaada. Although it has less than 50% votes nationwide, the leading party, the AKP, has the right to form the government alone,⁴¹ and therefore has immense legislative and executive power.

	CHP	AKP	MHP	HDP
Turkey	25.3%	49.5%	11.9%	10.8%
Bozcaada	53.5%	24.4%	13.8%	6.4%

Table 9: General election results - 1 November 2015 (TUIK, 2015) (leading parties are in bold)

Table 9 also shows the 2015 general election results in Bozcaada, where the leading party is the main opposition party in the Assembly. The rivalry between these two major parties in the country, the AKP and the CHP, has become ever increasing due to ideological disparities. This rivalry has been reflected upon their public supporters through negative propaganda. Based on observations during the fieldwork, this deepening political polarisation is not as distinctive in the local community of Bozcaada as in the rest of the country. However, a tension exists within the local community, between different social segments of the local community instead of supporters of political parties. This issue will be discussed later in the chapter.

Despite the relatively calm political environment on Bozcaada, the majority of the local community felt that the island was being discriminated against by the central government. Rejected or delayed project applications are such examples of this discrimination. The quotes below from two local residents show how they felt about the island's unresolved problems. The cases discussed by the interviewees were the problems with the ongoing sewage plant and the withdrawal of public institutions from the island, such as the courthouse.

“They [the local municipality] work and produce projects but they [projects] are mostly returned back from Ankara with ridiculous reasons. Just because we are the opposition.” (ISL-D)

⁴¹ Only parties passing the threshold of 10% nationwide are allowed to take seats in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The effective percentages are recalculated among the parties that have passed the threshold, resulting in the AKP gaining 50.7% of seats in the Assembly.

“Because the municipality here is CHP, but the [central] government is AKP. So most probably they won’t let us have anything before it [the municipality] becomes AKP. It is all politics.” (NC2-A)

The sense of political discrimination against the island is not only suggested by the local residents, but also by the mayor himself. He claimed that being in opposition to the central government creates obstacles for the local municipality’s projects. The quote below ended a section where he was explaining his proposal of a housing cooperative to resolve the affordable housing shortage on the island and how it has never been considered by the central government.

“They [the central government] don’t want us to do something good here and be successful.” (mayor)

The interviewees felt that they were discriminated against by the central government due to their political position. One of the examples of the political tension that the interviewees suggested was the projections of the 1:25,000 scale environmental plan for Bozcaada prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, which was approved and put on display for formal objections⁴² in March 2013 (see Figure 32). The local municipality, the Chamber of City Planners and individual residents made representations for the cancellation of this plan. The main reason for opposition to this plan was that it allowed construction of “agricultural factories” on agricultural land, which covers nearly 80% of the island and projects a new settlement on the third-degree natural conservation area on the south coast of the island (area marked yellow in Figure 32). One of the two main claims of the opposing parties was that allowing construction of agricultural factories in fields and vineyards without strict restrictions might lead to the conversion of those factories into hotels in the future. The other claim was that despite the fact that the island has an affordable housing shortage, the new settlement area was disconnected from the town centre and represented a high risk of turning into second homes (Adaposta, 2013). However, while the court case was still in process, due to the “hierarchy of plans”, this 1:25,000 scale plan lost its validity as a higher-scale plan was produced.

⁴² According to the law, every plan has to be displayed for a period of one month. People or institutions can object to the plan by formal application within this period.

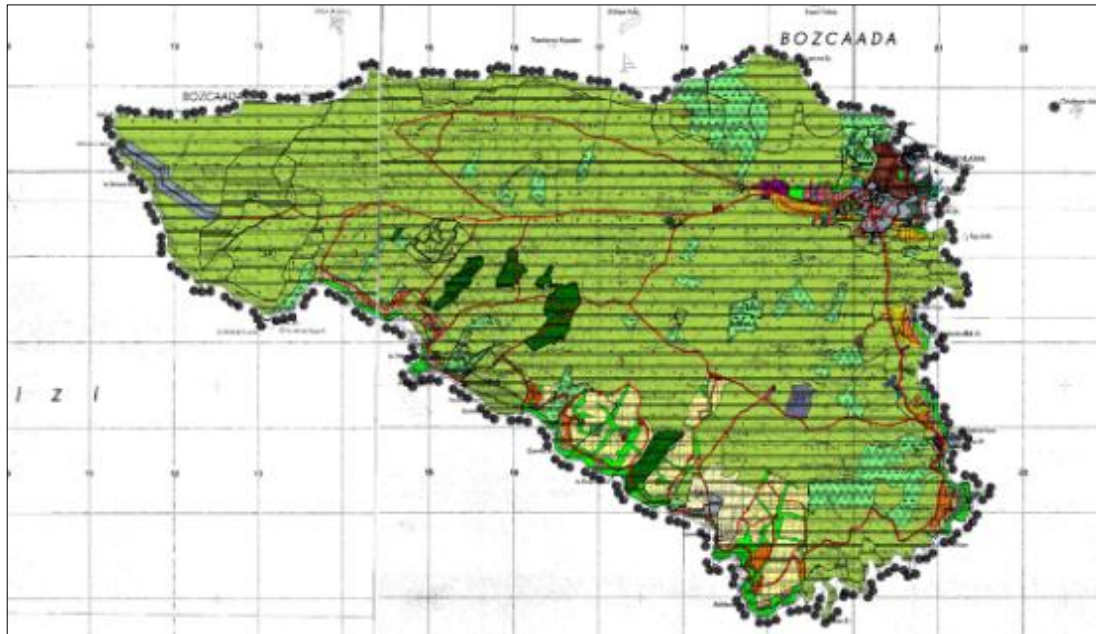


Figure 32: 1:25,000 Bozcaada Environmental Plan 2014–2023 (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2013a)

The higher-scale plan, the Balıkesir and Canakkale Planning Region 1:100,000 scale environmental plan, was announced by the Ministry of Development on 20 August 2014. After this public announcement, the environmental plan received widespread media attention and many objections from the local municipality and residents, and also from professional organisations and the general public nationwide. Interestingly, the items which had received objections in the previous cancelled plan, the 1:25,000 scale Bozcaada Development Plan 2014–2023, such as the construction of “vineyard houses” between 75 and 150m² and “agricultural factories” up to 2000m² on agricultural land, were still present in this new plan. Moreover, the actual radical issue was that the plan predicted that the population on Bozcaada in 2040 would be 11,000, which is four times the size of the current population, and proposed an “urban development area” and “tourism region” in Aquarium Bay and its surrounding area, which is the third-degree natural conservation area on the south coast of the island (see area marked yellow in Figure 32) to accommodate the new population. This plan had the same provisions as the previous plan that had received many objections. Consequently, the same objections and complaints were made for this 1:100,000 scale plan as well.

The Ministry of Development withdrew the plan for a revision in order to discuss the objections. With new amendments, the plan was put on display again on 26 February 2015. The subjects of the previous objection, “vineyard houses” and “a new settlement in Aquarium

Bay” were deleted from the amended 1:100,000 plan. However, building any kind of shelter on agricultural land was also banned by the plan. The local municipality objected to the plan again in March 2015 on the basis of the total ban of shelters on agricultural land. In the objection letter dated 24 March 2015, it was stated that construction of shelters on agricultural land was of great importance for the active farmers of the island to continue their practice and promote agriculture on the island.

Although the local municipality seemed to be contradicting their previous objections to the plan, they suggested that shelters on agricultural land should be allowed as long as they complied with certain criteria, such as more than half of the total plot being used for cultivation and putting an annotation onto the title deed that would restrict the use of shelters as housing.

After the second round of revisions, the Balıkesir and Canakkale Planning Region 1:100,000 scale environmental plan was put on display one more time on 05 June 2015, with no changes to the provisions concerning Bozcaada, and was approved on 01 July 2016 after revisions. This process is illustrated by Figure 33 below.

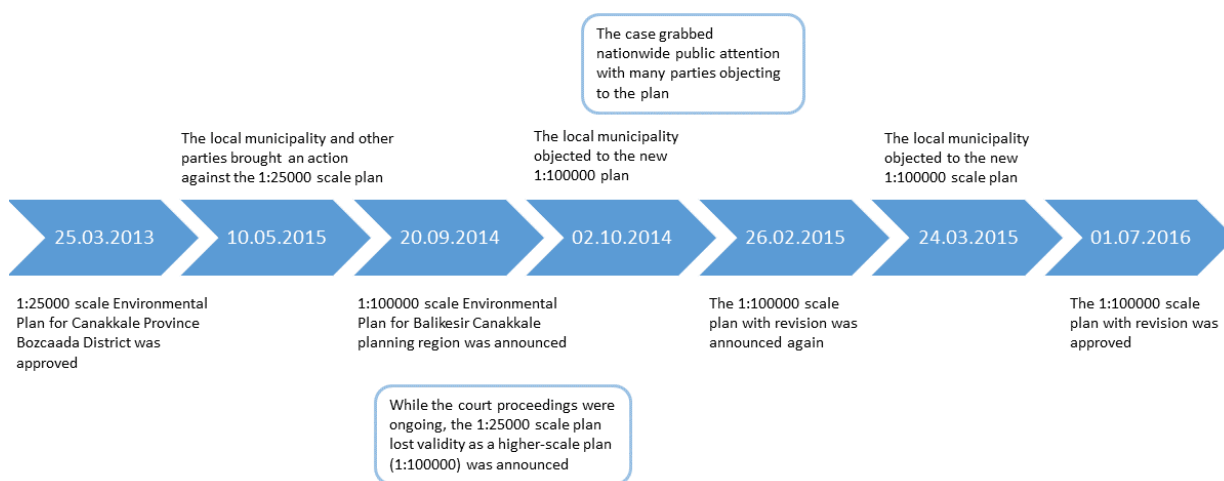


Figure 33: Timeline of environmental plan approval process

Although it is hard to say that this resulted from the political tension between the two major political parties only by looking at the process, some interviewees believed that they were being “punished” through this plan. One interviewee, NC2-A, stated *“Because we didn’t want such a thing like urban development area on our island, they [the central government] punished us by saying that ‘then, you cannot bang in a [single] nail’”*.

7.3 Management

Local management on the island was one of the concerns expressed by the interviewees. The main concerns with local management that were mentioned during the interviews are the issue of enforcement in a small community, unresolved and ongoing discussions about development on the island, and interference of the central government in the management of the local natural assets.

7.3.1 Enforcement in a small community

Being part of a small community in which all members are in a close relationship with each other was referred to as one of the obstacles for efficient local management, especially for enforcement in the case of violation of regulations.

Conservation regulations are the most common ones being violated by the local community. Because Bozcaada is a conservation area as a whole, any application for changes or additions made to the built or natural environment must go through not only the local municipality but also the Canakkale Cultural Heritage Conservation Council. Obtaining approval prior to construction or alterations takes time and costs extra for local residents (see Chapter 5). Therefore, some people tend to skip the application part of the process for small alterations to their properties. Moreover, in some cases, due to the protected status of the area, it is not allowed to make any construction or addition under any circumstances. Therefore, any applications within these areas are rejected by the Canakkale Cultural Heritage Conservation Council. Ayasma Bay, where the largest and most famous beach of the island is located, is the most apposite example of this. Several restaurants were built in the 1960s and the 1970s in Ayazma Bay prior to the area obtaining conservation status. Therefore, they have been granted the right to remain; however, even a small alteration or repair is an issue for these restaurants. Many of the owners choose to do it anyway and hope not to be caught. For example, an interviewee who runs one of the restaurants in Ayazma Bay emphasised his suspended sentence for violating conservation regulations by building a prefab toilet and shower for his costumers.

“In Ayazma Beach, we host 2,000 guests on a summer day. The only toilets and showers in the beach are in my place [restaurant] and in that one over there. We put them in voluntarily despite the fact that we may receive a two years’ prison sentence for [building] prefab huts. How can I say to my

customers 'sorry, we don't have a toilet because of the conversation rules'?"

(ISL-D).

At the same time, being part of a small community may have some drawbacks in applying enforcement for the local municipality, such as in the case of violations of conservation rules or master plan. The fact that everybody tends to know each other well was identified as a problem for local management by some interviewees. For example, the same interviewee as above complained about this issue a couple of times during our conversation over the growing number of vineyard houses in recent years and the uncontrolled expansion of the restaurants in the town centre.

"Everybody is each other's friend and relative. Who do you complain to? Who can you tell to knock down [their buildings]?" (ISL-D)

7.3.2 Internal conflict

Political tension does not only exist between the local and the central government but also within the local community on Bozcaada. The most explicit example of this tension can be read through the clashes between the former mayor and a group of local residents who opposed the purification plant and the 1:25,000 environmental plan.

7.3.2.1 Change in local politics

In March 2014, the mayor of the local municipality changed after 20 years (four terms). This may be seen as a reflection of the change in the socio-cultural fabric of the local community due to the backgrounds of the two mayors. The previous mayor, M. Mutay, moved to the island in 1965 from a village near to Canakkale. He ran as a candidate of the ANAP and won the mayoral election in Bozcaada for the first time in 1994 and contested the following four elections until 2014. Figure 34 below shows the percentage of the votes he received in the last five local elections. As the figure shows, he began to lose his popularity from 1999 and finally lost the election in 2014 to the current mayor, H. C. Yilmaz. Although this may be the result of various different factors, the fact that this decline overlaps with the in-migration of newcomers to Bozcaada cannot be dismissed; it may be supported by the current mayor himself being a newcomer.

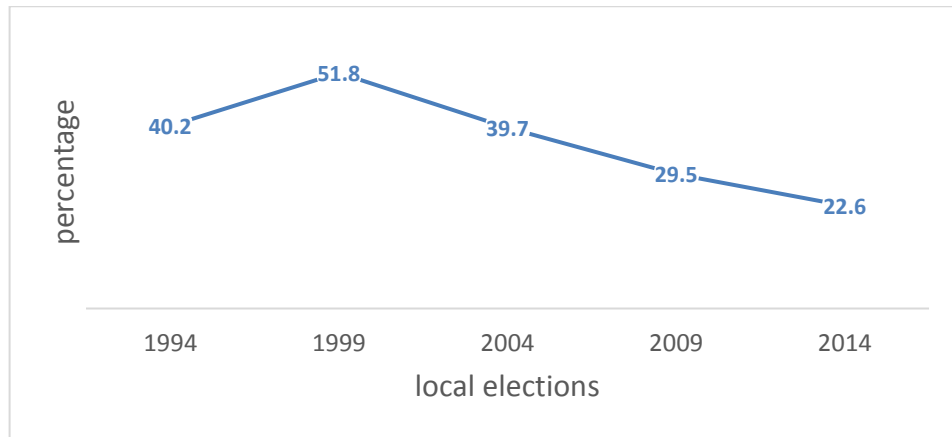


Figure 34: Votes received by M. Mutay in local elections (adapted from(TUIK, 2015))

The current mayor of Bozcaada, H. C. Yilmaz, moved in to the island in 2004 when he was appointed as a doctor for the local health centre. Since that time, he chose to stay on the island and work in the local health centre until he ran as a candidate of the CHP. He won the local election in 2014. He was appointed as a civil servant; therefore, migrating to Bozcaada was not his free choice in the first place, as opposed to the characteristics of the newcomers. However, he is considered one of the newcomers, as he chose to remain on Bozcaada after completing his compulsory service period.⁴³ With the local election in 2014, political power is in the hands of the newcomers for the first time (see Figure 35).

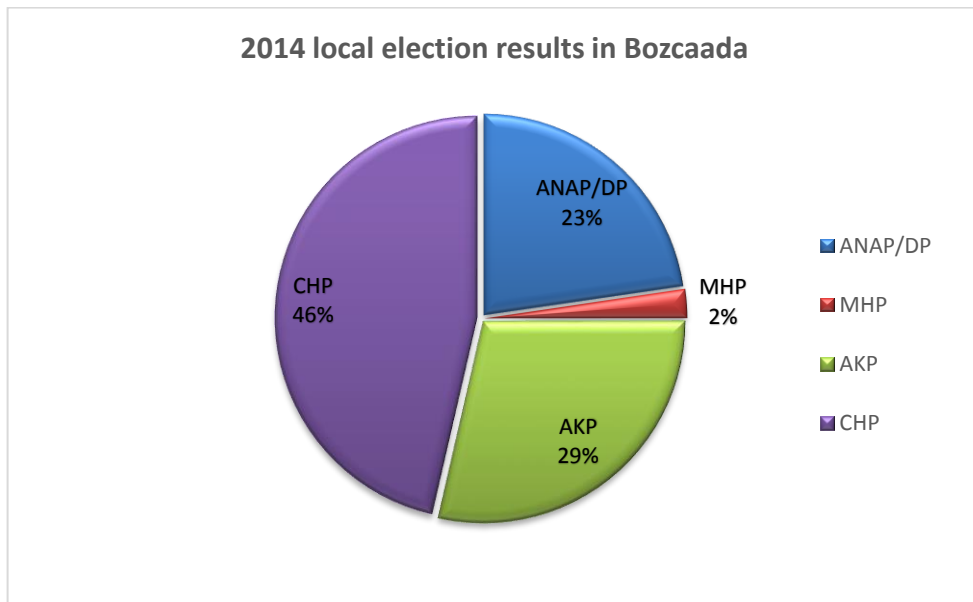


Figure 35: 2014 local election results on Bozcaada (adapted from (TUIK, 2015))

⁴³ In Turkey, every civil servant, depending on their profession and experience, must complete a certain period of service in a designated area before they can apply for relocation.

7.3.2.2 *Purification plant*

There is still no sewage system with a purification plant on the island. The waste water used to be collected in underground septic tanks. The city council took a decision to build a sewage system with a purification plant. Although the construction of the sewage system was completed in 2003, the purification plant could not be built due to objections about its proposed location. It has been claimed that since 2003, waste water from some buildings has been collected via underground pipes and discharged directly into the sea on the south coast of the island. In 2010, a group of local residents filed a complaint about this ongoing situation (BozcaadaForum, 2010). The Provincial Directorate of Environment and Forestry carried out an investigation in the areas where discharge was reported and sent a formal warning letter to the local municipality (Canakkale Governorship, 2010). In this letter, the local municipality was warned that discharging any kind of waste water directly into the sea is an illegal action and unless it was stopped immediately, formal action would be made against the local municipality (Canakkale Governorship, 2010).

Despite the formal warning, the local municipality continued to discharge water into the sea in Poyraz harbour. The Bozcaada Forum, a group of local residents, gathered 565 signatures and filed complaints to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the Provincial Governorship of Canakkale, the District Governorship of Bozcaada and Bozcaada Municipality on 25 July 2013 and made a statement to the national press (Karakas, 2013). In their statement, the forum also provided pictures showing the discharge pipes (see Figure 36). They also claimed that despite the formal complaints, which they made three years previously, the municipality had continued to discharge waste water and the situation had worsened, as the sand started to change colour on the beach and tourists had stopped visiting the area due to the unpleasant smell (Karakas, 2013).



Figure 36: The discharge pipe in Poyraz harbour (Karakas, 2013)

Summer 2013 may be accepted as the breaking point between the former mayor and the forum. After the sewage problem had been publicised in the mass media, the mayor released his own statement and accused the forum of undermining his reputation before the 2014 local election (Mutay, 2013). In his statement, he also claimed that the discharge of water in Poyraz harbour was only of excess water that had accumulated in the system, not waste water, as the system was not connected to houses due to the delays in the construction of the purification plant. He also added that *“the people who attack us by saying why there is no purification plant are the ones who caused this delay by opposing the plan”* (Mutay, 2013).

In February 2014, the foundations for the purification plant were finally laid in Poyraz harbour as initially planned – the same location where the waste water had been discharged into the sea (see Figure 37). In this instance, the location of the plant caused a dispute in the local community once more, because it was located very near to one of the bays popular among tourists. Opponents of the plant claimed it would affect local tourism. However, in an interview with a national newspaper, the former mayor referred to the opposition group as *“nimbys”* who lived or owned hotels in close proximity to the planned location for the purification plant; therefore, they were objecting to the development even if it was for the benefit of the whole island (Mutay, 2013).



Figure 37: Designated location for the purification plant

7.3.2.3 Development plan and Bozcaada Forum

In 2013, when the first development plan was announced, it received objections from different levels of society, administrators and professionals, both locally and nationwide. The pioneering group of people who filed a civic objection and disseminated the plan's projections and likely outcomes was the "Bozcaada Forum". This is a still active civic platform, open to anybody present at the time of the meetings. The first meeting or gathering was held on 11 July 2013, right after the Gezi Park resistance⁴⁴ in Istanbul. In their social media accounts (BlogSpot, Facebook and Twitter), they describe themselves as "lovers of Bozcaada", and publish notes from the public meetings.

⁴⁴ Civil unrest started in Istanbul on 28 May 2013, initially to contest the urban development plan for Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park, then turned into general protest against to President Erdogan's oppressive regime and police brutality all around the country. The protesters began to meet in other parks in every city and organised "public forums" to discuss ways forward for the protests.



Figure 38: Two different meetings of Bozcaada Forum on 05 and 09 September 2013 (Bozcaada Forum, 2013)

In their published meeting notes online, all the comments are anonymised by referring to the person as “a participant”. Therefore, it is not possible to identify the actual participants unless attending the meetings. However, there is a general perception in the local community that the participants are mostly the newcomers. This assertion may be justified by the fact that the reported meetings so far took place between April and October.

“They [forum attendees] are 30–40 intellectuals, academics etc. They come here in summer, leave in winter and still complain about the island.” (LX-B)

“I am sure you have heard about Bozcaada Forum. In summer people from Istanbul got together in the parks. There weren’t many islanders among them. I mean [by islander] people who live here in winter too ... so their meetings etc. bothered some people here, saying that ‘they are deciding and speaking on our behalf’. But if you don’t talk, then someone will do it for you, I think.” (LX-A)

The interviewees below expressed the view that the people who organised the forum were not sincere in their opposition to the further development of the island. They claimed that the people who were opposed to vineyard houses are those who already had several vineyard houses themselves and did not want anyone else to build one after them.

“They come in summer and go back in winter, [they] don’t know how we suffer here in winter but still go out there and speak as if [they are] an islander.” (LX-D)

“There are people among them who have three to five vineyard houses but don’t want anyone else to build one.” (ISL-D)

“People who don’t want vineyard houses are the ones who already have two to three of them. Real islanders would have vineyard houses. They would have houses in town and vineyards outside [the town centre].” (LX-B)

The forum meetings were held in a public park and announced via posters around the island as well as via social media. In the text of the announcement, it was emphasised that “anyone who loves the island” was invited. Therefore, every person on the island, rather than the newcomers, were invited to attend the meetings. However, it seems that the people who criticised the forum were only displeased with the newcomers and claimed that they were not “real islanders” and therefore had no right to speak about the development.

Another point here that is worth underlining is the emphasis on “suffering” due to the conditions of the island in winter. As explored in the previous chapter, the population in winter drops to between 500 and 700 and this impacts the socio-cultural life of the island. In the previous chapter, the residents expressed how they are affected emotionally as well. The emphasis on “summer residents” here about “who has the right to speak” about the proposed developments on the island shows that the clashes that are sparked on the island with increasing seasonal differences break out within other clashes.

7.3.3 Interference of central government

Although municipalities are relatively autonomous organisations, they are still subject to the regulations that are produced by the central government in Ankara. In some cases, the local management autonomy of municipalities is hindered by the laws. This section provides examples of interference by the central government on Bozcaada.

The laws and regulations which are prepared in the capital do not always match with the needs of the island. Although Turkey is a country bounded on three sides by the sea, it has very few inhabited islands. Therefore, the special conditions of islands are not considered during the preparation of regulations. One of the concerns expressed widely by the local community was the feeling that the destiny of the island is being determined by Ankara. The quote below from a localX who also works as a reporter for the local newspaper summed up the situation as “ridiculous”. Another concern was over the inappropriateness of the decisions

that are made by the central government concerning the island. An interviewee explained this with another example; the alcohol licence rule.

“The people and institutions who have never been to the island make decisions about the island’s development and layout in Ankara. That’s ridiculous!” (LX-A)

“For example, the law they passed in Ankara says that you cannot give a permit to sell alcohol within a 100-metre radius of any education or prayer centre. Everything is within a 100-metre radius here!” (NC2-D)

7.3.3.1 Management of the bays

Another example of the limited power of local government concerns the management of the bays on the island. In May 2013, a regulation which gives authorisation to tender to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization for places under the ownership of the state in conservation areas was published (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2013b). This regulation paved the way for the rental of any bay on the island in accordance with the conditions determined by the tendering commission in the Ministry. Figure 39 shows the process of tenders on Bozcaada’s bays. From the publication date of the regulation to the end of 2014, there were 22 applications submitted to rent several bays in Bozcaada without the knowledge of any local administrators such as the local municipality or the district governorship. The tender and earlier applications were only revealed when one of the bays, Beylik Bay, was rented to an individual. The local municipality and the district governorship made an objection to the tender and a wide public campaign was forged at the national level via social media. The tender and the rental contract was cancelled later in January 2015 due to the violation of tendering rules, as the bidder was a public official in the Ministry and the only bidder to tender.

Almost two years later, on 12 November 2016, the tenders for another two bays of the island, Habbele and Sulubahce Bays, were announced on the official website of the Ministry, to be undertaken on 21–22 November 2016. Although the tender specifications only allowed a 6m² kiosk, men’s and women’s toilets and showers, the tenders had wide media coverage as the “pillage” of the untouched bays of Bozcaada. In addition to this coverage and online petitions that reached 13,000 signatures in the first 24 hours, the local municipality and the

local representatives of both the ruling party and opposition parties paid official visits to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. The tenders were cancelled again, just a week before the announced deadline.

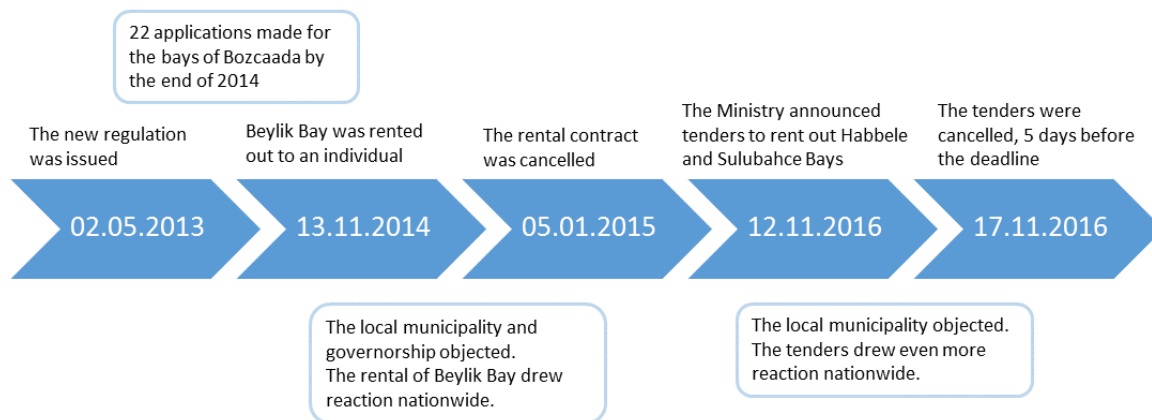


Figure 39: Timeline of the tenders of the bays of Bozcaada

During the official visits of the mayor and local representatives of other political parties, the Ministry agreed to cancel the tender. Undoubtedly, public awareness and the campaigns that had been run by the local community via social media had an immense impact on this decision. Considering that the bays were put out to tender previously and withdrawn later due to opposition, as shown in Figure 39, this does not guarantee that the Ministry will not invite tenders for the bays in future, especially when the public watch over the island weakens.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the issues with governance, management and planning on the island. Bozcaada, together with Gokceada, has a special law ordering a specific type of local governance in order to be sensitive to the cultural diversity of the island. Although this law is only partially in practice for several reasons, the most prominent feature of the law, financial autonomy, is in place. This gives freedom to the island to allocate its budget according to local needs and distinguishes it from the other districts in the country.

Given that the local municipality on Bozcaada is run by the main opposition party to that of the central government, the common perception of the local community is that the political tension between the parties that run central government and local government hinders the management and development of the island. This concern was expressed mostly in relation to the 1:100,000 plans and the tendering processes of the bays; however, it is hard to deduce a political tension from those processes. The fact that the tenders for the bays have been

cancelled and the plan has been revised with respect to the objections suggests no political tension; this may be a result of wide public attention and social media campaigns.

As can be seen through the story of the bays' tenders, the fact that Bozcaada is a declared tourist destination helped enormously to protect the island from the risk of private, commercial development in its public spaces. It is undeniable that the pressure of these kinds of developments derives from tourism. However, as occurred on Bozcaada, the popularity of the island by virtue of tourism can also assist in defending the island.

Chapter 8. Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the key findings and the cross-cutting concepts in the case study of Bozcaada. The chapter starts by discussing the process of the evolution of Bozcaada into a tourism destination, a product of the tourism industry, through the tourism development stage models that have been examined in Chapter 2, and presents a unique evolution model of Bozcaada. The chapter then discusses the social changes on Bozcaada during the last two decades in the context of rural gentrification, with emphasis on the typology of gentrification actors, political and internal conflicts, and displacement. The third section focuses on the seasonal out-migration of the local population and discusses this phenomenon within the socio-economic and cultural transitions of the island. In the last section, the local tourism sector within the transitions of Bozcaada is discussed.

8.2 Evolution of Bozcaada into a Tourism Destination

The evidences of transitions in the local economy and social structure of Bozcaada have been set out in previous chapters. It is observed that the island has evolved from a small viniculture community into a prominent tourism destination during the last couple of decades. This pattern of transition has also been observed globally in many rural areas that experienced a significant decline in agricultural profit and invested in the service sector's economic activities (Apostolopoulos and Sönmez, 1999; Busby and Rendle, 2000; Coccossis, 2001; Canavan, 2012; Bohlin *et al.*, 2016). However, the processes of the transitions in each case are largely heterogeneous and differentiated by the specific attributes of the rural areas, the local communities, and by the actors involved in the process and their aims (Cánoves *et al.*, 2004).

To conceptualise Bozcaada's transitions from a viniculture island to a tourism destination, a model was needed. For this reason, the tourism evolution models reviewed in Chapter 2 were examined and compared with the tourism evolution process of Bozcaada. Although these models represented many similarities with the case of Bozcaada, none of them effectively fit into the specific processes of Bozcaada to conceptualise its socio-economic and cultural transitions. Hence, a new model with three distinctive stages was created (Figure 40).

These stages have been examined in terms of the overall changes in the local economy, the characteristics of newcomers, and the changes in the landscape and local services. It is important to note that the identified breaking points in Figure 40 do not represent strict boundaries for different stages of the transition. Rather, these stages should be seen as permeable divisions with transitive borders. These stages are now discussed in detail.

Another point here that needs to be clarified is the title of the model, “Evolution of Bozcaada into a tourism destination”. In this thesis, as commonly referred to in tourism literature, “destination” is used on purpose to reflect the outcome of these transitions of Bozcaada, a place where the local economy is dominated by and life is shaped around tourism.

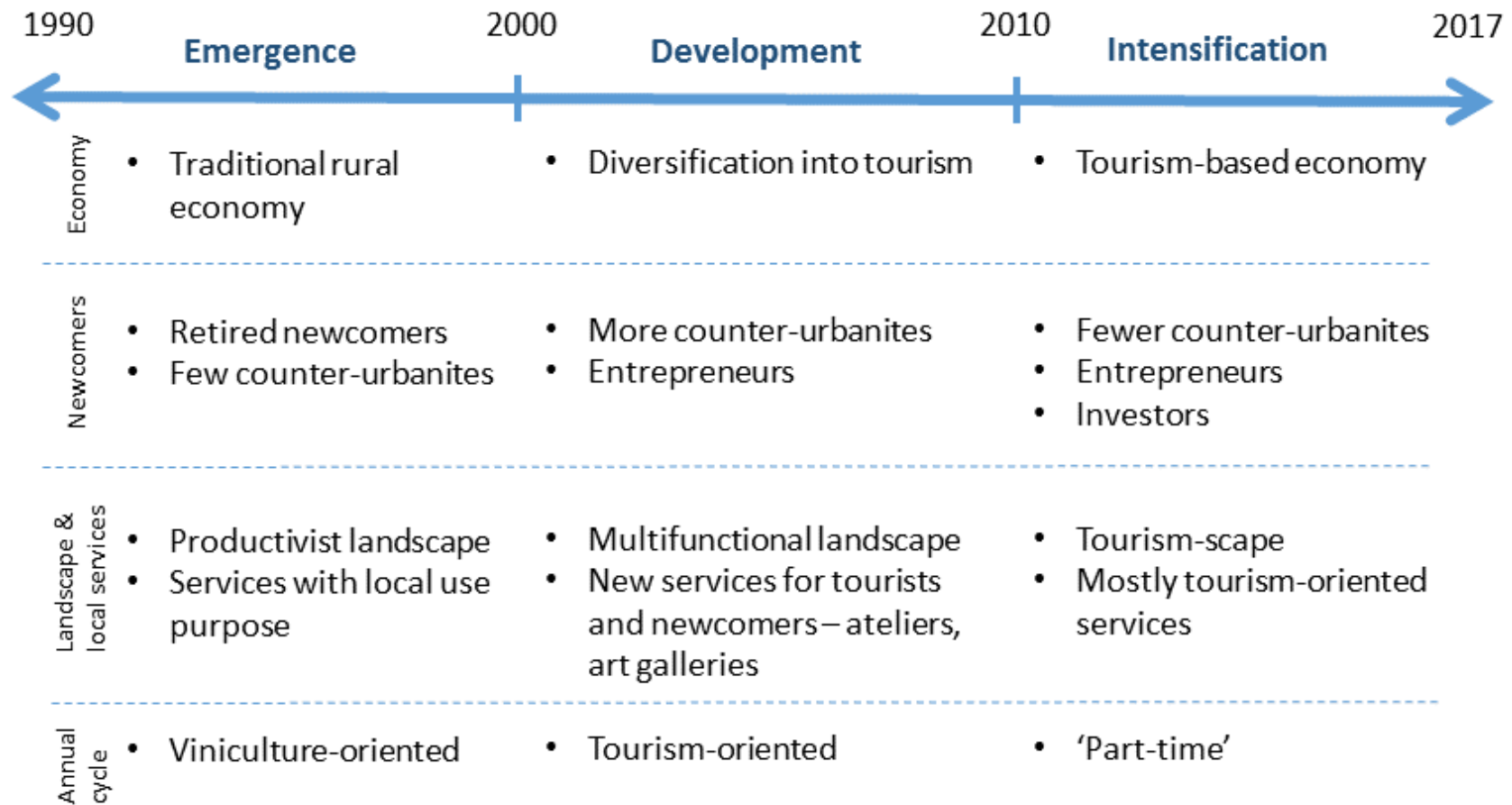


Figure 40: Stages of evolution of Bozcaada into a tourism destination

8.2.1 First stage: Emergence

In the “*hypothetical evolution of a tourist area*” by Butler (1980), the first stage is the “*exploration stage*”, which is characterised by a small number of visitors who have been attracted to the unique nature and culture of the place. At this first stage, the place has no specific facilities provided for visitors. Social interaction between visitors and locals tends to be quite high, which “*may itself be a significant attraction for some of the visitors*” (ibid, p. 7). The second stage of Butler’s model is the “*involvement stage*”, which is characterised by the emergence of tourism-specific services and facilities, as well as some level of organisation of travel arrangements and advertisement of the location with the involvement of extra-local actors.

The first stage of Bozcaada’s evolution as a tourism destination may correspond to a combination of the exploration and involvement stages of Butler’s model (1980). The dominant economic activity of the island was based on viticulture: both grape cultivation and winemaking. At this earliest stage, the annual cycle of life on the island was largely based on the activities of viticulture such as pruning, sulphuring and harvesting. Although Bozcaada was being visited by a number of urbanites by the time the struggles in viticulture started, tourism was not yet a part of the local economy. Visitors used to use the same shops, restaurants and services as the local population, as per Butler’s hypothetical cycle (1980). In the mid-to-late 1990s, the introduction of regular ferry services and the first appearance of Bozcaada in the national media, such as in magazines and films, were the first examples of involvement of non-local actors in local tourism. This was also the era in which regular visitors started to buy properties, either to use as summer houses or to settle on the island.

Additionally, the fact that income from traditional agricultural production was diminishing steadily due to agricultural policies at national and international levels can be identified as another involvement of non-local factors. The decline in agricultural income, together with the arrival of the first generation of newcomers – who were urbanites with professional experience in service-sector employment – paved the way for the emergence of tourism as an economic sector on Bozcaada. Entrepreneur-spirited newcomers initiated professional local tourism and carried it beyond simple lodgings on Bozcaada. The first tourism-oriented businesses, such as contemporary cafés – as opposed to traditional cafés – and bike rentals, were founded by newcomers. At this early stage, some of the long-term residents, the localXs and the islanders, who had previously been involved in viticulture, first remained doubtful

about the probable harm that growing tourism activities might cause to the vineyards and productivity.

After the first stage, which is characterised by the emergence of tourism, other stages differed significantly from Butler's (1980) model due to the level of involvement of the local community in the local tourism sector. In Butler's model, the development stage is characterised by the exclusion of the local community from local tourism development, due to the involvement of external organisations as service providers. However, on Bozcaada, the local community has always remained the main provider of services in the local tourism sector because of the high level of property ownership.

8.2.2 Second stage: Development

It was towards the end of the 1990s that tourism started to play a role in the local economy of Bozcaada with increasing involvement of the locals. The economic decline of agricultural production and the increasing number of visitors were the main factors for the locals to diversify into tourism businesses for a more stable economic gain. At this stage, the annual cycle of life on the island started to change also; local life and the common topics of conversation among the local community became more tourism-oriented than viniculture-oriented, as shown in Chapter 4.

At this development stage of Bozcaada's tourism, an increasing number of locals started to be involved in tourism while keeping their agricultural assets and practices of production. Tourism was an economic supplement for household well-being, as well as a direct method of access to the market for the small-scale producers, who were able to sell their products to visitors. At this stage, diversification of products takes place to attract a wider range of clients and to maximise economic gain, as Cánoves *et al.* (2004) pointed out in their typology of European rural tourism examples.

The second stage of the evolutionary typology of rural tourism (Cánoves *et al.*, 2004) was identified with the diversification and promotion of specialised agricultural products. In the case of Bozcaada, diversification occurred in two dimensions: first, in the local economy with the inclusion of tourism as a significant income source; second, in local tourism services, with new tourist-based services being offered such as bike rentals and vineyard tours with wine tasting. At the same time, specialised agricultural products (Cánoves *et al.*, 2004) such as tomato jam and poppy sherbet were introduced into the local market on Bozcaada.

What Cánoves *et al.* (2004) did not mention in their study was how different sections of a local community take part in this diversification and specialisation. For example, on Bozcaada, tomato and other homemade jams to sell to tourists were mainly produced by the localXs and the islanders, while more specific and novel products such as poppy sherbet and accessories made of wine bottles and corks were made and marketed by the newcomers. The difference in experience and knowledge of these different sections of the local community resulted in the production and presentation of a diverse range of products. However, it is important to note that these products targeted different kinds of customers, which may be seen as the first example of a later conflict between these groups, based on the different tourisms that they envisaged for Bozcaada.

After the 2000s, tourism started to form a substantial part of the local economy. As the gain of small producers from grape cultivation dwindled, the popularity of the island increased even more. Visitors started to show interest in agricultural assets such as vineyards and, in particular, vineyard houses. At this stage, the transfer began of agricultural assets from the locals to outsiders, both investors and holidaymakers. Restoration of architectural heritage and construction of new replicas started to change the face of the island. Although the aesthetic changes were initiated by the newcomers, the rest of the local population kept pace with this regeneration of the island. At this stage, an ever-growing tourism sector financed this transformation for the sake of local tourism. As Mitchell (1998) described in the early destruction stage of the creative destruction model, “... *the investment of surplus value into businesses ... provide for the needs of the expanding visitor population*” (p. 277). In the case of Bozcaada, the investment of surplus value into the local tourism sector can be seen again through the examples of two localXs who started by renting a room in their family houses and eventually built their own hotels.

8.2.3 Third stage: Intensification

The popularity of Bozcaada reached a peak with the attention of the national mainstream film industry to the island and the increasing use of social media tools after 2010. This led to a change in the local tourism pattern and in the type of visitors on Bozcaada. Although the number of people visiting the island rocketed, the number of days spent on the island per visitor dropped substantially with daily tours organised by external tourism/travel businesses. At this stage, the attitude of the local residents towards tourism started to change and eventually led to a conflict within the local community.

At this point, the tourism evolution models examined in Chapter 2 suggest conflicts between long-term residents and newcomers, or between those who are in the local tourism business and those who are not. The case of Bozcaada, however, presented more complex internal conflicts, so that the opposing sides may not simply be identified according to duration of residency or involvement in the tourism sector. Therefore, examining the conflict between two different groups simply based on their period of residence or their involvement in local tourism activities would miss the actual source of the tension on Bozcaada. It is more appropriate to examine the conflicts between groups of residents with different values, experiences and sensibilities. These internal clashes on the island are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

As seen in Chapter 7, the most explicit clash within the local community of Bozcaada happened to be over the spatial development plan of the island. Although the majority of the opposition group consisted of newcomers, it was not limited to them. This group also included some of the islanders and the localXs, and both year-round and seasonal/summer residents. The opposition group received criticism from others who were in favour of the proposed plan. They claimed that the newcomers who only stay on the island over the summer did not have the right to speak, as they do not experience the severe winter life on the island. Even though the plan did not propose any improvement to the problems of winter life, their claim was based on the duration of residence on the island instead of different interpretations of what the plan could have brought about in the future. The opposition group claimed that if the plan was implemented, the natural and cultural characteristics of Bozcaada would be irreversibly destroyed, while the other group, who were in favour of the plan, hoped that it would expand settlement areas and allow space for construction of more tourism facilities. Here is the point where the clash of values appears: conservation versus profit.

Although not as explicit as the clash over the spatial development plan, another conflict that was sparked in the local community was the discussion on the future of local tourism and on the “right kind of tourism”, topics that began to appear in the previous stage. The group who provided more luxurious or specialised services thought that the number of tourists visiting the island should be limited and that the “right” type of tourism was that of the upper-middle class with relatively Western values and tastes. The other groups do not describe a type of tourist for the future of local tourism. What they prefer to see is an increase in the amount of money spent on the island, which, they believe, is directly associated with an

increased number of tourists. Here again, the conflict derives from the fact that different groups have expertise in and experience of different services within the local tourism sector, which undoubtedly attracts different kinds of tourists.

Returning to the tourism evolution model of Bozcaada, this intensification stage has both commonalities and discrepancies with the advanced destruction stage of the creative destruction model by Mitchell (1998). In the advanced destruction stage, the increasing investment of the private sector, with much deviation from local identity, and the increase in pro-development actions and the consequent conflict between people who are pro-development and those who are against are apparent. The conflict within the local community of Bozcaada has been discussed previously. In addition to the internal conflict, the growing interest of national and “Istanbul-born” businesses on the island, as seen in Chapter 5, shows similarities with the advanced destruction stage of Mitchell (1998).

On the other hand, Mitchell (1998) characterised this stage by the replacement of small-scale services by larger-scale investments to meet the needs of an expanding tourism market. She also suggests that this stage would only occur if the local community is “*complacent and becomes resigned to the inevitability of ensuing change*” (ibid., p. 277). In the case of Bozcaada, the local community seems somehow to bypass this characteristic of the advanced destruction stage with active participation and opposition to development proposals on the island made by extra-local actors. This can be seen in the cases of petitions and protests against the tenders for the bays and the development plan, which have been examined in Chapter 7.

The dominance of tourism in the local economy led to comprehensive changes in the local settings and services provided for the local community. In the current intensification stage on Bozcaada, most of the shops and services are tourism-oriented and close down in winter, which is the tourism off-season. Moreover, a substantial portion of the local population has started to migrate to nearby city centres during the tourist off-season and the winter population of the island is decreasing every year. This temporary and seasonal migration of the majority obstructs the socio-economic life cycle of the place. The island of Bozcaada is becoming a settlement that people live on “part-time”, resembling a “campsite”, as expressed by the interviewees in Chapter 6. Therefore, a former island of vineyards that was home to a diverse range of people for centuries became a product of tourism, a tourism destination, due to social, economic and cultural changes at local, national and global levels.

8.3 Gentrification and Gentrifiers on Bozcaada

Glass (1964), who was the inventor of the term “gentrification”, described it as the transformation of an urban neighbourhood through the gradual arrival of middle-class or well-to-do residents who eventually replace poorer and working-class residents. However, since the 1960s, the concept has been widely accepted as a process that is diverse and varies in outcome. This has made it impossible for researchers to apply fixed criteria and a definition of gentrification processes around the world. Therefore, Davidson and Lees (2005) introduced “*the core elements of gentrification*”: the reinvestment of capital; the social upgrading of locales by in-migration of high-income groups; landscape change; and direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups. Although gentrification was born as an urban phenomenon, it appears in the countryside as Guimond and Simard (2010) suggest with similar “*principal indicators*”: a change in the socio-economic composition of its citizens; an emphasis on cultural or national heritage and aesthetics; the emergence of new institutions leading to the closure of older ones; diversification of products and services; and changes in the value of properties. As explored in Chapter 5, during the last two decades, Bozcaada has been displaying both the core elements and indicators of gentrification through the process of rural social change and structural local economic changes.

8.3.1 Inherited gentrification and second-generation gentrifiers

The finding of this research supported Hamnett’s assertion (2003) that gentrification is a process of change which is complex and constantly evolving. As shown in Chapter 5, the earlier classic pattern of rural gentrification on Bozcaada evolved to be an “*‘other’ process of rural gentrification*” (Higley, 2008). This presents itself with the changing typology of newcomers. In the early phase of Bozcaada’s gentrification, the newcomers were mainly middle-aged and middle-class urbanites who moved to the island with rural idyll motivations. However, in the current phase, the characteristics of the newcomers have become diversified in terms of both motivations and socio-economic class. First, as presented in Chapter 5, the second-generation newcomers are not wealthier than the long-term residents of the island due to increased economic status with local tourism development. Secondly, the motivations of second-generation newcomers moving to the island was not only based on lifestyle desires and rural or small-town idyll, but also on expectations of financial gains, again due to the growing local tourism.

Another point proving that the case of Bozcaada presents an “‘other’ process of rural gentrification” (Higley, 2008) is the integration of newcomers with long-term residents. As presented in Chapters 4 and 5, the second generation of newcomers are more integrated with the different sections of the local community, in contrast to the “classic” rural newcomer typology. The second-generation newcomers are not only integrated with the local community through business connections, but also through strong socio-cultural connections; they show a strong sense of loyalty to the island and the local culture and community.

One of the main aspects of the gentrification concept is its class dimension, since it is often defined in the earlier productivist literature as the displacement of the working classes by the middle classes (Smith and Phillips, 2001; Stockdale, 2006; Bijker *et al.*, 2012). The parameters that are used to define the middle class or portions of it have a critical importance in identifying the potential gentrifiers. Taking income as the sole parameter may not reflect the real picture of today’s complex social class structure of populations (Hamnett, 2009; Phillips, 2009; Stockdale, 2010). As Stockdale (2010) suggests, one can be poor in economic capital but rich in cultural capital, which would make one a good gentrifier. In addition, an increase or decrease in the size of a particular social class in a given locality may not always manifest an event of displacement, as it may be a reflection of national or global trends in social class change (Hamnett, 2009). For example, the first generation of newcomers on Bozcaada were mainly middle-class, middle-aged ex-urbanites, who closely fitted the typical profile of rural gentrifiers (Little, 1987; Cloke *et al.*, 1995; Urry, 1995). Regarding the later newcomers on Bozcaada, it is harder to determine to which socio-economic class they belong. This can be explained by the contemporary complex class structure (Phillips, 2009). Besides, the popularity of Bozcaada among domestic tourism destinations and increasing employment opportunities in the service sector certainly had an effect on the change in the newcomers’ profile on Bozcaada. This supports Hamnett’s (2003) assertion, showing that the gentrification of Bozcaada is still an ongoing process evolving alongside the overall transition of the island.

The most significant finding of Chapter 5 was the identification of the second-generation gentrifiers of Bozcaada who are the direct descendants of the first gentrifiers. This particular section of current newcomers on Bozcaada are not as wealthy as the other newcomers or their parents. In fact, they may not be able to move into the local community if they have not inherited their parents’/grandparents’ properties due to a highly inflated housing market. Although they do not hold economic capital, as Stockdale (2010) suggested they are still part

of the gentrifying population of Bozcaada due to their cultural capital, which differentiates them from the other sections of the local community.

Another characteristic of the second-generation newcomers on Bozcaada is that they do not just “consume” the place, as usually described in the literature on rural in-migration and gentrification (Clope *et al.*, 1995; Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Woods, 2005; Argent *et al.*, 2014). On the contrary, they are well-integrated into the local economy, directly contributing to local social and cultural life, and helping to keep services such as schools running. This raises the question of whether the second-generation newcomers can be identified as gentrifiers of Bozcaada.

This thesis argues that the second-generation newcomers naturally took part in the process of gentrification when they inherited their properties, since they play an important role in the significant socio-economic and cultural changes that are still taking place on the island, as shown in Chapter 5. However, they created a different kind of gentrification from their parents. This thesis calls this new concept “inherited gentrification”. It may simply be understood as another method of gentrification that is passed down to the next generation via ownership of assets. It is, however, continuously evolving, with the inclusion of new actors in the ongoing process who characteristically differ from the former ones.

8.3.2 Change in local politics and internal clashes

Clashes between newcomers/in-migrants and locals/long-term residents were considered to be one of the most common outcomes of in-migration and consequent socio-cultural change in rural areas (Clope and Thrift, 1987; Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001; Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Ghose, 2004; Solana-Solana, 2010). The most common sources of conflict between these groups were the local housing market in respect of the greater purchasing power of the newcomers, the landscape and environment in respect of preservation for aesthetic reasons or destruction for profit, and social identity in respect of clashing cultures and values.

On Bozcaada, the internal conflict was most visible as the “preservation and profit dilemma” in the opposition to the development plan and the location of the purification plant, as shown in Chapter 7. The main difference of this internal conflict on Bozcaada from other cases, although it might be seen as a conflict between newcomers and long-term residents, is the fact that it goes beyond this classic dichotomy. The sides of the conflicts are far from being

homogenous, as the opposition side in both cases includes all three main sections of the local community. In fact, it may be argued that the main source of conflict is the potential gain or loss, as can be seen from the dispute over the location of the purification plant.

Another factor of the internal conflict on Bozcaada is the general tension in politics at a national level. This political tension across the country mirrors itself in the local conflicts of Bozcaada's community through the local representatives of the national political parties. In addition, with the recent local election, the surprising change of local management from a long-standing mayor to a newcomer has triggered the conflict on both bases: on local/newcomer and on political ideology.

8.3.3 *Displacement of locals or exclusion of newcomers*

The rural gentrification literature suggests that due to increased demand for property, rising prices and rents lead to the displacement of a local population (Phillips, 1993; Cloke *et al.*, 1995; Darling, 2005; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Stockdale, 2006). However, what is seen in the case of Bozcaada can be explained as "*exclusion of newcomers*" (Darling, 2005) from the property market rather than the displacement of the locals. Tourism on Bozcaada has played a critical role in generating this situation. Firstly, the nature of local tourism on Bozcaada, which started with room rentals in owners' own houses (levels of house ownership are high on Bozcaada), prevented the possible displacement of locals to some extent through their inclusion in the distribution of tourism profits from the beginning.

Secondly, because tourism became highly rewarding for the local landowners, available properties on the island are marketed as short rentals during the tourism high season, and finding affordable year-round rentals becomes almost impossible. Under these circumstances, newcomers who moved to the island with job-led motivations, such as civil servants, are the most excluded group in the local property market. Darling (2005) stated in her study of the Adirondack region of the USA that this shortage of year-round rentals pushed workers to double or triple up with other workers. This is the case on Bozcaada for the seasonal tourism labourers, who tend to be young and single. However, some civil servants, such as schoolteachers and medical officials who moved to the island with their families, choose to leave the island by asking to be appointed to somewhere else due to the high rents and expenses on the island. This causes a high circulation of civil servants that may affect the stability and the quality of the services provided, commonly criticised during the interviews.

Guimond and Simard (2010) argued that unlike urban gentrification, rural gentrification does not necessarily result in the displacement of local populations, as rural areas tend to give people the opportunity to spread out and around the original settlement. On the other hand, restrictive planning regulations, such as in areas under natural or cultural protection, can act as an agent of gentrification and subsequently result in the lack of affordable housing to the detriment of local populations (Best and Shucksmith, 2006; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2007; Gkartzios and Scott, 2012). In the case of Bozcaada, the fact that the island as a whole is a conservation area is seen as the main actor in the issue of affordable housing. The strict conservation regulations and the bureaucratic hassles play an important role in the exclusion of lower-income groups in the local housing market. However, what is intentionally or unintentionally ignored by the local community and administration is the high commercial value of short-term rentals thanks to tourism. Thus, it is argued that tourism is the main agent of indirect displacement or “exclusion of newcomers” on Bozcaada.

8.4 Seasonal Migration of Residents

The concept of seasonality and its implications are well documented in the tourism literature through the destination management perspective (Baum and Hagen, 1999; Lundtorp *et al.*, 1999; Getz and Nilsson, 2004; Nadal *et al.*, 2004; Andriotis, 2005; Cuccia and Rizzo, 2011; Ruggieri, 2015), such as decline in population, withdrawal or temporary suspension of services, and underutilisation of economic resources. The concept of seasonal migration is commonly addressed in the migration literature through the migration of seasonal workers and holidaymakers to rural areas as second home owners (McHugh and Mings, 1991; Hampshire and Randall, 1999; Gustafson, 2002; Rogaly *et al.*, 2002; Shah, 2006; Haug *et al.*, 2007; Gentil, 2013; Lindner and Kathmann, 2014; Nefedova *et al.*, 2016). However, seasonal migration of the local community to urban centres, which has been observed on Bozcaada, has not been examined widely in either literature.

As was investigated in Chapter 6, the local tourism sector of Bozcaada is highly seasonal, caused by both natural and institutional factors. The remarkable difference of population in the summer and winter seasons severely disturbs the social and economic dynamics of the island. Unlike the other examples of seasonal migration in the literature, this seasonal population difference is not only caused by holidaymakers who own second homes on the island, or seasonal tourism workers, but also long-term residents of the island who migrate to the city centre to spend winter and return at the beginning of the tourist season.

On Bozcaada, this issue of the seasonal migration of the local population has created a vicious circle in the local social and economic life of the island. The prevailing causes of this seasonal migration, as perceived by the local community, are the lack of social life, shortage of services and insufficient economic activity on the island during the winter months. Nonetheless, these presumed causes are indeed an outcome of the decrease in the residual population due to the seasonal migration of the locals.

In addition, the issues of accessibility and cost of living are also seen as drivers of the seasonal migration. However, it should be taken into account that access between the mainland and the island substantially improved with a new and frequent ferry service and the income of the local community increased in relative terms thanks to the development of local tourism. Moreover, this seasonal migration of the local population is a recent occurrence on the island. Seasonal migration from Bozcaada did not previously take place, despite the presumably more severe conditions and poor living standards of the previous decades. Therefore, it seems that these claims are merely excuses, as has been stated by some interviewees.

Efforts to avert the seasonality issue of the island by local administrative bodies focus on two different objectives. The first is the reinvigoration of the local economy in winter by extending the tourist high season; the second is the rejuvenation of local social life by organising cultural activities for the local population during winter. Nonetheless, the issue of seasonality on Bozcaada is neglected by higher-level administrative bodies that have power in terms of being able to impact the issue comprehensively, such as the regional development agency. Also, it is very likely that the efforts of the local bodies will remain ineffective in addressing the issue as long as they keep looking at it from the same perspective and agreeing with the reasons for this migration pattern that has created a vicious circle.

What tends to go unnoticed behind the shadow of this vicious circle of seasonal migration from Bozcaada are the transitions in the community alongside those in the local economy and the social structure of the island. The changes that tourism brought to the local community are not limited to their socio-economic status. The expectations and desires of the local people – especially the locals and the islanders in this case – have altered, as well as their purchasing power. Besides, it is inevitable that social and cultural exchange and interactions with a wider spectrum of the general public due both to tourism and gentrification on the island would result in changes in their lifestyle desires.

It is common rhetoric that an increase in employment opportunities and social and physical infrastructures in declining rural areas will reduce out-migration of local populations. However, as seen in the case of Bozcaada, employment and social development may not be sufficient to retain a local population that has been going through such a pronounced transition. Although the permanent migration of the local community might have been avoided, another form of migration has been created: seasonal migration, which has resulted in the disruption of the annual cycle of Bozcaada. This cycle has already been upset previously, with a substantial sectoral shift in the local economy from viniculture to tourism. This new disruption of the annual cycle of Bozcaada, driven by seasonal out-migration, poses a great risk for the sustainability of the island in the future.

Additionally, although this form of seasonal migration can be linked with lifestyle migration as a conceptual framework, since the main motivation of migration is a quest for a “better way of life”, it contradicts the lifestyle migration literature, which usually highlights a pattern of migration from urban or non-urban areas to rural or remoter areas (O'Reilly and Benson, 2009; Oliver, 2011; Åkerlund and Sandberg, 2015). In contrast, the seasonal migration of Bozcaada's local community is towards the city centre, which is usually associated with economic motivations.

8.5 Role of Tourism in Transition of Bozcaada

The development of local tourism on Bozcaada had a critical role in the transition of the island. Although at first sight it can be seen as the primary driver of the transition, it played different and specific roles during the processes of each substantial change that occurred on Bozcaada.

8.5.1 “Lifebuoy” of the local economy

It is not possible to ignore the fact that tourism acted as a lifebuoy in the years of decline of the traditional rural economy on the island. It certainly had a critical importance in terms of household livelihoods and conceivably prevented permanent out-migration of a substantial part of the local population. It helped the valorisation of the old assets that had been in use previously. It financed the renovation and the restoration of the local architectural heritage. It brought about a revitalisation of the social and cultural life of the island. It prospered the local community, especially the local landowners through the highly inflated property market.

However, due to the non-profitability and labour-intensive nature of viniculture on Bozcaada, the local community abandoned agricultural production in favour of tourism.

Therefore, local tourism on Bozcaada developed into the main economic sector from being a supplementary commercial activity, as Busby and Rendle (2000) have shown in their cases. The island's local economy shifted from being agriculture-dependent to being tourism-dependent. Tourism became the only economic source for many households on the island, which holds as much risk as agricultural production for small-scale businesses in terms of vulnerability to external factors (Scheyvens, 2002; Janecka, 2009).

8.5.2 Tourism as both driver and outcome of gentrification

The relation between local tourism development and gentrification on Bozcaada is a complex subject, as it was not possible to identify the exact origins of these phenomena historically. As examined in Chapters 4 and 5, both movements have emerged unconsciously without any distinctive power such as large-scale public or private investments. However, they fed and bred each other during the last two decades. Although tourism had existed on the island before the newcomers arrived, it was nourished by them and become the largest part of the local economy of Bozcaada. The knowledge and experience of the newcomers – or gentrifiers – in the service sector have helped the local tourism of Bozcaada distinguish itself from other destinations. Their relatively wider social environment and easier access to prospective audiences – or customers – were substantial facilitators of the promotion and marketing of the island. The awareness of the protection of the local heritage and environment, as well as the promotion of cultural activities, helped the creation of the local tourism identity of Bozcaada.

However, local tourism development on the island increased the public recognition of Bozcaada at the national and international levels. The high demand that tourism created in the local property market resulted in unaffordable prices, which caused the exclusion of lower-income groups from the market. Local tourism development and its dominance in the local economy initiated an aesthetic change in the physical environment and facilitated the transition from a productivist to a post-productivist landscape on Bozcaada. Therefore, in the case of Bozcaada, local tourism development has acted as both the driver and the impact of gentrification up until now. It is not possible to predict the future of Bozcaada in terms of gentrification, which is based on robust evidences; however, considering the internal conflict arising among the local community, which was examined in Chapter 7, it is likely that if local tourism continues to grow aggressively, and the island turns into a “campsite” due to the seasonal migration of the local population, Bozcaada will lose its attractiveness for the

gentrifiers. This may eventually lead to out-migration of newcomers and the collapse of the local socio-cultural life on Bozcaada.

8.5.3 Financing seasonal migration

Tourism on Bozcaada increased the majority of the local population's disposable income in comparison to two decades ago, as explored in Chapter 4. The profit made during the summer months on Bozcaada became sufficient to support many local households during the rest of the year. Although the seasonality of tourism on Bozcaada seems to be the most visible reason for the seasonal migration of the local population, the hidden – or ignored – reason is the transition of the local community, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Nonetheless, tourism acted as a facilitator by creating an “off-season” in the local economy, in contrast to the previous agricultural economy, and financed this seasonal migration from the island by enabling people to earn the maximum money in the minimum timescale. Although most of the suggested reasons for the seasonal migration that were examined in Chapter 6 were in existence before the development of local tourism on Bozcaada, the seasonal migration is a recent phenomenon among the local population. Thus, tourism enabled this temporary migration by the local population.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on discussion of the cross-cutting themes of the case study through three main contexts: the evolution of the island from a viniculture island to a tourism destination, the gentrification of the island and the seasonal migration of the local population.

The local economic transition of the island from agricultural production to the tourist sector was initiated by local factors such as the cultural heritage and physical qualities of the island, and extra-local factors such as global neo-liberal agricultural policies and the government's national taxation policies. This transition has been discussed by considering the peculiarities of the island through a three-stage evolution of the island as a tourism destination: emergence, development and intensification. At this current intensification stage of tourism on Bozcaada, the transition from the traditional productivist rural landscape to the post-productivist landscape has been completed, as it can be identified as a “tourism-scape” with the domination of tourism-oriented services and an increasing number of investors in the island.

The social changes of the island have been discussed through the concept of rural gentrification. The evidences of the phenomenon that were outlined in Chapter 2 have also been observed in the case of Bozcaada. However, the contribution of the case of Bozcaada to the gentrification debate is the identification of the second-generation gentrifiers and the discussion of whether they can still be considered as actors of the gentrification process, even though they do not have the characteristics of typical rural gentrifiers.

Another transition observed on the island was the mobility of the local population. As the social and economic status of the local community changed alongside the local social and economic transition, their ability to “move” – or migrate – has increased. Their motivations for migration also changed in line with their lifestyle desires and expectations. Recently, they have started to migrate to the city centre temporarily during winter to enjoy the urban lifestyle.

Considering the concepts of seasonal migration and gentrification in the case of Bozcaada, there appears to be a sophisticated, two-way migration structure in terms of motivations and destination choices. The common academic rhetoric would suggest that the in-migration of urbanites to rural areas is associated with lifestyle or consumption-led motivations, while the out-migration of rural communities towards urban centres is associated with economic and employment-led motivations. In the case of Bozcaada, although the social groups and destinations correspond with the common rhetoric, the motivations of migration are translocated with each other. For example, the seasonal migrants of the local community show more consumption-led motivations than economic ones. At the same time, the second-generation newcomers of Bozcaada, in particular, moved to the island not only with lifestyle motivations but also with strong economic motivations.

To conclude, the concepts of tourism and gentrification are intertwined in the transition of the island. They are both fed by each other in this process and it is not possible to determine which was the outcome of the other, in similar fashion to a chicken-and-egg dilemma. However, there is another transition hidden in this dilemma: the transition of the local community. The people who were part of the local community of the island at the beginning of the transition three decades ago are in transition in terms of their expectations and lifestyle choices. It is apparent that they do not need to move to the city with the motivation of finding well-paid employment opportunities. However, they still prefer to move – even temporarily – to the city, as they wish to experience the urban lifestyle and standards, which are quite

different from what the island has to offer them. The vibrant social and cultural life and diverse shopping opportunities in the city centre charm them as much as easier living conditions such as flats with central heating. As discussed in Chapter 2, “amenity” in the context of amenity migration is a relative subject. While the newcomers come to the island in search of what they perceive as “amenity”, others move off the island in search of their perception of amenity.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

Turkey embraced neo-liberal economic policies in 1980, which initiated a series of significant transformations in the agricultural economy, such as deregulation and abandonment of support programmes for agricultural producers (Aydın, 2002). The effects of the neo-liberal transformation of agriculture in Turkey were most strongly felt by small-scale farmers, who constituted more than three-quarters of all agricultural producers at the time (Köymen and Öztürkcan, 1999). This transformation of the rural economy in Turkey intensified in the early 2000s with the introduction of radical measures imposed by the international agreements signed with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Union to ensure Turkey's integration into the free market economy and the EU (Günaydin, 2009; Aydın, 2010). This transformation resulted in the rapid deruralisation of the population in most regions of Turkey, as small-scale farmers became unable to sustain their livelihood through agricultural production (Keyder and Yenal, 2011). The rural population in eligible areas sought new income sources other than agriculture: they started to commute to city centres or industrial zones in their vicinity, while many left the villages and migrated to cities (Tekeli, 2008). In areas with distinctive historical, cultural and natural qualities, local communities took a chance on local tourism development. Bozcaada, a small island in the Aegean Sea that had been practising viticulture for centuries, was one of those that adopted tourism to deal with the struggles of small-scale farmers. This research aimed to investigate the socio-economic and cultural transitions on Bozcaada that stemmed from this change.

9.1 Summary of Key Findings

This thesis has explored a series of substantial changes that Bozcaada experienced over the last three decades. The first major change occurred in the local economy; traditional viticulture practice became less profitable for small-scale grape farmers under the neo-liberal agricultural policies due to the decline in the local wine industry. Meanwhile, the island was being visited regularly by a small number of people in the summer. There were, however, no tourist-oriented businesses on the island at this point. While viticulture was losing its economic role in the livelihood of the local community, an increasing number of visitors on the island paved the way for the diversification of the local economy. In addition to viticulture, the local community diversified their income sources by renting out their spare rooms and houses to visitors. As tourism was developing in the local economy with the growing number of visitors, the local community started to invest in local tourism by converting old houses and

storage spaces into accommodation facilities. Eventually, the local farmers abandoned viticulture practices due to their low economic returns and labour-intensive nature, and turned towards the local tourism sector on the island as their sole income source.

The second major change occurred in the socio-cultural fabric of the island. The change started with the departure of the Rums in the 1960s and 1970s. Although the gap that was left in the local population was filled with the in-migration of the Turkish population from villages in rural areas in the vicinity, this was the beginning of the ongoing social transition of the island. In the 1990s, in parallel with the emerging local tourism on the island, the first generation of newcomers joined the local community of Bozcaada. The newcomers were mainly middle-aged and middle-class urbanites who moved to the island with motivations for a rural idyllic lifestyle, which initiated the process of gentrification on Bozcaada.

At the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, these two main pillars of transition on the island interlaced with each other and created a complex structure with unforeseen implications. Tourism development, as the local economic change, and the in-migration of newcomers, as the social change on the island, assisted and transformed each other at the same time.

On the one hand, the newcomers, with knowledge of and experience in the service sector, in contrast to the long-term residents, triggered professionalisation in the local tourism businesses. The relatively extensive social networks of the newcomers helped in the marketing of the island's tourism. They initiated the renovation of the local architectural heritage and raised awareness of the local cultural heritage, which helped to create a prominent domestic tourism destination on an economically declining island.

On the other hand, while local tourism was developing and expanding its position in the local economy, the idyllic image, whether created intentionally for marketing purpose or self-created alongside the socio-cultural changes of the island, attracted new people who became the second generation of newcomers on Bozcaada. However, this second generation differed from the first generation on the bases of wealth, motivations and integration into the local economy. This was one of the unforeseen outcomes of this complex structure of the intertwined socio-economic and cultural transitions of Bozcaada.

Another outcome that this thesis has unearthed is the seasonal out-migration of the local residents from Bozcaada. The intertwined socio-economic and cultural transitions of the

island brought about a transition of the local community in terms not only of purchasing power, but also of expectations, lifestyle choices and motivations. Local tourism development and gentrification on Bozcaada endorsed social and cultural exchange and interactions with a wider spectrum of the general public.

Currently, due to all these intertwined and simultaneous socio-economic and cultural changes on the island, the annual cycle of the island's life has started to break apart. The viniculture-oriented, conventional rural life of the island first became tourism-oriented, based on peak seasons of tourism such as the summer, long weekends and bank holidays, with the intensification of the tourism sector on the island that began at the end of the 2000s. Then, in line with the seasonality of local tourism on the island, this annual cycle started to break down with the out-migration of local residents in winter, which had an immense effect on the economic and socio-cultural life of the island. If the remaining winter population continues to decrease every year, it is highly likely that the island will become a "campsite"; a temporary settlement, usually set up in summer, with a vibrant environment and full of people, but turning into a ghost town in winter.

9.2 Applications of the Findings to Turkish Policy

The findings of this thesis may be a useful example for policymakers to consider the interconnected and complex formation of transitions that may emerge during local economic transitions in rural areas, and to manage the possible outcomes of these transitions.

Turkey's latest National Rural Development Strategy (2014) determined two priorities to ensure the development of the rural economy and the increase in employment opportunities in the Turkish countryside: the improvement of competitiveness in the agriculture and food sectors and the diversification of the rural economy. In this strategy, rural tourism development was identified as the first measure to be taken to support diversification.

Development of tourism in areas with a traditional rural economy may not always be an appropriate route for diversification in local economies. In the absence of comprehensive strategies that consider the local traditional economy, especially agriculture, local tourism development may lead to the dominance of the tourism sector in the local economy in the future. In that case, the high level of dependency on agriculture would turn into a high dependency on tourism, which contradicts the primary aim of diversification.

As was seen in the case of Bozcaada, the local community, struggling to make a satisfactory income from agricultural production under current agricultural policies, abandoned traditional viticulture practices and shifted to the local tourism sector, since agricultural production was not able to provide a livelihood for the small-scale grape producers of the island. Now, the local economy is predominantly based on tourism activities, while vineyards are being converted to holiday homes and short-term rentals. The island is at risk of losing its distinctive viticulture identity, which is also an important element of the local tourism. Therefore, it is essential for policymakers to consider the integration of traditional local economic activities with the proposed rural tourism development in the action plans for diversification of the rural economy at regional and local levels.

The Tenth Development Plan (2014) states that the main aim of rural development policy in Turkey is to improve the employment opportunities and the life standards of rural communities “*in situ*”, which would also help to mitigate rural-to-urban migration within the country. The case of Bozcaada showed that an increase in employment opportunities on the island prevented the local community’s permanent migration to urban centres. However, as was elaborated in Chapter 6, a new pattern of temporary migration emerged that was not based on employment-led motivations but on socio-cultural and lifestyle ones. Therefore, policies concerning rural-to-urban migration and the retention of the population in the countryside should be inclusive of this socio-cultural and lifestyle dimension of population movements.

This recent trend of out-migration of the local residents from the island also showed the importance of service provisions in remote rural areas, particularly of health and emergency services. Although this thesis argued that the seasonal out-migration of the local community was driven by lifestyle motivations, it is undeniable that unsatisfactory service provisions and the withdrawal of existing services contributes to and aggravates this trend of out-migration. Therefore, it is of critical importance that remote rural areas, such as islands, have full access to essential services, regardless of population size.

Lastly, considering the fact that Turkey is a transitional economy where the restructuring of the 1980s and the early 2000s has been reflected in the countryside the most, the evolution model of Bozcaada from a viticulture community to a tourism destination presents an example for transition processes of other rural areas where small-scale tourism is proposed for development with the decline of agriculture in the local economy.

9.3 Contributions of the Research

This thesis makes three main contributions to the existing body of literature in the broader area of rural sociology. Firstly, it offers a new conceptual framework for the exploration of how tourism interacts with other aspects of rural transitions, informed by an empirical study. The model of Bozcaada's evolution from a viniculture island to a tourism destination has provided a deeper insight into the socio-economic and cultural transitions of the island over the last three decades, through the exploration of the changes in the local economy, the characteristics of newcomers, the landscape and local services, and the annual cycle of life. Although this model has been created with evidences drawn from a specific place, it is also applicable to other geographies where small-scale farmers are experiencing similar problems and maintaining their livelihood by diversifying into tourism.

Secondly, this thesis contributes to the literature on rural gentrification by introducing a new concept of inherited gentrification, looking at this well-researched topic from a generational perspective. The concept of inherited gentrification represents the transfer of this phenomenon to a new generation via inheritance. Nonetheless, it does not refer to a simple transfer of ownership of gentrified assets and a reproduction of the process of gentrification by the next generation; it refers to an ongoing and constantly changing process of transformation alongside the socio-economic and cultural changes occurring on the island and in wider society.

Thirdly, this research also contributes to the migration literature by revealing a new pattern of seasonal migration. As discussed in Chapter 8, the current phenomenon of seasonal migration from Bozcaada presents the common seasonal migration patterns in reverse in terms of destinations and motivations. The case of Bozcaada shows a temporary migration of local residents from rural to urban centres based on lifestyle motivations, in line with increased wealth.

9.4 Limitations of Generalisability

Due to the research method adopted, it may be claimed that this work does not represent a strongly generalisable case. The case study area for this research was chosen according to some criteria that might seem to undermine the possibility of generalisability of this research. The criteria and their purpose were discussed in detail in Chapter 3. These criteria were mostly applied to the practical aspects of the fieldwork and for the purpose of collecting sufficient and meaningful data.

The fact that the research is based on a single case study is another limitation for its generalisation. However, the case examined provides a basis for future work that may validate the its findings in different contexts.

9.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The model of evolution in this research has been drawn from the findings of an empirical study in a specific location: Bozcaada. Therefore, a future study investigating rural transitions or testing the applicability of this model in other geographies, not only within Turkey but also other transitional countries and regions, would be very interesting.

As a result of this research, further research might well be conducted on patterns and motivations of seasonal migration of local communities in other areas, in order to enrich the understanding of this new movement of seasonal out-migration of local residents as observed in the case of Bozcaada. It would also be interesting to expand the investigation of this unique migration pattern by exploring the effects of the migrants on destination cities.

In the light of the findings of this research, further research is needed to better understand the impact of tourism development in rural areas in Turkey, where it is proposed as the optimum method of local development. Although it has been the central government's agenda for a while now, there has not been enough empirical research conducted so far on this subject. Existing research that covers tourism development in rural areas has focused on the potential social and economic benefits to local communities (Çeken *et al.*, 2007; Yıldırım *et al.*, 2008) and the perception of local communities of possible tourism development on a particular locality (Tosun, 1998; Uslu and Kiper, 2006).

Another area of further research as a result of this thesis might be on the status of second homes and short-term holiday rentals in the context of access to housing in Turkey. Although second/holiday homes have been researched for an extended period of time in Turkey, such studies have mostly focused on the impacts on the socio-economic and physical environments (Irtem and Karaman, 2004) and the possibilities of reusing these properties in the tourism sector (Manisa and Gorgulu, 2008; Kozak and Duman, 2011). However, what the case of Bozcaada revealed is that second homes, and especially short-term rentals, may put enormous pressure on the local housing market.

Appendix A. Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study as part of a PhD research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Who will conduct the research?

Miss Duygu Okumus

PhD candidate

School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape

Newcastle University, the UK

Title of the Research

The implications of rural tourism in Turkey

What is the aim of the research?

This research aims to explore “the implication of rural tourism in Turkey and how spatial planning policies can manage these implications” through a case study which is based on a fieldwork covering Bozcaada and Ezine municipal borders.

Why have I been chosen?

Since this research seeks to investigate the implication of rural tourism, it is important to get to know experiences and perceptions of local residents and those involved in local tourism activities alongside administrative bodies.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

The research will be conducted in form of semi-structured face to face interview, which might take between 30-45 min. If you agree to take part in it, your conversation with the researcher will be audio-recorded. You may ask to not be audio-recorded. In that case, the researcher will take a note of the conversation. There are no known risks or disadvantages of taking part, as the researcher strive to protect your confidentiality, unless you explicitly agree that your name can be mentioned in publications arising from the research. If you are taking

part in an audio-recorded interview, you may ask a copy the transcript of the interview before the analysis to allow you to ensure that you have not been misrepresented.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All of the information you give will be anonymised so that those reading reports from the research will not know who has contributed to it, unless you explicitly agree that the name of your company may be made public. Nobody other than the researchers will have access to the data, which will be saved securely on password-protected computers and stored securely for 10 years in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

You are under no obligation to take part in this research. You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason and there will be no adverse consequences if you do so. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

Contact for further information

The researcher	Supervisors
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Appendix B. Interview Questions

The framework of semi-structured interviews with local municipality and local governship

Perception of local tourism sector

- Can you briefly describe the current situation of tourism in the island?
- Which are the local natural, socio-cultural and built environment assets that could make attractive tourist product?
- What are the impacts of tourism activities in the local economy, socio-cultural and environmental structure of the island?
- What are the opportunities and restrictions of tourism that may favour and disfavour the growth of tourism sector in the island?
- Do you believe that tourism obstruct daily life of locals?
 - Are there any conflicts between locals and tourists?
- What changes have you observed in the island while tourism sector has been growing?

Perception of rurality

- Do you believe that the island is a rural or non-urban place? Now and before?
- Have you observed any particular shift in the original structure of the island?
 - What do you think that triggered this shift?
 - Are there any changes over demographic structure of the island? What?
 - Are there any conflict between long-term residents and newcomers? What?

Expected future trends of local tourism development and rurality

- Do you believe that growth of tourism in the island would generate negative impacts on the local cultural and environmental structure?
 - If so, what can be done to mitigate those negative impacts?
 - If it generates positive impacts, what would those be? And how local community benefit from those impacts?

Institutional stand

- Do you have an action plan for development, planning and monitoring local tourism activities in the island?
 - If yes, what are the objectives and actions?
- Do you collaborate with other bodies in turns of local tourism sector?
 - If yes, who are those? And how do you collaborate?
- Is there any contradiction between actors involved in tourism developments?
 - What kind of contradictions do emerge? Between which actors?
 - How do you try to build consensus between contradicting bodies?
- What are the impacts of the tourism activities in the regional level/surrounding areas? Or vice-versa
 - Do you believe the hinterland would benefit from tourism development in the island? Or vice-versa
- What is the role of local society in tourism planning and development in the island?
 - Are there any NGOs, informal associations or initiatives which are directly or indirectly involved in local tourism development?
 - Do you believe that wider population could participate in the decision-making process?
- Do you believe that those involved in the tourism sector are sufficiently trained?
 - Do you offer any training opportunity for those who involved in tourism?

The framework of semi-structured interviews with regional development agency

- What is your role in the tourism development of the island?
- How would you describe the current situation in the island and where it stands in the region?
- What role is the island going to have in the development plan and process of the region? And how important is this role?
- Do you predict a change in the volume and the quality of tourism activities in the island with this role?
 - Does your agency have an action plan to boost or control this change?
 - How would this change possibly affect rurality or unique characteristic of the island and of the region?

- How do you think this change would contribute the local/endogenous development in the island?
- Does your agency collaborate with other bodies in turns of local tourism sector?
 - If yes, who are those? And how do you collaborate?
- Is there any contradiction between actors involved in tourism developments?
 - What kind of contradictions do emerge? Between which actors?
 - How do you try to build consensus between contradicting bodies?

The framework of semi-structured interviews with real estate agencies

- How would you describe the current situation of the housing market in the island?
- Would you describe the changes in the cost and value of housing stock in the island?
- Who are the newcomers? Where are they coming from?
 - What feature do they look for in a property? Who demands what?
- Where do you advise people to reside or invest?
- What percentages of new-owners buy a property to live in or rent out?
- Are there developers who buy, renovate and sell the property? What percentages?
- How does the island being conservation site affect buyers and owners?

The framework of semi-structured interviews with tourism operators association

Profile of tourism businesses

- How would you describe the tourism in the island? Alternative, rural, boutique, etc.
- Who are the tourism entrepreneurs in the island? Locals, outsiders? How many beds do they have?

Profile of tourists

- What kind of tourists does the island attract usually?
 - How many nights do they spend in the island averagely?
 - What are the most popular attractions that attract tourists?
- Do you accommodate foreign tourists?
 - Where do they come from? How many days do they spend in the island averagely?

Institutional stand

- Do you have an action plan for development, planning and monitoring local tourism activities in the island?
 - If yes, what are the objectives and actions?
- Do you collaborate with other bodies in turns of local tourism sector?
 - If yes, who are those? And how do you collaborate?
- Is there any contradiction between actors involved in tourism developments?
 - What kind of contradictions do emerge? Between which actors?
 - How do you try to build consensus between contradicting bodies?
- What is the role of local society in tourism planning and development in the island?
 - Are there any NGOs, informal associations or initiatives which are directly or indirectly involved in local tourism development?
 - Do you believe that wider population could participate in the decision-making process?

Perceived impacts and future trend of tourism

- Which are the local natural, socio-cultural and built environment assets that could make attractive tourist product?
- What are the impacts of tourism activities in the local economy, socio-cultural and environmental structure of the island?
- What are the impacts of the tourism activities in the regional level/surrounding areas? Or vice-versa
 - Do you believe the hinterland would benefit from tourism development in the island? Or vice-versa
- What are the opportunities and restrictions of tourism that may favour and disfavour the growth of tourism sector in the island?
- Do you believe that those involved in the tourism sector are sufficiently trained?
 - Do you offer any training for tourism related businesses?
- Do you believe that tourism obstruct daily life of locals?
 - Are there any conflicts between locals and tourists?
- What changes have you observed in the island while tourism sector has been growing?

- Do you believe that growth of tourism in the island would generate negative impacts on the local cultural and environmental structure?
 - If so, what can be done to mitigate those negative impacts?
 - If it generates positive impacts, what would those be? And how local community benefit from those impacts?

The framework of semi-structured interviews with locals

Social group

- Age, education level, occupation, annual income, ownership,
- Are you engaged with local tourism sector?
 - If yes, how? Do you employ anybody? How many days in a year do you work?

Patterns of residence

- How long have you been living in the island?
- Have you ever moved out for a limited time from the island? Why?
 - If yes, why did you decide to move back?
- Do you own a property in the island?
 - How many? What type? How did you own it?
- Have you ever sell any of your properties in the island?
 - What did you sell? To whom? What is the current situation of that property?

Relations with newcomers

- Do you believe that social composition of the island has changed in recent decade?
 - If yes, what kind of changes have you observed?
 - How did this affect your daily life and your sense of belonging in the island?
- Have you observed segregation between locals and newcomer? Or other groups?
 - If yes, what do you think the reason for that?
 - Does this affect or get affected by social capital of society in the island?

Perception of rurality

- Would you describe the island as a rural place? Now and before?
- Have you or your family members ever engaged in agriculture in the island?
 - If yes, why did you/they abandon agriculture?
 - If yes and still going on, how does local tourism affect your work?
- Do you believe that the island is urbanizing or losing its characteristic?
 - If yes, how is it happening? What is the motor force?
 - If yes, what can be done to minimize the impact of this process?

Conception of local tourism

- Can you briefly describe the current situation of tourism in the island?
- Which are the local natural, socio-cultural and built environment assets that could make attractive tourist product?
- What are the impacts of tourism activities in the local economy, socio-cultural and environmental structure of the island?
- What are the opportunities and restrictions of tourism that may favour and disfavour the growth of tourism sector in the island?
- Do you believe that those involved in the tourism sector are sufficiently trained?
- Do you believe that tourism obstruct daily life of residents?
 - Are there any conflicts between residents and tourists?
- *What changes have you observed in the island while tourism sector was growing?*
- Do you believe that growth of tourism in the island would generate negative impacts on the local cultural and environmental structure?
 - If so, what can be done to mitigate those negative impacts?
 - If it generates positive impacts, what would those be? And how local community benefit from those impacts?

Personal stand

- Are you aware of official or unofficial bodies that are influential on local tourism development?
- Have you participated any meeting or briefing about issues or future of local tourism development in the island?
 - If yes, when and by whom was this meeting held?
 - Did you have a chance to contribute? How?

Extra questions for locals who have moved out permanently

- Why did you leave the island? When? To where?
- Under what condition would you move back to the island?

The framework of semi-structured interviews with newcomers

Social group

- Age, education level, occupation (past and present), annual income, ownership, household characteristics
- Are you engaged with local tourism sector?
 - If yes, how? Do you employ anybody? How many days in a year do you work?
- Are you engaged with agriculture in the island?

Patterns of residence

- How long have you been living in the island? How long in a year do you live in the island?
- Why did you decide to move to the island?
- Where did you live before moving to the island? How long?
- Do you keep your property back where you came from?
- Do you see your future in the island? Or planning to move back?
- How did you find your property?
- Do you own a property in the island?
 - How many? What type?
- Have you ever sell any of your properties in the island?
 - What did you sell? To whom? What is the current situation of that property?
- Have you made any changes in the house? Or what would you like to change?

Relationship with locals

- When you first moved in, how did you find to integrate with locals?
 - Have you ever felt excluded?
- Have you observed segregation between locals and newcomers? Or other groups?
 - If yes, what do you think the reason for that?
 - Does this affect or get affected by social capital of society in the island?
- Have you ever observe any conflict in the community? What was the reason?

Conception of local tourism

- Can you briefly describe the current situation of tourism in the island?

- Which are the local natural, socio-cultural and built environment assets that could make attractive tourist product?
- What are the impacts of tourism activities in the local economy, socio-cultural and environmental structure of the island?
- What are the opportunities and restrictions of tourism that may favour and disfavour the growth of tourism sector in the island?
- Do you believe that those involved in the tourism sector are sufficiently trained?
- Do you believe that tourism obstruct daily life of residents?
 - Are there any conflicts between residents and tourists?
- *What changes have you observed in the island while tourism sector was growing?*
- Do you believe that growth of tourism in the island would generate negative impacts on the local cultural and environmental structure?
 - If so, what can be done to mitigate those negative impacts?
 - If it generates positive impacts, what would those be? And how local community benefit from those impacts?

Perception of rurality

- Would you describe the island as a rural place? Now and before?
- Have you ever engaged in agriculture in the island?
- Do you believe that the island is urbanizing or losing its characteristic?
 - If yes, how is it happening? What is the motor force?
 - If yes, what can be done to minimize the impact of this process?

Personal stand

- Are you aware of official or unofficial bodies that are influential on local tourism development?
- Have you participated any meeting or briefing about issues or future of local tourism development in the island?
 - If yes, when and by whom was this meeting held?
 - Did you have a chance to contribute? How?

Extra questions for newcomers who own a property and use a limited time

- How long in a year do you stay in the island? And how long in a year do you rent it out?
- Do you plan to live in the island sometime in your lifetime? When? Why?

The framework of semi-structured interviews with tourists

- Have you ever been in the island before? When?
- How many days in a year do you spend in the island?
- What characteristics of the island attract you to come here?
- Would you like to live in the island in the future? Why? When?
- What kind of accommodation do you choose to stay in?
- How did you learn about the island?
- How did you find your accommodation? Through tourism agencies, a friend etc...
- What would you change about the island if you had a chance?

Extra questions for regular tourist/renters

- How often do you come to the island?
- Do you rent a flat or book a hotel?
- How do you find your accommodation? Do you choose to stay in same place every time?
- Have you ever observed any changes in the island since your first visit? What are they?
- Have you built any relationship/friendship with local residents in the island during your visits?

The framework of interviews with people in surrounding areas

With residents

- Have you observed any increase in the number of visitors in and around your village?
 - If yes, since when?
 - Did this increase lead to any changes in the village?
- Does this increase affect your daily life or work in the village? How?
- Do you believe that increased number of tourists affecting the housing prices and rents in your village?

With real estate agencies

- Have you observed any change in the local housing market?
 - If yes, what is the reason for this change?
 - Who are newcomers?
 - Do they buy or rent?
 - What kind of property do they look for?
 - Do they make any change in the property?

With hotels and guesthouses

- When did you start your business?
- How long does an average visitor stay in your place?
- Do you know where they are coming from and going to?
- Do you believe that the island has an impact on your business?

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