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Living With Tourism: Tourism, Identity and Change in a Village in Central Turkey.

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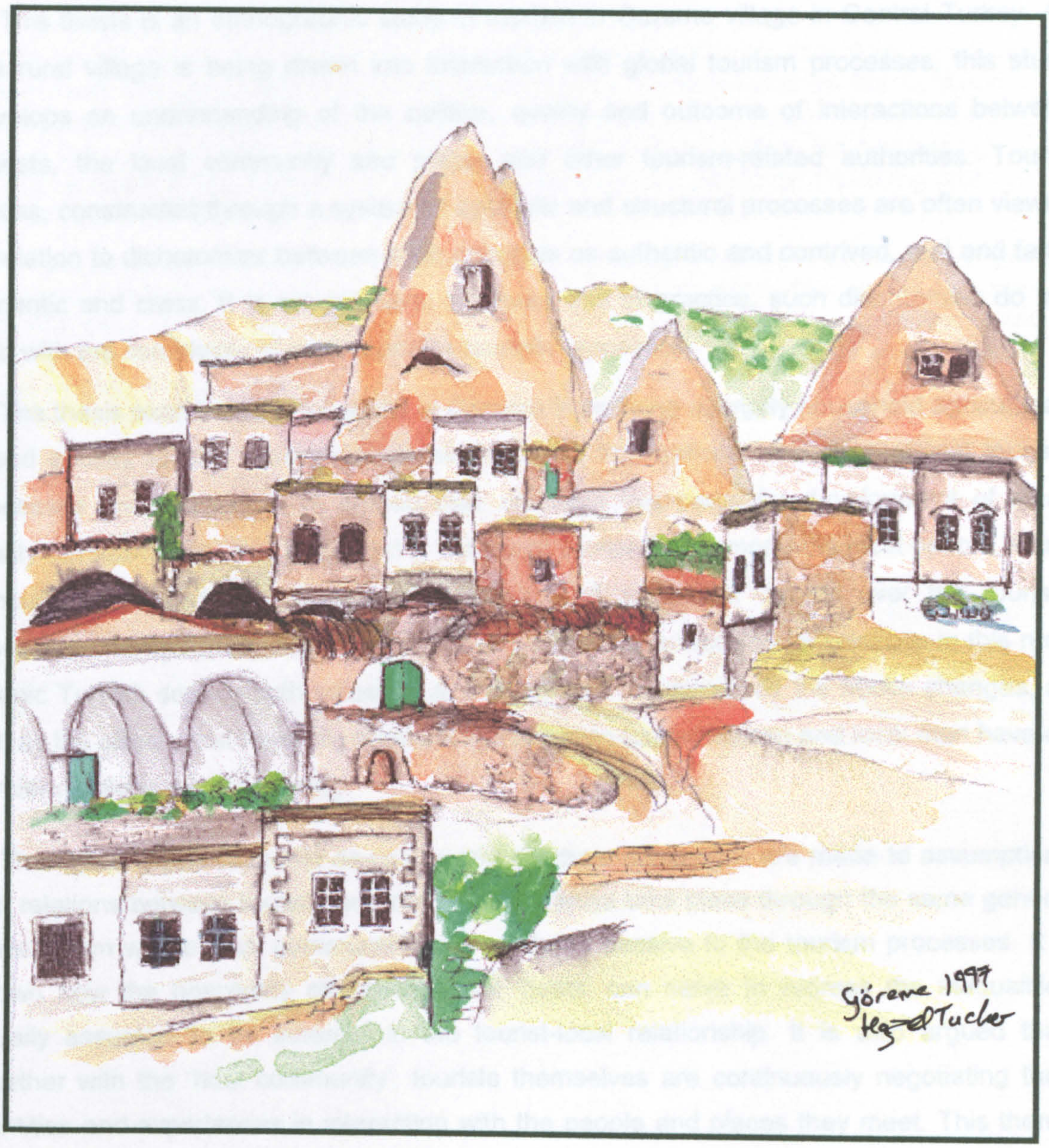
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August 1999

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Gòreme 1997
Hazel Tucker

Hazel Tucker

ABSTRACT

Living With Tourism:

Tourism, Identity and Change in a Village in Central Turkey.

This thesis is an ethnographic study of tourism in Goreme village in Central Turkey. As this rural village is being drawn into interaction with global tourism processes, this study develops an understanding of the politics, quality and outcome of interactions between tourists, the local community and place, and other tourism-related authorities. Tourist places, constructed through a system of symbolic and structural processes are often viewed in relation to dichotomies between such concepts as authentic and contrived, real and fake, romantic and crass. It is argued here, however, that in practice, such dichotomies do not hold with the complexity of contemporary touristic processes.

The thesis examines the transition in Goreme from being a largely household agricultural-based society to one which is increasingly drawn into national and international tourism processes and policies. It is argued that, although this particular development of small locally run businesses has promoted a 'culture of competition' among the local people, it has concurrently placed the villagers in a position of significant control over the tourism processes. Furthermore, examination is made of the ways that gender relations in this rural Islamic Turkish society both influence and are in turn influenced by the above changes, as well as the effects that romantic relationships between tourist women and local men have on gender relations more generally.

Through analysis of tourist discourse and practice, challenges are made to assumptions that relations between tourists and their 'hosts' always take place through the same general power idiom where local communities are rendered passive to the tourism processes. It is shown how the hospitality offered by local 'hosts' can serve to redress the inequalities usually assumed to be inherent in the tourist-local relationship. It is also argued that, together with the 'host community', tourists themselves are continuously negotiating their identities and experiences in interaction with the people and places they meet. This theme runs throughout the thesis and draws to the conclusion that these negotiations suit the serendipity of contemporary tourist quests, and therefore enhance the possibility of the successful continuation of tourism in rural villages such as Goreme.

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This thesis derives from work undertaken by the author between October 1995 and August 1999 under the supervision of Dr. T. Kohn in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Durham. The material included here is original and no part of it has been submitted previously for any degree at any university. Some parts of the material have been published under the author's name and these publications are cited in the bibliography. The thesis is approximately 100,000 words in length.

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1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an ethnographic study of tourism in Goreme village in Central Turkey. As this rural village is being drawn through tourism into closer interaction with the increasingly global processes occurring in the contemporary world, the aim of this study is to develop an understanding of the politics, quality and outcomes of the interactions between tourists, the local community and place, and other tourism-related authorities. The thesis, which is based on eighteen months of ethnographic research undertaken in Goreme between 1995 and 1998, concerns in particular the issues surrounding tourism development, the politics of representation and identity, tourist quest and experience, and gender relations in the tourism context.

Concerns within anthropology are increasingly focusing on cultural change, shifting communities, and the meetings between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. As interactions between once considered separate communities increase, the global-local nexus becomes a central area of anthropological study. The ethnographic study of tourists, tourism processes and touristed locales can thus contribute significantly to contemporary anthropology, as well as to the theory and actual practice of tourism. A central assertion of the present thesis is that tourism is a phenomenon which creates a whole set of new social relations, practices and cultures, and that an holistic view of the interactions which arise through tourism is essential for our understanding of this global institution in the contemporary world. The thesis is thus aimed at answering Selwyn's (1994) call for more anthropological work on tourism which is at once rigorously ethnographic and set within a more theoretical framework.

Entitled '*Living With Tourism*', the thesis is also intended to follow Boissevain's (1996) edited volume entitled *Coping With Tourists,* whilst going an important step further in its inclusion of the idea of the villagers coming to 'live with tourism' and all that that may entail. Furthermore, this broader view allows for the necessary inclusion of an analysis of the tourists themselves, who also live very much in the contemporary world of tourism and so should form an equally important element in the study of tourism processes in any particular locale. Whilst attention to tourism issues within anthropology has provided increasing amounts of case material concerning local communities as they are visited by and 'serve' tourists, very little work has been done to include an ethnographic analysis of the tourists themselves within those touristic

settings (Selwyn 1994; Bruner 1995). The present study thus redefines the 'community' which is of anthropological interest in touristed locales, focusing on the multiple parallel communities that meet through the tourism processes.

Goreme village is situated at the heart of the Cappadocia region, an area in Central Turkey where the moon-like landscape of rock cones and historic troglodyte dwellings has, since the early 1980's, become a major focus of Turkey's 'cultural' tourism development. The majority of tourists who stay within the village are 'individual' tourists travelling independently of package tours. I have taken these tourists, and the particular character of tourism which surrounds them, as the focus of this study. Drawing on ideas prevalent in the social scientific literature on tourism, as well as in the discourses of tourists and the tourism industry, I aim to reach conclusions which pertain to the 'place' of Goreme and its construction as a tourist site, as well as to the people involved in the tourism there. These issues refer to the particular character and influences of the tourism in Goreme as they may be compared to the more institutional 'package' typed of cultural tourism undertaken in other parts of Cappadocia. There are implications here for the more applied concerns of tourism policy, and for issues of sustainability in cultural tourism practice.

The main body of the thesis comprises three main sections. The first of these focuses on tourism in Goreme from the perspective of tourists. Chapter 2 comprises an historical over-view of traveller and tourist representations of Cappadocia, examining how the touristic representations of the region came into being as well as the content of these representations and the resulting implications for Goreme. The chapter analyses the tourist images and myths surrounding Cappadocia, and thereby begins to develop an understanding of the construction of the region as a 'tourist place'. In Chapter 3, I move on to a close analysis of tourist discourse, experience and behaviour in Goreme. In looking particularly at the tourists' attempts to assert a 'non-tourist' identity, I argue that tourist identity should not necessarily be viewed as 'fixed', particularly in relation to the visited places and peoples, but rather that tourist quest and experience is based on the sense of serendipity and that tourists continually negotiate their identities and behaviours in the context of their experiences of the places they visit.

The second section of the thesis focuses on the local people of Goreme and their varying involvement in the touristic processes occurring in the village. In Chapter 4 I discuss the socio-cultural processes underpinning tourism by taking a close look at various aspects of the villagers' lives, both related and unrelated to touristic processes. In the discussion here on gender relations in Goreme I argue that tourism has encouraged the further social and spatial separation of a men's / touristic sphere

and a women's / domestic sphere in this Islamic village. Chapter 5 goes on to discuss the development of tourism business in Goreme, examining the transition from a largely household agricultural-based society to one which is increasingly drawn into national and international economic tourism processes through locally managed entrepreneurial practice. I argue that, although this particular development of small locally run businesses has promoted a 'culture of competition' among the local people, it has concurrently placed the villagers in a position of significant control over the tourism processes.

In the third section of the thesis, I bring the tourists and the local population and place from the previous sections together in a discussion of the interactions and outcomes of tourism in Goreme. Chapter 6 focuses particularly on the actual interactions which take place in the tourist sphere between tourists and Goreme men, and in the 'back' sphere between tourists and Goreme women and others not directly engaged in tourism business. This leads me to consider issues such as the 'tourist gaze' (after Urry, 1990), authenticity, and hospitality in tourism interactions. Chapter 7 focuses on 'long-term' tourists in Goreme and the romantic relationships between tourist women and local men. The role of these relationships in tourism businesses in the village is discussed as well as some of the consequences of this new type of gender relationship for 'traditional' gender relations in the village. In Chapter 8, I discuss the politics and policies surrounding the construction of Goreme as a tourist place. This brings the thesis towards a conclusion concerning the present situation of tourism in Goreme, the possible directions that it may follow in the future and some suggestions for further research.

The Anthropology of Tourism: reflections on the theoretical debates

> What is particularly interesting over such a short span of time is the sheer range of interests and approaches which anthropologists have brought to the topic... In just twenty years we have seen the avoidance of tourism as a research topic, exaggerated and naive evaluations (both positive and negative) of tourism and its socio-cultural effects, efforts to devise taxonomies of tourism/tourist types (Smith 1978), portrayals of tourism as neo-imperialism (Nash 1978), portrayals of tourism as play/ ritual/ sacred journey/ pilgrimage (Graburn 1978), and finally the suggestion that in a reflexive age anthropologists should pay attention to tourism for the very reason that tourists and anthropologists are relatives of a kind. (Crick 1994:3)

This summary of the diverse themes and directions which tourism anthropology has taken issue with seems aptly stated in view of the relative newness of this body of research. Anthropological work on the topic of tourism has really only developed during the past twenty or so years, during which it has responded in varying ways to

the processes of global tourism as they have developed, as well as tackling some of the prevailing concerns within anthropology as they have progressed throughout this time.

Anthropologists began to take a serious look at the issues of culture contact and social change surrounding tourism particularly as chartered flights became increasingly prolific, and hence mass 'package' tourism grew in regions of the world considered to be peripheral to the global political-economy.[1] In 1983, the *Annals of Tourism Research* devoted an entire issue to anthropology (edited by Graburn), and previous to that, the works which made the most obvious landmarks in the area were *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Smith 1977 ed.) and *Tourism: Passport to Development?* (de Kadt 1979 ed.). These edited collections of predominantly 'impact' studies of tourist destinations focused on the socio-economic consequences of tourism for the people of touristed areas, and drew attention to changes which tourist activity afflicts on many 'socio-cultural' aspects of 'host' societies. One of the growing concerns within this literature was that tourism encouraged local class formation in the form of an increased disparity in wealth and access to resources, along with the growth of an underpaid service class whose resentment is highlighted not only in the direction of a local entrepreneurial elite, but also towards the conspicuous displays of wealth from tourists. Moreover, tourism was seen generally to effect a drainage outwards of economic resources to the stronger players in the tourism processes.[2]

The above mentioned volumes were prominent in their attempts to take anthropological notice of the role (and plight) of the peoples in tourist destinations. However, whilst setting out to question the extent to which tourism should be viewed as a straightforward tool for economic development, as it is by many governments, tourism agents, and economists, the studies seemed themselves to have the undertones of an emotive combination of both modernisation theory, influenced by such theorists as Levy (1967), and dependency theory. These undertones converged in the view that the culture contact afforded to visited societies would inevitably brush off on and 'infect' those societies with aspects of the tourists' home societies. The terminology rife in 'impact' studies includes 'Westernisation', 'demonstration effects',

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[1] Prominent examples of which are Picard (1990, 1993) on tourism in Bali; O'Rourke's (1987) film on a tour group in Papua New Guinea; and Adams (1984,1990) on 'cultural tourism' in Sulawesi, Indonesia.

[2] See Turner and Ash, 1975; de Kadt, 1979 for the earlier discussions on the economic leakages rather than gains afforded to 'host' societies. Some of the reasons for these leakages include: foreign investor or corporation ownership of a large proportion of tourist facilities; tax incentives to foreign investors by host nations; and limited 'multiplier effect' due to poor integration of foreign owned and local services.

'materialisation', 'commoditisation' and 'staging' of culture.[3] And since tourism seeks 'otherness', these processes were considered to be the negative 'impact' of tourism on touristed cultures.

In other words, the anthropology of tourism began by developing the view that tourism causes the destruction of the 'genuine' socio-cultural elements of host societies, a view which has, to some degree, carried through to today in both academic and popular discourses. Certainly in my own experience in the field, most of the tourists to whom I spoke about the subject of my research in Goreme tended to jump quickly to the assumption that I was studying the 'negative impacts' of tourism there. And many of these tourists also expounded the view that Goreme was probably on the verge of destruction. Thus tourist discourses today might not only be an aspect of a public discourse fuelled by, for example, the media, but these popular discourses may also be strongly influenced by anthropological discourse which began some twenty years ago. It is therefore important to consider the aesthetic valuing inherent in tourism discourse in this light, as well as to consider the wider implications of this valuing in both theoretical and applied terms, rather than to simply adopt this negative stance as a received 'truth'.

Furthermore, our own academic findings and theories are also influenced by the fact that we, as academics and anthropologists are, some of the time at least, also very likely to engage in touristic behaviour and hold tourist values.[4] If we bear this in mind, the earlier rush to deconstruct and oppose tourism seems immediately to be too value-laden and emotive to hold any serious anthropological rigour. A timely critique of the 'impact' stance came from Picard (1993), who suggested that:

> Indeed, the mere fact of talking about the 'impact' of tourism entails something of a ballistic vision, which amounts to perceiving the host society as a target hit by a missile, that is, like a static object, inertly subjected to exogenous factors of change (Picard 1993:72).

Picard goes on to explain that the problem with this approach is that 'it deals with tourism as if it were external to the society under consideration, instead of trying to understand how it becomes part of the local reality' (ibid.). The majority of economic and sociological analyses of tourism have indeed tended to view the transformations which tourism effects in local communities as determined primarily by the 'power' of Western commerce and culture, ignoring a closer look at the ways in which these

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[3] Greenward's chapter, especially, in Smith ed. (1977, 1989) is an often cited discussion of the 'commoditisation' process.

[4] Bruner (1995) and Crick (1995) both discuss the similarities and differences between anthropologists and tourists.

transformations may be mediated, and even controlled, by local values, concerns and practices.

The collection edited by Boissevain (1996) entitled '*Coping With Tourists*' has been welcomed for these reasons. All of the chapters in his volume discuss the different ways in which groups of people in various parts of Europe react to and cope with the increasing numbers of 'cultural tourists' paying them increasing amounts of attention. Some of the chapters deal with the politics of representation (for example the contributions from Odermatt and Crain), whilst some pay attention to the strategies which local people adopt vis-...-vis the actual presence of the tourists. Likewise, an impressive monograph from Crick (1994) on tourism in Sri Lanka is based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out among different sections of the 'local community' in order to understand their various views, activities and strategies regarding tourists and tourism. These studies serve to answer Picard's call for a portrayal of tourism which allows for both the possibility of active participation of local people, and the reconstruction, rather than the one-sided de-construction, of tourism in academic writings. Such studies have thus proven that the ideas voiced by earlier critics of tourism regarding tourism as the cause of the wholesale destruction of host cultures were unfounded.[5]

A problem still remains, however, that the concentration on local peoples in these contributions has led to the neglect of any close analysis of the tourists themselves. Boissevain himself points this out as a limitation of his volume (1996) and in his introduction, as well as in the *Postlude* by Selwyn, an attempt is made to grasp at some analysis of tourists, even though this sort of analysis is not fully made within the case studies making up the volume. In other words, a lack in tourism research up to now is that there seems to be something of an either/or situation whereby the focus is on either the tourists *or* on the local people.

Selwyn's concluding words to the Boissevain volume are:

> [P]eople in various parts of Europe have developed an extensive range of imaginative responses to tourism. People are, indeed, 'coping'. However, Boissevain's observation that they are 'coping *so far*', suggests that anthropologists and interested others need to consider the conditions that

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[5] In the second edition of *Hosts and Guests* (Smith, 1989), for example, the authors updated their analyses and admitted that some of their previous over-negative predictions of tourism as a force of cultural destruction were actually unfounded. A similar observation has been made by Wood (1997), pointing out that although the earlier fears regarding tourism are unfounded, they are still frequently reiterated in popular, as well as some academic, discourses (e.g. Munt 1994). This meets with the observation I made earlier that tourist discourses still strongly convey the notion of tourism causing a 'negative impact'.

> need to be met for local people to continue 'coping' and also those that might prevent them from so doing (Selwyn 1996:253).

The point I wish to make here is that surely those conditions under which local people may 'cope' with tourists do not only pertain to the local situation (and the context of tourism policy and legality which surround that situation). For they inevitably include the much wider context of the tourists themselves: processes in the tourists' home societies; trends in tourists' tastes and practices; and the ways that these processes are bound up with the global political economy. It is my assertion here that we cannot satisfactorily assess local peoples' ability to adapt, change and 'cope' with tourists and tourism, if we do not include a closer look at the tourists and tourism themselves.

Some portrayals of tourism in its wider context of the global political economy have been provided by MacCannell (1992) and Nash (1977, 1989, 1996). Nash (1996) argues that tourism has grown to be a global superstructure, a mass web of institutions set up to satisfy tourists' needs, including their need for 'otherness', and thus profoundly influencing the ways we define place, otherness and ourselves. Furthermore, both Nash and MacCannell have developed ideas informed by dependency and world systems theory[6], and have described tourism more or less as a form of imperialism, arguing that tourism is both defined by and further perpetuates unequal relationships between the world's 'centres' and 'peripheries'. On one hand, these relationships are couched in socio-economic terms, with the idea that the elites in the metropole centres profit from tourism at the expense of 'hosts' at tourist locales. On the other hand, the relationships between the centres and peripheries are viewed in terms of the political economy of representations. As MacCannell states, 'tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs' (1992:1). MacCannell brings into play here the concept and hegemony of 'White Culture':

> Once all, or almost all, the groups on the face of the earth are drawn into a single network of association..., the stage is set for an explosion of group-level interactions requiring greatly expanded productions of 'ethnicity' and a metalanguage for the global dialogue, an arbiter or referee which [he has] named 'White Culture' (1992:165).

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[6] Dependency theory developed in response to modernisation theory and, generally identified with Frank (1967), sympathises with the Third World perspective on development. The World-System perspective was initiated by Wallerstein (1976) to bring in the inclusion of historical analysis with dependency theory in order to understand how the world developed into a system of core and peripheries.

Tourism accompanies capitalism, according to MacCannell, in exporting the hegemonic values of 'White Culture' in a strong and purposeful manner, forcing the values upon the weaker 'others' and thus perpetuating the system of exploitative relationships.

MacCannell's analysis of the hegemonic processes of which tourism is a part is extremely informative, and provides a useful evaluation of global hierarchies in place in the 'world system' of today. However, it seems that to simply keep on reiterating the sets of unequal and exploitative power relationships which exist through tourism without looking towards ethnographic studies of actual case examples, is at risk, as Graburn rightfully puts it, of 'perpetuat[ing] many of the problems that it sets out to address' (1994:436). As Nash concedes to recognise in his later work, to view power differences in touristic interactions as always being 'in favour of the more developed tourist generating centres', as he had done previously, 'is to obscure a good deal of its cross-cultural variability'(1996:85).

A similar point has been made by various authors[7], and has been made particularly well in Selwyn's (1996) recently edited volume *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*. The chapters in this volume are intended to unwrap: the ways that these images and myths are constructed in the 'internal world' of the individual tourist; the ways that tourist locales are shaped and influenced by the tourist industry according to these images and myths; and the ways in which the forces associated with these images and myths of the 'other' may be challenged and resisted by touristed societies (ibid.:10). As will be seen, particularly in Chapter 2 of this thesis, I closely follow these anthropological quests posited by Selwyn in my study of tourism in Goreme.

In short, in order to understand the relations of power in touristic processes fully, and certainly if anthropological research on tourism is intended to be relevant to more applied concerns, we need to consider the quests and experiences of both the people from tourist locales *and* of the tourists themselves. It seems surprising that anthropological studies of tourism have largely neglected to include analyses of the emic views and experiences of tourists alongside their socio-cultural analyses of the 'local people' in tourism locales.[8] Perhaps this is again due to the point I made above that anthropologists, who are also often tourists themselves, might tend to assume

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[7] See, for example, Black 1996; Graburn 1994; Schoss 1995; Tucker (forthcoming); and Selwyn 1996 plus other chapters in this volume edited by Selwyn.

[8] As Selwyn has also stated, "It seems wholly surprising that, with the single and magnificant exception of O'Rourke in *Cannibal Tours*, so little work has actually been done with tourists themselves" (1994:734).

that they know what tourists are all about and therefore that they have no need to make ethnographic-style studies of them. Among the handful of studies which have thus far taken both local *and* tourist stories into account are those by Cohen 1982 and 1989, Van den Berghe 1994, Black 1996, Wilson 1997, some chapters in Abram, Waldren and Macleod (eds.) 1997, and O'Rourke's film *Cannibal Tours* 1987.

Generally, rather than attempting to uncover the emic experiences of tourists, writings about tourists are found within the realm of social theory[9] and often treat tourists as an homogenous group with no possibility of variation or adaptation. Moreover, whilst usually portrayed as the ones with purpose as well as economic and cultural 'power' in tourism relations, tourists in these social scientific studies are often left floating around, never seeming to actually go anywhere in particular and never having actual interactions with the places and people they allegedly visit. An article by Riley (1988), for example, is one of the few thorough descriptions of tourists' own views of their travels, and is particularly relevant to the present study in its characterisation of long-term 'budget-travellers'. Yet Riley's worthy study still fails to fit the tourists into any particular locale and hence lacks inclusion of those tourists' interactions and particular 'effects' in particular places and societies. Surely touristic interactions *within* tourist locales should be something of a hot-bed of anthropological study in the contemporary world, so that not only the local people's images and stories regarding tourists are studied, as Crick (1994) has effectively done, but the stories and images of both of these groups regarding each other. I shall now review the limited work which has been done on tourists within anthropology/ sociology.

The Anthropology of Tourists

The anthropological study of tourists has tended largely to concentrate on defining tourists and tourism as well as on the construction of typologies of tourist and tourism types. While it has been rightfully pointed out that the forming of such constructions invariably 'boxes in the parameters' of our analyses[10], the earlier works of this type have been useful in forming the bases of our theoretical analyses of tourist quest and experience. The first of these was from Smith (1977) who identified different types of tourist activity, including ethnic, cultural, historical, environmental and recreational, and together with those a continuum of tourist types, from 'elite' and 'off beat' tourists

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[9] See, for example, Bauman, 1996; Game, 1991; Urry, 1990; Munt, 1994; Sack, 1992; and we might also include MacCannell, 1976, 1992.

[10] Kohn (1997) makes this points in her discussion of 'the Evolving Tourist'.

through to 'mass' and 'charter' tourists. A main point of this was to consider how these tourist types differentially affect the 'host' society.

Smith's continuum was then followed by a similar break-down of tourist experiences from Cohen (1979), who, writing from a more phenomenological viewpoint, based his typology on the tourist's experiential relation to a perceived cosmic 'centre'. At one end of the spectrum are the people who experience the centre as being within their own society, and simply seek 'recreational' experiences through tourism. At the opposite extreme are the people who experience alienation in their own society, and identify the 'other' with the cosmic centre. Here, the 'other' is sought after through touristic experience rendering this type of tourist experience, what Cohen calls 'existential' experience, analogous to pilgrimage (ibid.).

Cohen was attempting at that time to bring some anthropological sense to a debate regarding the extent to which tourists were drawn towards inauthentic 'pseudo-events' (Boorstin 1961) on the one hand, and towards authenticity and structure (MacCannell 1976) on the other hand. Cohen (1979,1988b) developed the idea that some tourists were drawn one way and other tourists the other way, depending on their experience of, and level of alienation in, their home society. This dichotomy or continuum of tourist types and experiences has continued to characterise more recent discussions concerning what it is that tourists are looking for. Indeed, a prominent view among theorists these days is that whilst some tourists seek to experience the 'authentic' in 'real' and 'natural' tourism settings, others seek recreation, fun and altogether more vulgar experiences in settings which are especially contrived for tourism (see, for example Urry 1990; Cohen 1995; Munt 1994; and see also Selwyn 1994).

The issue of authenticity has had a prominent position in anthropological discussions about tourists and tourism. MacCannell (1976), who drew upon anthropology, sociology and semiotics in order to understand '*The Tourist*', played a primary role in this. Tourists for MacCannell are alienated by the conditions of contemporary life and engage in a 'modern ritual' to 'overcome the discontinuity of modernity' by 'incorporating its fragments into unified experience' (1976:13); attempting to recreate the structures which life in the (post)modern world appears to have demolished, the (post)modern person becomes a tourist in the quest for authenticity in other times and other places. This same point is picked up again by MacCannell (1992) in his second major work, where he argues that this quest for authenticity relies, as mentioned above, on the cognitive subordination of those

'others' in relation to the 'White Culture' of the tourist.[11] MacCannell does not necessarily blame the tourist for this, however, since the tourist is also an unhappy victim of the contemporary world and is simply trying to grasp the 'structure' which seems ordinarily missing in that world.

An alternative view sees the tourist as an uncompromising consumer of places, cultures and a perpetual seeker of unusual sights and hedonistic experiences; tourism is the epitome of contemporary or 'post-modern' culture (see Baudrillard 1983; Bruner 1989; Boorstin 1961; Eco 1986; Urry 1990; Lash and Urry 1994; Pretes 1995). In this view, tourists become consumers of cultural products and the world is rendered a tourist supermarket (Selwyn 1993); ideas which have clear links with the discourse concerning the 'commoditisation' of culture developed earlier, and particularly by Greenwood (1977). Furthermore, tourists consume signs and images of the tourist object so that reality becomes obscured by many levels of representation (Pretes 1995, following Urry 1990). Bruner follows Baudrillard (1983) and Eco (1987) in going so far as to argue that 'tourism prefers the reconstructed object, and indeed, this preference for the simulacrum is the essence of postmodern tourism, where the copy is more than the original' (1989:438).

Within this 'preference for the simulacrum', however, is a notable tourist yearning for nostalgia. Contemporary tourists are said to be pre-occupied with 'the past', and 'post-modern tourism' to go hand-in-hand with the 'heritage industry' (Urry 1990). The reason for this is the collapse of the distinctions between various cultural spheres, in this case, between history and heritage. Yet there is also a sense within the concept of nostalgia of the quest for 'structure' associated with the past, as described by MacCannell. Moreover, 'ethnic' or 'cultural' tourism in the non-West might be simply another form of this nostalgia in action, whereby tourists view non-Western 'others' as representatives of their own 'traditional' origin (Bruner 1989).

It seems apparent at this point that anthropological discussions concerning the issue of authenticity might be going around in circles, without reaching any reasonable conclusion or theoretical framework within which to carry on working. Selwyn (1996), however, has gone some way in helping to clarify the confusions, by pointing out that there are two different senses in which 'authenticity' is conceived, in particular by MacCannell (1976) and Cohen (1989). One sense concerns the sociality which seems to have been lost in the alienating conditions of modernity. And as it is precisely

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[11] Here we are reminded of the *Orientalism* discussed by Said (1978), upon which much contemporary tourism seems to hinge. Again, these ideas developed by MacCannell also link closely with Wallerstein's (1976) analysis of the hierarchical *world system.*

modernity which is associated with those alienating conditions, the past and those considered to be living pre-modern lives, are considered to be 'authentically traditional' or 'authentically social'. (This idea in relation to the tourists in Goreme is discussed further in Chapter 3 of this thesis.)

The other sense of authenticity, according to Selwyn, refers less to these 'feelings' of alienation and sociality, and more to experience and 'knowledge' (1996:7). This is where dichotomies of real and fake come into play, and the ideas of 'staged authenticity' in MacCannell's (1976) words and 'pseudo-events' in Boorstin's (1961) words. This sense of authenticity concerns whether or not the thing that tourists are presented with is 'true', or, in Cohen's (1988) terms, whether it is an accurate enough replica as to satisfy the tourist. This is indeed complicated stuff, and although Cohen has tried to develop a notion of authenticity as negotiable rather than given, he is still clinging to some sense of 'it is' or 'it is not' authentic. Most theorists suggest that tourists are doomed to experience the staged and pseudo events which are set up for them, and that the tourist is simply stuck with this as the state of affairs. And that whilst some contemporary tourists revel in the 'inauthentic' (epitomised by Disneyland), others, still craving the 'authentic', will continue trying to get 'back-stage' only to be continuously disappointed (see Cohen 1995, for example).

The two senses of authenticity are closely linked, it seems, although one relates more to tourist feeling and motivation *before* the trip, whilst the other concerns tourist experience *during* the trip. The idea of Cohen's which I referred to earlier is that, because individual tourists experience differing levels of alienation in their home society, they seek differing levels of authenticity from their tourist experience, and therefore go on different types of trip in the first place (for example, Goreme village as opposed to the holiday resorts on Turkey's south coast). Tourists vary, in other words, in the extent to which they are looking for and are aware of the issue of authenticity, and they vary in the degree that they are prepared to put up with perceived inauthenticity while they are there. More recently Cohen (1995) has developed his ideas to fit with apparent contemporary trends in tourism, arguing that an increase in contrived and artificial tourist sites relates to the working of a 'post-modern' ethos within which tourists no longer care so much about the origin of the attraction as long as they are able to enjoy it.[12]

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[12] As I briefly mentioned earlier, the 'post-modern' touristic ethos refers to the apparent trend in contemporary tourism which is characterised by uncompromising consumption and a particularly kaleidoscopic, hedonistic and playful tourist experience (besides Cohen 1995, see, for example, Baudrillard 1983; Feifer 1985; Urry 1990; Pretes 1995).

These ideas developed by Cohen have taken tourism theory a long way in their recognition that tourists and tourism are multi-various, as well as in their recognition that what is going on in tourist places is directly linked to changing trends in tourist quests and expectations. However, there are various points which need to be mentioned here. Firstly, Cohen's ideas are rather free-floating and lack any basis in terms of ethnographic case-study data. As Selwyn (1996) points out, for example, it is questionable whether the 'drifter' type of tourists at Cohen's authenticity-seeking end of the continuum are necessarily any more 'alienated' from their home society than recreational 'mass' tourists. Furthermore, if the 'playful' tourist is opposed to the more serious pilgrim-like tourist who seeks authentic experiences and whom MacCannell describes, and if the 'playful' tourist is supposed to be on the increase in postmodern tourism, then why does there also seem to be an increase in the more 'caring' forms of tourism such as those termed 'alternative', 'eco' and 'soft' tourism?[13] Indeed, there is also a recognised increase in 'ethnic' and 'cultural' tourism as indicated by the rapid increase in tourist numbers to the Cappadocia region of Turkey.

Perhaps the problem, therefore, lies precisely in the theoretical frameworks such as those of Cohen (1995) and MacCannell (1976) that are developed without adequate ethnographic backing. The contradictions which the above trends imply, for instance, beg the question as to why it is that these two 'types' of tourist are seen necessarily as being at mutually opposing extremes of a continuum. Perhaps we should consider the possibility suggested by Selwyn 'that within the same individual tourist may beat a heart which is equally pilgrim-like and child-like' (1996:6). The way to investigate these issues sufficiently, I believe, it to undertake ethnographic-style research on tourists themselves, as they are *within* and in interaction with the tourist settings they visit.

The place of this study within the context of extant research

An aim of this thesis is to explore the above-mentioned issues and questions both at a theoretical level and as they pertain to the very real concerns of the practice and effects of tourism at the local level. I contend here that tourism trends and tourist types should be viewed as integral to the processes which occur within the tourism locale. Only then will we be able to link theory and case-study material in a way which will increase our understanding of the extent to which tourism is a useful and viable tool for places and communities to engage in so as to improve their 'lot' in the contemporary world. One reason for this, as may have become clear by now, is that tourism is not unlike the fashion industry; places and types of tourism go in and out of

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[13] This increase is noted, for example, by Mowforth and Munt (1998).

favour as part of trends driven partly by the marketing efforts and structural control of the 'tourism industry' and partly by the wider and more nebulous tastes and whims of tourists themselves (not forgetting, of course, political and economic factors such as war and state collapse).

This necessary link between tourists and the 'success' in one way or another of the visited destination has already been made to some extent by authors who have considered the ways that the various types of tourists and tourism differentially affect host societies. It has frequently been argued within this growing body of research that 'backpacker' tourism has less of a detrimental effect and is thus more sustainable than mass forms of tourism (for example, Hampton 1998; Wilson 1997; some chapters in the volume edited by Smith and Eadington 1992). As I mentioned earlier, this issue was previously taken up by Smith (1977), who made the rather general and simplified assumption that the 'mass' forms of tourism have more detrimental affects on host societies than low-key forms of tourism, such as 'cultural', 'ethnic' and 'adventure' tourism, where tourists are considered generally to be more socially and environmentally sensitive. This indeed is the ideology, both academic and popular, behind today's 'eco' and 'soft' tourism; tourism is all right as long as it is not 'mass' tourism, and as I discuss in Chapter 3 of this thesis, many tourists do not want to consider themselves fully-fledged 'Tourists' for similar reasons.

However, these 'new' forms of tourism are gradually becoming hegemonic discourses in themselves, and go generally unquestioned (see Mowforth and Munt, 1998). As Munt points out, 'While mass tourism has attracted trenchant criticism as a shallow and degrading experience for the Third World Host nations and peoples, new tourism practices have been viewed benevolently and few critiques have emerged' (1994b:50). Munt himself is critical of these new 'alternative' forms of tourism, arguing that behind their disguise as socially and environmentally sensitive travellers, the middle classes, who Munt (1994a), following Bourdieu (1984), argues to be the group most engaged in these new forms of travel, are in fact strong proponents of ethnocentric imperialist values. This point is also made by Errington and Gewertz (1989) who compare those who call themselves 'travellers' with the older 'tourists' visiting the Sepik River. It was found that whilst 'tourists' are open to change and perceived development in the visited community, 'travellers' desire 'other' cultures to remain static in a 'primitive' and 'untouched' state. Moreover, 'travellers' believe that it is insensitive 'tourists' who spoil 'other' cultures, and thus claim no responsibility themselves for any adversity.

This point is highly pertinent to the research that I have undertaken in Goreme, as the tourists who stay in Goreme are generally the type who fit with the 'traveller'

described above. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the ideology in new bourgeois tourism carefully, along with its apparent insistent valuing of the 'unique', 'natural' and 'traditional' within such contemporary movements as environmentalism and cultural preservation (Munt 1994b). This reminds us again of why it is that the question of successful, or sustainable tourism is as much to do with tourist trends as it is to do with host communities and places, and also of the point I made earlier asserting the need for close ethnographic-style research with tourists in their tourism context, rather than theories generated through what might be little more than guess-work.

To reiterate the point, the 'new tourism' ideologies described above are not dissimilar to ideologies underpinning much of the anthropological thought on tourism which has generated impact studies of tourism. Concepts like alienation and exploitation have become over-emphasised in much of the vocabulary used by researchers to describe tourism processes, and this negativity needs to be redressed through more thorough ethnographic research on tourism. And this is why the literature has argued itself into something of a corner, especially, as I commented earlier, regarding the issue of 'authenticity' and the paradox that tourism ultimately destroys itself because of the cultural homogeneity and general 'inauthenticity' which it brings about.

The problem here is precisely that anthropological discourse, along with popular/tourist discourse, clings to the idea of *a priori* cultural diversity or 'otherness', which is constantly under threat from the larger, more powerful homogenising forces of global capitalism (Miller 1995). The tendency then is for anthropologists 'to 'cheer' from the sidelines any sign that the 'local' has fragmented and shifted some larger form to meet its own projects of value' (ibid.:3). Miller continues, 'The discipline identifies with this David in its struggle with some monstrous global Goliath' (ibid.). What is needed, therefore, is to move away from this myth, because difference (regional, cultural and ethnic), should be treated 'not as continuity, or even syncretism with prior traditions, but as quite novel forms, which arise through contemporary exploration of new possibilities given by the experience of...new institutions' (ibid.) (of which tourism is a prime example).[14]

Tourism on the ground, so to speak, is only getting bigger; a new holiday or travel show seems to start up on British television every week and the World Tourism Organisation has calculated that tourism is indeed now the world's largest industry. And that is why it is important not only to keep asking what the contemporary trends in

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[14] A similar point is made with direct reference to tourism by both Wood, 1997 and Lanfant, 1995.

global tourism are, but also to continue to collect case study material of the variety of situations where people are today experiencing *living with tourism*. As we have seen above, within anthropology the study of tourism has developed largely in response to issues of culture contact and social change particularly concerning tourism locales. This research has tended, through both 'impact' assessments and through broader theoretical analyses of the general power relations between tourists and local peoples, to deliver an over-arching critique of tourism.

However, rather than accepting the detrimental effects along with the hegemony of tourism and 'White Culture' as a given, I have shown here why it is necessary to consider how these mechanisms of power actually resonate, as well as how they may or may not be resisted, in the lives, practices and interactions between the peoples involved. Furthermore, if resistance to the power of tourism and global capitalism is found, then it should be viewed not as an end in itself and a cause for celebration, but rather, it should be recorded as part of the ongoing process of the new which arises out of tourist interactions. The aim of this thesis is to record the new social processes which are arising out of tourism in Goreme in the 1990s, and to thereby make links between both theoretical and applied concerns of tourism research.

The inevitable question arises here as to what the case of Goreme village in particular can tell us regarding the wider issues outlined above. The issue of typicality in any anthropological study is an important one, largely because the depth of the studies tends to highlight their specificity and to obscure the ways in which the material and knowledge gained is applicable to more general circumstances. However, it is precisely because of and not despite of the depth and richness of the knowledge gained through ethnographic studies that anthropology can contribute to wider reaching theoretical debates within the social sciences. Even where answers are specific, most of the questions raised here can be asked about tourism processes anywhere.

The ethnographic research I have carried out on the tourists themselves addresses themes and issues which are clear in their more 'global' implications. As well as pertaining to issues concerning tourist discourse, behaviour and experience which are relevant anywhere, the research I have undertaken here contributes to our understanding of the finer subtleties of how tourists also respond, and even adapt their quests and experiences, according to the situations they encounter. The idea that tourists are not an homogenous group, and also that they are not necessarily 'fixed' in their identities and experiences, has important implications for tourism research in any locale. Further, the particular case of Goreme in Turkey comprises an example of rural tourism which is both international 'cultural tourism' (thus raising important issues

concerning cultural representation), and 'individual' (or non-package tour) tourism. As I will go on to show, it thus provides a rich research environment in which to study the representations and power in the actual interactions between tourists and their 'hosts'.

Some of the important wider issues which come under the general rubric of *living with tourism* include the concept of "liminality", the process in ritual where the usual order of things is removed and sometimes reversed.[15] Whilst the concept of liminality has so far been mainly discussed in the tourism context in as much as it relates to the experiences and practices of tourists, what has been neglected is the sense in which local people in tourist locales who 'host' the tourists might also experience some sort of suspension of normal life, free to some extent from the usual rules, and able to join in with the play of tourism. This situation also addresses the distinction often made in tourism theory between a 'front stage' and a 'back stage' (MacCannell 1977), and in particular, the ability of local people engaging in tourism business activity to sustain some sort of subjective distinction between 'real life' and performances for tourists. The present discussion regarding these issues in Goreme has clear connections with the experiences of tourism 'hosts' and workers anywhere.

Another significant factor concerning tourism in Goreme is the fairly recent and sharp increase in tourism in the region. This study therefore addresses the important issues of social change through tourism, and contributes to our general understanding of the ways in which rural peoples begin to engage in and adapt to the economic processes which accompany tourism development. In the case of Goreme, this process has involved the gradual learning of entrepreneurial behaviour, and has important implications regarding the place of local participation and control in the wider political and economic context of regional and state governance. As well as having relevance to the social scientific literature on tourism, this particular aspect of the research also carries implications which link with the bodies of anthropological literature on Turkey and the Mediterranean region, as well as peasant societies more generally.

An important area of relevance here is that concerning gender issues in tourism, and particularly the gendered inclusion and exclusion from tourism processes. A recently published volume edited by Sinclair (1997) provides some excellent case study and theoretical material on the theme of gender and tourism work, and the

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[15]Following Turner's description of ritual (1973), which in turn is based on Van Gennep's earlier work of 1909 (1960). In connection with tourist experience, the concept has been discussed in particular by Graburn 1983,1989.

chapter by Scott provides a valuable account of these issues in Northern (Turkish) Cyprus. The present thesis contributes to this discussion by providing case study material on gender segregation and tourism issues in Central Turkey, drawing also from the bodies of literature on Turkish, Mediterranean and peasant societies[16] (especially Chapter 4). Indeed, gender issues appear particularly prominent in an Islamic society such as Goreme, and a full picture of tourism processes there could not be given without significant discussion of the gendered relationships, activities and experiences of both the 'hosts' and the tourists. How gendered behaviour influences tourist practice, experience, and interactions with 'hosts' is the focus of the discussion of the romantic relationships between tourist women and local men in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

Anthropological literature on Turkey is rather limited as it stands, though the literature of Turkish rural sociology is also useful. One of the most thorough and useful works has been Stirling's (1965) ethnography of a *Turkish Village* which describes life in two Central Anatolian villages, incidentally not too far from the Cappadocia region, in the late 1940s and early 50s. A limited amount of research has focused on the topic of gender in Turkish society (for example, Delaney 1991; Kandiyoti 1991; Marcus 1992), and likewise on social change (Magnarella 1974; a collection on rural sociology edited by Ari 1977; and the collection edited by Stirling, 1993) and issues of migration (Engelbrektsson 1978; Kocturk 1992; Stokes 1992; and articles by Schiffauer, Palaczek and Abadan-Unat in Stirling's collection, 1993).

Anthropological research on tourism in Turkey remains even more scarce, the main contributions thus far coming from Bezmen on Goreme (Ph.D. thesis, 1996), Scott (1995, 1997) and my own research in Goreme previous to and contributing towards the present study (Tucker, 1995 and 1997). With tourism becoming a highly important factor in the Turkish economy and consequently in Turkish identity and life in general, it is ever more important to undertake thorough ethnographic research on the particular processes of change in culture and economy that tourism is bringing about. Rather than focusing on the large-scale tourism industry and the number of jobs generated through tourism, as many economic analyses of tourism do, there is a need to focus on people at the local level, and how they perceive and act upon the opportunities which tourism brings (see Chapter 5). The present study is thus intended

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[16] Refer, in particular, to the work by Stirling 1965, 1993; Marcus 1992; Tapper 1991; and Peristiany 1965, 1968.

to contribute to the extant research on Turkish society, forming a case-study record of social change and processes of tourism in particular, as much as it is intended to be relevant to the body of literature discussed above on the anthropology of tourism.

In reference again to the issue of typicality in anthropological study, though, it is precisely because of tourism that the case of Goreme could certainly not be said to be representative of the situations and processes of social change of most Central Anatolian villages. Yet the study of Goreme can raise some important comparative issues between villages. In particular, on visits during my fieldwork to various 'non-touristic' villages in Anatolia I was struck by the often desperate situation of some places and people where outward migration and a lack of internally-focused opportunity has rendered some of these places devoid of life and hope.[17] Goreme in comparison, might be considered to have been blessed with *living with tourism*. This study of tourism in Goreme therefore provides useful comparative material on rural development through tourism, and as such may be of relevance as a case-example for other rural regions in Turkey and elsewhere.

Goreme: the place, the people, and tourism

Two hundred kilometres south east of Ankara in the centre of Turkey, Goreme is situated at the centre of a triangle formed by the three towns of Nevsehir, Urgup and Avanos, and lies at the meeting point of four valleys in the middle of the Cappadocia region (see Plate 1). Named the province of Nevsehir in modern Turkey, Cappadocia was the ancient name for this region where the land comprises the out-spill of two volcanoes. The volcanic ash hardened to become *tufa,* a soft porous rock, which over millions of years has eroded to form natural cones and columns, locally termed *peribacasi* or "fairy chimneys", on the landscape. For centuries the soft rock has been carved and hollowed to form dwellings, stables and places of worship which pattern the troglodyte village[18] of Goreme today. Goreme has approximately two thousand

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[17] See Schiffauer (1993) for additional discussion on such villagers who he describes as 'peasants without pride'.

[18] Goreme is actually a *kasaba*, which is a Turkish term for a place between the size of a village (*köy*) and a town (*sehir*). With no suitable translation of *kasaba* in English language, however, I refer throughout this thesis to Goreme as a village, since the ambience and happenings there fit more closely with 'village-life' than with 'town-life', and the people of Goreme themselves usually refer to the place as their village and to themselves as villagers (*koyluler* - which also translates as 'peasants').

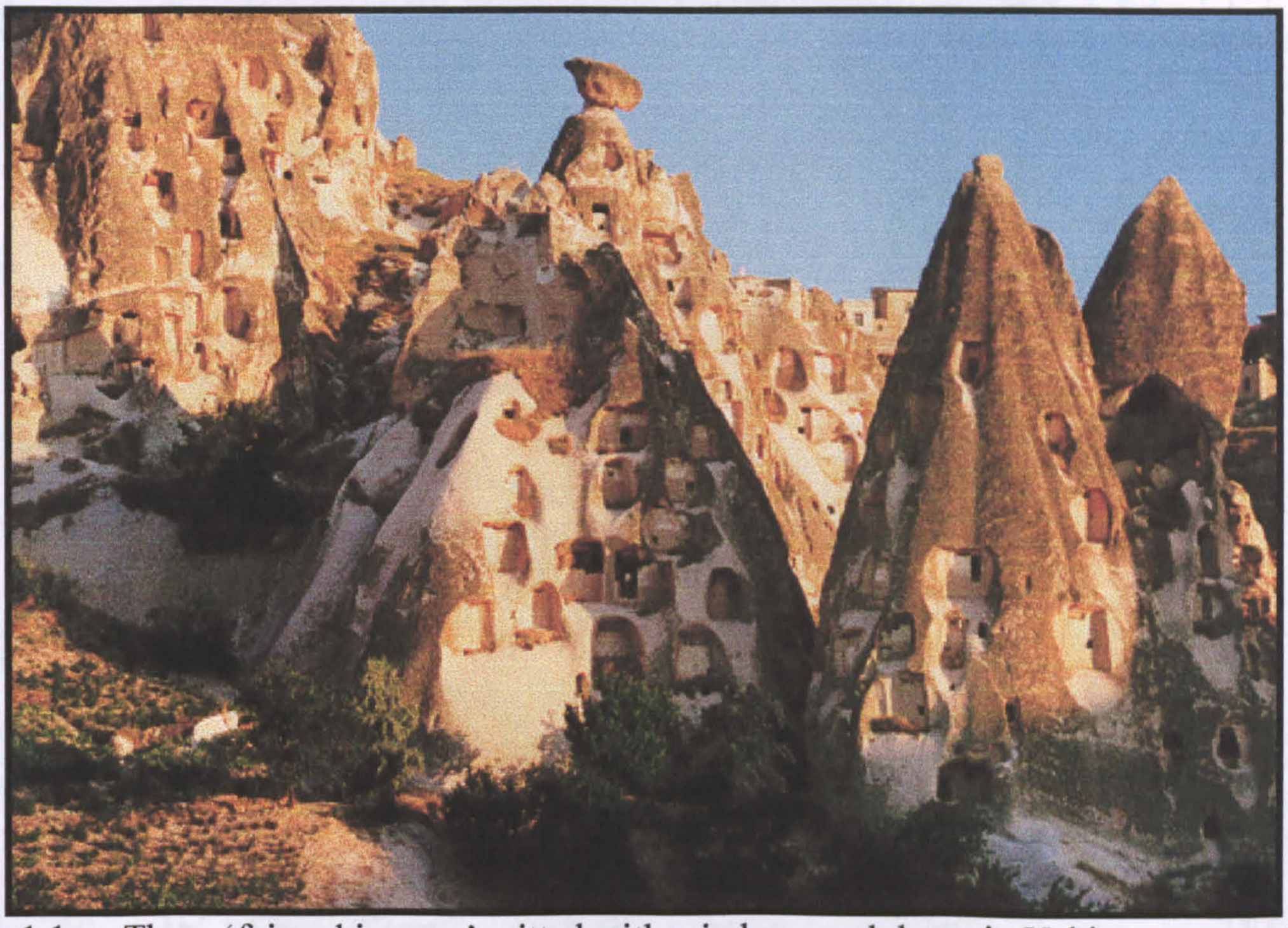


Fig.1.1a. These 'fairy chimneys', pitted with windows and doors in Uchisar, are usually the first view of the rocky landscape tourists see as they enter Cappadocia.



Fig 1.1b. Goreme Village

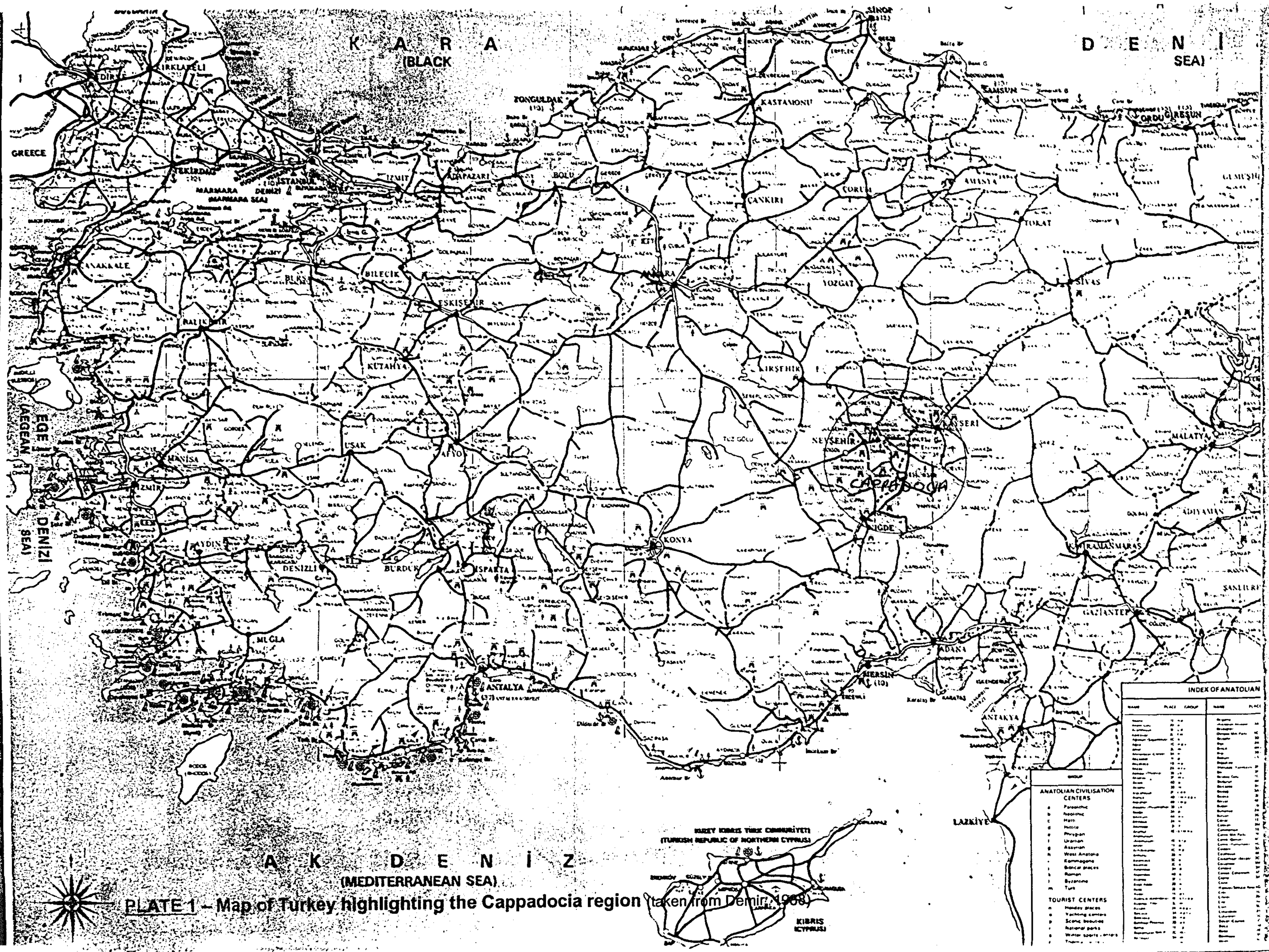


PLATE 1 – Map of Turkey highlighting the Cappadocia region (taken from Demir, 1968)

inhabitants[19], and can therefore register as a municipality which has a *beledye* or municipality office and is headed by a mayor.

The climate is hot and dry in summer (ranging between 35-40C) and extremely cold in winter (reaching as low as minus 35C). With frequent rains in the winter and spring, however, together with fertile soil conditions, the region has long subsisted on a traditional agricultural economy, with the most abundant and marketable crops being grapes and apricots grown in gardens and small fields. This subsistence capacity of the landscape and the comfort of dwelling in easily dug-out caves has meant a long history of habitation in the region. Due to the durability of the caves, many of the older rock-cut dwellings still existing today around Goreme are up to 2000 years old.

The early inhabitants of the region were mainly Christians, with many areas of concentrated monastic life evident today from the collections of Byzantine period churches, with their rock-carved domes and pillars and scenes from the bible depicted in painted frescoes covering the inner walls of the caves. In the 11th Century the area was invaded by the Islamic Seljuk dynasty, and was consequently occupied by that and other Turkish tribes which settled alongside the gradually dwindling Christian inhabitants. Until the population exchange[20] in 1923, prompted by Ataturk and the founding of the Turkish Republic at that time, many villages and towns in the Cappadocia region were most likely inhabited by a mixture of Christians and Muslims. In the case of the village which is Goreme today, the history of the inhabitants is not recorded and is somewhat unclear. A predominantly Turkish population is presumed, however, from the fact that the older architecture in the village is entirely Ottoman in character. The oldest mosque in the village is dated 1686.

Since the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923 at least, the village (previously known as Maccan but changing to the Turkish name of Avcilar in the 50s, and finally to Goreme in the 70s) has been inhabited by republican Turks, all of whom are *Sunni*[21] Muslims. Throughout the first decades of

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[19] This figure is an approximation as the population of Goreme is unclear largely because of the usual inclusion of family members who have migrated to Northern Europe but are actually no longer resident in the village. The inclusion by the municipality office of these people in the village statistics might be to uphold Goreme's status as a *kasaba*, thereby qualifying for municipality funding. The number of registered households in Goreme is approximately 500 (Bezmen, 1996).

[20] This was the exchange of Christian 'Greeks' from Turkish soil for the returned removal of Muslim Turks from Greece into Turkey. The village of Mustafapasa in the Cappadocia region is known (and presented to tourists) as a 'Greek village', and indeed the architecture in that village is notably different in style from the predominantly Ottoman architecture found in most of the region.

[21] In this part of Anatolia, at least, the people are Muslim of one of two sects, *Sunni* or *Alevi*. Villages tend on the whole to be entirely one or the other, with *Sunni* being the predominant of the two. For more discussion on this, see Shankland 1993.

the Republic, whilst the economy and infrastructure of Turkey underwent rapid adjustment and improvement, the economies of villages such as Goreme, situated on the Central Anatolian plains, remained near to agricultural subsistence. The hardship of this subsistence, however, led to some villagers turning to the increasing number of outside possibilities of making a living and, in the 1960s, many of the area's inhabitants left to find work in northern European countries such as Germany and Belgium. For some Goreme villagers, in the 1970s trucking businesses also supplemented the agricultural economy, and then, since the mid 1980s, tourism has developed to be the major source of income, although most families still keep up their farming practices. These socio-economic changes are described more fully in Chapters 4 and 5.

In the village, all businesses, tourist and otherwise, are situated in the central area around a T-shaped road system (see Plate 2 and Fig.1.2a). Here, one can find the *Beledye* (Municipality) office, the main mosque (among a total of six mosques in the village), the school, post office, clinic, tea house and a handful of grocer shops including the village 'oven' (bakery) which produces endless quantities of bread, and the smells to go with it. During the past ten years, this central area has also been filled with tourism businesses such as *pansiyons*[22], restaurants, and carpet and souvenir shops. In 1990, a bus station, taxi rank and shopping complex were constructed in the village centre.

The older 'cave' houses are situated up the slopes away from the central village. The streets are steep, often narrow, and have a haphazard appearance with most houses built half into rock faces and 'fairy chimneys' (see Figs. 1.2a and 1.2b). Most of these houses date back to the 17th and 18th Centuries, with Ottoman style arched-room architecture constructed from cut stone added onto the original cave houses in the 19th Century.[23] There are many empty and crumbling 'chimneys' and cave houses giving certain areas a somewhat ghost-town appearance. As these old areas of the village gradually become empty, the village is expanding in the flatter area of land near the road which goes to Avanos with the fairly recent construction of concrete and brick houses, *pansiyons* and motels. There is also a collection of government built houses (*AFET evleri*), constructed in the 1970s to house families evacuated from crumbling older houses (see Chapter 8).

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[22] *Pansiyon* is the local term for a small-scale tourist accommodation unit or 'guest-house'. Many of the *pansiyons* in Goreme are converted from villagers' homes.

[23] A Ph.D. thesis (in German language) by Emge (1990) is a detailed study of the structure and living arrangements of Goreme's cave houses. See also Emge, 1992.

GÖREME

Pansiyon or hotel

Village Building

old residential areas

Tourist bars, restaurants and shops

PANORAMA CAMPING

NEVŞEHİR

ÇINER

KÖSE

TAN

GÖREME CAMPING

AVANOS

COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTER

PTT Post Office

DREAM

KERVAN

SARAĞAN YÜKSEL

SCHOOL

ROSE

DİLEK CAMPING

BERLIN

OPEN-AIR MUSEUM

KÖŞK

L'ELYSEE

NEST

TURKISH HOUSE

ESEN

PARADISE

PERİ

UFUK

ANATOLIA

ÇARDAK ATAK

OLD GÖREME CYCELE

WALNUT HOUSE

TERMINAL BUSES

TAXI

TURIST HT

BLUE MOON

(MOSQUE)

FLINTSTONES

ERTAŞ

OTTOMAN HOUSE

İŞTAR

KEMER

PEACE

MUNICIPALITY

SHOPPING CENTRE

KALE

TIPIC

GÜVEN

GÖREME

HALİL

KELEBEK

TUNA

PHOENIX

MELEK

ORTA CAMİİ (MOSQUE)

WC

GÜMÜŞ

ÇARŞI CAMİİ (MOSQUE)

SARUHAN

GAFELLİ CAMİİ (MOSQUE)

ARİF

S.O.S

AYDINLI CAMİİ (MOSQUE)

SPECIAL

TABİAT

ATAMAN

PANAROMIC

KELEŞ

ROCK

AYDIN

Initially Prepared by CEMİL BEZMEN

0 50 100 200 m

PLATE 2 – Map of Goreme village

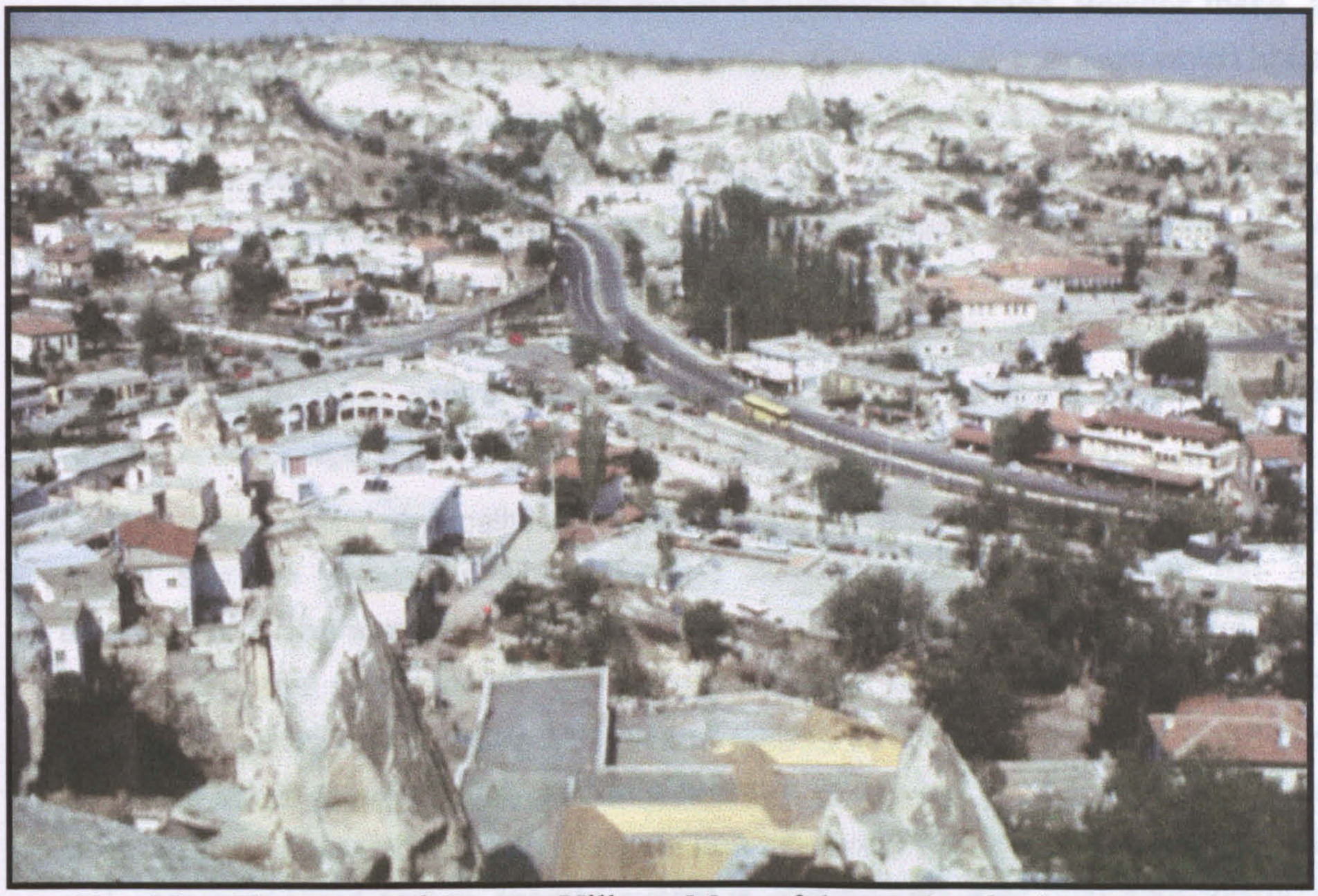


Fig. 1.2a. The centre of Goreme Village. Most of the tourism businesses are set around the bus station and shopping centre in this central area.

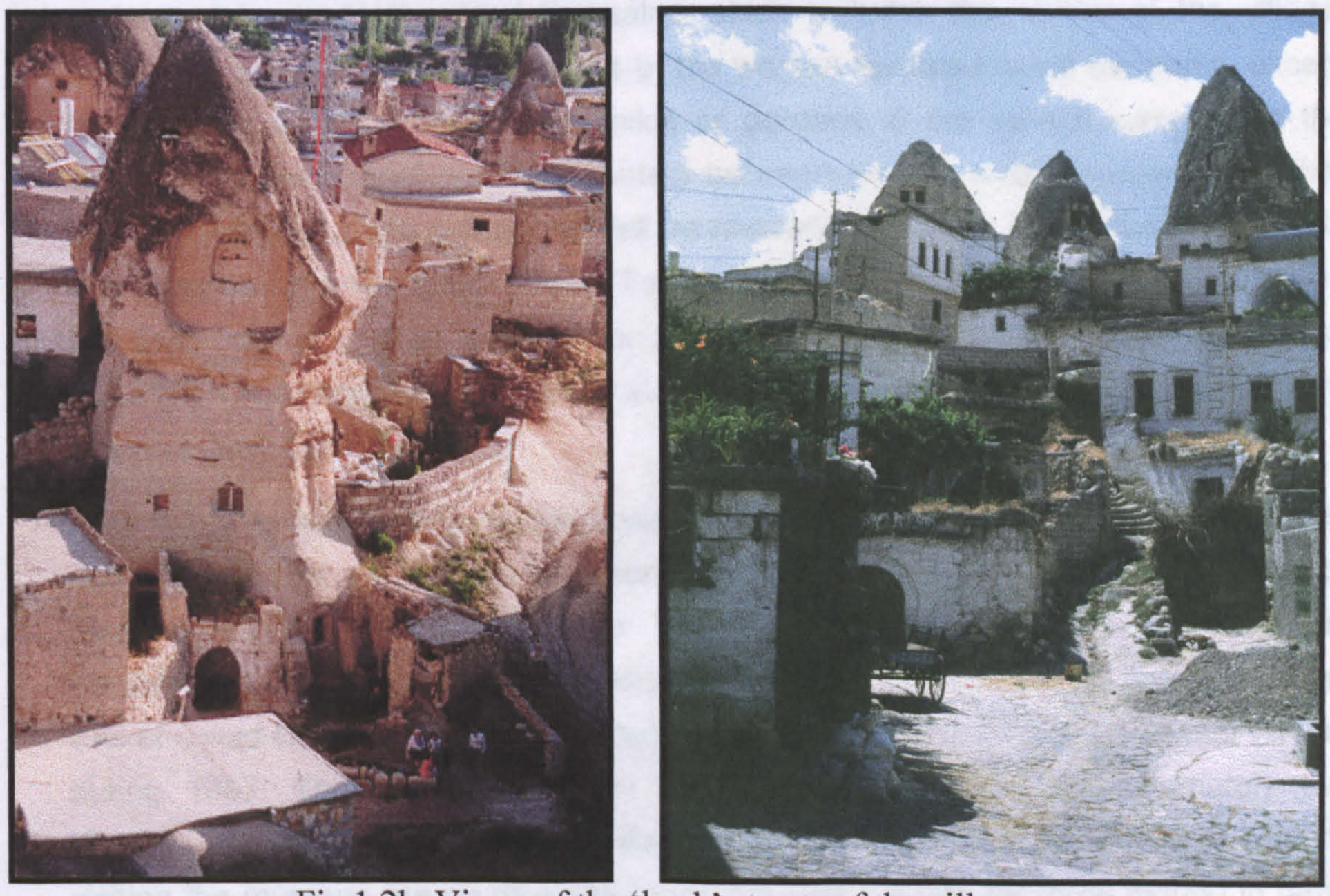


Fig 1.2b Views of the 'back' streets of the village.

Today, though, many of the older houses have been and are being restored as *pansiyons*, or small hotels, which are dotted throughout the village. Besides these, all of the tourism businesses are down in the centre. These newer buildings which house restaurants, bars and travel agencies line the central roads acting rather like walls which separate this central tourist area from the older residential areas behind, presenting something of an architectural and social duality in the Goreme. As will become evident throughout the thesis, the distinction between these two areas or realms in the village is present in the minds of villagers, tourists and the planning authorities who have control over developments and restrictions of building and tourism in the village alike.

This duality exists physically between a touristic realm in the central streets of the village and the *pansiyons* where tourists stay and are serviced with fun and entertainment, and a non-touristic 'back' area up winding residential streets away from the village centre, where tourists are not so visible and non-touristic activity continues. Socially, the duality is prevalent in Goreme largely because of what Stirling earlier described in reference to other Central Anatolian villages: a 'strict segregation of the sexes and the fierce attitudes to feminine honour, which render it impossible for men and women to meet and co-operate except in and through their own households, or those of very close kin' (1965). The women's domain is centred in and around the household, and it is inappropriate for women indigenous to Goreme to work in tourism, or to be present in the touristic realm, which includes the centre of the village, *pansiyons*, and restaurants. The lives of the women revolve around the home, except for the time spent working in the fields or gardens in the valleys surrounding the village. There is almost no direct contact between tourists and village women other than attempts by some women to sell head-scarves or lace items to those tourists wandering up into the back streets. Tourism is therefore largely the domain of men, and the majority of men spend their days dealing with their business, as well as sometimes partaking in their households' agricultural work and, as with the older men, sitting at the village tea house.

In the Cappadocia area, tourism has developed fairly rapidly since the mid 1980s, and the villagers of Goreme are continuously trying to find a suitable niche for themselves in the touristic processes. The single most significant tourist attraction in the region is the 'Goreme Open-Air Museum', a UNESCO designated World Heritage Site of caved Byzantine churches which received over one million international visitors during 1997. Though this museum is situated just outside (approximately two kilometres) Goreme village (see Plate 3), the majority of the international tourists visiting the museum are on package tours and stay (usually for three nights) in large

hotels situated in the nearby towns of Nevsehir, Urgup and Avanos. The main reason for this is that the area surrounding the museum and Goreme village is a national park and the Ministries of Culture and Tourism have imposed strict regulations concerning the preservation of the rock cones and caves, especially those containing the Byzantine period churches. As a consequence, the building of large hotels is not permitted in the Goreme valley, so unlike other Cappadocian towns, Goreme's tourism has remained relatively low on capital investment, especially investment coming from outside of the village, and has developed in a pattern of small businesses which are mostly locally owned. Whilst coach loads of tour groups pass through the centre of the village daily, therefore, the majority of tourists staying in Goreme are young, lower income tourists, travelling independently of package tours. It is this particular character of the tourism in Goreme which forms the main focus of the present study.

Placing Goreme's tourism within the wider contexts of tourism in Cappadocia and Turkey, it is largely due to the relative political stability since the 1980 coup in Turkey, as well as to the positive image-building efforts by the Turkish government and the improvement of a tourism infrastructure, that tourism in Turkey has increased rapidly over the past two decades (see Korzay 1994; Sezer and Harrison 1994). For Turkey as a whole, foreign visitor arrivals increased from half a million in 1960 to under two million in 1981 and then to over seven million in 1992 (Korzay 1994). By the early 1990s tourism was earning more than a quarter of Turkey's export receipts. Most of the earlier tourism development took place around Turkey's south and west coast, and was within the coastal package holiday sector. In addition to having a favourable climate and coast for beach holidays, Turkey has long been associated by the West with the exotic 'Orient', and was and still is thus represented in travel literature as being rich in historical and cultural value.[24] Cappadocia was a part of this cultural heritage and began to attract tourist interest primarily because of its unique landscape and Byzantine churches. In 1997, the total number of international tourists visiting Turkey was 9.2 million, and 1.1 million of those visited the Goreme Open-Air Museum.[25]

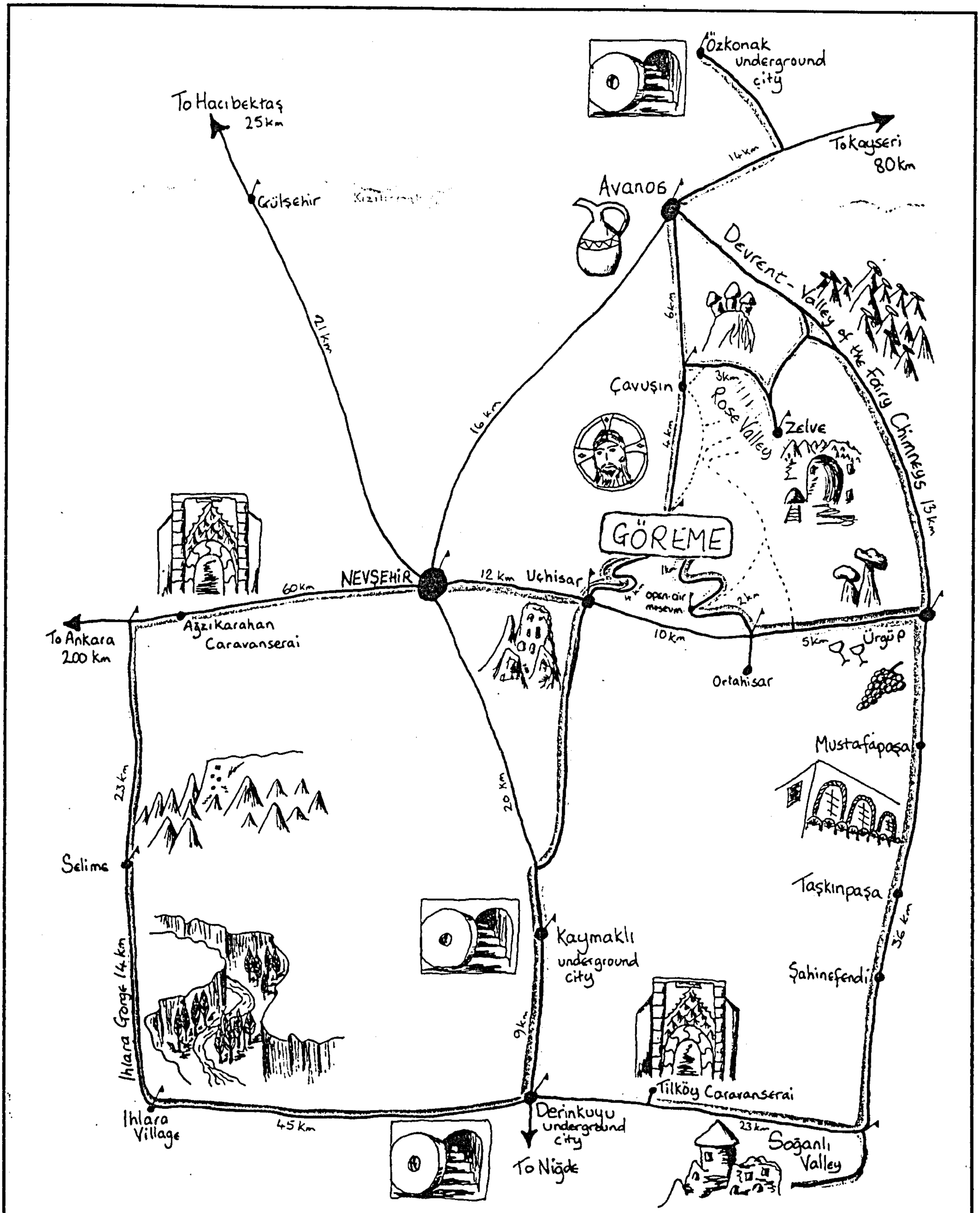
With approximately half of the foreign visitors to Turkey coming from north and west Europe and most of the international tourists staying in Goreme coming from

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[24] In Chapter 2 of this thesis, I provide examples and discussion of the travel literature which has served to build and promote particular images surrounding the Cappadocia region.

[25] The museum has received steadily increasing numbers of visitors particularly since the mid-eighties, with almost 300,000 visitors in 1986, 420,000 in 1996, and a total of 1.5 million visitors in 1997 (400,000 of those being domestic tourists). I took these figures from the statistics collected from the entrance of the Goreme Open-Air museum.

PLATE 3 – Tourist map of Cappadocia showing the main tourist sites



what may be regarded as the West, it is relevant here to consider briefly Turkey's relationship with the West. Situated, as Turkey is, very much on the edge of Europe just as it is on the edge of the Middle East and Asia, Turkey's relationship with both continents has always been in a state of flux. This position of being somehow caught between East and West has led to Turkey being frequently depicted in academic and political discourse as a country torn between the two and not fitting comfortably with either (see Spencer 1993; Pope and Pope 1997). Another view, though, is of a nation which encompasses all of its various 'identities' together in a rich diversity of cultural heritage. Certainly most Turks would prefer this latter view[26], and tourist brochures for Turkey base their marketing on this sort of image.

Yet Turkish relations with Europe seem ever to push the Turkish identity and economy outwards to a firmly peripheral position. Despite trade being rife between Turkey and Europe and Turkey having an important strategic position for the USA and Nato, the West continues to keep Turkey at arm's length and Turkey seems far from being allowed full entry to the European Union (see Spencer 1993; Pope and Pope 1997). Underpinning the political relationships between Europe and Turkey are the representations which are held of each other and of themselves in relationship to each other. Whilst Turkey looks largely towards Europe and the USA as its models and sources of economic development, a Western discourse of the 'dark and corrupt' oriental Turk remains in place.[27] Into the modern day, this European image of Turks as 'barbarians' is reiterated in international publicity concerning perceived human rights violations in Turkey, especially in relation to ethnic Kurds (Pope and Pope 1997:38). Though firmly rooted in historical representations and certainly open to question, this imagery, together with Turkey's political and economic instability throughout its development as a republic, seems set in '*orientalist*' tendencies.

It is important to note here, however, that Turkey's position of never having been colonised also renders the country and its people something of an enigma to the European mind. Likewise, Turkish national identity is one of fierce pride and does not easily accept a low ranking position in the imagined global hierarchy.[28] Despite being on the 'periphery' of Europe and the West, Turks' self-image as gallant heroes and as

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[26] This was a point made by Mr.Ozdem Sanberk, the Turkish Ambassador to Great Britain, in a lecture given at the University of Durham in March, 1999.

[27] See Stone (1998) on the images of Turkey held in Western discourse, and Said (1978) on '*Orientalism*' more generally. See also Stiles (1991) and Wheatcroft (1995) for discussion of the way that a fear and loathing of the Turks was fully ingrained on the Western imagination four centuries ago when the Ottoman Empire worked its way ruthlessly westwards and northwards as far as Vienna.

[28] Here, again, I'm referring to that hierarchy depicted in Wallerstein's (1976) 'world systems theory'.

members of a nation not to be messed with is unrelenting. This presents interesting issues regarding tourism and the relationships between Turkey and tourism, and Turks and tourists. For whilst tourism in Goreme is predominantly 'local' in character, in that it is the particular landscape there and 'cave-dwelling' Turks which tourists go to experience, the people of Goreme are Turks as well as belonging to their particular village. The position and self-image of peasants in relation to the nation as well as to the urban elite is a widely discussed issue within anthropology[29], but where this places the position of those peasants in relation to international tourists and tourism presents further issues of interest. The triangle of relationships unfolds here between the Goreme community, tourists and tourism, and the Turkish elite such as government authorities who have a say over Goreme's tourism. It is precisely this triangle of relationships which the present thesis aims to describe and understand.

Fieldwork: the fieldworker, the field and the work.

Background to this study

The main part of the research towards this thesis involved fifteen months of fieldwork carried out between spring of 1996 and autumn of 1997, though the research process had begun when I undertook six weeks of fieldwork in Goreme village for my MA dissertation research in 1995. My choice of Goreme as the research site for my MA stemmed largely from my experiences in Turkey previous to that when I saw tourism in Goreme grow rapidly and in a somewhat curious direction.

I first visited Turkey and Goreme in 1984. Whilst travelling in Greece that year, I had been shown a picture of Goreme's strange rock formations by a German traveller who had just been there. I then went to Turkey to see them for myself. Entering Turkey was still something of a 'brave' thing to do at that time; it was only four years since the last military coup in the country, and moreover, the bad press effected by the 1979 film *Midnight Express* was still fresh in the Western mind. Tourism was therefore extremely thin on the ground in Turkey at that time and in Goreme it was almost non-existent; there were three small cave-*pansiyons* and one very basic restaurant. Nonetheless, having thoroughly enjoyed my 'adventure', I returned to Goreme in 1989/90 while I was living and working as an English teacher in Izmir in the west of Turkey. In contrast to my previous visit, the village had over fifty *pansiyons* as well as a handful each of restaurants, carpet shops and tour agencies. This rapid change left

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[29] For discussion of the Turkish case, for example, see Finkel and Sirman 1990.

quite an impression on me, and it was my curiosity about these changes and what was happening to the village through the growth in tourism that prompted me to return in 1995 for my MA in Social Anthropology dissertation research.

In my Masters research I set out to investigate the particular development in Goreme of 'backpacker' tourism. The question is often raised as to whether this sort of low-key tourism is actually 'alternative tourism' or whether it is simply the early stages of more large scale tourism development (Pearce, 1989). I had seen Goreme village between the middle and end of the 1980s becoming apparently saturated with tourism businesses, but these businesses were mostly small scale and locally owned businesses which meant that the village continued to appeal mainly to the 'backpacker' market. I was curious as to the particular mix, or 'meeting ground' in MacCannell's (1992) words, between this type of tourist and Goreme and its villagers, though given the short time available and my limited Turkish language ability at that time, I focused my study mostly on the tourists themselves.

At that time I met up with Cemil Bezmen, a Turkish student of anthropology who was working on his PhD thesis in Goreme.[30] We were able to share many ideas and, because of our gender and nationality differences, to fill important gaps in each other's 'ethnographic capabilities'; I blended more naturally with tourists in the village and was also able to spend time with village women, whilst Bezmen, being interested in the curious blend of religion and tourism in Goreme, largely focused his research on the senior male members of the village community.

It was predominantly the questions raised and the gaps left from both my MA study and Bezmen's PhD research which urged me to continue to do my own PhD research on tourism in Goreme. A prominent gap remained from Bezmen's inability to carry out any real ethnography with the women of the village because of the strict gender segregation which applies to village life in Goreme. Likewise, although I had met with some village women during my MA research, my own understandings of their lives and experiences had been frustrated by the short time that I was there and by my lack of Turkish language ability at that time.

Furthermore, because Bezmen's study had set out to answer how it was that Goreme's 'conservative' Islamic culture had managed to accommodate tourism, his research tended to focus on the past. His conclusion, that Goreme had not been so conservative in its Islam after all and that many of the factors of life which tourism had

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[30] Bezmen studied for his PhD in Anthropology at Cambridge University, England. His thesis was submitted in the autumn of 1996.

seemed to introduce were actually not so new to the village, again pertained mainly to the village's past. In contrast, my own research questions had led me to focus more towards the future. During that initial period of fieldwork talking with tourists and some of the villagers, especially those who owned and managed tourism businesses in the village, it had struck me how acutely aware and concerned everyone was of what tourism was doing to the village. Rather than only looking backwards at how things got to where they are, therefore, it seemed that there was also a necessity to connect past and present experience together with some sense of the future.

Those were the issues, then, that my own research questions related to when I returned to Goreme in 1996 to begin my fieldwork towards this thesis. I had become aware already of the many different 'actors' and 'actresses' involved in the tourism processes in Goreme, each representing particular interests and each, in some way or another, trying to make sense of the situation by asking: 'What is the state of tourism in Goreme, and what will it become'?[31] It was thus the interaction between these various individuals and their interests which became the focus of this study, as it seemed to me that far from being an 'empty meeting ground', in MacCannell's (1992) words, Goreme comprised an extremely rich area of study that had so far been only minimally unwrapped. My intention therefore was to produce an ethnography of tourism in Goreme which, whilst attending in some degree to the past and the growth of tourism there, would focus analysis on processes occurring and experiences in the present which would also hold some relevance concerning the future.

In the field: methodology, conditions and experiences

The importance of this section of the introductory chapter is three-fold.[32] Firstly, the telling of what I actually did in Goreme and how I went about collecting my 'data' is crucial to the legitimacy of that data; ethnographic knowledge can only be evaluated through an understanding of the method through which it is collected.[33] Secondly, the anthropological 'self' is therefore the very locus of the fieldwork, the 'research instrument' (Crick, 1992), and so my own input into and experiences of the fieldwork should be understood alongside the ethnographic text that the fieldwork has ultimately

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[31] In policy-talk these are the 'stakeholders' in the tourism processes in Goreme.

[32] Much has been written about the necessity for clarification and reflexivity in anthropological research, for example: many chapters in Golde ed. (1970) *Women in the Field, Anthropological Experiences*; Jackson (ed.) (1987) *Anthropology at Home;* Okely and Callaway (eds.), (1992) *Anthropology and Autobiography.*

[33] Useful discussions concerning methodology and representation in ethnographic research are provided in Ellen (ed.), 1984; Maanen (ed.), 1988 and 1995; Okely and Callaway (eds.), 1992, to name but a few.

led to. A further angle on that point concerns the particular relationships which I formed with the various people who acted in some way or another as informants during my fieldwork. The material I collected should be viewed as a direct product of those relationships rather than as some sort of 'objective' information extracted from those people. Moreover, a general understanding of ethnographic method is that the fieldworker gradually develops her/his understandings *in situ*, and "lives with and lives like' those who are studied for a lengthy period of time' (Maanen, 1995:4-5). The method presents obvious difficulties, then, in situations where 'those who are studied' are as diverse as local villagers *and* tourists on holiday. A final point concerns the particular importance of the relationship between ethnography and tourism in the ethnographic work I undertook in Goreme. That is, as my own experiences in the village may be assumed to have many striking and obvious similarities with the experiences of the tourists I was studying, it follows that my experiences may be a direct window onto some of those tourist experiences. Moreover, I was also regarded as something of a tourist by many of the people (both villagers and tourists) to whom I spoke. In sum, the importance of clarifying some of the factors surrounding my identity and relationships in Goreme is paramount to this work, and so, throughout the thesis, the reader should bear in mind the procedures and experiences which I outline in this section.

Following my short period of MA fieldwork described above, I returned to Goreme in April 1996 and lived there until October 1997, except for a break of three months in the winter of 96/97 when I returned to Durham to carry out library research and begin some analysis of data already collected. I also returned to the village for six weeks in the summer of 1998 in order to clarify some points which had been raised during the early stages of writing, and in order to show sections of the early drafts of the thesis to some of the people who appeared prominently in those sections. I have thus been able to observe Goreme over four summer / tourist seasons, which, together with my previous visits to Goreme outlined above, has enabled me to gain a longitudinal sense of many of the changes and continuities occurring over that time. Furthermore, my being in the village throughout two spring seasons and an autumn and winter enabled me to gain an understanding of the yearly cycle and how it is lived out by villagers (see Chapter 4).

For the most part, my fieldwork involved a combination of 'participant observation' and interviews, both being contingent on the variety of relationships which I developed with different 'local' parties and tourists in and around the village. Alongside those main methodologies I also collected and analysed visual and textual representations of Goreme in brochures and travel guides, and I carried out library research at the

Ministry of Tourism in Ankara. At the beginning of my PhD fieldwork, my ability to converse freely in Turkish was limited, but continuous studying and practice, particularly during the first months, gradually allowed me to converse adequately with villagers. A handful of village men working in tourism whose English was stronger than my Turkish spoke with me in English, whilst all other villagers conversed with me in Turkish. This mix of languages is reflected in the interviews I carried out with villagers, and direct quotes from interviewees are marked [*trans.*] where they are translated from Turkish into English in this thesis.

Besides the importance of my ability to converse with villagers, and particularly women, the knowledge which many of the villager acquaintances had of my Turkish language ability also played an important role in my fieldwork. My use and understanding of Turkish enabled my gradual distinction from (other) tourists in villagers' minds, and was important therefore in my ability to develop an 'insider' identity relative to the position of 'outsider' tourists. For example, at times when I was (participant) observing interactions between villagers and tourists, my knowledge allowed me to straddle both an insider/outsider identity and to be on the 'in'-side at times when villagers were using language to joke with, tease or secretly insult tourists.

Though I had already established some links with people in different sections of the Goreme community during the previous year, my introduction to a villager tourism entrepreneur named Abbas almost immediately upon my arrival in May 1996 proceeded to have an important effect on my life and research in the village over the following two years. I was offered the use and comfortable writing environment of Abbas's tour agency, situated on the main street of the village, in return for my 'help' in answering the questions of and selling regional day-tours to enquiring tourists. I took up the offer for the first two months of my fieldwork[34], allowing me not only to observe the workings of a tourism business in the village and the interactions pertaining to the tourist customers of the agency, but also to form a worthy relationship with Abbas and his family.

A middle-aged man and well-respected member of the community, Abbas adopted me as his 'niece' (initially to dispel any rumours that we were having an affair), and took it upon himself to take care of me while I was in the village. For most of my stay Abbas arranged accommodation for me in a house which he rented for the guides who worked in the agency, he allowed me free access to his home, where I regularly ate,

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[34] After that time, I decided that 'working' in the agency was becoming too restricting on my movements and that I should allow myself more freedom to move around the village following up meetings and discussions, especially with village women in their homes and also with tourists.

chatted and carried out domestic work with his wife, and he also allowed me, even after I stopped 'helping out' there, to continue using the tour agency as a base from where I was able to observe touristic processes and interactions.[35] Abbas had lived in Goreme all of his life and was one of the first men of the village to start up in tourism business there. In short, he came to be of considerable importance to my work both in his role as 'uncle' and 'key-informant'.

I was only able to fully realise the importance of Abbas and his agency when I stopped 'working' there, because it was then that I became aware that my position in the village was actually jeopardised by my 'freedom'. Here I am referring to the important issue of gender in this Islamic village, and the fact of my being a single woman carrying out fieldwork alone. As I discuss at length in Chapter 4 of this thesis, a crucial aspect of the gendered culture of the Turkish village concerns the Turkish verb *gezmek*, meaning to go out or tour around. Whilst men may *gezmek* freely, it is improper for women to do so, and therefore women stay within strict boundaries of domestic space unless a situation of very specific permission is granted by a close male relative.

Because of the great many tourist women who travel alone through the region, the fact of being a single woman was not in itself an immediate anomaly to villagers. The problems arose gradually from my staying in the village for an extended period of time, and from my wanting to mix with people in both the 'public' / tourism and domestic spheres of the village. The longer I stayed in the village, the more my identity transferred from 'tourist' to 'honorary villager'. And the more 'villager' I became, the more I was expected to conform to village rules, those of course being the rules for women. Similar conditions of fieldwork are discussed plentifully by anthropologists (for example in Golde 1986), and in relation to fieldwork in a Turkish village, by Delaney (1993). However, fieldwork on *tourism* in a Turkish village brings about its own peculiar set of problems, and my difficulty was one of how to carry out participant observation in the (male) 'tourist sphere' of Goreme, whilst retaining the respect of the villagers and the ability to continue establishing friendships with women in the village. In other words, I had the task of negotiating a suitable role for myself in order to be adequately accommodated in both of these very different spheres.

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[35] In discussing his fieldwork on tourism in Kandy, Sri Lanka, Crick (1992) talks about his relationship with 'Ali' a pavement hawker and how the street corner where he sold his goods became an important 'observation post' from where he could interact with and observe interactions with tourists. Similarly, Bowman (1996) sat with souvenir sellers in Jerusalem so as to observe their interactions with tourists. It seems that the finding of suitable 'observation posts' is an important element in ethnography of tourists and tourism, particularly as tourists themselves are such a mobile and transient group to study.

And this is where the importance of Abbas and his agency came in to play regarding their role in my reputation in the village. In villagers' minds, for the whole of my fieldwork period, the agency became the 'base' to which I was attached, and Abbas the male 'relative' who gave me permission and protection whenever required. Where other foreign / incoming women in the village (such as the many 'tourists' who have married village men, as I discuss in Chapter 7) are known to be under obligation to their partner, I became known as connected to Abbas, and so he was the source of my ability to move around the village and to carry out my research. Though I am unsure whether Abbas ever completely understood what my research was intended to achieve, he seemed to understand the seriousness of my intent and that is why, so he told me, he took care to safe-guard my reputation. Fortunately also, I was quick to learn that my credibility depended on the quality of the gossip which might circulate about my intentions and behaviour. I have no doubt that any damage to my relationship with Abbas during my fieldwork would have severely compromised my fieldwork and my ability to carry out this research.

Other than at Abbas's agency, then, I spent much of my time moving around from place to place drinking tea and chatting with the owners, managers and workers in the tourism businesses in different parts of the village, or with tourists who were similarly 'hanging out' or eating or shopping in the many *pansiyons*, restaurants and shops. I also spent part of most days with groups of local women who gradually accepted me as a friend. I often spent afternoons sitting chattering in their houses, or, at times of harvest, for example, helping in the fields as well as in their homes where food was produced (see chapter 4). I was also able to accompany my women friends on some of their more formal 'visits' to neighbours' houses, as well as to celebrations such as weddings, circumcision parties, and the religious festival of *Korban* (Sacrifice) *Bayram.* Whilst I visited and chatted regularly with various women in different quarters of the village, I came to know two groups of neighbours particularly well (and never ceased to bother them with my questions and note-taking!).

In contrast to the time I spent with local women engaging in villager activities, I often tagged along with tourists on their hikes through the Goreme valleys, or through the village, or in the evenings to the bars and discos (though this particular activity became increasingly restricted the more that my honorary villager status became installed). I also periodically went on day tours of the Cappadocia region, in order to observe that aspect of tourist experience in the area. Spending considerable time with tourists, often whole days at a time, allowed me to understand their activities and experiences much more fully than would the issuing of structured interviews or questionnaires. Periodically, however, I developed specific sets of interview questions

which enabled the development of certain themes which had arisen during periods of 'participant observation'. Depending on the circumstances, some of these interviews were recorded, and those that were provide for rich analysis and some of the many quotes which I include in this thesis.

A further point to note here is that the 'participant observation' method I used to understand and record tourists experiences meant that the individuals observed were arbitrarily rather than selectively chosen. To put it another way, I could only tag along with those tourists who would have me, and so those who I would not naturally have befriended tended to be under-represented.[36] In an attempt to partly rectify this situation, however, I did identify a particular range of nationalities, ages and 'types' of tourists for interviewing purposes. The relative importance of qualitative versus quantitative method in my approach to this study was crucial to my ability to gain the depth of understanding of tourist experiences and interactions shown particularly in Chapters 3 and 6 of this thesis. The few figures I did collect pertained to the overall numbers of tourists in Cappadocia (obtained from the Ministry of Culture museum ticket sales) and Goreme (obtained from the bus tickets sales leaving Goreme), and did not concern the breakdown or sampling of tourist characteristics.

Likewise, the research I carried out among local villagers was entirely qualitative and again the arbitrariness of my informant / interviewee selection was counteracted, in my view, by the richness of the material gained from the participant observation undertaken. Various groupings were identified among the local population, however, particularly for interviewing purposes, thus acknowledging the important point often missed in tourism studies that the local community is by no means an homogeneous group[37]. Within the local population of Goreme, the groups which I identified for research purposes included: local women; village men working tourism; village men not working in tourism; non-Goreme Turks working in tourism; and non-Turks working in tourism, these being mostly foreign women who have settled with a male partner and together with them run a business in the village. Of course these groupings are loosely placed and may both overlap to some degree or be divided further into smaller categories.

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[36] Again, this point is indicative of the similarities between my own (as ethnographer) and tourist quests, behaviours and experiences. As discussed by Crick (1995) it is important to take notice of these similarities, rather than to try to pretend that they do not exist, as many anthropologists have tended to do.

[37] Crick's (1994) ethnography of tourism in Kandy, Sri Lanka '*Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices*' is one of the few studies of touristed communities which fully acknowledges the variety of roles and 'voices' present.

With all of the identified groups, a similar pattern of methodology to that which I undertook with tourists was followed; participant observation accompanied by the gradual development of interview schedules for taped interviews carried out mostly at the end of my fieldwork. I periodically worked with particular themes which arose during my ongoing analysis of my field-notes, and then purposefully focused conversations on those themes for a period of time. I also carried out interviews with various 'authority' bodies who have an involvement in Goreme's tourism, including agents of the national Ministries of Culture and Tourism, museum officials, and the Goreme Mayor of that time. Whilst many of my taped interviews were carried out with individual interviewees, others were in the form of focus group discussions. I found this method of interview particularly useful when local and foreign resident women were concerned about the possible consequences of having their views and experiences individually recorded. Further on that note, while I have retained the actual names of places in the writing of this thesis, I have changed or left out the names of informants/interviewees in order to satisfy a condition of relative anonymity and disassociation with particular views and events[38].

My understanding of the children of Goreme's viewpoint on tourism was gained through contact among the families I regularly visited as well as through more general observations. At one point during my fieldwork, I offered to help with English classes at the village school, in order primarily to be able to 'give something back' to the village, and also to have an opportunity of gaining a more systematic understanding of children's views on tourism through discussions and essay-writing in classes (as Crick (1993) did in Sri Lanka). My offers were refused, however, because of a problem for the school director to obtain permission (*izin*) from more central authorities in the Ministry of Education. Interestingly, Delaney (1993) describes a very similar occurrence during her own fieldwork in a Turkish village, and she uses the story rather effectively to explain the hierarchical system of *izin* in Turkish society. Whilst the situation did illuminate certain issues concerning *izin*, it was rather frustrating in view of its blocking of the most substantial way that I could see of contributing my own knowledge and experience to the aid of the villagers!

My feelings of anxiety and guilt regarding my inability to give back anything to the villagers in return for my 'taking' information are similar to those that many anthropologists record. Hastrup (1992) has referred to this point as the 'violence' inherent in fieldwork and, as Jackson notes from interviewing anthropologists on their

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[38] This is with the exception of Abbas, from whom I received expressed permission to use his actual name.

fieldwork experiences, 'Writing fieldnotes constantly reminds many anthropologists that they are, in fact, not in the field just to be friends or just to help the natives, but to do research; as a consequence, [they] reported experiencing feelings of being exploitative, of being colonialist, and so forth' (1995:60). The combinations and contradictions of 'self' and 'researcher' in the research context address the very core of the fieldwork experience, but are both difficult to work through and difficult to draw any general conclusion from because of their variation in every different fieldwork situation.

In my own case, beyond the friendship, help with garden and house work, and general showing of interest which I felt I had to offer, some interesting ideas emerged from villagers concerning how they thought I was able to contribute. These in turn gave rise to further ethical implications which linked, more specifically perhaps, with 'tourism ethnography'. One of these ideas was that I could, and indeed would, help the businesses of certain friends and informants, both by guiding tourists to them while I was in Goreme and by recommending them in my write-up of the village. This latter idea was based on a common misunderstanding among tourism entrepreneurs that I was writing a tourist 'guide book' for the village.[39] The issue of my being expected to take tourists to friends' businesses caused considerable problems, as it led to my allegiance with certain businesses and my unwitting position of competition against other businesses. Whilst I made a point of never taking commission from any businesses (though I was, at times, given food, drink and gifts), some entrepreneurs who did not know my reasons for being in the village assumed my allegiance to other businesses and would not entertain or serve me in their own businesses at all. More discussion of the processes of competition and commission in Goreme's tourism businesses is presented in Chapters 5.

A slightly different idea that the villagers had about my ability to 'contribute', again based on little understanding of what I was actually writing about the village, was that I was able to promote Goreme as a whole in my writing and publishing about it. This certainly ensured that the Mayor remained helpful for the duration of my stay, but it was also double-sided in that some people, those perhaps who were less confident, became suspicious of my position and potential power to 'ruin' Goreme regarding its touristic reputation. When I tried to explain to such people, as Crick (1992) did during his fieldwork with tourism entrepreneurs, that my intentions were to be as fair as

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[39] Crick also writes '... hotel and guesthouse proprietors presumed that I was planning a 'guide book' which would make recommendations about particular establishments, no matter how much I explained what my real interests were' (1992:181).

possible, it was probably of little comfort (either to them or to myself!). This problem of the consequences of my writing was further highlighted when I showed a newly published book chapter I had written about Goreme to some of the villagers, and parts of what I had written were misinterpreted due to their inability to fully understand academic English.

Indeed, the politics of tourism, and in particular the heated competition between villagers and their businesses in Goreme, gave rise to many difficulties and dilemmas concerning both my fieldwork experiences and the writing up of my research. The stakes were running high in Goreme, and it is not surprising that many people whom I tried to interview were hesitant to publicise their views and experiences; gossip, chastisement and even violence are rife in Goreme, and 'putting your foot in it' can have serious consequences. It is true that both in my writing and in the field I have had some potential to cause disadvantage or even harm to particular businesses and individuals. My unusual position of straddling the otherwise separate and rarely interacting worlds of the village men and tourism, and the village women and the domestic sphere rendered me a potentially powerful risk to anyone who spoke to me. Similarly, my ability to be equally a part of the villagers' and the tourists' worlds, and in particular, the gossip of the tourist women and their Goreme boyfriends meant that I knew much more than was wise for me to let on. Not infrequently men suggested that I was "dangerous" because of my unusual position of 'living' equally in their world and the world of their womenfolk. The sensitivity of many situations was quite intense, and my trustworthiness not to pass on information or to engage in gossip myself was of paramount importance. Likewise, ensuring that no unwanted information is presented in the writing of this thesis and further publications is not easy, and neither is the task of representing so many different viewpoints in a fair and equal manner.

It is important here to also consider the limitations of my methodology and of my study as a whole. It is a fortunate thing that most limitations in ethnography are usually balanced by strengths in other areas. An example concerns my inability to carry out any significant ethnographic research with the older men of the village because of both gender and language factors (I found older people usually unable to clarify their speech when talking to me, a foreigner, and I therefore found it difficult to communicate with them in Turkish). Undoubtedly, my understanding of the lives of Turkish men would have been facilitated by the presence of a male colleague. An example of this concerns my inability to enter into discussions about the economics of their tourism businesses; this was an area that was clearly considered to be inappropriate for my interest.

Other limitations concern the actual geographical limits of my study and the limits of my access to certain 'types' of tourists. Because of the in-depth nature of participant observation as a methodology, I confined my work more or less to Goreme village, and therefore did not carry out any substantial comparative work in nearby touristed towns such as Urgup or Avanos (though I did regularly visit and sometimes interview certain individuals in those towns). This geographical confinement to Goreme was largely my own choice, however, in contrast to the restrictions on my ability to meet with 'package group' tourists which were imposed by certain conditions pertaining to those tour groups. The tour groups that visit Cappadocia and stay in the large hotels mostly situated on the periphery of the National Park boundary are generally very 'closed' in the structure of their organisation. This is largely because the shopping which these tourists partake in provides often hefty commissions for the groups' guides, and so the guides are suspicious and unwilling for anyone outside of the group to speak to "their tourists" for fear that they may recommend cheaper shops with which the guide has no commission arrangements. Though seldom mentioned[40], these aspects of 'group tourism' are important for tourism anthropologists to consider, and were certainly significant in their influence on my study of tourism in Cappadocia.

A further limitation of most anthropological studies is of a temporal nature. Here, rather than referring to the length of time spent in the field, which is itself never enough, I am addressing the point that most anthropologists have no 'history' among the people they are studying, and so can not expect to ever get anything like a full understanding of peoples' lives, experiences and relationships. It is important to remember that there are many things we do not share experientially with the people we are studying, and that neither should we necessarily make it our aim to know them; perhaps some aspects of their lives should remain their secrets. Tourists too, are tourists precisely because they are transient outsiders, and just as we would not expect 'locals' to share every aspect of their memories and lives with tourists, we should not necessarily expect anything more for us as outsider anthropologists.

Finally I come to the trials and tribulations of sifting through my fieldnotes, transcribing interview tapes and analysing them all for the writing of this thesis. Deciding which elements to include from the vast array of information collected, and how to present them in a way which will be both fair to the people and groups being represented and 'honest' from my own point of view is no easy task. Considerations have included the problem of reaching the appropriate balance between representing

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[40] Only Bruner seems to have made the point concerning methodology that 'It is difficult to penetrate the tour group from the outside at midpoint in their voyage' (1996:162).

individuals' experiences and describing activities and experiences of groups as a general whole. Other concerns have included the sensitivities and politics of some situations which I encountered, as referred to above, some of which have had to be left out of the write up of this study. A further dilemma is how much to let my own emotions and feelings concerning particular situations be a filter on events and occurrences in the field. In a small community such as Goreme events and emotions are magnified and at times I experienced emotions which were new to me and which therefore most likely corresponded with 'living with tourism' in that small and often claustrophobic place. I therefore make no apology of where I include myself in the write up of this study, for it was my methodologies, relationships and experiences which act as the window through which tourism in Goreme is viewed in this thesis.

In sum, the aim of this study is to tell the story of tourism in Goreme by combining the individual and general voices of Goreme villagers, tourists and relevant tourism agents in the Goreme context. Tourism is clearly a topic area with potential for both rich ethnography and sophisticated theoretical development, and the literature reviewed in this chapter has provided some progression in both of these areas. What remains now is to bring both strands of research together in order to render the area of tourism anthropology even richer in its strengths and implications. By considering the motivations, expectations and experiences of the tourists who visit Goreme in relation to the experiences, strategies and performances of the Goreme people, the present study will add to the various strands of theoretical interest outlined above through a detailed ethnographic account of how all concerned are living with tourism.

2

IN THE BROCHURES

- images, myths and the construction of a 'tourist place'.

> Daylight, as usual, saw us well on our way. As we slowly rose to the top of Topuz Dag, a magnificent sight burst into view. Before us spread out a vast expanse dotted with multihued sugar-loaf cones, some the size of an ordinary tent, others the height of lesser skyscrapers. It is said fifty thousand cones can be counted, and, whether this estimate is correct or not, the figure does not overestimate the impression. ..The view was not only of magic form but also of vivid colour. The crags, cliffs and cones varied from snow white to cream, tan, ochre, pink, red, and grey. The very atmosphere seemed steeped in brilliant hues. (J.D. Whiting writing on his arrival in Cappadocia, *National Geographic,* 1939:763)

Since the time that Whiting made his intrepid journey to Cappadocia, the region has most definitely become marked out as a 'tourist place', so that now over one million international tourists, plus around half a million domestic tourists, visit yearly.[1] Entering the Goreme valley for the first time, these visitors of today are also awe-struck by the 'moonscape' of valleys and fairy-chimneys stretching out in front of them as far as the distant horizon. Unlike Whiting, however, these contemporary visitors inevitably carry in their imaginations ideas and images of the Cappadocia region, and furthermore, it is precisely these ideas and images which prompt the tourists in the first place to travel all the way from Britain, northern or southern Europe, North America or East Asia, to visit Cappadocia. These images are presented to them through travel 'literature', in the form of brochures, guide books, posters and television programmes. What Whiting probably did not realise is that his writings, among other early travel articles, played a big part in the forming of these images which today inspire so many tourists to visit Cappadocia, and which have turned the region into a 'tourist place'. The question arises, then, concerning what the tourists seek in Cappadocia, or, as Selwyn (1996) phrases the question, what are the images and myths about the 'other' constructed in the tourist imagination which entice the tourist to visit that 'other'? In their general sense, tourist representations have been discussed

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[1] These figures were taken from the numbers entering the Goreme Open-Air museum, and are thus based on assumption that almost all of the tourists in Cappadocia visit this museum while they are.

elsewhere (cf. Weightman 1987; Helms 1988; Mellinger 1994), and may be related to anthropologists as well as tourists (see Crick 1995)[2].

As it has only recently been pointed out, 'without an understanding of the predispositions and motives of tourists, and how these in turn are moulded, manipulated and sometimes even created, knowledge of tourists and tourism will always be lamentably deficient' (Dann 1996:61). This chapter is aimed, therefore, at doing precisely that; at providing a background to tourism in Goreme by looking at how Cappadocia and Goreme are constructed in the tourist imagination. The chapter is an introduction to how and why Goreme became and continues to be a 'tourist place', both in terms of the images and myths which have emerged concerning the place, and in terms of the practice of tourism in the place. 'Tourism', as it is constituted by tourists, tourist locations and the tourism industry, is undoubtedly the convergence of global processes in local settings. It is this convergence which is the specific focus of this chapter. I will begin the chapter by unpacking some of the images and myths concerning Cappadocia which have emerged in the tourist literature and thus become present in the tourist imagination. In the latter section of the chapter, I will describe tourist practice in the Cappadocia region, showing how it is influenced by the images and myths in tourism discourse concerning the place.

Images of Cappadocia and Goreme

Articles, such as the one written by Whiting in 1939 and an earlier photograph essay in a *National Geographic* magazine of 1919, undoubtedly served to promote the specific touristic attractiveness of the Goreme and Cappadocia region. The glossy photographs and vividly descriptive texts in such articles call up and reinforce 'shared understandings of cultural difference' (Lutz and Collins 1993:2), thereby encouraging the particular ways that Western peoples viewed non-Western 'otherness' and serving the Western tendency towards *orientalism* proposed by Said[3]. In other words, they woo the tourist imagination by 'drawing attention with an exotic element, and then - having captured their readers' attention - inviting them to imagine how they might feel in the setting depicted' (Lutz and Collins 1993:3). In this way, these earlier

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[2] Important parallels may be drawn here between tourists and anthropologists, as discussed by Crick (1995) and in the introductory chapter of this thesis. In particular relevance to the points discussed here, Crick follows Helms (1988) in pointing out that 'anthropology itself has not been free of romantic motives: it too has indulged in exoticism and camouflaged unsettling forces. Simply because the motives are 'scientific' does not automatically or completely change the way in which the geographically remote is symbolically represented' (Crick, 1995:212).

[3] *Orientalism* is the term coined by E. Said (1978) to refer to the way in which the European West has created, defined and romanticised the Oriental 'other'.

representations of Cappadocia have played a strong part in the construction and perpetuation of the images and myths concerning the region which exist today in the tourist imagination.

The actual content, written and pictorial, of both past and contemporary representations of Cappadocia is notably similar and this content constructs the tourist image of Cappadocia. Following are three extracts taken from three different representational contexts, demonstrating how all of the tourist 'literature' on Cappadocia focuses on the same three features of the area: its 'lunar' landscape; its Christian (Byzantine) history; and the 'troglodyte' way of life which continues through to the Turks living in the region today. The first is a caption accompanying a photograph essay entitled 'Cappadocia: Turkey's country of Cones' in a 1958 edition of *National Geographic* magazine:

> Fantastic rock cones stud Goreme Valley in the heart of the Anatolian highland. Slumbering on the horizon, snow-capped Erciyas Dagi, Asia Minor's loftiest peak, guards a conical brood. This volcano, now extinct, created Cappadocia's coneland. Eons ago the fiery mountain spewed ash and lava hundreds of feet deep across the countryside. As the mass cooled, it cracked. Rains and melting snows widened seams into chasms and carved pyramids. Early Christians hollowed cells and chapels within the cones, and today Turkish farmers dwell in many of the honeycombed rocks. (p.123).

The second extract is taken from the *Tapestry Holidays* 1997/98 brochure of '*Uncommercial Turkey*'. This brochure provides six pages on 'Cappadocia - a captivating playground':

> Subterranean cities, cave houses, tunnels, fairy chimneys and an enchanting landscape - what a playground!... Although renowned world-wide we find that many Britons are not aware of the huge historical and religious importance of the area and also its fascinating, strange "moonlike" geology...The natural structure of Cappadocia offered refuge with the texture of the rock allowing the Christians to build cave houses, tunnels and even subterranean cities relatively easily... The history, culture and amazing scenery together with the most hospitable people, proud of their heritage make Cappadocia a region that will interest not only those of an historic or religious nature but is perfect for those of us that enjoy walking and relaxing in wondrous calm, for children who can explore the tunnels linking one valley to another in absolute safety and generally all that would wish to visit a truly unusual corner of our planet.

The third extract is taken from a tourism promotion magazine recently produced within Cappadocia. It is an example of how the people of Goreme have come to represent themselves for tourism purposes:

> Goreme, a small township hidden in fairy chimneys, is also called "the heart of Cappadocia." With its 2000 permanent residents, Goreme is...a great historical and tourism centre. ..Homes built in rocks and fairy

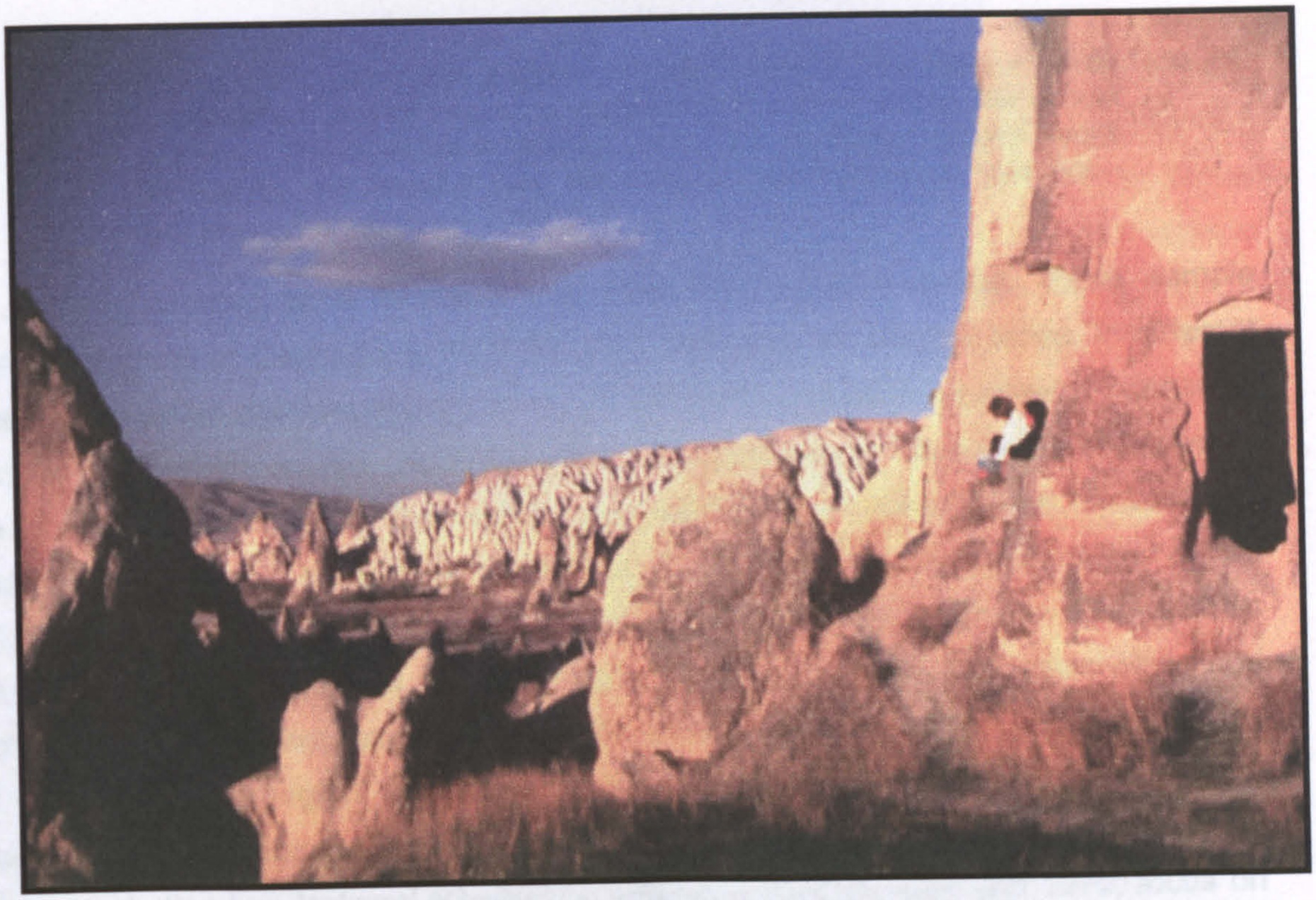


Fig 2.1a Tourists enjoying the landscape.



Fig 2.1b.
Byzantine frescoes in a thousand year old church

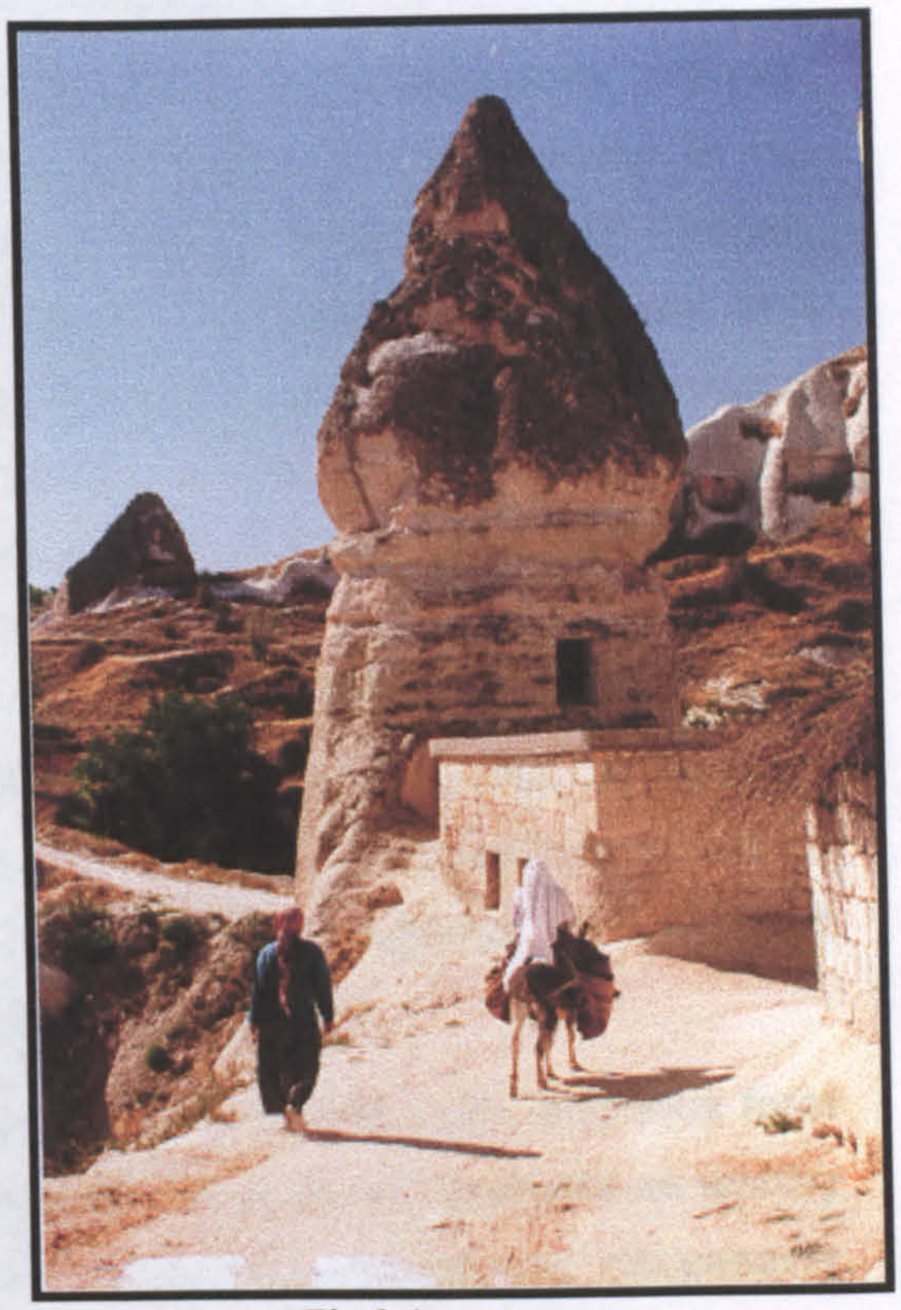


Fig 2.1c.
Contemporary rural life.

> chimneys...are all great attractions for tourists. ..Goreme is a place in which monasteries are lined up in groups and its rock churches contain the richest decorations. ..The churches in Goreme, which are among the sacred places of Christianity, are blended with the unique natural wonders. (*Amfora* - tourism promotion magazine, 1995:5)

Though directed at a Western and potential tourist audience, these sample representations of Cappadocia have all been cultivated at different times, in different places and within different epochs of 'travel literature'. Yet all three convey a generally similar image of the region, and choose the same features of Cappadocia which would be of interest to visitors. The earlier representations of Cappadocia conveyed in *National Geographic* have been duplicated in a variety of touristic images of the Goreme region; on postcards, in brochures and guide books, and in tourists' own snapshots, all denoting what should be interesting to 'us' about this 'other' place and 'other' people. The photographs in all of the articles depict certain 'exoticised' features of the Cappadocia region, with most pictures showing panoramic views of the rocky landscape or close-ups of the frescoes painted inside the caved Byzantine churches. Some, including two *National Geographic* articles printed in 1958 and 1970, focus on contemporary life inside the cones and caves of Goreme, providing numerous 'candid' shots of picturesque and happily working 'peasant' farmers.[4]

In other words, these representations are all part of the same hegemonic process forming the myths which are the very foundation of tourism in Cappadocia. In his introduction to *'The Tourist Image, Myths and Myth Making in Tourism'* (1996), Selwyn suggests that 'myths...[in the tourism context] seem simultaneously to reveal and conceal, to undercommunicate and overcommunicate'. The tourist myths surrounding Cappadocia conceal the economic hardship which accompanies the agricultural subsistence in the area; none of the representations in *National Geographic* made mention, for example, of the Goreme villagers' necessary move into newer housing to escape the danger of collapsing caves, nor of the massive outward migration which was taking place as some of the articles reviewed were going to press. Readers of *National Geographic,* travel guide books and tourist brochures are all presented with a romanticised version of peasant life in the Goreme caves, together with glorified images of the region's 'lunar landscape' and its Byzantine history.

It is these images which are 'overcommunicated' in the tourist myth, and thus form the *markers*, to use MacCannell's (1976) words, that select certain features as worthy of touristic attention. According to MacCannell, a touristic experience necessarily

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[4] Mellinger (1994) describes a similar construction of "other'ness' in images of the 'black South' in postcards sold to European American tourists visiting the southern states.

involves 'connecting one's own marker to a sight already marked by others' (1976:137). The early travel articles on Cappadocia, beginning early this century with *National Geographic* articles as well as academic volumes on the Byzantine churches in the region (the most notable of which was by a French priest who visited Goreme in 1907), started to *mark* the region off in ways which would later be taken over by the power of tourist discourse as the Cappadocia area became a prominent feature in touristic guide books.

Sights become tourist sights through a system of symbolic and structural processes which are often initiated through earlier *orientalist* travel literature, cultivated by tourist authorities and tourism industries, and guided by tourist discourse. This process is described by MacCannell (1976) as having five main stages, and results in particular places and peoples becoming "sacralised" by and for tourism. The first stage in this process is the *naming* stage whereby the site is marked as worthy of special attention (which may include preservation). The second stage is that of *framing* whereby the object or site is placed inside an official boundary to be protected and enhanced, and this is similar to the third stage *enshrinement,* whereby the framed object becomes similar to a kind of shrine. Fourthly, the site is *mechanically reproduced* through the production of postcards, miniatures and souvenirs, and lastly it is *socially reproduced,* which means that places and groups of people begin to name themselves after the famous attraction. Goreme has indeed gradually undergone all of these stages in its becoming a tourist place.

So, the main three features of Cappadocia; the 'lunar' landscape; the Byzantine history; and the 'troglodyte' peasants of today, all together form the tourist image of the region. These features, having been *marked* by the earlier examples of travel writing, now form the main components of the tourist image in promotions of the region by the Turkish Ministry of Tourism, as well as by local, national and international travel agencies, and the contemporary guidebooks. By perpetuating the tourist image of Cappadocia, the tourist literature of today continues to serve the construction of Cappadocia as a tourist place. Let us now look at some of the mythical elements behind this construction.

Lunar Landscape

The conal landscape of Cappadocia has long fascinated travellers and tourists who have photographed and described the region as 'fantastic', 'bizarre', 'unique', 'surreal', a 'moonscape' and a 'fairyland'. Just as tourism is said to be about removing ourselves from the profane to gaze upon particular scenes which are different from those viewed

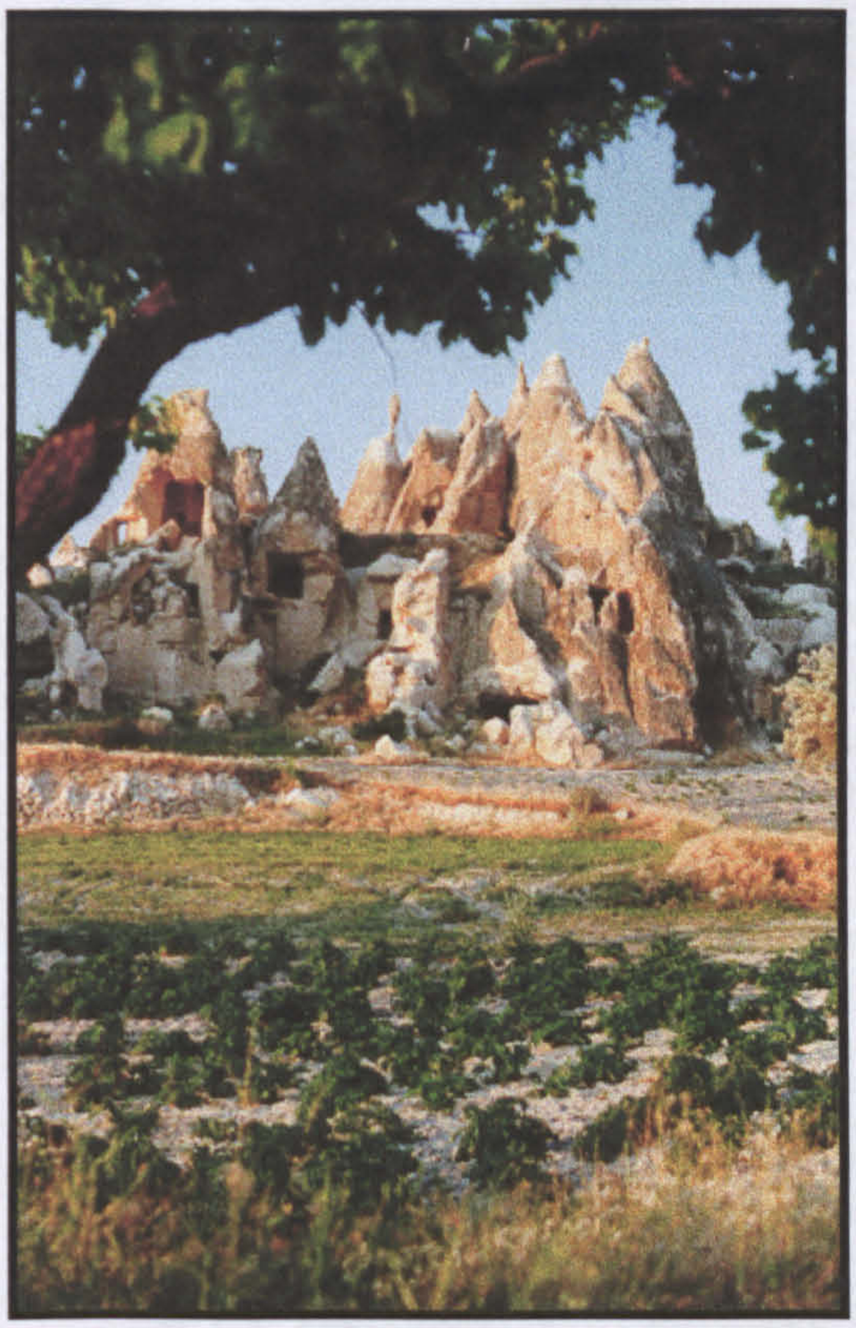


Fig 2.2a
The Cappadocia landscape

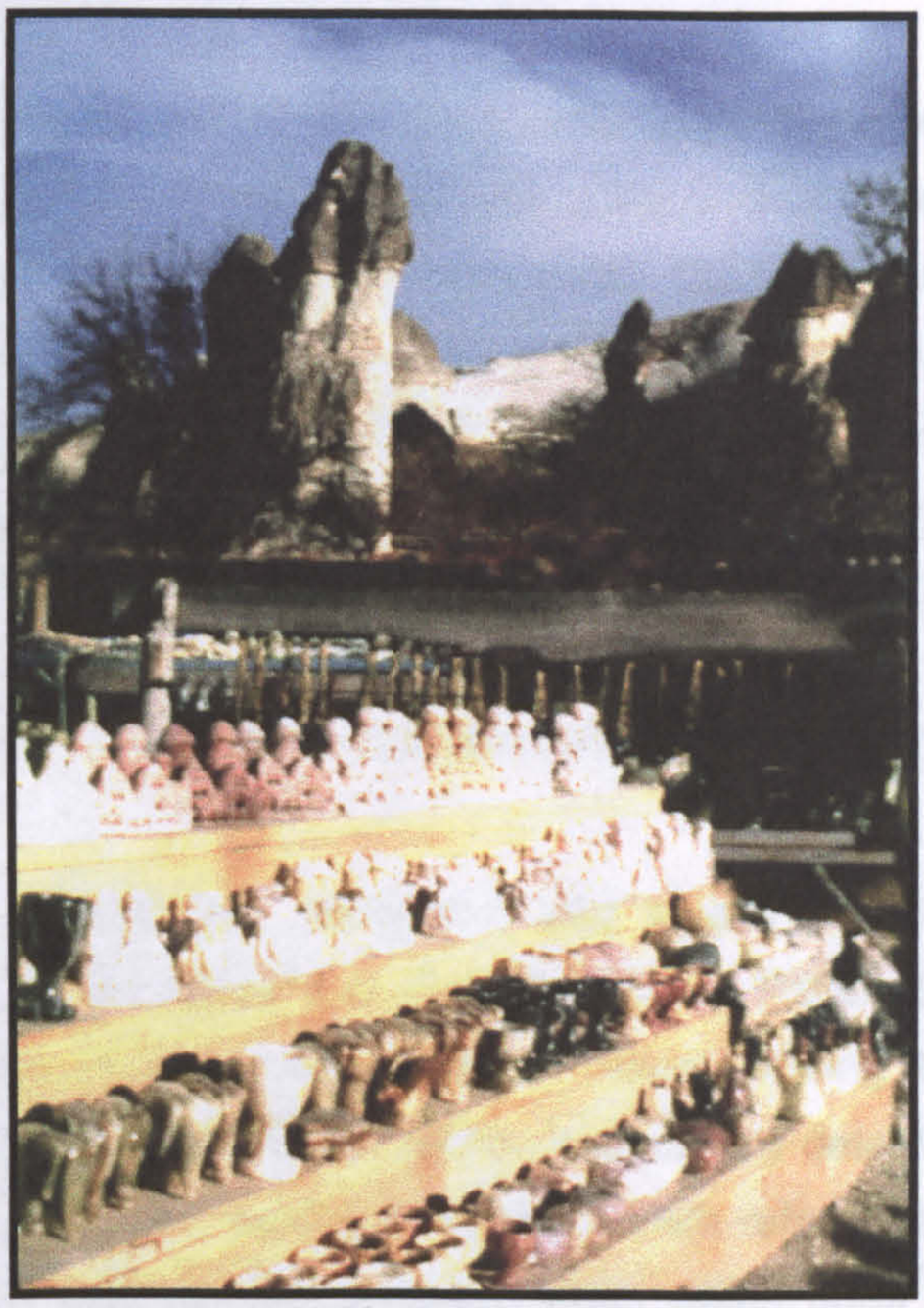


Fig 2.2b
Miniature 'fairy chimneys' are sold at souvenir stands next to the full-size ones.



Fig 2.2c
This area is referred to as "Love Valley" between Gorome men and tourists.

in everyday life (see, for example, Urry,1990; Graburn,1989), the landscape of Cappadocia clearly attracts tourists because of its 'otherness'.

Without going into the development of the concept of 'landscape' in detail here[5], it is important to point out that the idea of nature as landscape was a historically specific social and cultural construction (Urry, 1992; Hirsch and Hanlon, 1995), the proliferation of landscape images has in many ways gone hand in hand with the development of tourism. Hence, Urry's (1990, 1992) argument that tourism is synonymous with gazing on unusual landscapes. Whilst I will go on in this thesis to show why this idea is not necessarily the case, there is no doubt that tourism discourse has appropriated certain landscapes as suitable for tourist interest. It hence follows that the marking off of the physical environment of Cappadocia for aesthetic appropriation is also socially constructed through tourism discourse.

Moreover, the process of this construction or, 'creating tourist places' as Sack would argue, embeds the tension of commodities into the landscape' (1992:157). Liechty (1995) describes this in reference to tourist places in Nepal, stating that tourism turns spaces into simultaneously multiple places, some of which are detached from the historical and political conditions of the particular location. With reference to Cappadocia, the 'lunar' landscape is, in other words, a tourist myth which does not necessarily fit with the meanings which are attached to and embedded in the location by non-tourists, for example, by local villagers. The multiplicity and contention of these meanings will be considered further as the thesis progresses, and in their relation to 'place', particularly in Chapter 8.

Not only has the landscape been *marked* off as worthy of touristic interest by the representations and images presented in past and present travel and tourism literature, but these representations have also shown tourists what to expect from Cappadocia. Tourists are taught how to *read* the landscape. Indeed, Urry (1992) argues that tourist discourse conditions the way that environments are 'read' and appropriated. One of the ways that this occurs is in the way that representations of the Cappadocia landscape are layered upon one another, with earlier descriptions being incorporated into later ones, so that previous representations are constantly rehashed and reused. It seems from this that not only do the landscapes have to be authenticated in tourist discourse, but so too do representations of the landscapes.[6]

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[5] For a more detailed account of the concept of 'landscape', see Haber (1995) among other articles in Droste et. al (1995) as well as Urry (1992).

[6] This might be paralleled, for example, with the idea that we know that the *Coca Cola* we are drinking is the real thing from the label rather than necessarily from the taste of the stuff itself. For more on representations and authenticity in tourism, see Hughes (1995).

An example of this can be seen from the following extract from a recent article on Cappadocia published in a US travel magazine:

> As you enter Cappadocia...it's obvious. Pere Guillaume de Jerphanion, a French traveller who beheld the scene in 1905, wondered if he was "looking at a real landscape" or had been "transported, by some prodigy, to the most improbable fairyland scene. Emerging here and there from a green land mass is a pyramid, a cone, a tower that one would believe to have been made by the hand of man, so regular is it, and which, on examination, appears to be nothing but rock". We were surrounded by surreal vistas of serrated geology... hundred-foot-high pinnacles prodded the sky, pinkening with the sunset,...In the distance, the broad, purpling plateau of Anatolia - the ancient name for Turkey - was cut with valley after valley of cones. (Holmes in '*Escape*', 1997:56).

Moreover, there is the idea in consumption-led society that consumers have the *right* to consume whatever they can pay for; 'to be a tourist, to look on landscapes with interest and curiosity..., has become a right of citizenship from which few in the 'West' are formally excluded' (Urry 1992:4). Indeed, this idea of the tourist's *right* to consume places underpins all of the representations of Cappadocia in travel and tourism literature. The landscape of Cappadocia is presented in such a way that it not only invites the reader and potential tourist to come and consume it, but also that the reader is led to imagine that the landscape, along with the Cappadocia region as a whole, is there purely *for* tourists. The quote above from the *Uncommercial Turkey* brochure certainly conveys this idea with its opening sentence: 'Subterranean cities, cave houses, tunnels, fairy chimneys and an enchanting landscape - what a playground!'. The sentence following on from this is, 'We are delighted to introduce these holidays which allow one to visit this unique area'. The Cappadocia region's availability for tourist consumption is another example of an 'over-communicated' and thus mythical element in the tourist literature, and is also manifested in a more practical sense in the construction of the landscape surrounding Goreme as a National Park.[7]

Furthermore, the touristic 'consumption' of Cappadocia is very much based on aesthetic judgements; judgements concerning whether or not the region is worthy of such consumption. It is argued by Urry (1992) that for landscapes to be suitable for touristic aesthetic appropriation, they must be unique, unpolluted and authentic, though all of these terms are negotiable. The landscape of Cappadocia is certainly considered to be unique in tourist discourse; the word is very often used in tourism promotion literature. The landscape is indeed, even in some sort of objective sense,

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[7] Issues concerning the Goreme National Park will be discussed at various points throughout the thesis, and particularly in Ch. 8.

fairly unique in the world in terms of its physical and visual characteristics (the 'other-worldliness' of the rock cones was even used for some scenes in the film *Star Wars*).

It is the qualities of 'unpolluted' and 'authentic', however, which seem to relate more to aesthetic *judgement*; a judgement and valuing which necessitates a stance of hegemonic power.[8] And this points us to another mythical element behind the tourist image of Cappadocia which juxtaposes the myth of consumption. That is the myth of what we could call 'over-consumption'. The fear that the physical environment or landscape of Cappadocia may be over-consumed lies behind the urge to protect and preserve certain features of the landscape. These ideas are then embedded in the creation of the Goreme National Park and a 'Preservations Committee', which together pronounce strict laws and regulations in order to protect the landscape from apparent 'over-consumption'. As MacCannell states:

> We are admitted to these parks on the moral condition that we enter only with our essential humanity. We are not supposed to bring our *social* needs, desires, statuses, and so on with us, nor to demand from the park that it satisfies these desires. This is, after all, the reason the park was established in the first place; out of guilt that we had gone far enough in forcing nature to satisfy our social needs, perhaps too far. (1992:115)

In other words, national parks are the myth of over-consumption in the working. In addition, though, within tourism discourse, landscapes can be rendered polluted and inauthentic by an over-presence of tourism itself. Much of the tourism literature on Cappadocia conveys this view, for example, 'Goreme has been transformed by the creation of a hideous tourist centre' (*The Good Tourist Guide to Turkey,* 1993), and with reference to the Goreme Open-Air Museum Site:

> The churches of the Goreme Valley contain unquestionably the most spectacular paintings of the region; as a result, this area has been designated the Goreme National Park, a huge open-air museum. The inevitable corollary is heavy development of the site for tourists, with high entry and parking fees, a bank and shops at the entrance, and a definite sense of being 'processed' round, as you follow the arrows in a one-way system. (*AA Essential Explorer* Guide to Turkey, 1995:176)

Concurrently, however, these tourism promotion texts tend to point out that sections of Cappadocia remain unpolluted by tourism and therefore still available for consumption by those with a more discerning judgement and taste: 'Despite what could sound like a tourism horror story, Cappadocia is big enough to absorb most of

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[8] Urry (1992) places the development and ability of aesthetically judging 'pristine' landscapes into its socio-historical context. In a more politically orientated argument, Mowforth and Munt (1998) suggest that all of tourism is an example of hegemony in practice.

its visitors without too much pain. It doesn't take much effort to get away from the herd, and there are still lots of outlying sites which receive hardly any visitors at all'.[9]

Moreover, ideas of over-consumption are what underpins the ideological movements of environmentalism and conservationism which have grown in force recently, culminating for example, in the Rio Summit (see for instance, Mowforth and Munt, 1998). These global movements invariably have an uneasy relationship with local processes and practices, largely because of their indecision concerning the question of the relationship between 'natural' environments and people, particularly those people who inhabit the environments. This point again is one which is largely at issue regarding the environment of Cappadocia and particularly Goreme, manifesting in tensions between government policy and local villagers[10], and seeping often explicitly into tourist discourse regarding the region. The following is one example of this 'indecision' regarding the valuing of human habitation in the environment taken from a U.S. published '*Turkey Guide*':

> Cappadocia would have been a marvellous tourism destination had the development never happened; but fortunately development did happen, first by the settlers worn down by the bitter winters and the injustices of passing armies, then by Christian refugees. Both dug rooms out of the soft rock... Cappadocia today is pocked with small holes, some giving way to a shallow room, others to painted churches..

This extract expresses the idea that although Cappadocia would have been a valuable tourism asset if it had remained in a natural wilderness state, it is nevertheless valuable as a cultural landscape.

Goreme as a cultural landscape

Cultural landscapes 'reflect the interactions between people and their natural environment over space and time' (Plachter and Rossler, 1995:15), and their formal and institutional valuing really only took place in the early 1970s when the UNESCO World Heritage Convention took place and set up a committee which would construct a list of 'cultural landscapes of universal value' (ibid.). Indeed the Goreme National Park area became a UNESCO designated Word Heritage Site in mid 1980s, reflecting not only the full marking off and valuing of the area as a tourist place, but also its *framing*, to reiterate MacCannell's (1976) terms for the stages of 'site sacralisation'.

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[9] Again this is taken from *The Good Guide To Turkey*, 1993.

[10] These tensions are discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

The constructions of the concept of cultural landscape allows the embedding of 'culture' within landscapes, rather than separating out the two following an ideal of a 'natural wilderness' which conveys the idea that 'culture' and 'nature' cannot, and should not, go together. Like natural landscapes, however, cultural landscapes are also constructed simply for the purposes of touristic aesthetic appropriation. Through this process, the aspects of the Cappadocia landscape considered eligible for touristic attention and also for protection and preservation include, as well as the rock cones or 'fairy chimneys' and caved Byzantine churches, all caved areas and cave houses. The people themselves who inhabit the cave structures therefore become part of the landscape and part of the tourist image which surrounds that landscape. It follows that these local villagers thus become objects, and perhaps puppets in the preservation process expounded by the National Park policy as well as tourism discourse in general. As a leaflet for the park prepared by the National Park group in the mid 80's reads:

> The Goreme Historical National Park, shall be protected and developed, so that the present and future generation can benefit from the scientific and aesthetic nature, as well as the natural and cultural values...The picturesque village life, the activities of the villagers, the small volcanic farming areas and the farming methods and the crops have changed much to their historical resemblances. All these peculiarities, the tufa rocks and fairy chimneys as they are in traditional relations, are adding to a moving and vivid view...The preservation of this traditional view is the main theme of the administration, protection, presentation, and the development of this historical National Park. At the application of the National Park, the main policy has been adopted that the population living within the boundaries of the park, should be one of the main important elements, as well as giving support to the resources.

The issues concerning the way in which the people of Goreme village are represented and have come to represent themselves in tourism literature and tourist discourse, are of course at the heart of this study, for they concern the extent to which the local people are 'objects' of the tourist gaze, as well as the 'subjects' involved in managing the tourism. The concern in this section is the way and the extent to which the image of the 'troglodyte peasant' inhabiting the caves of the Goreme valleys today is present in tourism discourse. As I suggested above, the mythical element behind the tourist image of the local villagers is shown in the tourism literature through the concealment of certain unromantic 'facts' of their lives such as poverty and migration, and the over-communication of certain romantic 'ideas' concerning those villagers. Extracts from a 1970s *National Geographic* and from a more recent tourism promotion video demonstrate this point:

> Even today many of the caves are in use; Turkish farmers live in some, and others serve as stables and storerooms. New cave houses are still

> occasionally hacked out by peasants who prefer them to more expensive conventional homes...Not infrequently, Cappadocians dwelling in cones will warmly invite tourists to "come inside and see our home". (*National Geographic,* 1970)
>
> Even today many of these caves and grottoes serve as homes and store houses for peasant families. Whole villages of cave-dwellers still exist (*Explore Worldwide Ltd.* video promotion for Turkey, 1989)

It seems from these examples that when the Islamic Turks who live in Goreme village today are mentioned in the tourist literature, they are depicted as an additional aspect of the 'cavey' landscape, represented as troglodytes or cave-dwelling peasants. Concurrently, however, the villagers as cave-dwellers are generally not highlighted in this literature as a major focus of touristic attraction there. The photographs in guide books and brochures are far more likely to convey the lunar landscape and the Byzantine churches. Possibly the people of today do not meet with tourism's standards of exoticism; they are, disappointingly to tourism, too much like 'us'. Tourism in Cappadocia is therefore not explicitly 'ethnic' tourism in the sense described by Van den Berghe (1994) in relation to San Cristobal in Mexico, and that described generally by MacCannell (1992) in his discussion of ethnic relations in tourism. Indeed, some of the tourists I interviewed told me that they had not even been aware that the caves were still lived in today; they expected to find just the caved historic 'sites' described in the travel literature. For example, an Australian tourist said, "I never imagined that people still live in them. It's amazing to me that they live in them. I expected isolated sites of caves, like the underground museums or Zelve, so it's been a lovely surprise - it's made it much better here than I could even expect. I suppose it's a fascination with the association of the living history and the modern".

However, the lack of emphasis in the tourism literature on the touristic value of the 'troglodyte peasants' as part of the 'cultural landscape' of the area, is partly because there seems to be some level of indecision accorded to their worthiness of tourist interest. It is notably only the external and 'Western' generated images, such as those quoted above, which do include the villagers as troglodyte peasants in the touristic image of Cappadocia, whilst locally produced tourism promotion literature tends to focus much more strongly on the Byzantine / Christian history of the area. This might be read as the local population of Cappadocia diverting the touristic attention away from themselves, in the manner suggested by Boissevain in his introduction to '*Coping With Tourists*' (1996), whereby local people may effectively 'hide' by diverting touristic interest to something other than themselves. I strongly suspect, however, that this diversion has not been so deliberately undertaken by the people of the Cappadocia region, but is rather because a belief, or 'myth', has developed, mostly from past and

present travel and tourism literature, that the Byzantine churches are what tourists go to Cappadocia to see.

Christian Goreme

Travellers going from 'the West' to Cappadocia throughout this century have focused their attention primarily on the caved Byzantine churches and their frescoes, some of the most well preserved of which are in the Goreme valley. This was started by the churches being 're-discovered' by the contemporary Western world in the early part of this century when Guillaume de Jerphanion went to Cappadocia, and carried out a study of the rock-cut churches and their frescoes. The *Blue Guide to Turkey*, among other guide books and articles, points Jerphanion's work out as if in an attempt to authenticate the importance of the churches:

> His findings are contained in a massive work, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: Les eglises rupestres de Cappadoce(..1925-1942).* Jerphanion's lead was followed by other scholars and the importance of the churches was recognised. Today many have been designated archaeological monuments and are carefully maintained and preserved (1995:612).

The importance played on the Byzantine churches for Cappadocia's tourism is manifested in the travel guide books and tourist brochures, all of which display photographs of the frescoes painted inside these rock churches, and their texts give thorough descriptions of each of the main churches, especially those in the Goreme valley. In illustration of the emphasis afforded to this period in the history of the region, the *Blue Guide* to *Turkey* (1995) fills twelve of its fifteen pages of the Cappadocia section with a thorough description of the Goreme churches and their frescoes; the *AA Essential Explorer Guide to Turkey* (1995) fills five out of thirteen Cappadocia pages with church description; and the *Lonely Planet* guide to Turkey (1990) three of seven columns written about the churches.

Sure enough, with an estimated three hundred of these cave churches and monasteries existing in the area, mostly dating from more or less one thousand years ago, the Byzantine period in history is still very much physically and visually present today. The eras previous to the Byzantine period are usually only briefly mentioned in tourist literature, and are placed very much in the past. The Byzantine period is then so heavily emphasised in tourism discourses surrounding Goreme that it is almost brought up to the present, sometimes even to the exclusion of the present Muslim inhabitants of the region. Islamic Turks have inhabited the area since the $12^{th}/13^{th}$ centuries, following the defeat of the defending Christians by the Seljuk army and

other Turkic tribes. They and the consequent Turkish inhabitants of the region, however, seem to be largely forgotten in the tourist image of Cappadocian history.

An example of this is seen in a *National Geographic* article from 1970, written by a couple who went to stay in Goreme for a month or so on behalf of the magazine. They stated, "We had come to learn more about the ancient Christians who had carved these caves. During the month ahead, we would try to live as they had lived" (1970:127). What they actually found was a village of Muslim Turks living in the caves and undoubtedly learned their way of life more than that of the earlier Christians. They still insisted, however, on representing the caves through a Christian idiom:

> **Muslim Prayer From a Christian Cave:** Until age had weakened his voice, Yusuf had been a muezzin, whose duty it had been to call the Muslim faithful to their prayers five times daily from the mosque minaret. With Ayse interpreting, I asked him if he would mind calling the prayer from a Christian cave. He could see no harm in it. I quietly flicked on my tape recorder as he began with a quavering voice:
>
> Allah is the highest. I am a witness that Allah is one. Mohammed is his Prophet. Come to prayer, He will give you comfort... (National Geographic, 1970:138)

Likewise, this apparent confusion of the Christian past with the Turkish / Islamic present in Goreme, is shown in the following tourist's answer to my asking what had interested her about Cappadocia:

> My boss had been here, and then I saw pictures. And I studied ancient history so I was really interested in the Christian parts in the caves -I've really never seen anything like this before, it's a much more primitive society. My relatives had been here and they raved about it, and also I'd seen pictures. It's just surreal the way the fairy chimneys look - it's just like a Dali painting. And its the fact that people lived in it - all the little doors and windows. I didn't even know about the frescoes before I came and that is not all that interesting to me. It's a kind of living history. The people are still here, they are still living in the caves - and there are bars and *pansiyons* in the caves. See, we're from Australia and so we come here to see the history.

This tourist was one of those mentioned above who told me that she had not been aware before her arrival in Goreme that people do still live in the caves today. She was pleasantly surprised that they do, but it is clear from this last quote that the image of Cappadocia as a 'Christian place' had been planted so firmly in her imagination before she arrived that it continued to influence her reading of the place while she was there.

The constant re-hashing of the images presented in up-dated versions of the travel literature on Cappadocia has led to a snowball effect whereby the images and myths in tourism discourse seem so self-perpetuating that they almost develop a life of their

own. I was particularly struck by the taken-for-granted aspect of these images and myths during my fieldwork when I interviewed the British writer of *Lonely Planet* guide book to Turkey. This particular book is especially popular with the tourists in Goreme and so I asked her what she thought tourists are looking for when they come to Goreme; "I don't know, I never really thought about it", was her reply. This suggests that the writer might work by simply following the images and myths of previous texts, assuming, perhaps, that they represent some sort of 'truth'. Hence, the *Lonely Planet* continues to provide great detail about Goreme's churches, even though these churches did not actually hold much interest for most of the tourists I interviewed.

The local people of the Cappadocia region have also now appropriated this myth, most of them believing that tourists come to Goreme to look at their Christian history and to "see the graves of their ancestors". When asked in interviews why they thought tourists come to the area, they answered, "for pilgrimage, just like we [Muslims] go to Mecca".[11] Travel for most of the Goreme villagers is in any case fairly synonymous with pilgrimage since, up until recent outward migration at least, if ever they went abroad on a long trip, it would be to Mecca. In this view, the villagers' own role in Goreme's tourism is simply as providers of the services necessary to enable the tourists to go around and see the churches and the landscape. The villagers have fallen prey to the tourist myth of Christian Goreme, and they have also, to some extent, taken on board the discourse of 'preservation' of the churches and their frescoes, though this interest in the preservation of the churches in the Goreme valley most likely lies in the potential tourist income which arises from them.

Indeed almost all of the tourists who visit the Cappadocia region do enter the Goreme Open-Air Museum, the area with the highest concentration of well preserved caved Byzantine churches in the Cappadocia region.[12] This site was enclosed as a museum in 1950 and has clearly undergone the stages of 'site sacralisation' outlined above. The area of churches was *marked* early in the century by the visiting French priest, and continued to be marked in representations such as those found in *National Geographic*. The area has been *framed* by both the National Park and the museum boundaries, and the rock structures which house the Byzantine frescoes have become

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[11] Although some confusion did arise when I asked about the motivation of non-Christian tourists such as the Japanese and indeed the Turks. The general answer to this question was that these tourists came simply 'for the history'.

[12] Besides the Goreme Open-Air Museum, the main tourist sites of Cappadocia include two 'underground cites' at Kaymakli and Derinkyuyu, situated approximately 50 kilometres from Goreme and comprising deep networks of underground tunnels and 'houses' in which early Christian populations are said to have taken shelter from invading Arab armies. Another site is the Zelve Open-Air Museum which is situated seven kilometres from Goreme village and is similarly presented as Christian site even though the area was inhabited by Muslim Turks until rock collapse gave rise to their evacuation in the 1950s.

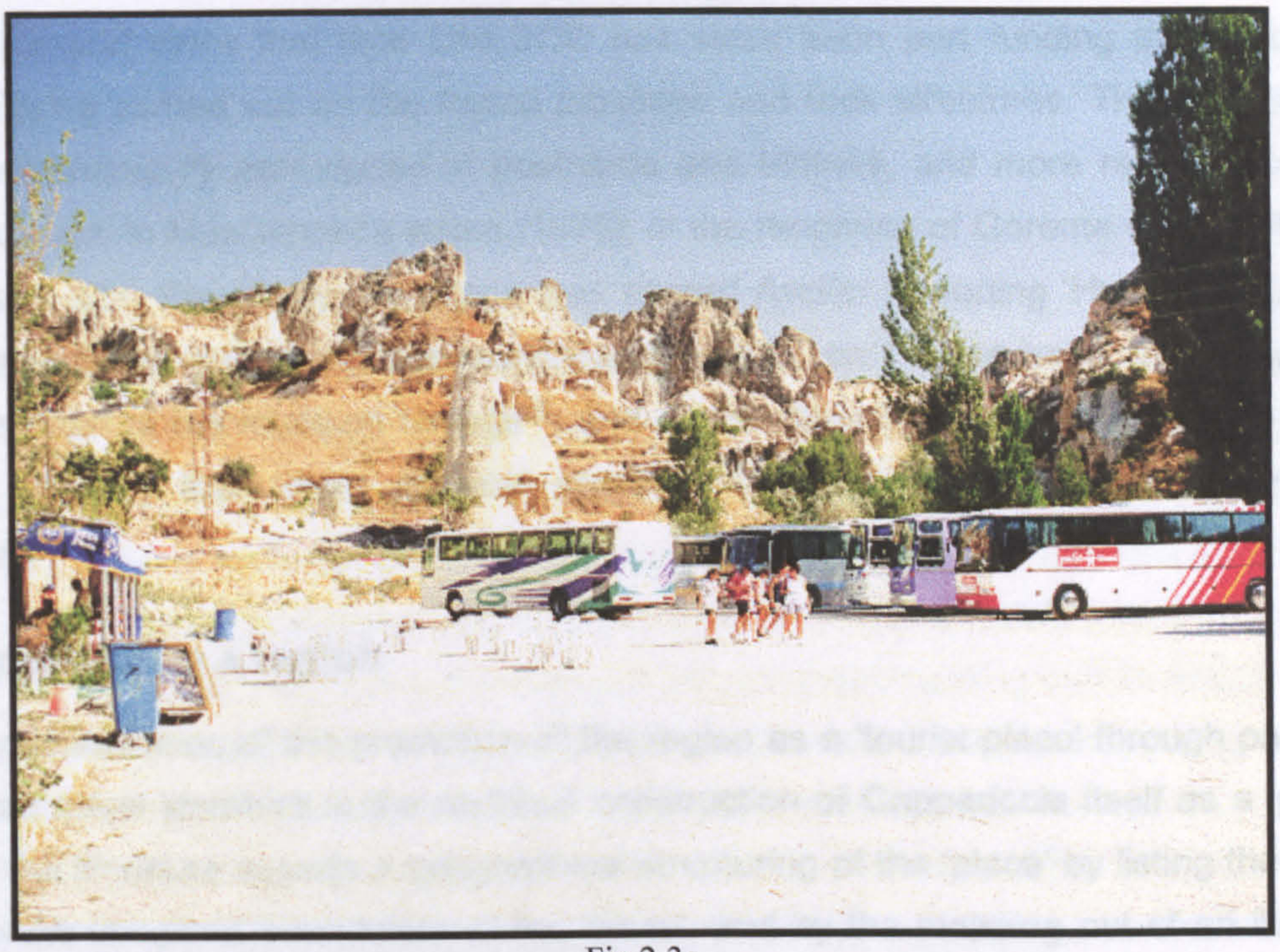
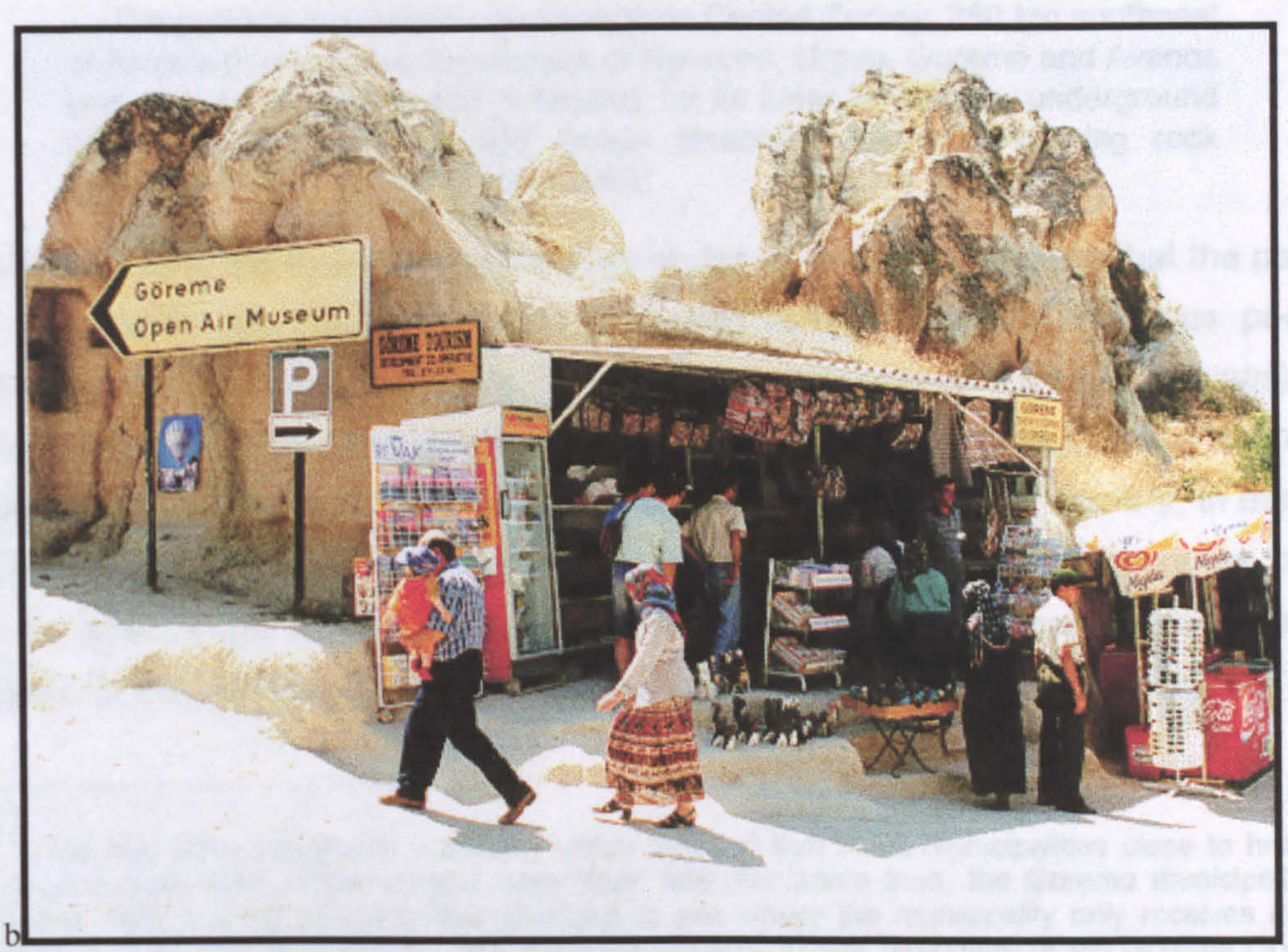


Fig 2.3a
The Goreme Open Air Museum nestles in the rocky valley above and behind the coach park. This is situated approximately 2 kilometres from Goreme Village.



b

Fig 2.3b.
This souvenir shop at the entrance to the Goreme Open Air Museum is owned by the Goreme Village cooperative.

the visited *shrines*. These churches were designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985, and since that time UNESCO has since been part funding the restoration work being carried out on the fresco paintings and rock structures. The frescoes are also *mechanically reproduced* in postcards and trinkets, and more recently, socially reproduced, in MacCannell's terms (1976), in the renaming of Goreme village after the museum site. Previously the village was named Avcilar (meaning 'Hunters'), but was renamed Goreme by the village municipality in order, on the one hand, to be eligible to receive part of the museum takings[13], and on the other hand, to associate the village more strongly than mere physical proximity to the growing fame of the nearby museum.

Cappadocia as a region

A manifestation of the promotion of the region as a 'tourist place' through past and present travel literature is the mythical construction of Cappadocia itself as a 'place'. All of the literature asserts a geographical structuring of the 'place' by listing the 'sites' within the imagined boundaries of the 'place', and by the mapping out of an itinerary for visiting those sites. The following extract from a newspaper article is one example of this:

> Cappadocia is a historic quadrangle in Central Turkey, 250 km southeast of Ankara that includes the villages of Nevsehir, Urgup, Goreme and Avanos and their surroundings and is famous for its lunar landscape, underground cities, hidden Armenian and Greek churches, and mind-blowing rock formations. (Turkish Daily News, 1998)

In some cases the tourist literature goes so far as to convey an idea that the people from the region are 'Cappadocians': 'Cappadocians are simple, religious people, honest as the day is long, who offer fair, regulated prices on pensions (*pansiyons*) and goods making this an unusual part of the country indeed' (ibid.).[14] The name of Cappadocia does not really exist at all, geographically, politically or socially, in modern Turkey. It is an ancient name for the region which, according to some accounts, dates from the time of the Roman Empire, and according to other more romantic touristic accounts, is Persian for 'The land of the beautiful horses'. In modern Turkey, the area

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[13] A law had been introduced nationally which decreed that small municipalities close to historical sites could receive 40% of the income from 'their' site. For some time, the Goreme municipality did receive this 40%, but the situation later changed to one where the municipality only receives income generated from the museum specific and approved projects. Today patronage of the Goreme Open-Air Museum is totally in the hands of the National Ministry of Culture.

[14] As I point out in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the sense of identity and community in this part of Anatolia derives from and is bounded by the village and in no sense by the region.

that has become known as Cappadocia crosses over three provinces, those of Nevsehir, Kayseri and Aksaray, though the central part around Goreme is Nevsehir Province. Through tourism the ancient name of the area has been resurrected thousands of years on.

Tourist maps create imaginary boundaries around the imaginary area of Cappadocia so that tourists and local people alike, those local people who work in tourism at least, have the region and all its touristic sites and paths between those sites mapped out in their minds (see Plate 3 for an example tourist map of Cappadocia). As a visitor myself and having read tourist literature on the region, I too had this tourist map of Cappadocia in my mind when I began my fieldwork in Goreme. Furthermore, I was aware the map became even more influential in terms of my view of the place during the time in my fieldwork that I spent 'helping out' in Abbas's tour agency in the village. All of the agencies in Goreme have a large map of the 'Cappadocia region' painted onto their walls, and I found myself having to constantly refer to one such map as I described what was on offer to tourists. After a while of this, my geographical sense of the region became heavily structured around the tours and where the sites are in the scheme of things.

A similar process is described by Black in talking about her work as an information office for the London Tourist Board: 'Whilst working as a host my sense of the geography of the UK became structured around the itineraries of the various coach tours on offer, and my sense of time organised according to the opening times of museums and the hours when attractions such as the Changing of the Guard would be 'performed' '(1996:112).[15] As a 'local' Londoner, Black is pointing out here that local people in tourist places become 'involved in colluding with a remarkably strict set of expectations and ideas about one's own culture [and place] (ibid.). She continues: 'These may bear little resemblance to the parameters which structure one's world outside the context of acting as a host, and yet they somehow make sense, or at least contain an internal logic, irremovable from the spaces marked out and sometimes constructed through tourism'(ibid.). In other words, local people's taking on board of the tourist image of their 'place' is one aspect of the touristic interactions.

Touring Cappadocia

Tours of the region are set up around the tourist map as suggested above (again see Plate 3), and most tourists visit some or all of the museum sites in the area,

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[15] This links also with the more general anthropological discussion on 'mapping' such as those by Anderson (1983); Balakrishnan (1996).

almost always including the Goreme Open-Air Museum and one of the 'underground cites'. The tourists' practices and experiences are all guided, though to varying degrees, by tourism discourse and by the tourist images of Cappadocia outlined above. Following the representations promoting the region in the tourism and travel literature, they seek the 'lunar' landscape, and the 'cultural landscape' which encompasses both the remnants of a Christian history in the area and the rural 'troglodyte' Turks who live in the caves today. All the tourists are chasing the tourist myths which have constructed Cappadocia as a tourist place.

Inevitably, however, the practices and experiences vary greatly among the many tourists who visit Cappadocia yearly. A main factor influencing their experience is whether or not they are visiting Cappadocia with a package bus group tour. This is because the tourists who are on group tours are invariably placed into a situation of 'touristic surrender', as Bruner calls it; 'Touristic surrender involves acceptance of the common practices of the group tour, such as the social requirements of group travel and the loss of the ability to set one's own agenda' (1995:237). Whilst this idea should not be overstated since there may also sometimes be scepticism or even dissent among tourists on a group tour, the practice and experience of Cappadocia for bus group tourists is very much set by, and in the control of, the agency and group that they are with. Importantly, however, it is not only the whims of the agency and the group, or more realistically the *guide* of the group, that these tourists are (usually actively rather than passively) surrendering to, and this is where Bruner's idea does not go far enough. For the tourists are also very much surrendering to the tourist images and myths which I have outlined above, because it is these images and myths which the agencies and guides are employing, as well as perpetuating, in their own practices.[16] It is not necessarily so much the tourists themselves who are chasing and continuing the tourist myths of Cappadocia, but the sections of the 'tourism industry' which those tourists buy into. As Weightman has argued with reference to package tours in India, 'false impressions generated by distorted imagery in tourist literature are compounded by the content of the package tour brochure as well as the tour itself' (1987:229). It becomes clear here how tourist images and myths are entwined with the commercial aspects of tourism.

The tourists on these tours all follow much the same pattern. They either travel via an international travel agency which has fully handled their travel arrangements from when they left until their arrival back at home. Or they may have purchased a three

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[16] The point made above concerning the constant rehashing of the same contents and images in the tourism literature comes to mind again here.

day tour of Cappadocia in Istanbul or while on holiday on the coast of Turkey. Either way, their agency places them in one of the larger higher-rate hotels in the region, most of which are situated in Urgup or on the edge of Nevsehir, but in any case, outside the boundary of the Goreme National Park where the building of such hotels is by and large forbidden (see Fig. 2.4a). Their three days in Cappadocia have a full itinerary: getting up and leaving the hotel early each morning; bussing around the tourist 'sites' and tourist shops; and then being 'entertained' in the evening either at one of the region's folk dancing shows or by a programme organised at their hotel.

Throughout their Cappadocia experience, they are accompanied by a nationally certified tour guide who is invariably from outside of the region, often from Istanbul. The guide shares with the agency control over the tourists' viewing and experience of Cappadocia. To view the 'lunar' landscape the tourists are taken to certain sign-posted "panoramic viewpoints" on high points overlooking cone-filled valleys, or to clusters of 'fairy-chimneys' which have been particularly *marked* by photography and descriptions in the tourism literature. Here the guide might provide an explanation of the geological formation of the region and its rock cones. This landscape viewing is usually undertaken on a quick stop on the way to the specific 'sites' such as the open-air museums and 'underground cities', where the guide gives lengthy explanations about the presence of Christianity in the area, and the life in the caves at that time.

On some of these tours, the guides might show their groups 'the life inside the caves today' by taking them to visit a living family cave house. Again, this 'experience' is very much controlled by the guides who act purposefully as mediator between their tourists and the 'troglodytes' they are presenting. This presentation tends to consist of and to fulfil the tourist image of the 'cave-dwelling peasants' which I outlined above (see also Chapter 6). It is important to point out here that, as Bruner again states in his discussion of 'touristic surrender', 'the tourists also surrender control of their relationships with the [local] people' (ibid.:237). The tourists on these bus tours have very little or no contact with local 'Cappadocians' besides that which is shrouded in the context of touristic commercial transaction. They are presented in the brochures with an image of the people of central Anatolia being 'the most hospitable people, proud of their heritage'[17], yet in their hotels and at the folklore shows, the service staff are as likely to have come from other parts of Turkey where they were trained in tourism service programmes.

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[17] Tapestry holidays U*ncommercial Turkey* brochure, 1997/98.

The large numbers of tourists in these groups are never let to roam around freely in villages such as Goreme, and the only possibility they might have of meeting villagers is over the souvenir stalls which some enterprising villagers have set up at the above mentioned panoramic viewpoints and museum entrances. Even these exchanges may be limited by the controlling guides who are keen to prevent their group from buying anything until they reach the bigger tourist shops which are purposefully built for bus group tourists (usually on main roads outside the towns and villages), and with which the guides have arrangements whereby they receive a hefty commission on anything sold to their tourists. Although the guides are obviously aware that they have to bear in mind and present the tourist images which led the tourists to come to Cappadocia in the first place, it is this commercial drive which leads the guides to take such firm control over the practices and experiences of their groups.

Also, it is this level of control that is considered by some tourists and in some levels of tourism discourse to be negative and to outweigh the advantages (such as the perceived opportunity to 'relax' and to let the agency and the guide take care of all the bothersome arrangements of the trip) of the touristic surrender to a group tour. As this U.S. written guide book to Turkey points out:

> Bear in mind, however, there are distinct problems with guided tours that are often compounded in Cappadocia. Although the guided tours visit many of the area's most interesting sites, they don't give you the time to get off the well-worn paths and poke around in out of the way areas, or climb through a warren of caves to the top of a cliff and rest... Second, guides take you on a circuit that can get congested, and most guides are inclined only to show you what they want to show you. You may stand in line while 200 feet away a collection of churches sits empty. Third, the amount of time spent visiting the ruins can be equivalent to, or even less than, the amount of time at carpet, pottery, and rug-weaving shops, and these establishments are no great bargain. The prices aren't especially good, even before the shop-owner tacks on the commission he is turning over to your tour company. *(Open Road Publishing Turkey Guide*, 1996)

Much of the tourist literature on Cappadocia expresses and appeals in this way to the 'over-consumption' myth discussed above, suggesting that a somehow truer experience of the region can be had by getting off the main tourist paths. This is part of an 'alternative' tourism discourse anywhere, but seems especially prevalent in relation to Cappadocia, perhaps because of the particular way that the cavey landscape of the region appeals so well to an 'alternative' tourist discourse of discovery and adventure. As suggested in the guide book above, the way to follow this more adventuresome discourse is to not go to Cappadocia on a group tour and with a guide, but to make your own way there (by public transportation or renting a car, for example). Though they are by no means *off* the 'tourist path' (see next chapter), a great many visitors to Cappadocia do follow this discourse.



Fig. 2.4a. A hotel built to resemble the "fairy chimneys" of Cappadocia. This hotel is situated outside the Goreme National Park area near Nevsehir.

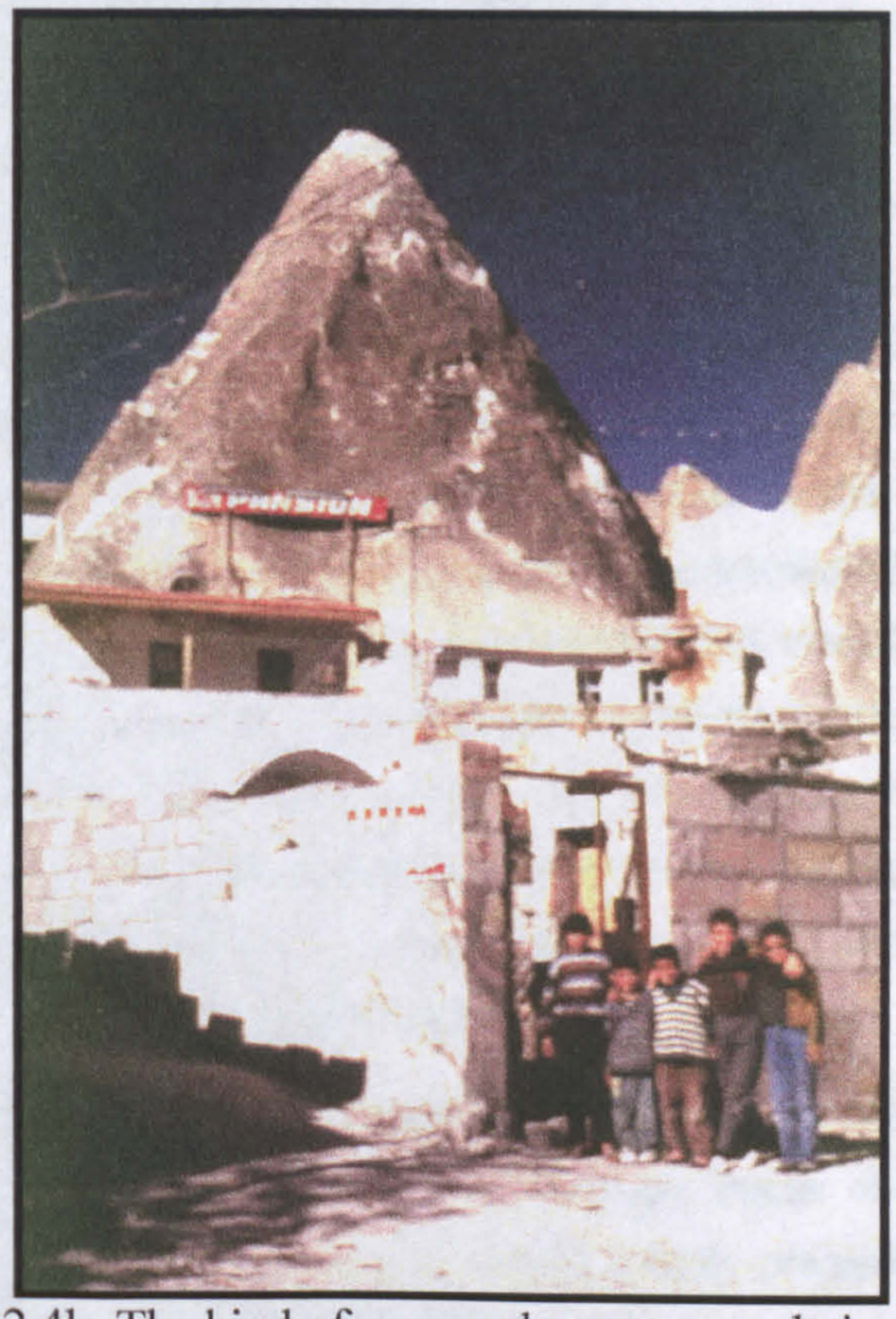


Fig. 2.4b. The kind of vernacular accommodation that backpackers prefer to stay in.

In contrast to the tourists who come to Cappadocia on a three day group tour, these 'individual' tourists tend to stay inside towns or villages in smaller, locally run *pansiyons* or hotels (see Fig.2.4b). They do sometimes take day tours of the main 'sites' in the region offered by local tour agencies, and most of them also follow the myth that the Goreme Open-Air Museum site is the main place of touristic interest in the region. However, they also spend a lot of their time in Cappadocia following the discourse of discovery and adventure, by walking in the valleys which surround Goreme village, and exploring and clambering in and out of caves and churches which they like to discover for themselves. In addition, much of their time is spent simply hanging out in the village in which they are staying; eating, drinking and shopping at *their own* will, and sometimes wandering through the back streets to take a look at the 'real' side of Anatolian life. In short, though they are like the group tourists to the extent that they are also chasing the tourist images of Cappadocia in their coming to the region in the first place, they are more free to choose the extent to which they partake or do not partake in the chasing of the images and myths while they are there. They do not follow a pre-set itinerary and their practices and experiences are on the whole not controlled by guides. Moreover, their interactions with local people are not mediated by guides in the way described above for group tourists. The discourses and practices of these tourists will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter.

It is important to note here, that I am not setting out in the thesis to compare these two 'types', practices and experiences of tourism, nor to express the idea that they are some sort of polar opposite to each other. What is at issue, rather, is the extents and the ways in which they are differentially 'tapping into' the tourism industry. Also it is important to consider the ways that different tourists classify themselves and their own behaviours and experiences, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, the bulk of tourists in Goreme generally see themselves as oppositional to package tourists. Also, in relation to the images and myths described in this chapter, the tourists in Goreme are, relatively at least, untied to and therefore uncluttered by many of the processes of the 'tourism industry' described above. As Weightman has explained, 'Since the package tour, by design, leads to limited intercultural contact, there is little opportunity to learn about the destination. Consequently, mass tourism often results in the perpetuation of stereotypes' (1987:228).

In contrast, non-group tourists are generally able to have closer interactions with the places and peoples they visit, and through these interactions, are able to re-negotiate and reform the images and myths initially presented to them through travel literature and media representations. In contrast to mass or package group tourism in which it can be difficult to decipher where hard-core commercialism might be

obscuring meaning, therefore, a thorough ethnographic study of tourists who are not surrendering to the practices of a tour agency, group, and guide, should shed light on the mechanisms of tourist discourses, images and myths that I have outlined in this chapter, as well as consequentially how these images and myths may be negotiated and even resisted by the local people and place. It is these tourist discourses to which I turn in the following chapter.

3

THE TOURISTS IN GOREME

- stories, images and the negotiation of a tourist identity.

> [T]he tourist is on the move...he is everywhere he goes *in*, but nowhere *of* the place he is in...The tourist moves *on purpose*...The purpose is new experience; the tourist is a conscious and systematic seeker of new experience...of the experience of difference and novelty - as the joys of the familiar wear off and cease to allure. The tourists want to immerse themselves in a strange and bizarre element (a pleasant feeling, a tickling and rejuvenating feeling...) - on condition, though, that it will not stick to the skin....They choose the elements to jump into according to how strange, but how innocuous, they are...In the tourist's world...shocks come in a package deal with safety. This makes the world...obedient to the tourist's wishes and whims...pleasingly pliable, kneaded by the tourist's desire, made and remade with one purpose in mind: to excite, please and amuse...The tourist's world is fully and exclusively structured by aesthetic criteria...what the tourist buys...what he demands to be delivered...is precisely the right not to be bothered, freedom from any but aesthetic spacing.
>
> (Zygmunt Bauman 1996: 29-30 [*his emphasis*])

> We are tourists but not typical ones...we try not to be, but we are. We try to go where there isn't so much tourism. We wanted to see Goreme but we only spent one night here. We are not staying in the Tourist Hotel or anywhere like that, but we're also not meeting people like staying with some man in the middle of nowhere. We have a programme, like we try to see things like the Aya Sophia and the Goreme museum. The real tourists are going on buses, stopping, looking, drinking Coca Cola - whereas we spent two hours climbing in Zelve - so we're not really like tourists. We try not to be typical tourists, but still...we are. In two weeks you can't see the way they live, and we've always had a European toilet!...We are on the outside. Turks here live on tourism, so they look at us as tourists, to get our money, not that they think of money as much as we do.
>
> (Belgian woman; tourist in Goreme)

These are two contrasting formulations of tourist experience; the first from the contemporary theorist Zygmunt Bauman and the second an extract from an interview with a tourist as she gave me an account of her experiences in Goreme together with her boyfriend. It is the contrasts in these accounts of the 'tourist' that I intend to unwrap in this chapter. Certainly, the tourists in Goreme, as Bauman suggests, are very much

on the move, they are everywhere *in* Goreme, and most certainly not *of* Goreme. And they appear to be seeking new experience, the strange and bizarre, and so on. However, it seems insufficient to merely assume that we know who tourists are and what they are doing, as has been the assumption in most anthropological studies of tourist destinations. Firstly, this is because there are many variations and blurred boundaries among the category of 'tourist', and these need to be dealt with differentially, and with closer analysis of the discourses and performances of the particular tourists we are dealing with in any location. Many theorists who have differentiated between different 'types' of tourist have tended to make assumptions about those types without adequate ethnographic backing to their ideas. A relevant example of this to the present discussion is that of Cohen's (1979, 1988) assumption that 'backpacker', or *drifter* tourists as he has termed them, are primarily seeking 'authentic' encounters on their trips, because they are, of all tourists, most likely to experience a sense of alienation in the contemporary world. Clearly, such assumptions require some level of emic research on tourists for verification.

A further idea that I want to take issue with here is the idea conveyed by Bauman above that the tourist moves around *freely* and without being *bothered.* This is an image of the tourist as someone who is in complete command of what *he*[1] is doing as well as in complete control of the world around him; the image of him as someone who always *moves on purpose*, who *chooses*, who *wishes* and *structures,* who *makes* and *remakes.* There is no doubt that in many respects tourists are in command and do manage to shape aspects of the world to their own desire (in comparison, for example, with some of the others who are on the move in the contemporary world for reasons such as migration and political asylum). What I want to introduce here, though, is the idea that the tourist is not such a complete, smoothly rounded and finished character as he is so often assumed to be, the reason being that during the process of wandering around and seeking new experience, tourists *interact* with the places and peoples they visit, as well as with each other. And since these interactions take place over time, we might consider them as processes throughout which, along with the locales they visit, tourists themselves are negotiating and (re)forming their own identity.

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[1] I use 'he' only after Bauman here. Tourists have often been depicted as male, particularly in discussions of the 'tourist gaze' and the links here with the idea of the masculine / imperialist objectification of the feminine 'other' (see, for example, Grewal 1996; McClintock et al. 1997).

In this respect, the following discussion adds an important further dimension to Riley's (1988) otherwise useful characterisation of 'budget-travellers'. Riley bases her investigation on numerous interviews carried out with travellers 'on the move', and though she discusses certain identity issues, she fails to include the notion of identity formation taking place in negotiation with places visited and experiences had. What I am suggesting here is that we should be wary of general and distant theorising about who tourists are and what they do, as generalising might lead us astray if we do not also take into consideration tourists' actual interaction with, and thus inviting the possible resistance from, the apparently *pliable* world within which they move. Rather than being a static unquestionable category, I argue, the category of 'tourist' would be better considered variable and constantly under negotiation. Indeed, I was even told by one tourist that my attempts to research tourists in Goreme would be useless because "here they all think that they're not tourists, so you won't get anywhere with them".

In this chapter I will firstly provide a broad-view picture of the tourists in Goreme, and then, by moving into a close-up view of the tourists and their stories, aim towards an understanding of their discourse and performances.

The tourists in Goreme - a general view

During the high season of the summer, the central area of Goreme village buzzes with tourist activity; tourists wander the streets and fill the many restaurants and shops which are there to service them; the little bus station in Goreme centre is crowded as hordes of tourists arrive off overnight buses in the early morning and leave by the same mode in the evenings, headed mostly for either Istanbul or the south coast, depending on which way around they are 'doing the Turkey circuit'. Somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 tourists, equal to the number of local residents living in the village, stay in Goreme every week during the busiest summer season, and there is still a significant presence of tourists throughout the winter months[2]. Most of these tourists are travelling independently of organised tour groups, and almost all of them are 'international' tourists, coming from outside of Turkey.

Significantly, no statistics are gathered by any 'authorities' in Goreme regarding tourist numbers, nationalities and expenditure in the village, and so I was unable to

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[2]These figures were calculated in 1994-1995 by C.Bezmen using the sales figures of the Nevtur and Goreme bus companies, which share business and are the predominant means for tourists to travel to and from Goreme. I collected the ticket numbers in the same way in 1998 and calculated similar results.

obtain any accurate quantitative information on these issues. It has been noted elsewhere that 'backpacker' tourists are often overlooked by governments and tourism industry bodies as the income from them is usually not taken as seriously as that from the five-star resort type of tourists (Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995). The only information regularly collected on the tourists in Goreme is that taken by the *Jandarma* (the military police who operate in the area) on forms which *pansiyon* owners should hand in each night with details including the names, nationalities and passport numbers of their guests. Unfortunately, this information is not given out for public use and so, for a description of the general trends of Goreme's tourists, I rely largely on my own and villagers' broad observations. On that view, the following quote is the reply a local tourist agency owner gave to my asking him what type of tourists come to Goreme:

> They are mostly young and middle-class. 70% of them are English speakers - mainly from Australia and New Zealand. They start in January and continue coming in all seasons. Italians and French come in one month in the summer only. There used to be lots of Germans, but now they don't come - I don't know why. They spent more money here, but now there are no rich tourists. The tourists eat their own food - we can't earn money from them - they always bargain.

To back up these remarks, statistical information gathered by a Turkish student in a study carried out in 1994 concluded that: the tourists staying in Goreme are mostly young, unmarried, highly educated and fairly low (at this point in their lives at least) on economic capital; approximately half of them are native English speakers, coming mainly from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the USA and Canada. The others come mostly from either north west Europe or east Asia.[3] These figures generally hold into the late 90s as observed during my fieldwork, though additions are that the young backpackers from Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore are increasing yearly, and also a small but increasing number of people from eastern European countries such as Poland, Romania and Hungary are beginning to travel to Turkey.

Most of the tourists enter Turkey by flying into Istanbul, though some do travel over land or sea from Greece.[4] There used to be many Europeans driving down through the former Yugoslavia to Turkey, until the troubles in that region put a halt on that method of

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[3] This survey was carried out by B. Caskun, an undergraduate student at the Nevsehir Turism Yuksek Okulu, Kayseri University. Questionnaires were given out at pansiyons and to tourists leaving at the bus station, with 293 respondents. My use of these figures here is only intended to back my and villagers' observations and should not be understood as an accurate or absolute picture of tourist trends in Goreme.

[4] Again, this description of these tourist trends was compiled through my observations and interviews with tourists in Goreme.

travel. Most of the tourists are 'backpacking' a circuit from Istanbul to Cappadocia, and then on down to the south west coast of the country from where they make their way back up to Istanbul. The Australians and New Zealanders usually stop at Canakale on the west coast to visit the site of Gallipoli, where the allied soldiers, mainly Australians, New Zealanders, and British men, were slaughtered by the Ottoman Turks during the first World War. Many tourists come to this site to 'celebrate' Anzak Day in late April when a memorial service is held. Few of the tourists go further east from Goreme, as it is generally considered that once you go beyond the Cappadocia region you are entering more dangerous ground, particularly regarding the Kurdish problems in the south-east and east of the country (for the years that I was doing my fieldwork, the Australian Embassy backed up these fears by warning tourists not to go further east than Cappadocia).

Very few Turkish tourists stay within Goreme, though with the increasing popularity of Cappadocia as a region of cultural interest, an increasing number of Turks do come to the region to visit the museums. They would generally stay in the bigger hotels in nearby town such as Urgup, however, along with the many other 'cultural tourists' of various nationalities who visit the region on bus tours. In addition, at the weekends particularly in spring time before the summer vacations begin in Turkey, the region fills with bus loads of Turkish school parties coming to visit the museum sites. Although again these tourists do not stay within Goreme village, their presence in the area is strongly felt on Saturdays and Sundays because of the huge increase in traffic moving through the village centre. On some days, the situation could only be described as one of chaos. One Sunday in May, for example, I counted as many as thirty coaches in the car park of the Goreme Open-Air Museum in the mid-morning; all of those probably drove through the centre of Goreme village earlier that morning. The traffic problem created by these buses is coming to be considered a serious problem, and during the two years of my fieldwork time, the municipality made extensive alterations to the main road by installing speed bumps and a central reservation, and by attempting (somewhat in vain) to forbid villagers from driving their donkeys and carts on the main road.

The international backpacker tourists in Goreme usually carry a guide book - the most famous one in their language, such as the *Lonely Planet* or *Rough Guide* for English speakers and *Guide Routier* for the French. Besides the advice on what to do and see in a place and a limited amount of information about history and culture, these guide books provide advice on where to stay, eat and drink in a place. There consequently tend to be enclaves of certain nationalities in different *pansiyons*. Along

Fig. 3.1. Tourists around the main street in central Goreme village.





with their guide book's advice, the tourists are also following advice from other backpackers along the way concerning where to go in Turkey, and so many of the tourists are following a similar route to each other around mainly the west half of the country. Most of the tourists are travelling independently of package tours and move around the country by public buses which are generally cheap and efficient. They are usually staying in Turkey for a length of time between two and four weeks, and the time they stay in any one place, including Goreme, varies between three and ten days. Some of the tourists, especially those from Australia and New Zealand, are on extended trips from home, many lasting between one and three years. Most of the Australians and New Zealanders have working-holiday visa entry to Britain, and are using Britain as a base from which to travel throughout Europe, the Middle East, and sometimes into Africa. Some of those with no particular time limit stop and work in Goreme's tourism businesses for the remainder of the season, a few return for the next season, and a further few take up residency in the village (see Chapter 7).

Some tourists - a closer view

In this section, I will take a closer look at a few tourists I met / interviewed in Goreme who are representative of the variety of the characteristics, styles of travel, motivations and experiences of the tourists there. Some of the people depicted I met just briefly in a *pansiyon* or restaurant in the village, whereas with some I carried out a recorded interview. A few others I came to know well as they stayed in Goreme for extended periods of time. It is important to note here that my talking to these tourists as a 'tourism anthropologist' would undoubtedly have evoked particular kinds of responses. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, many tourists with whom I spoke assumed my study to be about the 'negative impacts' of tourism in Goreme. In interviews and conversations, however, such evocation possibly served to highlight tourists' feelings on these matters rather than obscuring or falsifying them, and so is not considered a problem here.

Jake and Susan

I met this Australian couple whilst staying in the same *pansiyon* during the first year of my fieldwork, where we frequently chatted over dinner in the evenings about our experiences of the day. They seemed fairly typical of tourists staying in Goreme. Both in their late twenties, they had been travelling for eight months around the world by the time they arrived in Goreme, and were both taking time out between university and getting a job; something they said is very normal nowadays with Australians; "If you haven't done it, there's something wrong with you".

Jake had been to Goreme before, in 1989, and felt pleased that it had not changed much. He came mostly for the landscape and the caves; "You have to go into a cave to experience it for yourself". Before he came the first time, Jake had not known about the Byzantine churches in the area, so they certainly were not a factor in his initial motivation for coming to Goreme. The couple also enjoyed Goreme being a 'traditional' village; "It's nice for time to stand still in some places", said Susan. Whilst in Goreme they chose to stay in a small family cave *pansiyon* situated in the back streets of the village. They ate the Turkish breakfast and the evening meal served in the pansiyon, and most days went out 'exploring' in the valleys. They also visited the Goreme Open-Air Museum and hired a local guide there to explain the history of the churches, though they did not consider themselves 'tour people' and felt uncomfortable about the pressure they seemed to be under to book a daily tour from a Goreme tour agency. They preferred to "discover it all for yourself".

Julie and Sarah

From Britain and New Zealand respectively, and in their early twenties, this was the first time that Julie and Sarah had visited Turkey, and were on a two week 'backpacking' holiday. They had become friends in London where they both worked for the same pharmaceutical company. They chose to come to Turkey because it is a cheap country to visit, has warm weather and seemed interesting. Julie said that they thought it would "widen their horizons", but then she laughed at herself for coming out with such a 'cliché'. They thought though that it would be an interesting challenge to travel as two women in a country where they did not know the language, and which was considered at home to be mildly dangerous. They had received lots of warnings to be careful in Turkey; "My mum thinks I'm crazy coming here", said the Londoner, "but the more I got told, the more determined I became to really want to come here".

They came to Goreme by public bus from Istanbul, and were spending about four days there before travelling down to the south coast and gradually making their way back to Istanbul. They wanted to come to Cappadocia first because they had seen pictures of the rock houses. They followed their guide book's advice about staying in Goreme village, and they had noted that all the other backpackers had got off the Istanbul bus in Goreme. They were pleasantly surprised on arrival in Goreme that the area of cave houses was much bigger than they had expected and also that the caves were still inhabited. They saw Goreme as being very much a "tourist-oriented" village, however, since "everywhere there is a either a carpet shop, a *pansiyon*, or a tour agency", and "everyone speaks English". They also found it strange that there were "no women around".

Whilst in Goreme they spent a fair bit of time relaxing in the sun on the roof of the cave *pansiyon* they had chosen to stay in from the many advertised in the 'Accommodation Office' in

the bus station when they had arrived in the village. Also they had visited the main tourist sites - the Goreme Open-Air museum, Zelve Open-Air museum, and the 'underground city' which was part of the itinerary of a day tour they arranged from one of the tour agencies in the village. They has also sampled the night-life of Goreme visiting one of the bars and the 'Escape Bar' cave disco, where they enjoyed dancing to the English pop music. The two women reflected that their travelling mentalities were different from each other because of their different nationalities. Julie had only ever been on package holidays before, but this time decided to travel in a less organised manner because she wanted to be able to relax between sightseeing. She did not want to sight-see all of the time because it becomes a bit of a blur, and "after you've seen a few of the churches, it is enough". Sarah on the other hand, felt more of a sense of urgency to "see everything" because Turkey is so far from New Zealand and she might never come back again. That is why, she said, New Zealanders tend to "really backpack around".

Akira

I interviewed Akira as I was doing my interview 'rounds' in various *pansiyons* during breakfast. I include him here to represent the increasing number of backpackers coming to Goreme from Japan. Akira had been travelling for three months by the time he came to Goreme. He had made his way overland from China following the 'Silk Road', and was particularly interested in coming to Turkey because of its position "between Asia and Europe". In his mid-twenties, he had always had a passion to travel abroad because he felt Japan to be a very systematic country and he wanted to "be released from that system". In doing so, he felt that his travels would develop his character: "If I work for a Japanese company for a long time, my thinking becomes very narrow. But now I've travelled, I've got other ways of thinking". He noted that it was unusual for Japanese to travel in that way, and everyone at home had told him it would be dangerous to do so.

Akira came to Goreme because he was "interested in the strange view" he had seen in pictures of the landscape. He had also wanted to come to somewhere rural. He was enjoying the experience of staying in a cave *pansiyon* for a few days, though he said that he would not like to live in a cave all of the time because it was not actually very comfortable. The feature of Goreme that he found most amazing was that people do live in caves there; that they are living with and coping with nature. He felt that although Japan was economically superior to Turkey, Turkey was superior in terms of the way of life of its people; "Japanese people maybe used to be like Turkish people, but the system is now complete in Japan, and time is money. In Turkey, there is lots of time...Maybe I want to change, but I can't in Japan, - but I want to remember this life in

Turkey, and then when I retire, when I'm 60, I want to live like Turkish people ...Turkish people get up with the sun and sleep with the sun, it's a very slow life".

During his time in Goreme, Akira visited most of the main sights, walking to the Goreme and Zelve open-air museums, and also spent time resting in the garden of his *pansiyon* playing back-gammon with other travellers. He had walked around the village a fair bit, both in the centre and up into the 'back streets'. Up there he enjoyed the feeling that he was really a foreigner, and "liked passing and smiling at people".

Dan

A furniture maker from the USA, Dan was travelling around Turkey for a few weeks. I met him when he approached me in the street to ask about cheap accommodation in Goreme, and then I bumped into him subsequently and we chatted over beer in a restaurant. He had stayed in Urgup for two nights but came to Goreme because in Urgup he felt uncomfortable, like a target for the tourist shops there: "I don't like walking around with everyone looking at me as if I'm a walking dollar". He saw both Goreme and Urgup as "artificial", and resented "all this tourist stuff here". He definitely preferred to call himself a 'traveller' rather than 'tourist', and described tourists as those who stay in 3 star hotels, expect high services and to be entertained, and they don't have proper interaction with the local community.

During his accommodation search he had discovered the price setting between the *pansiyons* in Goreme (discussed in Chapter 5) and was annoyed that he had been unable to bargain the price of a room down. He had eventually managed to bargain for a room in a pansiyon that was actually closed because it was a cold November and this pansiyon had no heating. He managed to get a bed for US$3.5, down from the usual $5 rate for beds in the village. He did not agree with the price-setting because he saw it as fixing the prices at a tourist rate. He kept asking me how much 'locals' would pay here; he hated the idea of paying more than a Turk. I told him that the prices in Goreme were cheap because they were aimed at backpackers, and that Turks would usually pay more if they went on holiday. He argued that if he was prepared to rough it then he should be able to sleep on the roof for a dollar. He thought that the best way to travel was to be adventurous and daring, and in Turkey he had been to the south-east and "loved the PKK areas (areas where fighting was taking place between the PKK[5] and Turkish military) more than anything".

[5] PKK is the abbreviation of the Kurdistan Workers' Party.

A Group of Australians

I met this group of around ten Australians one morning as I was cycling through the village and they stopped me to ask where I had rented my mountain bike and how much for. Having just arrived that morning on an overnight bus from Antaliya on the south coast, they were sussing out the scene in Goreme and seeing what was available for them to do. They had all come to Turkey for a few weeks backpacking from London where they were living on working holiday visas. They had started in ones and twos but, because they all followed the 'Lonely Planet' Guidebook to Turkey, they kept meeting in the same towns and pansiyons around the coast. Gradually they had formed into a large group, male and female and all in their early to mid-twenties, and had travelled up to Cappadocia on the same bus from the south coast.

They seemed to find it quite amusing that I had been living in Goreme for an extended period of time, and even more amusing that I was doing an anthropological study there. They were pleased, however, to have someone to ask about the tourist facilities, and to have someone who could recommend things they should do and see during their stay there. They had heard about the Flintstones Bar from other backpackers at the south coast, and they asked me where it was, what it was like and what time it would open that day, then they concluded that they would spend the rest of that day in bars, and then do the day tour to the underground city the next day before they got on the bus to Istanbul the following night.

They asked me to recommend a good but cheap restaurant where they could get breakfast so I took them to a restaurant I knew well. Though the waiters there were very friendly with them, if a bit sarcastic in their putting on Australian accents to take their orders, the Australians did not seem at all interested in interacting with them. They seemed more interested in chattering with me and with each other. After breakfast, before I left again on my bicycle, they said they hoped to meet me again in the Flintstones Bar later that afternoon.

Alison and Clare

These Australian friends were living in the village for most of the duration of my fieldwork and I came to know them well and spent many evenings chatting with them about their lives in Goreme. While working in England with a working holiday visa, they had come backpacking to Turkey and had both ended up finding boyfriends in Goreme. When I got to know them, they had been staying in Goreme off and on over the past year between going back to London to make money in the winter months. They had previously had no intention of staying in Goreme: "I came as a tourist and thought I'd keep going...and I did, but I came back, and then I stayed".

They had both come to Turkey on a month-long backpacking holiday, along with thousands of other young Australians and New Zealanders who come for the 'Anzak Day' celebrations at Canakale. They were combining this remembrance trip with the usual backpacking circuit around the West half of Turkey. When they came to Goreme, however, they had fallen in love with Goreme men and were now deciding to stay and 'make a life' with these men in the village.

I asked the women what had motivated them to set off travelling from Australia in the first place: "Because I'd had enough of normal life, working, paying for the car, going out every weekend, and I thought it was time to get out and see the world, ..so I did". The other one added: "I was a bit lost at home, so this was my time to take off and... I'd come out of a relationship, and then my home environment wasn't quite the same because the relationship wasn't there anymore. And I'm not career orientated and I just didn't really know what I was doing, and I was just sort of living day by day, week by week,...and then Julia said 'lets go away', and I said 'yeah, lets go'".

Both of the women had been working in the *pansiyons* and travel agencies of their boyfriends while they were in Goreme. They both felt that in staying in Goreme, they had somehow escaped from the humdrum of life at home: "I'd rather stay here than go home…home is where the real people are… they've got real lives, and they've got real jobs, and they've got real mortgages … Goreme is just like a fantasy … It's just not a rat race here - it's excellent, it's really me!".

In analysis of the above vignettes, I will now begin to sort through some of the themes which arise from these tourists' stories. Unwrapping some of the aspects they share in common as well as the differences between them should convey something of the complexity of what these tourists are doing and, consequently, the complexity in their interactions with the Goreme setting.

Tourists, non-Tourists and the ill-fated plot

> We are tourists but not typical ones...We try not to be, but we are. We try to go where there isn't so much tourism...The real tourists are going on buses, stopping, looking, drinking Coca Cola...whereas we spent two hours climbing in Zelve...so we're not really like tourists. We try not to be typical tourists, but still...we are...

This is part of the quote from the Belgian tourist shown at the beginning of this chapter, and it highlights again what is probably the central and overriding theme in the discourse of the tourists in Goreme. That is the expression of their keen desire to

differentiate themselves from what they see as 'Tourists'[6] and their somewhat unsuccessful negotiation of a non-Tourist identity.[7] We might usefully regard this theme here as the main 'plot' along which all of the tourists' stories run (with some variation). The central character in the plot is 'The Tourist'; an evil character with whom most of Goreme's tourists are keen not to be confused. It takes effort to do this, however, because they also have the horrible suspicion that they themselves are indistinguishable from that evil character. And so they find themselves constantly walking on a knife-edge and engaging in a particular anti-Tourist discourse which they hope will identify them as someone other than the Tourist. However, just when they thought they were doing fine (by coming to Goreme), they find themselves caught by the very people they were trying to sympathise with - the local people of Goreme, who most pointedly of all see them as Tourists.

So who do they consider the Tourist to be and how do they go about trying not to be that character? Dan from the USA saw the archetypal Tourist as someone who stays in 3 star hotels, expects high services and does not have proper interaction with the local community. A German backpacker I interviewed gave a similar picture, though he added that Tourists are always on tour, doing nothing but *sightseeing*, and they would want to eat German food all of the time. The main point for this German masseur, however, and the focus of his unease, was that Tourists "destroy the culture" because they do not respect the culture and because they introduce money and competition. Dan's unease, in contrast, was more directly focused on himself; he saw the traveller as hero and the Tourist as victim of the locals' money-grabbing clutches.

Two Australian women came perhaps closer to the German's viewpoint: "Tourists are the kind of people that go to the coast - you know, the kind of people who have no respect". They continued: "Well, its a lack of education really. I don't like to say it but all those working class English and Irish people, the kind of people who want bacon and eggs for breakfast. They shouldn't have to start cooking bacon here for people, not unless they want to of course, but they shouldn't have to cook bacon just to suit people who come here. I'm pleased that it has been quite controlled here so far - it's not really

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[6] From now on in this chapter, I use Tourist with a capital 'T' when I intend to mean the category of Tourist that the 'travellers', or we could say, 'non-Tourists' in Goreme oppose themselves to.

[7] Riley (1988) also discusses the budget-traveller's desire to be identified as 'traveller' rather than 'tourist'. However, as I suggested earlier, Riley's discussion lacks the notion of that identity being questionable, and neither does it convey how 'successful' or not these 'travellers' are in forming and maintaining that identity. This is because the key point missing from her discussion is the interaction these tourists have with the people and places they visit.

touristy yet". Yet another tourist, a middle-aged American woman, saw the 'tour bus' type of Tourist as someone who, even when on holiday, is "moving at the pace of twentieth century life, you know, quickly going from one place to another".

In sum, Tourists are considered by these would-be non-Tourists to be the hordes who go mostly to the sunshine coasts to engage in non-intellectual activities.[8] They are generally older than non-Tourists, and they have more money to spend on luxury and western style services while on holiday. If they do go to regions like Cappadocia, they bus around in large tour groups, led by a guide who does everything for them. Whilst there they only go to the main 'sights', and there they "paw at the frescoes in the churches", as one US tourist told me, rather than having any real (intellectual) appreciation of the historical and cultural treasures they visit. They have no respect for the places and peoples they visit, and are not interested in any form of close or real interaction with those places and peoples. Finally, they have something of a bulldozer effect on environments and cultures through which they mindlessly plough, destroying everything in their path.

This oppositional theme running through the stories told by the tourists in Goreme reflects what Mowforth and Munt (1997) have termed the development of a *new tourist class.* New tourists, they say, who include the backpackers, the eco-tourists, the trekkers and the truckers, are engaging in this type of 'individual' travel almost exclusively as a strategy to differentiate themselves, in Bourdieu's sense, from class fractions below and above them: 'Of course travel has always been an expression of taste and a way of establishing class status. But, with the rapid growth in the numbers of people taking holidays, it has never been so widely used as at present. Put simply, the democratisation of tourism has created a social headache when it comes to classes attempting to differentiate themselves from one another' (ibid.:136). This social headache resonates with the idea of the 'ill-fated plot' in the Goreme tourists' stories. By this I mean that the stories that the tourists in Goreme are living out are inherently precarious because at any moment they might collapse into the unpalatable recognition of themselves as indistinguishable from the Tourists they disdain. The plots they are weaving, therefore, seem ill fated, and particularly so in the situation described by Mowforth and Munt where trends are being followed, crassified and then dropped so rapidly that keeping ahead of the masses is a difficult position to maintain.

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[8] This is also similar to the way that tourists were conveyed in the early social scientific accounts of tourism and its negative impacts, particularly that by Turner and Ash (1975).

Munt (1994) sees travelling very much as a taste-marker for the new middle classes and as directly linked to the class fractions outlined by Bourdieu (1984). According to Munt, the *new bourgeoisie,* older and professionally successful tourists, engage in a discourse which revolves around the notions of environmentalism and cultural preservation, and which identifies them as 'eco-tourists'. For them, a vast array of new 'delicatessen' travel agents have emerged, which "for the delicate discriminating and generally luxurious...offer holidays to an off-the-beaten-track, out of the way place" (1994:50). True to their apparent status and taste, many of the tourists I spoke to in Goreme who might have been described as 'older and professionally successful' did indeed engage me during interviews in 'eco-tourism' talk.

The other class faction which fits with the majority of Goreme's tourists is the *new petit bourgeoisie*. This group is noted by Munt (1994) to engage in less formalised forms of travel such as backpacking, and often involving longer holidays overseas, especially in Third World regions. Termed by Munt as 'ego-tourists', they are searching for a style of travel reflective of an alternative life-style, and which enhances their cultural capital. Driven by a new culture of individualism, these tourists characteristically "deem themselves unclassifiable, 'excluded', 'dropped out' or perhaps, in popular tourism discourse, 'alternative'; anything other than categorisation and assignment to a class" (Mowforth and Munt, 1997:134)[9]. They are, in other words, something of a counter-culture, and that is why they also consider themselves exempt from the criticisms often aimed at 'mass Tourism'. A large part of their discourse focuses on convincing themselves and others that, because of their respect for local cultures and environments, and because of their travel style being low on 'luxury' demands, they are not as harmful as 'evil Tourists' are to the places and peoples they visit. In contrast to Tourists, these backpackers generally consider themselves to have altogether more positive relations with their destinations.

However, another paradox written in to the ill-fated plot is the point that, although they engage in a discourse which stresses 'uniqueness' and 'individuality', these tourists require and actively seek the company of other travellers/non-Tourists for the support of their 'alternative' identity. If we recall, the reason that Julie and Sarah gave for getting off the bus in Goreme was that "all the other backpackers got off the bus there". Many of the tourists I spoke to told me that they liked Goreme *because* it was a 'backpacker

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[9] Riley (1988) also depicts similar characteristics in her description of 'long-term budget travellers'.

place', and an important aspect of their travel was about meeting other travellers, because they are like-minded people. Some tourists that came to the village in the quiet season showed disappointment that there weren't 'more people' around for them to meet (the only important people being other backpackers).

Equally, most of the tourists do not enjoy staying in a *pansiyon* which is too quiet, and often follow word-of-mouth recommendations around the 'Turkey circuit' concerning which *pansiyons* in Goreme are 'happening'. As Riley (1988) notes in her discussion of budget travellers, 'it is important to go to the "in" places' (1988:321). Consequently, as well as *pansiyons* tending to gather particular nationality groupings because of guide book recommendations, as I mentioned earlier, they also attract particular 'types' of backpacker. Walking into some of Goreme's pansiyons in the early evening, one is confronted by crowds of people with trendy haircuts, lying around on the terraces drinking beer and playing back-gammon. Such *pansiyons* often have a foreign / tourist manager, who's knowledge of 'what these tourists want' (for example, laid-back ambience, plenty of cheap beer and a comfortable communal area in which to meet with other travellers) is often the secret to the *pansiyon's* success. In other pansiyons, a quieter, apparently more 'intellectual' scene is taking place, with tourists reading, swapping tales from their day's adventures, and engaging in a political discussion or at least a game of back-gammon with the Turkish owner of the establishment. In other *pansiyons* still you might not find any guests, as the current trends may have rendered those places not 'in'.

So these tourists follow the crowd and, besides the obvious fun which they enjoy together, they engage in friendly competition with each other regarding adventures had, places discovered, and hardships overcome.[10] Indeed, many conversations amongst tourists sitting in *pansiyons* and restaurants in Goreme revolve around who has made the best 'discovery' by finding a valley or cave-church that no one else had found, or who (amongst the women) overcame the worst case of sexual harassment from a Turkish man, or who managed to get the most drink, food or transportation for free. This is an important part of their negotiation of their 'non-Tourist' identity, and so the tourists in Goreme very much seek out other non-Tourists, as they are the 'significant others' with whom they may engage in this friendly competitive chatter. In any case, for the

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[10] Again, Riley (1988) and also Mowforth and Munt (1998) note these features among these 'backpacker' tourists, and this fits more generally with discussions on the ways that cultural and social movements are carried forwards and negotiated through the narratives of their participants (see, for example, Fine, 1995).

large part, neither the folks back home at the end of the trip, nor the Turkish people you are likely to encounter on your way, tend to be very interested in stories of discovering a particular cave, or how cheap you bargained the museum entrance price down to. The other like-minded 'non-Tourists' are the only ones to talk to, and so it is that these tourists are all following the same routes and staying in the same villages and *pansiyons* along the way. Their 'out of the way places' are only out of the way in as much as they are away from the institutionalised Tourist. Goreme, which is cited in travel guides and backpacker discourse as being a 'backpacker place', has become very much part of the 'scene' for these 'non-Tourists', as it allows them to be with each other, but also to spatially separate themselves from the Tourist. This spatial separation is then one of the ways that these tourists attempt to overcome the problem of the ill-fated plot they are playing a part in.

Another means by which the tourists in Goreme attempt to deal with the paradox of their situation concerns the temporal style of their trip; the length of time that they are travelling altogether, the time they stay in Goreme, and how they use and experience that time. They see themselves as contrasting with the package group Tourist who is on a short trip and so must whiz through Cappadocia in a couple of days following a full and strict itinerary. The non-Tourists in Goreme generally prefer to travel for longer periods and with a much more relaxed schedule, or preferably no schedule at all. Most of the tourists outlined above spent much of their time in the village 'hanging around' in their *pansiyon*, preferring not to have to do anything at any particular time. A lot of them pointedly used terms such as 'wandering', 'exploring' and 'hanging around' when discussing their travels, and some made a point of not wearing a watch while travelling, saying they preferred sleeping and eating just when they felt like it.

A lawyer from the USA travelling in Goreme told me: "I live a highly scheduled life, so I will do things that are, you know, like not wearing a watch for days, and I've literally gone and taken a ferry and I had no clue where it was going, or the next bus,...its the absolute polar opposite, and a sort of balancing". This point reflects the ideas put forward by some tourism theorists, led by Graburn (1983 and 1989), that tourism bears a resemblance to ritual in that its role is to break up the profanity of modern existence; tourism allows the tourist to be removed from his or her everyday life (and space), and in doing so, to be removed from many of the ordinary rules and codes of conduct

present in everyday life[11]. This point is notable in Akira's comment (above) that he had come travelling in this style because he wanted to be released from the 'very systematic country' that he comes from.

Interestingly, though, the tourists on shorter trips (in this case largely the Northern Europeans) which could be seen as being cyclical, or yearly, ritual breaks (Graburn, 1989), tend to be the most emphatic about relaxing and de-scheduling their time. Those on longer trips which more closely resemble *rites de passage* (ibid.), on the other hand, such as most of the Australasian tourists in Goreme who have come on two-year see-the-world maturation trips, are often the ones rushing through the village on some tightly-packed itinerary that they have created for themselves. This was seen in the examples above from the group of Australians I encountered who were passing through Goreme in a couple of days, and was perhaps partly explained by Sarah from New Zealand who, unlike her English companion, felt a sense of urgency to "see everything" because Turkey is so far from New Zealand that she is unlikely ever to return. That is why, she said, New Zealanders tend to "really backpack around".[12]

However, due to the length of time that the Australasian tourists are spending away from home, they do tend to be 'freer' in many respects than many of the backpackers from Northern Europe. If the right circumstances arise, then, they are more likely to stop and 'hang out' in a place for a length of time considerably longer than most tourists do. Hence, many tourists in Goreme 'temporally' separate themselves from the Tourist by staying for a long enough time to feel that they begin to move out of the realm of 'tourist experience'. This is seen from an interview extract from an Australian who stayed in the village for a few months working in restaurants:

> I could have just passed through Goreme in 5 days and just thought Goreme to be the peaceful quiet village. You know, I wouldn't have got to know some of the Turkish people, wouldn't have understood their religion or their culture. I'd have just passed through and said 'yeah, I've been to Turkey'. But now I feel, I mean I've lived here for 7 weeks, I know and I've understood, well tried to understand, you know, the Turkish culture and that. So its really been a good experience for me, a cultural experience.

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[11] Again following Turner's (1973) description of the ritual process, which in turn is based on Van Gennep's earlier work of 1909. These ideas were introduced briefly in Chapter 1 of the thesis.

[12] It is important to note here the influence of a tourist's home environment on what their holidays / travel means to them. The distance of home is obviously one important factor, others might include climate and the cravings that northern Europeans have, compared to their Australian counterparts, for sun while on holiday. These more concrete factors blend with more nebulous cultural factors to add up to national variations among tourists - even tourists of the same 'type' such as 'backpackers'.

This indeed is suggestive of the idea of tourist as anthropologist, in connection with the previously noted similarity between anthropologist and tourist. A Canadian tourist who stayed in the village for a month also noted that through time he began to lose the 'tourist gaze' and "to engage with Goreme more as a living village". The longer he stayed in the village the more he lost his preoccupation with what was 'touristy' and what was 'real'.

This preoccupation with 'touristy' versus 'real' is manifested, as we saw earlier with Dan from the USA, in a heavy concern among these tourists with the prices they are paying for services and commodities during their trip. It is noted by Riley (1988) that unlike 'mass Tourists', who tend to judge prices on holiday against the standards and prices of their home country, 'budget travellers' often judge prices in relation to the local economy. It is central to these tourists' identity that they are able to travel on a small budget. Hence the term 'budget traveller' as emphasised by Riley:

> The most salient feature of long-term travellers is an all-encompassing, at times almost obsessive, focus on budgets: the price of food, lodging, and transportation. Hence, the question "how much did you pay?" (often considered a rude enquiry under ordinary circumstances) is very acceptable and expected in the travel context. Status among travellers is closely tied to living cheaply and obtaining the best "bargains" which serve as indicators that one is an experienced traveller. (1988:320)

We saw in the quote from a Goreme tour agency owner earlier in this chapter the idea that the tourists in Goreme "always bargain". And this important characteristic of the tourists in Goreme obviously bears heavily on the lives (both economically and socially) of the Goreme people trying to make a living from tourism, and has many repercussions regarding interactions between them. These issues are discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

To recap at this point, we have seen various ways that the tourists in Goreme try to shake off a Tourist identity; they try to avoid 'touristy' places and activities, they 'hang around' trying to 'get into a culture', and they engage in a competitive banter with each other about bargains and adventures they achieved. Another, final way in which these 'non-Tourists' cope with the inevitably touristic situation they find themselves in concerns their use of irony and their constant play with the category of the Tourist. For some of the tourists described above, it seems that the easiest way to cope is to admit that they are Tourists, so that they cannot be caught out when they fail to be otherwise; "The real tourists are going on buses, stopping, looking, drinking Coca Cola...so we're not really like tourists...but still...we are...we've always had a European toilet!". This was the

Belgian couple again, quoted earlier, and in answer to my asking whether they had 'got inside' the Goreme culture, as many of the tourists claim to do, they continued: "It's a kind of image building to say you got inside - so that you can tell your friends, and it's not sincere, so we don't ask ourselves to have real contact. We only go in if we're invited, but even then I still think we're outside".

Other tourists twist the negotiation of a Tourist identity around into a sort of double-irony whereby they mock themselves for being Tourists, but also for attempting to be non-Tourists. An example of this is in the answer a young British tourist gave in reply to my asking whether he considered himself to be a traveller or a tourist in Turkey: "Well it's hard to be a traveller in Turkey, isn't it? Because that's all about adventure and the cutting edge (he grinned), but here there are nice buses and plenty of pansiyons". Similarly, we are reminded of when the tourist (also British) told me that it would be pointless trying to research tourists in Goreme because "here they all think that they're not tourists, so you won't get anywhere with them".[13]

The speed at which trends are followed and dropped is fast and it seems now that tourists in Goreme are just as likely to mockingly resist a non-Tourist identity as they are to mock a Tourist one. A similar irony in tourist performances is noted by Coleman and Elsner (1998) in their discussion of pilgrim tourists in Walsingham, where they note a rejoicing and appropriation of an almost blatant vulgarity in the tourist site and the pilgrimage activities there. This resonates also with Feifer's (1985) depiction of what she calls 'post-tourists'; the contemporary tourists who have gone beyond the state of trying to deny their Tourist identity and finally fully accept that they *are* tourists.

These displays of irony indicate something of the difficulty that the tourists in Goreme have in negotiating their identity through their travel. And this is why the tourist should not be viewed (as he is in the quote from Bauman at the beginning of this chapter) as a finished category and as someone who is in complete control of his or her own identity and performances. Rather, the tourists in Goreme are constantly and consciously

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[13] It is a tentative generalisation to make, but there may be significance in the point that all the tourists I quote on the subject of irony are northern European. There might, in other words, be something of a broad nationality difference regarding the strategies used by the tourists in Goreme to negotiate what they consider to be an appropriate identity for themselves through their travels. I very seldom heard such ironic play with tourist identities being carried out by the many Australian backpackers, for example, and this leads me to wonder how significant it may be that both Bourdieu and Munt cited above in relation to these issues base their theories in a Northern European 'post-modern' context. Some interesting questions are raised here that could lead to further research on these issues.

negotiating their identity. They are doing so not only in relation to the places and peoples they are visiting, and not only in relation to the Tourist, but also in relation to each other. Their coming to Goreme is, therefore, as much a 'following of the (back-)pack' as it is motivated by what they may actually find in Goreme itself. Put simply, as one tourist did: "Goreme is one of the places you have to go to when you're in Turkey".

This point is conveyed once more in the following quote from an interview I carried out with a middle-aged psychologist from the USA. This account of why she came to Goreme also makes the appropriate links into the next main theme to be drawn from the tourists' stories:

> I wanted to go to a place, I think like lots of tourists, that lots of tourists didn't go to - that has people living in their natural habitat - so that I would actually be able to see the culture, as opposed to having to be with thousands of tourists...So my view of coming to Cappadocia was that, you know, go to Istanbul and see the sights, and I had a view of that as being very touristy and city-like and this would be more.. kind of.. really seeing what the culture was like in a very different kind of way. So I was more interested in seeing, you know, living people, seeing what it was like - as much as you could when you're travelling through. Also, when we got here, it seemed like a much calmer place, quieter.. compared to being in the city.

The 'authentically social'

The quote above, along with other examples in the earlier tourist vignettes, brings us to the second main theme to be drawn out regarding tourist quest and experience in Goreme. This is the issue of 'authenticity', one which has found a central position in much of the anthropological and sociological discussions on tourism. Looking closely at the quote above, it is possible to identify two slightly different but overlapping strands concerning the authenticity issue, these linking with the discussion on this in the Introduction chapter of the thesis. On one hand, the woman wanted to see "people living in their natural habitat". On the other hand, she wanted to "actually be able to see the culture, as opposed to being with thousands of tourists". The first refers to something which is external to her, a quality inherent in the place and people she is visiting, and is based on the 'myth' of the 'authentically social' (Selwyn, 1996). The second is more about the quality of the tourist experience and the nature and quality of the tourist's interaction with the perceived 'authentically social'. This second strand is based on the same ideas that were present in the 'ill-fated plot' of the tourists discussed above, as it concerns an awareness by the tourist that she is participating in the activity of 'Tourism'.

Many of the tourists in Goreme are on some sort of a 'Quest for the 'other'', as van den Berghe (1994) puts it. On the question of what that 'other' represents to tourists, Selwyn has said:

> The character of this other derives from belonging to an imagined world which is variously pre-modern, pre-commoditized or part of a benign whole recaptured in the mind of a tourist. This is a world which is eminently and authentically social. Thus what makes a tourist destination attractive is that it is thought to have a special 'spirit of place', which derives from the sociability of its residents. Or, to put it another way, in successful tourist destinations the natives are friendly (1996:21).

These ideas could not be more closely backed than they are in the words of one of the travel companions of the American woman quoted above. Bill, a middle-aged lawyer also from the USA, has been coming back repeatedly to Goreme over a few years. In an interview together with the woman, he said:

> I feel really at home here, there's something magical about this place. Part of it is the incredible way that this community deals with the indoor and the outdoor. There's such a natural relation with the environment...and I don't just mean because it's in a cave, but there's a kind of easy communion between the indoor and the outdoor in the way that the people live, and the way the architecture is done and so on. And I found the people to be incredibly friendly the first time I came here.

Such ideas, or idealisations, about the Goreme people and place are repeatedly expressed by many of the tourists in the village, and examples are plentiful among the tourist's stories outlined above.[14] One such example came from Akira when he said that he perceived the Turkish life-style as having "lots of time" compared to Japan where the "system is now complete" and "time is money". Similarly, a Canadian tourist told me that he wanted to go to an "authentic place" and time where "individuals are/were more significant" than they are "in our society".

As Selwyn pre-empted, many of these ideas clearly link Goreme, the place and the people, with a different time, a pre-modern time. The ideas tourists hold about Goreme life are indeed 'ideas', though. The authentically social in Goreme is very much imagined by tourists; it is a tourist myth, as discussed in relation to the 'cultural landscape' of Cappadocia in the previous chapter. These points are highlighted (notice the repeated use of the phrase 'you can imagine') in the following extract from an interview with a Belgian tourist in which she explained what she liked about being in Goreme village:

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[14] It should be remembered here also that 'adventure' tourists might also relish unfriendly natives. As Dan the American non-Tourist said, the PKK areas (i.e. war-zones) are the best!

> It is very beautiful, it's amazing that they live in houses in the rock still at this time, in days when we have electricity and so on. It seems so cosy, it's quiet, it's all very at ease, there's no stress. Also the Turk's way of life is completely different. They are all at ease, they can take their time - they don't seem to have any worries - you can imagine that nothing needs to be done, you don't need to be on time. It's all so cosy. Like in Zelve where they all have holes in the rock, so that everything is open and they have a lot of contact with each other. We have our fences, here they are more of a community, living on top of each other - literally! So it's the contradiction with what we have at home. It's really nice to take your time - you don't feel obliged to buy, there's give and take. Even when you see obvious competition between the business men, and then you see them sitting together and drinking tea - you can just imagine them like that in their caves. It is so different from home.

Because tourists are imagining the authentically social 'other' in the Goreme setting, that is precisely what they experience there. As Bruner argues with reference to tourism in New Guinea, 'The Europeans cannot progress to a more realistic appreciation of the New Guineans, because the Other reflected back to them is their own imaginary projection. They are trapped in a loop, in never-ending reflections from multiple mirrors' (1991:244). This imaginary projection, then, which is very much fed by past and present travel and tourism literature as discussed in the previous chapter, has important consequences concerning the nature of the interactions between the tourists and the place and people of Goreme, as well as to the identity constructions of each.

To take this analysis a step further, we can ask why it is that these tourists seek, and what they hope to gain from, an experience of the pre-modern authentically social 'other'? Bill, the lawyer, provides answers to these questions in the following:

> I find it hugely comfortable, sort of walking around, grinding back into natural rhythms, and for me it helps enormously, and that's the whole reason why I take these vacation trips, cause I get back and I look out of my high-rise, and I see people screaming all around, and I just know it's not *that* important, you know, people do just fine on 99% of the earth's surface and it's just not that important.

Such feelings and tourist quests have been associated with a wider climate of what has been termed a 'post-modern' nostalgic yearning (see, for example, Jamieson 1991, and Urry 1990), and are very much implied in MacCannell's ideas (discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis) on tourists seeking to 'overcome the discontinuity of modernity' (1976:13) by experiencing authenticity in other (pre-modern) times and other places.

Viewed in this way, the travel experience becomes akin to a kind of therapy (perhaps with an almost drug-like effect; one tourist likened travel to out-of-the-way places to getting "the perfect fix"). Through travel, people who experience a sense of discontinuity

or 'rupture'[15] in their home 'world' can experience another world which they feel to be more coherent with their sense of self. As Errington and Gewertz (1989) concluded from their observations of 'travellers' in New Guinea, "the encounter with what was seen as the 'primitive' - the exotic, the whole, the fundamentally human - contributed to their own individuality, integration, and authenticity" (1989:42). Indeed, the Canadian tourist mentioned earlier seemed to have these very ideas in mind when he told me: "In our society, the huge level of business makes individuals seem insignificant. So I wanted to experience a time when individuals were more significant...Here, I get a sense of mastery, the accumulation of these memories increases the sense of self - I'm expanding myself with different experiences". Similarly, Alison and Clare who stayed in Goreme for an extended period felt that Goreme life contrasted with the humdrum and "rat-race" of life at home, and the US lawyer found his travel experiences to have an extremely cathartic effect:

> I find that I have a perspective on my life when I step back from it and travel, and it's so interesting seeing other peoples' perspectives on things - it's absolutely fascinating. Each time I come back, I think I'm a broader and wiser and better person, and a much calmer person, every time I travel. In fact, it's interesting that people now remark that I've become much calmer. Travel's been a big part of my maturation process.

It seems that it is not only by experiencing the 'authentically social' that travelling has a therapeutic effect, but also in the removal from 'home' and the experience of a 'different' and relaxed life-style for a while. Moreover, it is therapeutic to meet many other like-minded travellers and to feel a sense of group or community together with them, as so many of the tourists in Goreme clearly do. Again, the analogy of tourism to ritual is useful here; the tourist removes his or herself from ordinary life and undergoes the ritual process in *communitas*, an intense togetherness with other ritual doers. It is precisely this sense of *communitas*, which is gained from 'hanging out' with other like-minded travellers in Goreme *pansiyons*, for example, that is therapeutic. To illustrate this point, I will quote an extract from my field-dairy on an observation I made concerning the tourists that stayed in a pansiyon in the village which I frequently visited:

> It is amazing how many of the tourists there are travelling alone and seem to be screwed up in some way or other; having crises in their lives, relationships, in themselves. All three of the guys that I've met there this week, who coincidentally are all sharing the same dormitory room, are travelling to

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[15] This is the term used by Miller (1995) in his discussion of the condition of modernity to refer to the situation "in which very little of what we possess is made by us in the first instance", and so "one is living through objects and images not of one's own creation" (ibid.:1).

> get away and to sort things out; to be alone but also to speak to other travellers who are unconnected to their home situations. They've all been staying here for a week to ten days now, hanging around the pansiyon and going for long walks together in the valleys. They have no interest in the village, as such, nor with interacting with Turkish people. They've all become busy sorting out their own and each other's crises...I've just seen them off on their buses this evening, to Istanbul, Ankara, on their ways home, and hopefully they have made some headway while in Goreme.

There is a strong sense here that Goreme was used as a venue in which these travellers could enter into a sort of 'therapeutic community'. The situation is similar, for example, to 'drop-in centres' in England where therapy-patients can temporarily leave their problematic usual lives (and people) and be surrounded by the safe and comfortable atmosphere of strangers in order to talk about their problems. So, besides the authentically social being inherent in the local community (in the tourist imagination), it is an integral part of the community of travellers themselves which forms in 'backpacker places'. A comment left by a tourist in a Goreme *pansiyon* visitor's book summarises this point:

> I seem to have stumbled on an Australian expatriate community - maybe some sort of homing instinct brought me here. Cappadocia is perhaps one of the highlights of Kathmandu to Istanbul (Yes, I am a neo-hippy!). Restful, sleep in my cave, a real re-birthing experience. Friendly people, no hassles. Thanks
> - Campbell, Australia.

It is unclear here whether Campbell is referring to friendly 'local people', as Bill was earlier, or to a friendly 'Australian expatriate community'. I suspect that it might be a combination of both whereby the local people and place provide an enhancing backdrop for a more 'real' sense of *communitas* with his fellow travellers. It is the combination of both which makes the 're-birthing experience', but it also gives rise to an interesting ambivalence concerning precisely where that experience is taking place. For some tourists, in other words, the quest and experience of the 'authentically social' lies much more with fellow tourists and the 'community' within *pansiyons* and tourist bars, than with ideas and images concerning the lives of the local people. It follows, therefore, that not all of the tourists seek to experience the 'authentic' in Goreme, in the pre-modern sense as described above.

And this is where I take issue with Cohen's continuum of tourist types, introduced in Chapter 1, which is based on the idea that 'intellectuals and other more alienated individuals will engage on a more serious quest of authenticity than most rank-and-file members of society' (1988:376). It seems that Cohen's dichotomy of these 'ideal types' of tourist is vastly oversimplified, and that it obscures much of what is actually taking

place, as well as obscuring the aspects of 'authenticity' which are actually important to these tourists. As I have shown here, there is a plurality in the kind of 'authenticity' these 'alienated individuals' might be seeking; some may seek a pre-modern authenticity in the places and people they visit, while others may seek the authentically social in the company of their fellow travellers. Others still may seek a combination of both of these.

Furthermore, Cohen's continuum runs between the 'mass'-type of tourists, who merely seek 'recreational' experiences through tourism, and 'drifter'-type tourists (backpackers, and so on), who are the ones who experience more alienation in their own society and so the ones who identify with the primitive 'other' as their 'cosmic centre'. Though I did not do a significant amount of comparative research with 'mass' tourists, this idea seemed immediately refuted when, at a beach on Turkey's south coast, I overheard a conversation had by a group of tourists from Manchester who would fit precisely with, as one backpacker in Goreme described the tourists on Turkey's coast, the "working class English and Irish people...the kind of people who want bacon and eggs for breakfast". A sun-burnt middle-aged man told his companions that this was his fourth time to Marmaris and he loves it. He said that he "could move here tomorrow, its an ideal place to live. There's too much thieving and violence in Manchester nowadays". Surely he too enjoys the experience of the 'authentically social' in Turkey, because he too seems to experience some amount of alienation in contemporary Manchester life. Cohen's sweeping assumption, therefore, that fundamentally different feelings and processes are going on in 'drifter' tourism compared to 'mass' tourism, is perhaps closer to intellectual snobbery than anything else. It may be, as Bruner has suggested, that 'authenticity is more in the mind of the Western social theorist than in the mind of most tourists or natives' (1991:241).

Certainly, the tourists in Goreme, despite all being roughly of a similar 'type' in Cohen's view and all roughly of the 'new middle classes' in Munt's (1994) sense, differ greatly both in the extent of their quest for 'authenticity' in the place itself, and in the extent to which they are prepared to put up with perceived inauthenticity. In contrast to Bill who is (perhaps significantly) from North America, the three men with 'crises' about whom I talked above did not show any interest whatsoever in experiencing anything of the 'natural rhythm' of the Goreme community and place. One of these men had not even been aware that there was a part of the village where local people lived; he had presumed Goreme to be a village built purely to accommodate and service tourists so that they could wander in the valleys looking at the bizarre rock formations there. Other tourists also perceived Goreme mainly as a 'tourist village', and this observation was

made with varying degrees of disappointment concerning the perceived loss of the 'real village'. Others still, such as the gang of Australians whom I depicted above, did not pass any comments on such issues at all and seemed to be far more interested in where to drink and have fun with their fellow Australians than anything else.[16]

If the tourists in Goreme do not necessarily sit closely together on the 'authenticity' continuum which is so often used to classify tourists, then maybe another criterion might be used. That is the third main theme to be drawn from the tourists' stories outlined above: that regarding 'adventure' and 'discovery'.

The quest for adventure, not 'touristic surrender'.

> "We're not 'tour' people, it is better to discover it for yourself...it's like exploring as a child, you feel as though you will find something that no one else has found".
>
> "I don't take tours because I prefer to be free to being guided and controlled - then I can explore, and climb up tunnels whenever I want to"
>
> "I really don't like tours, any of them. Being armed with a guide book is kind of unfair...it's not quite like the Marco Polo experience where you're travelling and discovering new stuff".
>
> "One of the things I like best about travelling is getting up in the morning and having no idea who I'm going to meet that day, or what I'm going to experience. Some of them may not be particularly pleasant either, but they are memorable".

These quotes from interviews I held with tourists in Goreme show that an important element of the tourists' oppositional relationship with organised 'Tourists' is centred around the issue of the 'tour'. As I pointed out in the latter part of the previous chapter, the travel-style of the tourists in Goreme is opposed to what Bruner (1995) has termed the 'touristic surrender' of the tour group whereby the tourist must succumb to a fixed itinerary and to the control of a guide. The discourse of Goreme's tourists, rather, promotes the ideas of 'adventure' and 'discovery'.

One afternoon at the Goreme museum, I listened to two backpackers who were watching and commenting on the hordes of tourists following their guides. The

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[16] A tentative link might be made here following the point made earlier that Australian tourists were the least likely to try to assert a non-Tourist identity through ironic behaviour. On the whole, Australians seemed less concerned than northern American and northern European travellers about experiencing 'authenticity' through interaction with the place and people of Goreme.

Australian traveller remarked "I don't like being told what to do. At home I have to work, so on holiday I want to be free to do what I want, when I want". The other, who was from Singapore, contested, "But they [group tourists] are very relaxed. They don't have to make any decisions. They just follow, it's very easy". The Australian replied, "Yeah, but that's exactly what I don't want to do!". So although these backpackers do visit the main tourist sights such as the Goreme Open-Air museum, and they often listen in to information from other groups' guides, they like the freedom to move on when they wish. To "follow other tourists around all day, and to have to listen to all that boring information", as one tourist said, is not their idea of a good time.

Despite their dislike for this method of sight-seeing, many of Goreme's tourists do take tours of the region. Indeed, there were between fifteen and twenty tour agencies operating in the village during my fieldwork period. If tourists only have a few days to spend in Cappadocia it is clearly easier to visit some of the main 'sites' by organised tour. Images and myths in the travel literature discussed in the previous chapter tell tourists that they must see certain sites, and so a tour might be something that 'has to be done' so as to ensure that nothing important is missed. This further highlights the plurality in these tourists' quests and experiences. And it is because the different quests and experience may clash and contradict with each other, that their 'non-Tourist' identities must constantly be negotiated and re-worked throughout their travel experience; once again, this is the ill-fated plot of these tourists.

Clashing with their urge to see the main tourist sites during their trip, these non-Tourists are driven by the 'cult of individualism', as Munt (1994b) has it, and a desire to have what Urry (1990) refers to as a 'semi-spiritual relationship' with the tourist object. This is what Urry calls the 'romantic gaze' of the tourist as opposed to the 'collective gaze' which is had by the hordes who travel on large coach trips, and reminds us of the part in the quote from the American psychologist where she said that she wanted to "actually be able to see the culture, as opposed to being with thousands of tourists". A further illustration comes from Bill, who had at some point during his stay in Goreme conceded to taking a day tour of the main sites, and afterwards compared this to wandering around freely:

> Wandering in the back streets of this town, and the farms and the fields, you get a feeling that there's a lot more to it, you get like a slice of what it really is here, as opposed to yesterday on the tour, or walking through the open-air museum where you're surrounded by tourists, all pawing at the frescoes, and there in the standard route, with the churches and all that stuff, and 'here's the next step and you can buy this and that'. So, having the chance to see the

> normal stuff is what I really wanted to get out of coming here - I really don't like tours, any of them

Similarly, a Canadian told me while we were hiking in a Goreme valley: "In the valleys I feel as though I'm discovering something new - in this valley, and with this view, I feel as though it's all mine! Whereas, in that underground city, I knew that there were thousands of other tourists going through". The tourists in Goreme desire what they regard as individual and unique experiences which cannot be had on a group tour. In addition, they want to be in control of their own travel agenda and to be able to frame their experience themselves rather than having it staged and pre-framed for them. This point is shown by the Canadian in a conversation about why he preferred wandering freely to being on tour:

> When I was on the tour, I was told what I was looking at - 'this is a panoramic view', I was told what to do, I was guided through the whole experience, whereas, part of seeing it on your own is the idea of creating your own internal text of what the world's made up of. In a tour, if I ask 'what do I see?', the answer is given to me. Out here in the valley the answer isn't so given - I have to get it, I have to create my own idea of what's going on. I get a sense of mastery from this, expanding myself with new experiences.

If the experience or encounter is already decided upon and packaged as a touristic event, then these tourists lose their own sense of framing and subjectivity and their interest is lost.[17] The important point in this arbitrary and open quality of the tourists' experience is that it meets with their serendipitous quests. The pre-planning of a tour removes the possibility that the unexpected may happen because all the tourists know that the day's events have been undertaken by the guide numerous times before and that nothing, or very little, is new or left to chance.

These 'adventure' tourists prefer the possibility of encountering the unexpected; of coming across a hidden cave-church that was not written about in the guidebooks, or of being invited by a farmer to eat some fruit off his trees. They enjoy allowing, even inviting, the object of their interest - the locality and the local people - to also be active in the writing of their experience. This was described by a tourist from New Zealand who had made the effort to rent a motorbike in order to visit the 'sights' around the Cappadocia region rather than taking a daily mini-bus tour. He said that being on the bike he had enjoyed the chance to stop in villages "where there was all sorts of life

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[17] Pizam (1994) takes these points further in his discussion of 'virtual travel' created through computerised simulators. He explains here that the ability to frame one's own experiences is critical to the consolidation of the self (p 421)

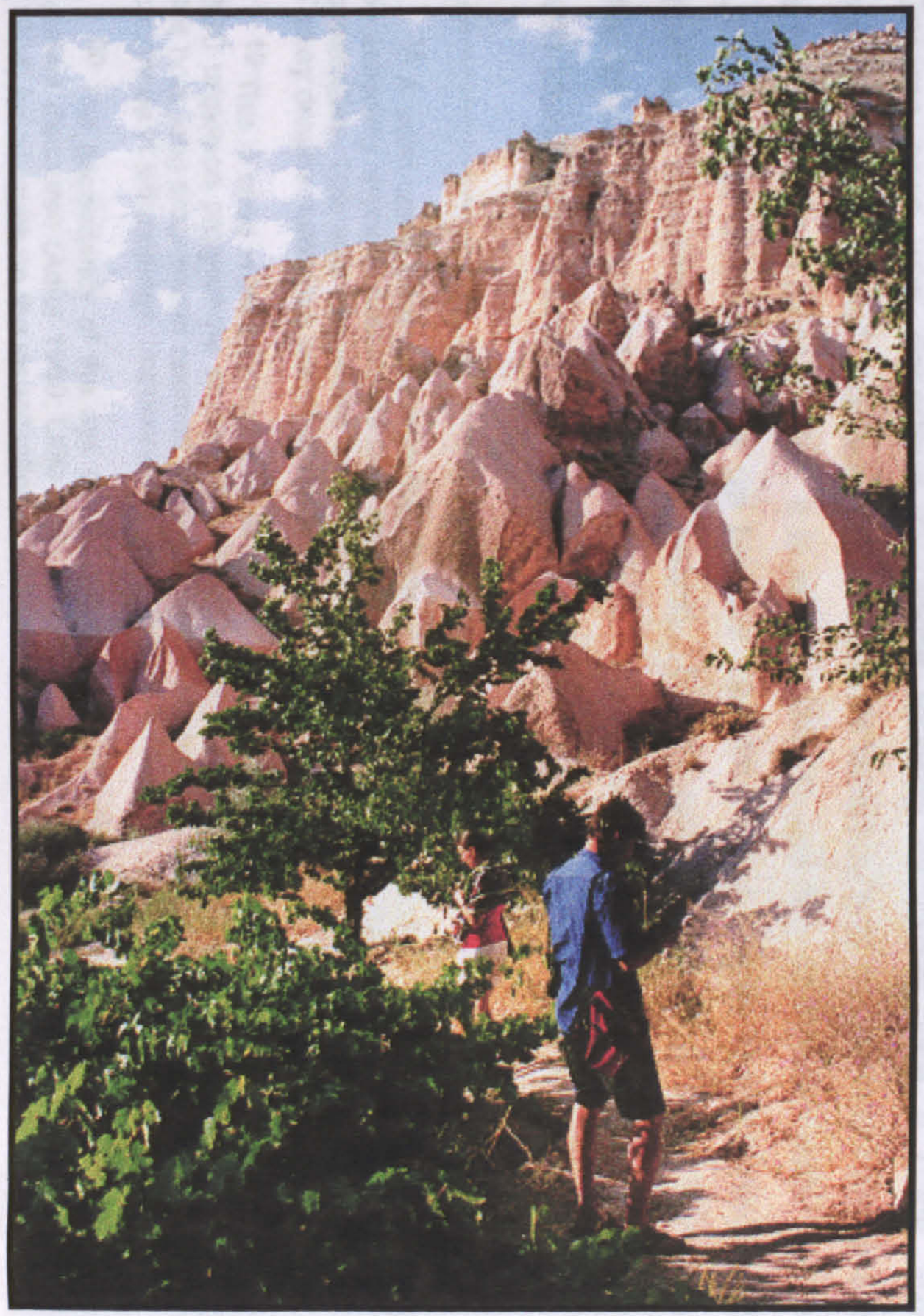


Fig. 3.2a Exploring in the valleys around Goreme

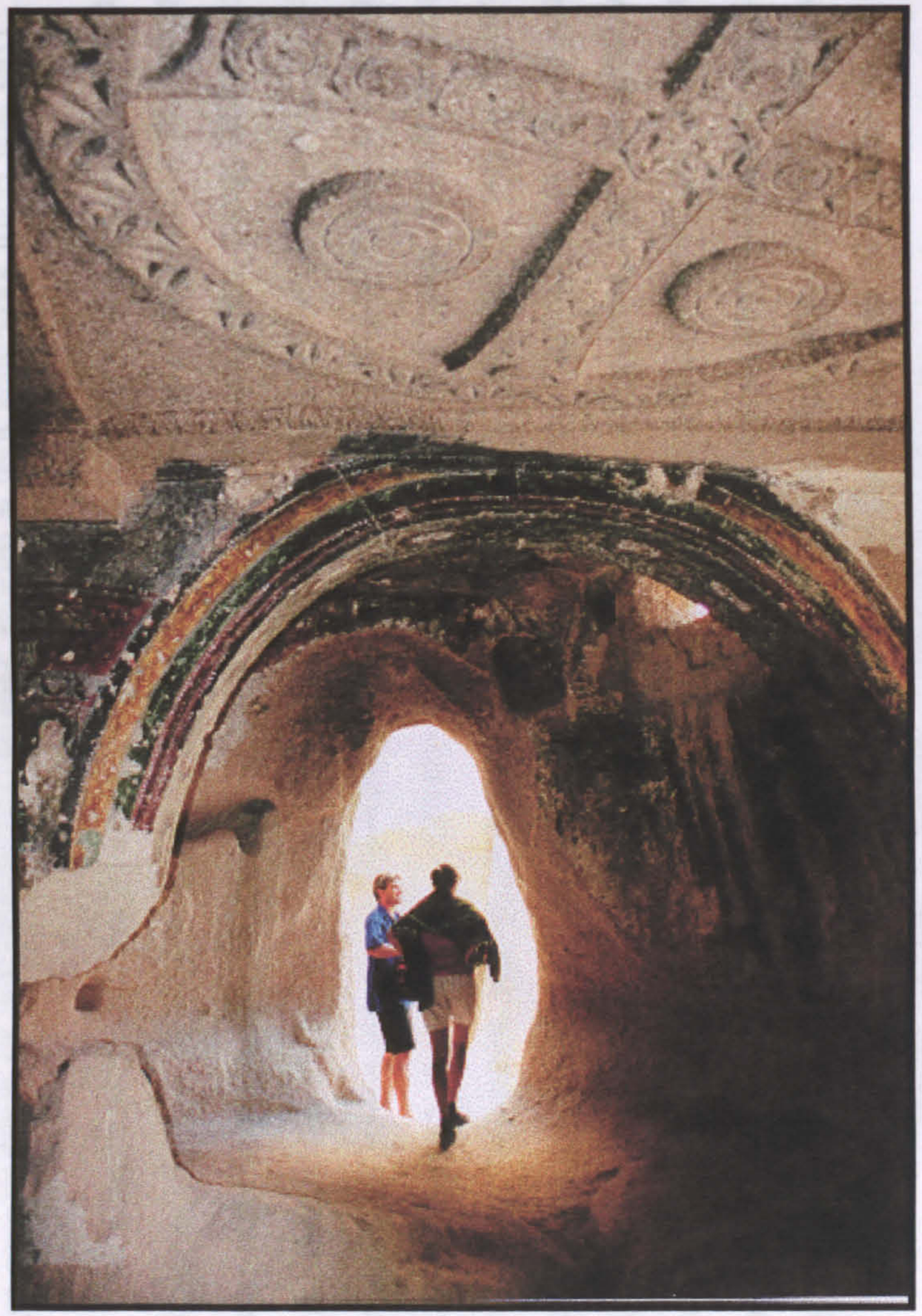


Fig. 3.2b Discovering a church in a valley

going on". He continued "I was invited to a wedding in one village and to join in Turkish music and dancing in another - little boys crowding round the bikes and asking for rides - it was much better than a fixed tour".

This discourse of discovery and adventure feeds directly back into the issues discussed earlier regarding the 'competition' which these tourists hold through their chatter with each other in the Goreme *pansiyons.* As well as the sheer enjoyment to be had, important symbolic capital is gained through tourists' proving they can have 'close encounters' with 'real' local people (i.e. those who do not work in tourism and who cannot speak English), and can cope with untoward, even potentially dangerous events.[18] The small tour operator *Encounter Overland*, for example, expounds the philosophy that: 'With true adventure there is always an element of chance and of risk. This fact is not regrettable. It is often the fact upon which the best travel experiences are based.'[19] As I pointed out early, the tourists in Goreme *pansiyons* can often be heard competing about who has had the most wacky experience with a local, who has been caught up in the most road accidents whilst in Turkey, and who got the worst grazes from falling whilst clambering in the caves and tunnels of the Goreme valleys.

This last point indicates that a further part of the 'adventure' in Cappadocia arises in tourists' ability to clamber and explore in Goreme's *physical* landscape. Indeed, the Goreme area was described by some tourists as being "like a huge adventure playground for adults". And whilst the Goreme landscape is on the one hand a spectacle to be gazed upon by tourists[20], it is also a place to get into, to *interact* with. According to Little, 'tourist discourse, set up by tour operators and tourist entrepreneurs, fashions itself as a mass-mediated visualisation...Tourist productions of all sorts 'focus' on what the tourist sees' (1991:149). And that, I would suggest, is a large part of the problem with tours. With grazed hands and bruised knees, Goreme's tourists coming back after

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[18] A point worth adding here is that, through their 'independent' and 'adventurous' travel, women may be asserting stronger statements than men are about the self concerning their freedom, independence and capabilities. This was suggested by the two young women described in the vignettes above who went to Turkey despite numerous warnings not to from friends and family back home.

[19] This is cited in Mowforth and Munt (1998:146). Another example of this came in the form of a recent BBC television programme entitled *'Destination Nightmare'*. As part of the 'consumer programme' series, this hour long programme seemed almost to celebrate the true-life stories of holiday-makers who had been caught up in kidnappings, imprisonment, and bomb-blasts.

[20] The ascendancy of the eye over the other senses has led to an over-visualisation in tourism and tourism discourse (Adler 1989; Little 1991; Tucker 1997). See also Game (1991) and Veijola and Jokinen (1994) for critiques on the visualisation in tourism theory.

a day of hiking and clambering through caves and fairy-chimneys certainly looked vibrant in comparison to those climbing out of a mini-bus after a day's tour of the 'sights'.

To return to where we began in this chapter, the tourists in Goreme do seem to be *'consciously and systematically seeking new experience'*, but not necessarily by '*choosing the elements to jump into according to how strange but how innocuous they are'* (Bauman, 1996). Unlike the Tourist, these non-Tourists do not want the world through which they move to be absolutely '*pliable*' and '*obedient to their wishes*'; they want that 'world' to speak back to them, to surprise them, to challenge them, in order to satisfy their serendipity. Through their discourse of adventure and discovery, these tourists deliberately place themselves into a situation in which they are not completely in control of their travel experience. Travelling for them is all about "getting up in the morning and having no idea who [or what] you will meet that day", and they closely follow the philosophy of the founder of the *Lonely Planet* guidebook series: 'Don't worry about whether your trip will work out. Just go!'[21].

Concluding the tourist 'scene'

We have seen throughout this chapter that the tourists' identity is constantly in a state of flux; it is an identity always under negotiation together with other tourists and with the people and places those tourists visit. The tourists in Goreme are constantly and consciously working to be part of the 'scene' which identifies them as 'counter' to the mass Tourist, and the guidebooks such as *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* play an important role in making sure that their readers know what and where the scene currently is. Mowforth and Munt (1998) describe this 'alternative scene' as part of the 'new social movement' which falls under the more general rubric of *conservationism* and is based on the principle of a dissatisfaction with capitalism and associated mass consumerism / tourism.[22] Indeed, the mission statement of the *Rough Guide* series reads: 'to provide the most reliable, up-to-date and entertaining information to independent-minded travellers of all ages, on all budgets'. Such books thus help to create and reinforce the 'independent traveller' public of which the tourists in Goreme are very much a part.

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[21] This 'philosophy' is stated in 'The Lonely Planet Story' printed on the back page of every copy in the Lonely Planet guidebook series.

[22] Furthermore, the range of *new tourism* operators, guidebooks and interest groups, such as Tourism Concern, all work to reinforce the 'counter'-code of ethics and practice (ibid.).

However, the struggle of their identity is caused largely by the awareness that they are indeed tourists, and so the struggle is frequently manifested in a twist of irony whereby they must finally accept who they really are and what they are doing; this, indeed, is the condition of the 'post-tourist' (Feifer 1995). Post-tourists can no longer ignore the paradoxes inherent in their tourist view on the world; they know that they do not instantly become noble savages when they stay on a tropical beach (ibid.:271). Moreover, post-tourists accept the pleasure they find in the community with other travellers as much as in experiencing the 'authentically social' in the places they visit. They openly seek some form of therapy through their travel experiences, and while for some tourists that comes in the belief that the 'natural rhythm' of Goreme village life will somehow rub off on them, it comes for others from the *communitas* with like-minded tourists in the Goreme *pansiyons* and bars. Rather than being an homogenous group, therefore, all with similar quests and expectations from their stay in Goreme, these tourists have a variety of quests and experiences, and consequently a variety of ways of relating to the Goreme people and place.

They do have in common, however, a quest for adventure and a desire for the unexpected in their travel experiences. They have an acute distaste for any sense that their travel experience is pre-planned or 'staged' for them, because that pre-planning would leave no room for the unexpected or for the environments within which they move to speak to them. And this is precisely why tourist identities should be seen as embedded within and under negotiation alongside the places and people they visit. This chapter has thus highlighted the complexity in tourist quest and experience, and so we need now to consider the local views and strategies regarding tourists and tourism by taking an equivalent look at the complexity of Goreme lives. That is the focus of the following two chapters.

4

GOREME LIVES
- CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

A short rhyme often repeated in Goreme might serve to summarise the way the Goreme people see their lives today:

Yazin, turizm. Kisin, kuru uzum.
(In summer, tourism. In winter, dried grapes.)

Tourism now plays a prominent part in Goreme life, most obviously throughout the summer. It is generally estimated by villagers that around ninety percent of the people of Goreme benefit from tourism either directly from their own work or through the involvement of other members of their families. The rhyme above, however, is expressive of a duality which exists in the lives of the Goreme people; not only a seasonal duality, but also one concerning their economic and social activities, particularly, as we will go on to see, in view of gender segregation. To focus this thesis entirely on tourism and touristic interactions, therefore, would run the risk of presenting an unbalanced view in which the people of Goreme are conveyed, along with the people of other tourist destinations, as living *for* tourism rather than *with* tourism.[1] As my fieldwork time in Goreme progressed, I became increasingly aware of and subsequently drawn into the social and economic activities taking place in the village not concerned with tourism. This chapter focuses on these other activities, aiming to develop a picture of the socio-cultural backdrop of the village, within which tourism has emerged.

During my fieldwork, when I sometimes turned away from the tourism for a while and wandered through the 'back streets', or visited women in their homes and accompanied them to their fields surrounding the village to help them in their work, I saw many of the usual characteristics of Turkish village society, as depicted in Stirling's (1965) ethnography, at work.[2] As in other Turkish villages, the household is

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[1] This is a point also made by Black (in Boissevain (ed.) 1996) concerning the way that much of the literature on tourism conveys local populations as culturally weak and lacking an internal dynamic, in relation to tourist populations at least.

[2] See Chapter 1 of this thesis for a brief overview of the main anthropological works on Turkey to date.

the central unit of social organisation in Goreme and, in accordance with all Islamic societies, there is a strict segregation of the sexes with a well-defined distribution of economic and social activity according to gender which is upheld by strong principles of honour and virtue. Most households own gardens or small fields which are worked with the use of mainly simple technology and through a variety of labour exchange networks. Production is mainly for home consumption, and any surplus is sold at the market, the profits going towards the purchase of basic household goods and the payment of taxes. A sense of belonging to Goreme (being '*Goremeli')* is central to individual identity, and there is an extremely strong sense of 'insider' community.

However, Goreme today is also very obviously an inextricable part of national and global processes, both social and economic. Through tourism and migration, the people of Goreme have, alongside their activities as subsistence farmers, become entrepreneurs and wage-labourers. It is precisely because of situations such as this that Kearney (1996) has urged for a 'reconceptualising of the peasantry' in anthropology of the contemporary world, and indeed it is the duality of activity described in the rhyme above which is indicative of the ethnographic complexity of the Goreme situation. This chapter, then, together with the following chapter which focuses more specifically on the tourism business in the village, is an introduction to the variety of Goreme lives. This is intended to show why it is that some Goreme people are more involved with tourism than others, and to develop a sense of how and why they deal with and experience tourism in the ways they do. In this discussion I will at times refer more closely to particular members of the village and their immediate family groups in order to convey the spectrum of the various situations that villagers are in. I will begin by introducing those characters, and will use their cases as sign-posts for discussion as the chapter continues.

Some Goreme Lives

'Anne'

'Anne' ('Mother'), as I knew her, is elderly and, having become completely blind, has been looked after by her daughters and daughters-in-law since the death of her husband some years ago. She lives in a small concrete house at the lower end of the village, one of a few houses that were built by the government in the 1960s in order to re-house those families whose rock-cut houses were crumbling and considered dangerous. I came to know her family well, and sometimes helped them in the fields, or sat chatting and joking with them in the evenings. The younger women would often make fun of their blind old mother, tricking her in her blindness. One evening in late summer when the grapes were laid out to dry in the fields (the few days of

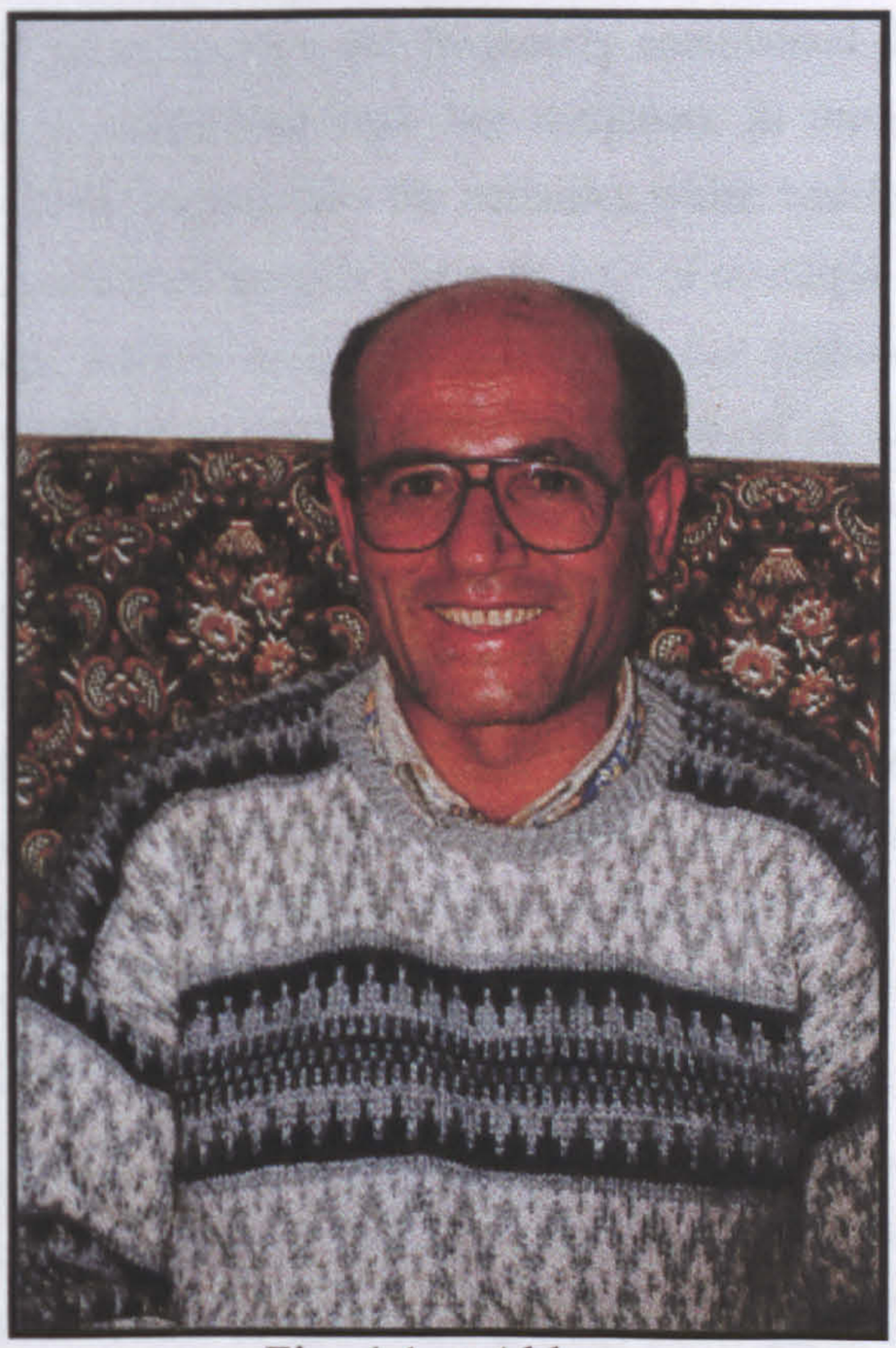


Fig. 4.1a. Abbas.



Fig. 4.1b. Abbas' Scottish sister-in-law who runs a pansiyon in the village helping out at her niece's wedding.

the year when villagers pray that they do not have rain), we sat outside in the garden with *Anne*, and sprinkled water from a bowl over her and feigned panic in the mock rain. *Anne* seemed used to such jokes, though she frequently complained that her blindness had now rendered her unable to participate with her daughters in the gardening work and food-production activities of the household - the activities which had formed the most integral part of her life. She often considers her past life with a air of nostalgia, but mostly remembers "the hard times" when she worked in the gardens while her husband tended sheep up on the mountains, and when she had to cook and sew in the light of an oil lamp within the dark cave of their old Goreme house.

Anne has three sons and two daughters. All three sons work in tourism in the village. The oldest son, now in his late forties, lives with his wife and teenage children in the old family cave-house. He keeps horses in the caves near his house and runs horse-riding trips through the Goreme valleys for tourists. The youngest brother has owned and run one of the longest-running *pansiyons* in the village together with his Scottish wife, the first 'tourist bride' to marry into the village, since 1984. Among her many grandchildren, *Anne* has two bilingual half-Scottish granddaughters.

The middle son of *Anne* is Abbas, who runs a tour agency connected with the *pansiyon* of his younger brother. As I said in Chapter I, Abbas adopted me as his 'niece' while I was in Goreme, so I spent a lot of time in the company of himself and his family. Abbas is in his mid-40's and has lived in Goreme all of his life. Before running the agency, he owned and ran restaurants in the village, and he prides himself on the fact that he opened the first 'tourist restaurant' in Goreme in 1977. The tour agency he runs now sells daily mini-bus tours around the 'sights' of Cappadocia, hires out mopeds, and exchanges foreign currency. This is where Abbas spends much of his time during the summer months, though, because he employs university students to work throughout the summer season, he is fairly free to come and go from the agency whenever he wants in order to visit friends doing similar work in other tourism businesses, or to go fishing at a river ten kilometres from Goreme. Whenever necessary, he also helps his wife with the gardening work in their five gardens, or orchards. During the extremely cold and often snowy winter when few tourists pass through the village, there is not much work to be done in the agency. Nor is there anything to do in the fields, and so Abbas sleeps long hours and spends most of the day chatting and drinking tea with friends in the tea house at the centre of the village.

Ali

Ali has, like the sons of *Anne,* worked in tourism all of his adult life. However, he is approximately fifteen years younger than Abbas and so tourism had already begun when he left school at the age of eleven. I came to know Ali well because he was working in two of the

places where I lived for parts of my fieldwork time, and I learned a great deal from his conversations and behaviour. As a teenager Ali was a cook for an 'adventure' tour company and travelled around Turkey cooking for 'adventure tourists'. Then throughout most of his twenties, he cooked for friends' *pansiyons,* until 1997 when he was invited to work as a crew member for a hot-air ballooning tourism business newly set up by a couple from northern Europe.

Four years ago, Ali married a tourist he met in the pansiyon where he was working at the time. His wife is South African, and being of part Malaysian descent is Muslim, something which Ali considers important. They have a young daughter and live in the old family cave house with Ali's elderly mother. Upon his father's recent death, Ali inherited the house in order that he would eventually turn it into some sort of tourism business. All of the family land was passed on to and is worked by Ali's older brother Mehmet who has never been a tourism entrepreneur. For most of his working life, Mehmet was a civil servant, initially working for the police and later as a clerk in the court house in the nearby town of Avanos. These two brothers highlight the link to be made between generations of village men and levels of involvement with tourism. Mehmet explains the difference between his own career and his brother's as follows:

> Well, in our time, when I was a child, tourism was not as developed as it is today. People were poorer. It was not like today. We had to work in our gardens and fields. There wasn't any tourism. And then I went to the army for two years, and later I chose my official job. I preferred that. It was after those years that tourism developed.. slowly. Tourism is still in the process of developing. As Ali was growing up, tourism was growing up too at the same time. Ali grew up with tourism.[*trans.*]

I asked Mehmet if he had ever tried to live in Europe:

> Yes, before I applied to a job agency in order to find a job in Europe, but I was told that they were by then over their capacity and I was rejected. So I couldn't go. And then there was a textile factory in Nevsehir, and I wanted to work there but I was told that it was difficult to get a job there so I gave up...The job in Avanos was my fate. [*trans.*]

Unlike many of the Goreme adult men in the late 1960's, Mehmet seems to have been unlucky in his bid to migrate to Europe. As with many other parts of Turkey, Goreme at that time saw quite a large exodus of its working population. It is estimated that by 1970, as many as one hundred Goreme families had migrated to the northern European countries of Germany, Holland and Belgium.

Esin

I met Esin very early on in my fieldwork, as I used to pass her house regularly on my way between where I was living and the centre of the village. That was in mid-summer when Esin

would be sitting on the doorstep of her own or neighbouring houses together with her friends, neighbours and their mothers. They would usually be busy crocheting or knitting, or preparing vegetables or fruit, but also sitting where they could observe passers by, some of them tourists, and one of them me. Goreme women's lives are strictly governed by codes of shame and honour, and are very much centred around the home and the immediate neighbourhood. Esin attended primary and middle school in the village, but did not go on to high school because that would have meant her travelling out of the village to Nevsehir everyday. One of her brothers attends university in Izmir on the west coast of Turkey; something that would be unthinkable for Esin to do. Now in her late teens, Esin will probably be married within the next couple of years.

From spring to autumn Esin spends much of the day working in the family gardens in the valleys surrounding Goreme. Depending on the season, this work may involve tending and harvesting grapes, wheat, or apricots as well as gathering grass for the cows and donkey and the gradual collection of wood-fuel for the winter. In the afternoon they come back home and, after doing any cleaning and food preparation needed that day, get together with friends and neighbouring women to sit and chat. Later on, the men return from the village centre for their evening meal; her father and brother from their tourist souvenir shop, and her grandfather from the tea house and mosque.[3] Most of the women pray five times a day in their homes, though some younger women these days, Esin included, have slackened in this regard.

In Goreme, mid-summer is the time for marriage, as this is when many of the people from the village who had migrated to Europe return for a summer vacation. Esin attends many such parties, each lasting over three days, where groups of women gather inside or just outside the courtyard of the bride's family's house and dance with each other to a cassette playing Turkish folk music. Weddings are virtually the only formally organised opportunity for village women to have 'enjoyment' (*egelenmek)*, making them the most conspicuous social events for women of the village. There is usually much excitement among the unmarried girls concerning attendance of such parties and great care is taken to look their best, for this is where they may be spotted by potential mother-in-laws.

As part of my fieldwork, I gave a small instamatic camera to Esin and asked her to record with it the main aspects of her life. It is possible to draw some modest conclusions from the

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[3] It is generally the old men in Goreme who attend the mosque at times other than Friday noon, Friday being the highest point in the Muslim week. Abbas, for example, only attends the mosque at this time.

Fig. 4.2. Esin's photographs



Fig. 4.2a The view from the roof of Esin's house. A woman lays out grapes to dry on another roof top.

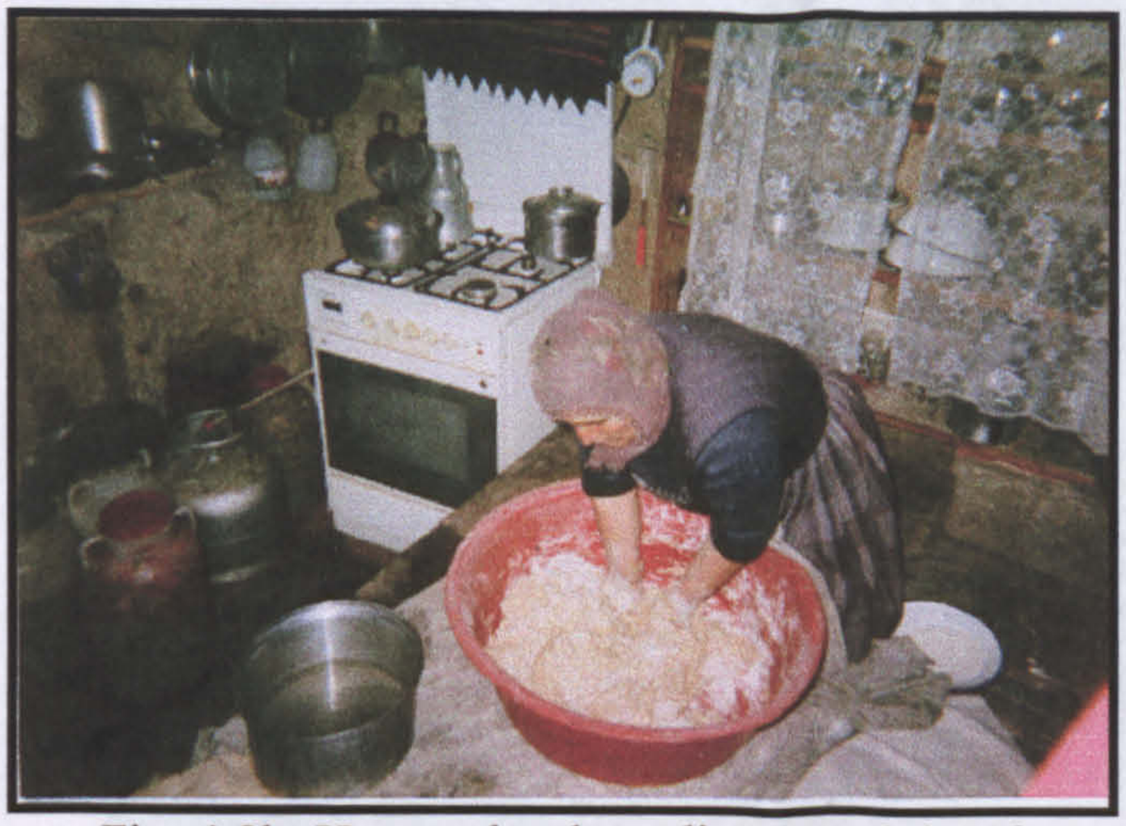


Fig. 4.2b Her mother kneading bread dough.

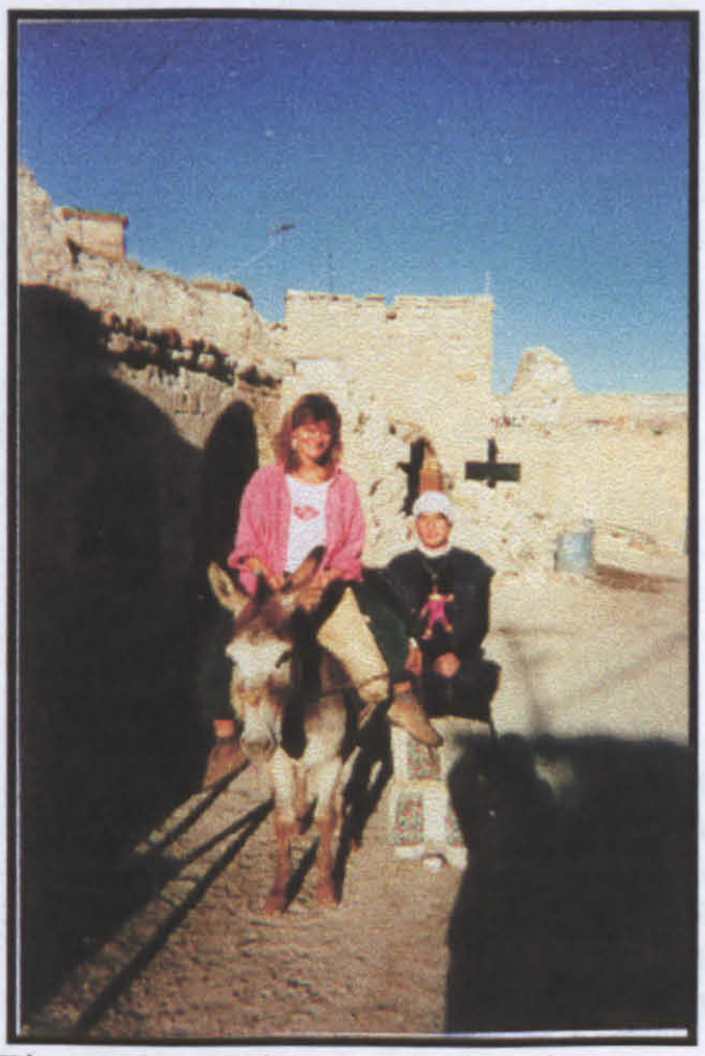


Fig. 4.2c Esin wanted a picture of me on her donkey.

general contents and frequency of certain types of images which she collected (see Fig. 4.2).[4] Firstly, all of the photographs were taken either in or close to her home, and twelve out of twenty-five of the photos were of Esin's female friends and relatives. These reflect the spatial segregation which exists in Goreme society between the genders: the lives of girls like Esin are very much centred around the household, and women and girls tend to operate almost entirely within a female milieu. Secondly, whilst a few of the photographs show the girls relaxing - some together with me, a higher number depict work and food production activities; Esin's mother kneading bread dough, a group of six women neighbours 'communally' baking bread, some neighbours chopping wood ready for the winter, and a pile of dried grapes stored in the cave cellar of Esin's house. These pictures convey the integral part that food production plays in the lives of women in the village. Lastly, nine of the photographs show general panoramic views of Goreme, of roof-tops and fairy chimneys, all taken from nearby Esin's house which is situated at a high point of the village. Although Esin may have been influenced in this by her observations of tourists taking pictures of panoramic views of Goreme, these pictures may be read to indicate that, in depicting her life through the photographs, Esin seemed urged to depict Goreme the place.

The vignettes of Goreme 'characters' above, and the variety of life situations they depict, indicate a number of points and areas of discussion to which I will now proceed. One of these areas is the sharp duality which seems to exist in village life between the lives of women and the lives of men. Whilst a great many of the men spend their days in the tourism businesses, mostly situated in the centre of the village, the women have remained close to the household in their daily activities. To refer back to the rhyme at the beginning of the chapter, the men are largely engaged with '*turizm*', whilst the women are engaged with '*kuru uzum*' (dried grapes). This situation arises because of the strict gender segregation inherent in Goreme society[5], and raises some important questions linking the gendered distribution of space and the gendered division of social and economic activities as tourism develops in the village. The interrelationships between gender and tourism are thus central to an understanding of tourism relations in this rural Turkish village, just as they are

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[4] This 'photographic' activity was appropriate to my fieldwork because of the part that photography plays in any case in touristic settings such as Goreme. I hoped to give Esin, in the face of being always represented by others (e.g. tourists and myself), a chance to represent herself through photographs. Of course, such a method was by no means conclusive in its attempt to capture Esin's own representations of her life; she is likely, for example, to have taken pictures which she thought that I myself wanted and would have taken, and/or she may have taken images which she construed to be generally most appropriate to 'photography'.

[5] This goes for Turkish society generally (see for example, Stirling 1965; Marcus 1992; Delaney 1993), and throughout the Muslim Near and Middle East (see Tapper 1992).

important issues to consider in discussions on tourism generally (Kinnaird, Kothari and Hall 1994; Swain 1995; Sinclair 1997).

The development of tourism in Goreme also links with the other main point indicated by the vignettes above, and that concerns the remarkable level of social and economic change which has occurred in Goreme over the past thirty or forty years. The memories, for example, which Abbas has of his poor childhood and of the difficulties his father had in maintaining the household, are always present and underlying his experience of living today. Such 'memories of a life past' therefore have definite influences on Goreme lives today, and so the socio-economic changes these memories reflect will form the second focus of this chapter and will be discussed in the latter half.

First, though, I will approach the important issue of gender in Goreme by referring back to a point made through the large number of Esin's photographs which depicted views of Goreme village; that is, the importance of 'Goreme' the place in villager, male and female, identity.

'Goremeli' / 'people of Goreme'

Goreme is the place where Esin was born and where she lives. It is therefore not surprising that she depicted her life through so many scenic views of Goreme. Moreover, the photographs she took might also reflect a positive re-evaluation of the 'Goreme landscape' among *Goremeli* people that has been promoted largely through tourism. As I suggested in Chapter 2, there is a sense in which local people can adopt a 'touristic' view and valuing of the place which they would otherwise have a living and working view of, and Esin's photographs convey her awareness of Goreme's landscape as somehow special. Contrary to being 'peasants without pride', as depicted by Schiffauer (1993) in his discussion of the effects of outward migration on Turkish village life and villager identity, the people of Goreme have retained, or even gained a sense of pride in living amongst the ancient and picturesque fairy-chimneys which have become the 'world famous' objects of tourist and academic interest.

Furthermore, as Stirling has pointed out in reference to Turkish villages, 'the village itself is the most striking social group'(1965: 26), and so the particular village to which an individual belongs is the primary factor in his or her identity.[6] *'Goremeli'* refers to a person being 'of' or 'from' Goreme, and is the status accorded a person through birth

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[6]As I mentioned in Chapter 1, although Goreme is officially bigger than a *koy (*village) and has a *belediye (*municipality office) and a mayor, the sense of village solidarity and identity described by Stirling applies in Goreme. Moreover, the people of Goreme refer to themselves as *koyluler* (villagers).

within the village or through male lineage connected with Goreme. Anyone from outside the village is a '*yabanci*' (stranger / foreigner), though visitors to Goreme from outside of Turkey have, according to villagers, an overriding identity of '*turist*'. In conversation with Ali, I asked what it meant to be *Goremeli:*

> *Goremeli*.. It is where I was born, where I grew up. This is my land, this is my last stop if I die. I don't own the place, and so I won't sell the place either. This is my town, I mean, you are a foreigner here, so you can't say 'this is my land', because you don't have ground here. Like my grandfathers, my father's father and my mother's mother, all their lives they lived here and they struggled here, more than me. And it is not for me to leave them behind. Do you understand? I go to their grave, and I go to their garden, and I don't want to leave empty, what they left behind, I don't want to sell their house, I don't want to sell anything. Because it is what my family left for me... And this means something for us, like I can't explain it, something inside, you have it inside.

Belonging to Goreme is the most important aspect of villagers' identity. To quote Stirling again, 'People belong to their village in a way they belong to no other social group. On any definition of a community, the village is a community' (1965:29). These sentences from Stirling, judging by my experience in Goreme, seem quite correct in respect to village men at least. However, what has been largely overlooked by Stirling is a connection between gender and the issue of identity and 'place'.

Since lineage is entirely patrilineal, the identity of men is far more strongly embedded in place of birth than is the case for women. Though marriage is ideally endogamous (see Delaney 1991), it also takes place between villages (though often still between relatives), and so a women is just as likely to live the latter part of her life in another village as she is to remain in her birth village[7]. Moreover, a bride becomes the responsibility of her husband and his family, and where the bride joins a family of another village, she should then consider herself to belong to that new village. In practice, this ideal is not always the case. When I asked women who were married into Goreme if they considered themselves to be *Goremeli*, some answered that 'yes, they were now *Goremeli*', whilst others replied that they were of the village in which they had been born (though I am sure that if other villagers had heard such a reply, these women would have been strongly urged to 'let go' of their home village). In marked contrast to men, these mixed responses show a general ambivalence in women concerning their sense of membership of a particular village; this in turn

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[7] Given that the marriage partner for a girl is largely decided upon by the male members of her family, this factor in girls' lives is largely beyond their own personal choice and is therefore considered by them to be their fate or destiny (*kizmet)*. See Delaney (1991) for an interesting and thorough discussion of marriage practice in rural Turkey.

suggesting that a woman's identity is more fluid in terms of its geographical connection.

The grounding of identity then has repercussions regarding notions of insiders and outsiders, us and others. From my experience and conversations with Goreme women, it became clear that their identity related more to their being Muslim than it did to their belonging to 'the village'. Thus, for women religion seems the stronger axis upon which a sense of 'us' and 'them' is hinged, whilst for men that axis seems to lie more on the village boundary.[8] Viewed in this way, the different bases of women's and men's identity becomes pertinent to the topic of tourism because it connects with their varying ways of viewing and relating to 'others', to tourists. This point is therefore relevant to later chapters where the interactions between the people of Goreme and tourists are discussed.

It is becoming clear that the issue of gender is fundamental to an understanding of social relations and organisation in Goreme village, and thus to tourism in Goreme. I stated earlier that the aims in this and the next chapter are to provide an introduction to the variety of Goreme people's lives, and to look at why some people have become involved with tourism while others have not. Among men, answers to this question can be related to age or generation, as with Ali and Mehmet, or can be connected with the issue of migration. Largely, though, the duality which exists in Goreme life between *'turizm'* and *'kuru uzum'* falls on the important part played by gender segregation. A number of questions regarding the duality are raised here: Why does the duality exist?; how is it upheld?; and how is it lived out by both the women and the men of the village?

Gender Segregation: the duality in Goreme life.

Gender and Power in the household (*ev*)

Social organisation within the Turkish household is patriarchal and hierarchical in relation to age (e.g. Stirling 1965; Delaney, 1993; Marcus, 1994). The eldest male within the household (*ev*) carries an all-encompassing and unquestionable authority, an authority over the younger males who in turn hold authority over their wives and children[9]. In many respects, this authority is implicit, since it is generally clear, for

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[8] There is no doubt, however, that men also have a stronger public religious face in that it is they who attend the village mosques to pray whilst women pray in their homes. Relative to each other, though, men certainly have the stronger sense of being *Goremeli*.

[9] As Delaney points out, that authority starts at the highest level with God and comes down upon and through the males of the household (1993).

example, what the daily duties of the female members of the household are, and the older women are able to check the younger in this regard. The authority of the patriarch holds regarding all major decisions to be made concerning his household. Ideally, these decisions include: the size of his household, that is, if and when his sons should break away from their natal home to begin a new household; the marriage of his daughters and grand-daughters; and all economic activities connected to the household.

In her discussion of systems of authority in Turkish villages, Delaney (1993) rightfully points out that the concept of 'permission' (*izin*) is central to the authority that men hold over 'their' women, because it is the responsibility of men to bestow or not to bestow *izin* on their womenfolk. Moreover, it became clear to me in Goreme that one of the major ways that male authority visibly manifests itself through the concept of *izin* is in relation to the issue of movement outside of the home, summarised in the Turkish verb *gezmek*. This in turn links with the principles of 'honour' and 'shame' which have been widely associated in anthropological literature with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern societies[10].

In an interview, a village girl explained to me the meaning of the concept of *gezmek* for women in Goreme:

> They can only comfortably *gezmek* in their street, they can't *gezmek* in the centre. Maybe if they want to get somewhere, they can pass through the centre, but they cannot sit and drink tea, or sit and eat - they can't do anything. If they go out, it is always to a house - to their neighbours' house - to their friend's - always like that. They can *gezmek* comfortably like that only, nothing else. [*trans.*]

I asked why. What would happen?:

> What will happen? Turkish boys think differently, did you know? That is to say - how can I explain.., they think that maybe if she goes to the centre another boy will look at her, they are jealous, do you understand? But nothing will happen, I mean, they will only look, it is not a problem, but that is the way Turks think. Not everywhere - in Goreme they think that way. In Goreme women cannot *gezmek* comfortably, it is not possible, otherwise their husband will be angry, he will always be angry. They'll ask, 'Why does she *gezmek*?', 'What is she going out for?'. It is necessary for them to ask their husband, for everything they do, everything they do, it is necessary to ask. .... That is how it is. Turkish culture is like that. [*trans.*]

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[10] See, for example, Cambell 1964; Peristiany 1966; Pitt-Rivers 1966; Bourdieu 1966; Gilmore 1987; Herzfeld 1980; Blok 1981; Boissevain 1979; Tapper, 1991.

In short, a girl or woman from Goreme must always be granted permission from her male counterpart if she wishes to go anywhere outside of the immediate neighbourhood; to the market, a wedding, or to visit relatives, and so on.

As my fieldwork time grew longer, I was regularly told by villager friends that I *gezmek* too much, and that I should stay in the house more. Abbas, my 'uncle', frequently shouted at me "*kopek gibi geziyorsun!*" ("you wander around like a dog!"). I also increasingly felt the necessity to ask for *izin* when I wished to leave the village, to go to town or to walk or cycle out to the valleys, and I found that this provided me not only with a sense that I was treating my adoptive 'uncles' and 'brothers' with their due respect, but also with a sense of protection. For if I had correctly obtained i*zin,* whoever had granted the permission would then hold a certain responsibility for my safety whilst I was away. The longer I stayed in the village and the closer I became to certain individuals there, the more I grew to accept the 'protection' afforded me, along with the male 'authority' over me that this implied (see Chapter 7 for more discussion of these issues in relation to tourist women).

For further understanding of the cultural context underpinning the gender relations in Goreme society, it is useful to draw on Delaney's (1991) excellent ethnography *The Seed and the Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society*, and also on Marcus's (1992) discussion of 'Islam and gender hierarchy in Turkey'[11]. Delaney highlights the roles of men as planter of the *seed* (*tohum*), and of women as the *field (tarla)* in which the seed is planted, in Turkish beliefs about procreation[12]. As the maker and planter of the seed, the man is the generator of life and this is what grants men their power and authority. However, his honour depends on his ability to guarantee that a child is from his own seed, and that in turn depends on his ability to control *his* women (Delaney 1991). Simultaneously, a woman's value arises from her ability to guarantee the seed of a particular man: 'The value of a woman depends on her virginity before marriage and her fidelity after marriage; this is socially recognised by her conformity to the code of behaviour and dress' (ibid.:40). This is complicated, however, in the further belief that 'unlike male sexuality, women's sexuality is located within a body beyond the control of the mind' (Marcus 1992:83), and so women's modesty can only be accomplished by externally imposed restraints:

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[11] It should be noted here that Peristiany's (1966) initial contention that an 'honour-shame' complex exists in a similar form and with similar reason throughout the Mediterranean region is much debated. It is doubtful, for example, whether the concepts of honour and shame can apply in the same general form across Islamic and Catholic societies. Similarly, it has been argued that Islam itself varies contextually, and cannot be focused on as being the sole cause of gender ideologies (e.g. Abu-Zahra, 1970 cited in Goddard, 1994).

[12] See pp. 33-38 in Delaney (1991) for detail on the links between these beliefs and Islamic theology.

> Women are unable totally to control their bodies through the exercise of the power of the mind,..., men must therefore control women if the community is to retain the moral order based upon the clear separation of two genders. Community order therefore rests upon male control of women. This point is crucial in understanding gender relationships in Turkey. (ibid.)

In Goreme, then, it is shameful for a woman to *gezmek* because to wander around in public spaces is to put herself in a position where she may be 'looked at' by men other than those belonging to her household. If she remains always within the house (or the immediate neighbourhood), her shame (*namus*) is protected. Simultaneously, a man's reputation or honour (also referred to as *namus*) is protected if the shame of his women-folk is prevented, and so in order to protect his honour, he must assert his given authority to prevent the shame of 'his' women.

The above is the 'normative discourse', representing the ideal which maintains the general status quo in Goreme society. In practice, girls and women do contravene the norm to varying degrees, and in so doing, undermine male authority over them. I frequently saw women engaging in minor examples of 'naughty' (*yaramaz*) behaviour, for example. Women would hide behind vine bushes and, out of sight of the authoritative gaze of the accompanying male, would laze around eating grapes and cracking open walnuts instead of working on the vines. Occasionally, boys and girls would meet illicitly, possibly the riskiest of all secret activity. The girl who explained the meaning of *gezmek* above, for example, continues the interview with expressions intended to mean 'this is how it is for the other women of the village, but not for me'. I watched this particular girl engaging in heated arguments with her family about who she would or would not marry. Through her own stubbornness, and absolute defiance of male authority in her family, she eventually married the man of her own choice.

Other more minor examples convey the relative freedom from rules that the girls and women experience during the daytime when the men are out at work. Girls for instance, often wear jeans and T-shirts throughout the day and then quickly change into the traditional *salva /* baggy trousers and head-scarf before the male members of the household comes home in the evening. Such behaviour indicates the sense in which the women of Goreme have a certain amount of 'freedom' precisely because of the system of gender segregation. Since women spend most of their daily life with other women and apart from men, their relationships with each other are extremely strong, and their psychological dependency on men limited.[13] This very close-knit nature of the 'community' of women is tolerated in its formal state at least, because of the group work undertaken by women in relation to agricultural and food-production

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[13]This last point is tentatively broached in Marcus (1992:121).

activity. However, the separate women's community is ultimately threatening to men and, from my observations, can cause men to feel ill at ease; if given the opportunity, men are quick to disperse a group of chattering women.

Men's honour is indeed highly vulnerable, and it is because this honour is largely dependent on women's behaviour that men must control women, and ensure their separation from what might be regarded as the 'public' domain of society. This point was clarified by Pitt-Rivers in the following:

> Feminine power is not overt, but, due to their participation in the familial honour (as the repositories of its moral and sacred aspects) women hold in their hands the power not merely to put pressure on their men-folk but actually to ruin them...It is only too easy to understand then that men, conscious and resentful of their vulnerability through the actions of their womenfolk, should be eager to credit them with...faults which justify their exclusion from the political sphere and the authority of their men-folk over them. (1977:80, cited in Tapper, N. 1992)

Clearly then, male authority is inextricably linked to gender segregation in societies such as Goreme, and the concepts of honour and shame (*namus*), *gezmek* and *izin* are the practical manifestations of an ideology of male control. These issues are highly pertinent here in their links with the way that tourism has developed and taken shape in Goreme village, specifically regarding the different ways that men and women are involved with and related to the tourism processes. This connection becomes clearer if we now continue the discussion by looking at the particular ways that gender segregation is manifested 'spatially' in Goreme.

Gender and Separation

Many of the difficulties I encountered during my fieldwork were largely due to my experience of Goreme as two worlds, one in the 'back' streets and the private homes where I spent time with the women, and one in the central areas of the village where I socialised with the men of the village and the tourists. These worlds were so separate that it was only towards the end of my fieldwork, after sixteen months in the village, that I began to make some links between particular men I knew in the 'tourism realm' and women (their wives, daughters, sisters, mothers) I knew in their homes. There is no doubt that it was an absolute anomaly that I myself should constantly cross that spatial and social divide between the men's world and the women's world, because during the daytime at least, there are strict codes which operate to spatially and symbolically separate them.

The village is divided into residential quarters (*mahalle*), which surround the village centre (*carsa*). Each *mahalle* forms a roughly bounded and loose-knit community within the village community. For men at least, this is largely because children grow up

playing, and therefore forming friendships, in their immediate neighbourhood. Men often explained their friendships and business partnerships by saying 'I know him well because we grew up in the same *mahalle*'. In the case of women, the *mahalle* is where they spend almost all of their time, and their female neighbours are therefore those with whom they form their closest relationships. Only if they have relatives living in another *mahalle* would women visit another quarter[14]. A woman would never, except very occasionally perhaps for a wedding, go to quarters of the village where she does not have any relatives. If she did go there, everyone would look and exclaim "What is she doing wandering around (*gezmek)* here?". Within their own neighbourhood, on the other hand, women may move around quite freely. They often visit each others' houses, both formally and by way of 'popping in and out', and groups of women often sit in the afternoons either on their doorsteps or outside their houses in the wider more open parts of the usually narrow streets.[15]

Women are by no means 'secluded' in Goreme society; just as they are not in Turkey generally (Marcus, 1992). That is, women are not hidden away inside their homes, they are not banned from the central Goreme streets, and they are not harassed if they enter male space, for example, the market place. However, men and women do have their clearly separate domains. Whilst the male domain is the 'centre' (*carsa)* of the village, symbolised by the main mosque, the tea house[16] and the market place, the women's domain, social, economic and religious, is centred around the household and the immediate neighbourhood. Women may pass through male space; they may go to the weekly market and they may attend village ceremonies such as children's concerts and national day celebrations, but they have no 'place' there. Likewise, men have no 'place' in the household during the day when they should be out at work or in the tea house. It may be recalled that Abbas spends most of his days and evenings during the summer either working or going around visiting his friends (*gezmek)*. In the evenings, men do also sometimes partake of formal 'visiting' with

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[14] Here I am referring to women and girls beyond puberty, as previous to puberty girls are free from the restrictions of modesty.

[15] In addition to the many months I spent undertaking participant observation in the men's world and the women's world, in order to clarify some of these points, I carried out a group interview with five women from Esin's neighbourhood. Using a map of Goreme village in the interview, I obtained an understanding of their sense of space and movement within the village (refer to the map on Plate 2).

[16] The tea house is definitely male space in any Turkish village and is the place where men pass any spare time playing cards or backgammon and discussing village affairs and politics. It is notable in Goreme, however, that the tea house has been increasingly transgressed by tourist women, who sit looking rather uncomfortable among the village men. Obviously keen to attract more tourists, in the summer of 1998, the tea house manager employed a Dutch woman as a waitress. The sight of this young blonde woman serving tea to elderly men in old suits and flat caps was startlingly anomalous.



Fig. 4.3a Women meeting and chatting at the weekly village market



Fig. 4.3b The Republic Day celebrations in the bus station; another rare occasion when women enter the public sphere of central Goreme. Note the women all congregating together on the far side, while the men take their places in front of their tour agencies on the right side of the picture.

their families, though more often in winter because the men are busy in their tourism businesses until late in the evenings during the summer.

Women's relationships to different sections of the village are symbolised by the amount of head-cover they wear in different places. When inside the home, during the day when no men are around, women would wear the small head-scarf (*yemeni*) typical of the region. Outside of the home, but within the immediate neighbourhood (a distance of about one hundred metres from their house was given as a cut-off point by the women I interviewed), most women would still only wear this small head-scarf, though more securely than in the house. When they leave their immediate neighbourhood, they secure the small scarf even more so that it covers their chin and mouth, and they put on a second larger scarf, a large white square of material, which drapes down to cover the full top half of their bodies. When they go to work in their gardens which mostly lie outside of the residential village area, women remove their outer scarves again, as if re-entering the home sphere. I observed that women were generally remarkably 'free' with their behaviour and dress whilst in the fields (unless the fields were far away from and thus considered outside of the village boundary), indicating that the fields are, probably through their absolute association with the household economy, considered part of the domestic sphere.

All women wear the outer scarf if they pass through the centre of the village or visit the market place, and unmarried girls should follow the same pattern from around the age of puberty, though this depends largely on how strict the male members of their household are. If permitted, many younger women of Goreme these days have begun to wear a more 'modern' form of head-scarf considered fashionable in urban areas of Turkey. A few girls and women may be seen without any head-scarf. These are usually the daughters of returnee migrants, who are educated and considered to have now moved beyond the usual social codes of Goreme life. They may be criticised for being 'open' (*acik)* (their hair is uncovered), but are generally not subject to as much critical gossip as a village girl would otherwise be. Similarly, tourist women are considered 'open' in contrast to the 'closed'/ 'covered' *(kapali*) women of the village. Tourist women often incite much discomfort and criticism in this regard, though the threshold of criticism is gradually being stretched, so that today it is their wearing short trousers and mini-skirts which is considered offensive, rather than their uncovered hair.

Generally, the act of 'covering' allows freedom of movement rather than its limitation, and the degree of cover a village woman requires depends on which general domain she is in - her own domain or that of men. She should only pass through the men's domain - the centre of the village - when it is necessary to do so in

order to reach the fields, another *mahalle*, or to go to the market or the health clinic. She should always pass through quickly and, if possible, should take one of the smaller streets to avoid walking along the main central road. I remember, in the first summer of my fieldwork, the day that the *Belediye* (Municipality office) announced the move of the site where the weekly market took place, from its site near the old centre of the village which was close to the main *mahalles*, to a more spacious area available at the far end of the main road in front of the post office (see map on Plate 2). As the village loudspeakers repeated this announcement from the *Belediye*, the women complained and cursed the mayor for his decision which would now render them unable to visit the Wednesday market. The market place would now be too far to carry goods back from, but going to its new site would also now involve passing to the other side of the village centre, and their men would not allow that. Husbands and sons could buy the food items they needed, but how could these men choose the material and thread needed for their embroidery? As time went on, in fact, the villagers did seem to adapt to the market place fairly quickly, although the women from that *mahalle* no longer visit the market every week. As one young woman who married into the village told me:

> That road (the main road) is dangerous for me. I don't use that road much. There is a lot of traffic and I feel depressed there. There are restaurants with people eating there, and I feel uncomfortable. I feel as if they all look at me. They don't look at me, but I feel that way and I feel shy.[*trans.*]

The centre of the village is male domain, and also these days the main tourism area of the village. Consequently, when women do pass along the main road, for example riding on a donkey or cart on their way to the fields, they often find themselves to be the unwitting photo opportunity of tourists. The many tourists sitting on restaurant terraces or hanging around in street cafes love to take a chance snapshot of these "quaint" scenes of veiled women riding on donkeys, but this only adds to the general discomfort felt by village women in this realm, and so encourages the further separation of the two gendered realms in Goreme.

The important point here is the implication that the social and spatial gender separation discussed here has on women's relations to Goreme's tourism and its developing economy. A point made by Marcus comes to mind here:

> Women are allocated ground space purely on the basis of gender, and institutional structures are then gender segregated along spatial lines. In this view of Turkish social life, the division of labour (usually referred to as a sexual division in western sociologies), emerges from the division of space according to gender and separation..., not from economic factors or from specific material relations of production. (1992:89)

To refer back to the vignette of Esin's life, she, unlike her brother who attends university in Izmir, has only been educated as far as she can without having to leave the village to attend school. The reason, it seems, for the limitation imposed on her education, is much more closely connected to the issue of the inappropriateness of Esin leaving the village and being unprotected on buses and in neighbouring towns, than on any ideals regarding girls' access to higher level education. Similarly, women's access to the newly developed economic sphere in Goreme is not limited directly by an ideology concerning the division of labour per se, but rather by an ideology which ensures the separation of the genders. In most cases, for example, where tourism has entered the domestic sphere, in particular where village cave homes have been converted into *pansiyons* for tourists, a separate house was eventually built for the women and children of the family. This was not because the women should not partake in such work - running a *pansiyon* is largely 'domestic'-type work anyway, but because it is inappropriate for women to be in close proximity to unrelated men. Likewise, most of the tourism businesses in Goreme have been situated in the triangular area of the village along the main roads, the market or business centre. It is inappropriate for women to spend any time in that area, and so they have been excluded from the tourism processes in the village.

Before tourism, agriculture was the main source of production and economy, and the household was the main economic unit. Then, women's labour was associated with economic production and was highly valued; it was the source of life. Now that the economy in Goreme is largely based on tourism, the economic centre has shifted almost entirely to the tourism realm in the centre of the village. Very little of the agricultural produce is currently sold on the market, and so agricultural production has become almost entirely a 'domestic' activity. A greater part of the work is carried out by women, and has, as such, become something of a secondary activity which runs alongside the main money-earner which is tourism.[17]

Gardening and food-production

The attachment to agricultural production in Goreme life is shown through the fact that most households have kept hold of their land, even though a very large part of the village economy is now based on income from tourism. Though food production activity has become almost the sole responsibility of women, some men, particularly

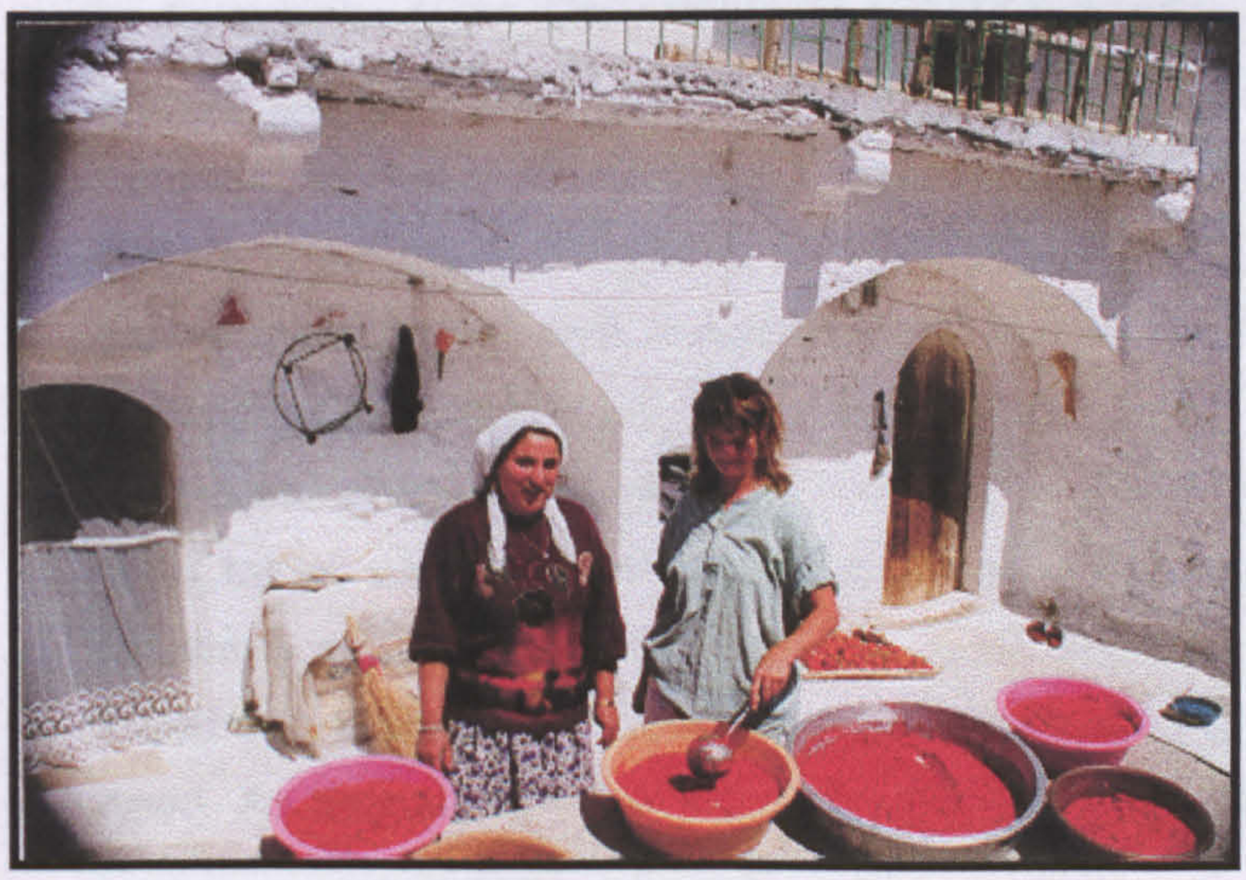
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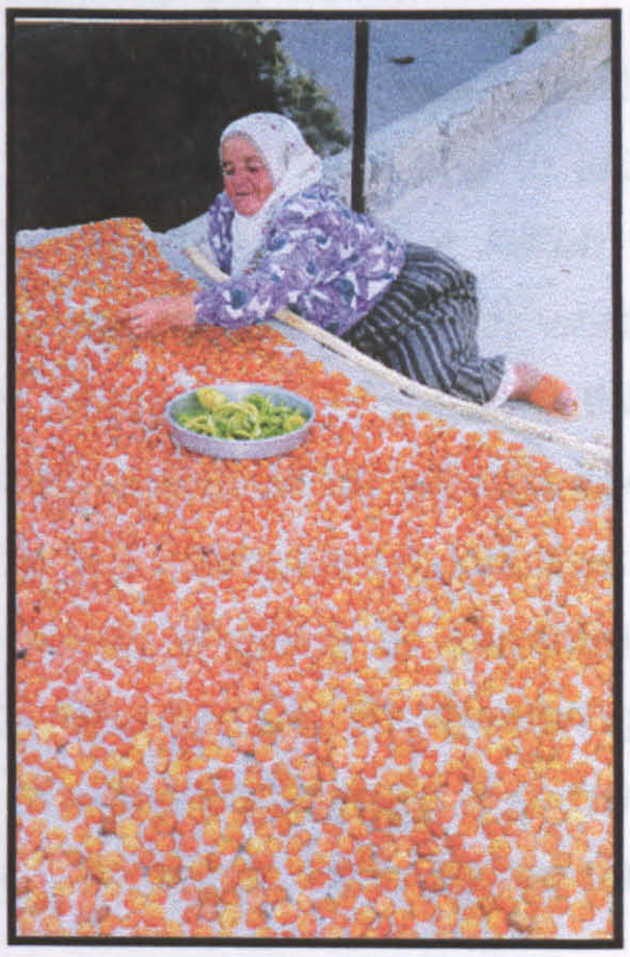
[17] Delaney (1991) notes a very similar process occurring in Turkey generally through the process of "development": 'In the process of mechanisation or development, men's focus is being drawn outward; women are being left behind, more than ever enclosed in the house...It is at this juncture...that women tend to become identified with the "domestic" private realm of reproduction and men with the public realm of production' (ibid.:267-268)





Fig. 4.4 Food production activity: bread-making in a stone oven shared by the neighbourhood; harvesting grapes; myself helping prepare tomato puree for winter; laying out apricots to dry.





the older ones such as Mehmet, have chosen to stay with what they know best - working the land. Some villagers get the best of both worlds by renting out a property such as their old cave house converted into a *pansiyon* to be run by the many younger men who have no such property of their own, and then farm their land in the comfort that they have an on-going additional income. So, although agricultural work is no longer so heavily relied on for the survival of the household, most households do still work their gardens in order to produce food for their own consumption and, as we began to see in the vignettes above, garden work and food production continues to be an integral part of Goreme life.

From spring to autumn there is a constant flow of work to be done: turning and weeding the soil; sewing and planting; pruning grape vines and fruit trees; harvesting and threshing wheat; and last in the season, picking and drying grapes. Much of this work is carried out by hand and traditional equipment, and often with the use of horses for ploughing and donkeys for transportation. A few men in the village own tractors which can be hired for heavier work, and during the wheat harvest, cutting and threshing machines of which there are none in Goreme, are hired from neighbouring villages. Also, during the summer months elaborate processes of drying and preserving of foods is undertaken in preparation for winter. These processes are aided by the 'climate' within the cave houses, which is steady in temperature and humidity level and is well suited to food storage. Bulgar wheat, spaghetti, and bread will keep for one or two years in the cave cellars. Tomatoes and cabbages are pickled, and apples, pears and grapes will keep moderately fresh throughout the winter.[18]

As autumn approaches the work load in food production increases. At this time, the grapes are harvested and sun-dried, either for winter storage or for selling to local wineries or *raki* (the national Turkish alcoholic drink) factories. Another batch of grapes is juiced and boiled until it becomes a sticky sweet syrup (*pekmez)* which, before the arrival of beet sugar into the shops, was the main source of sugar. A third activity in the autumn is the making of a huge batch of flat bread which will last each household at least throughout the winter months. Due to the intense work involved in such tasks, women share the load by working together as a group or community (*topluluk*) of relatives and neighbours (see Figure 4.5). Day by day, the women get together and produce all the bread and all the *pekmez* that each household in turn will need. As they work, they joke and gossip and are able this way to keep up the hard

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[18] This suitability of the Cappadocia caves for the storage of fruit has led to Ortahisar, a village 3 kilometres from Goreme, becoming one of the main centres in Central Turkey for the storage and distribution of citrus fruit from the southern coastal regions.

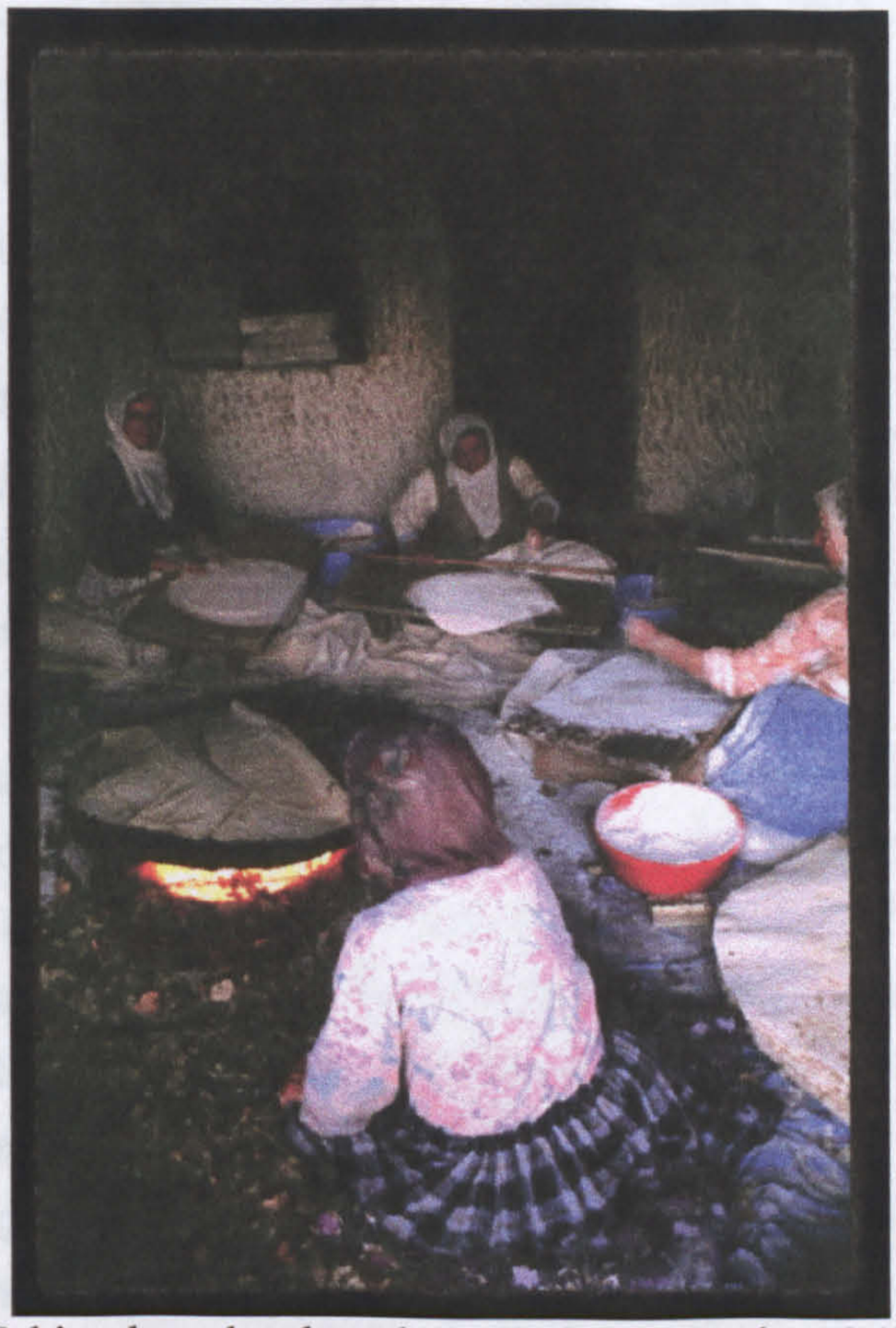


Fig. 4.5a Making bread to last through the winter is a full day's work shared among a group of women.

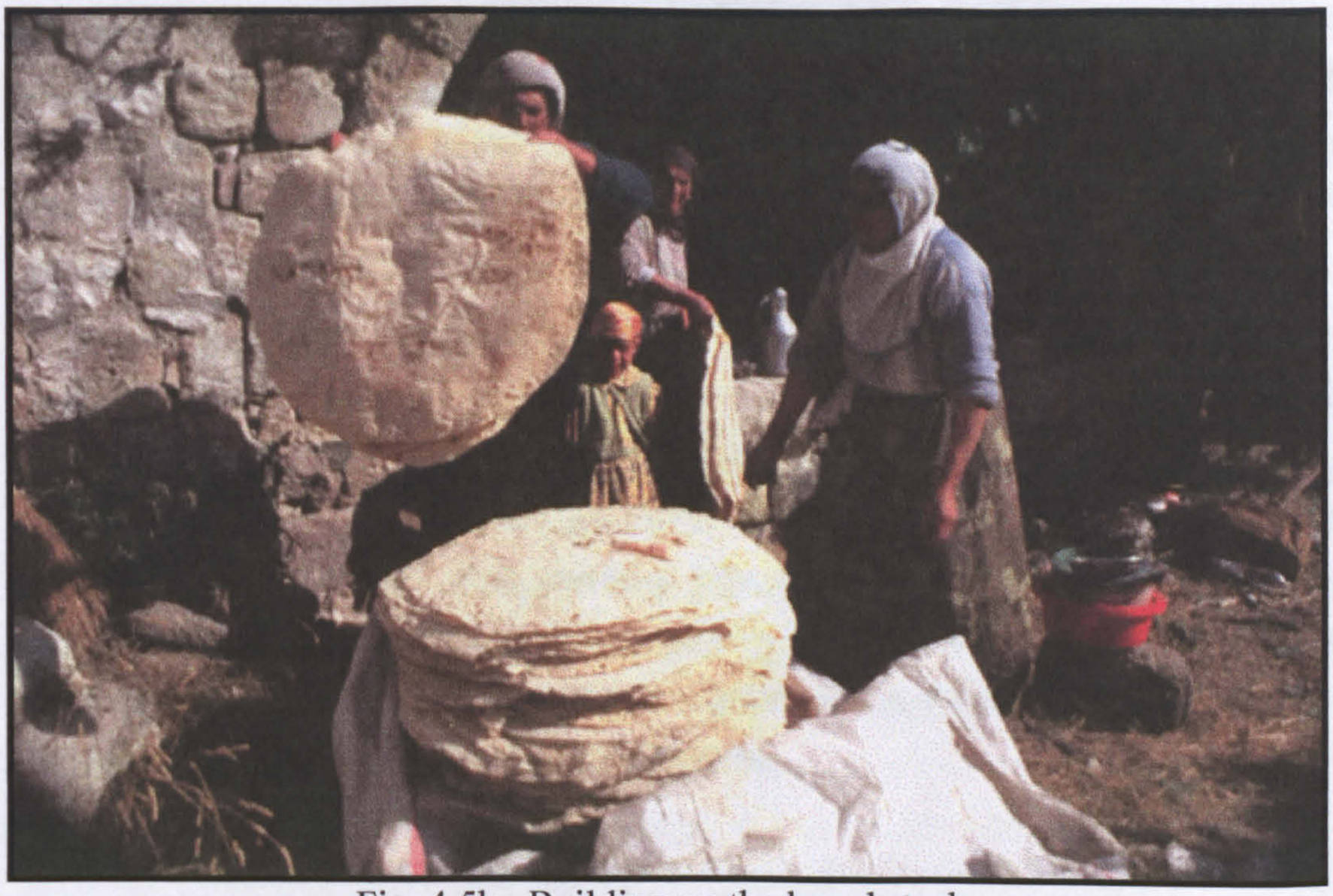


Fig. 4.5b. Building up the bread stack.

work from early morning to well into the evening if necessary to finish the task. This co-operation between women is a fundamental part of village life and economy, even though it is largely informal and, unlike men's formalised partnership (*ortak*) system, is not referred to in any recognised way. Only one village woman I spoke to bestowed the virtues of the women's co-operation and sharing of the work-load, and she used the word *topluluk* /community to describe the system. The other women I knew seemed to simply get on with it.

Food production is clearly an integral part of women's lives in Goreme, particularly regarding the main staples such as bread, *pekmez*, and bulgar wheat. However, because of the income from tourism it has become increasingly possible to purchase most food items from the market. An argument I witnessed between Abbas and his wife Senem concerned precisely this issue. In the spring, Senem had seemingly gone ahead and sowed wheat even though Abbas had told her not to bother because it was easier now just to buy wheat and flour from the market. Now they were trying to harvest the wheat and were having difficulty hiring the machine which was in great demand at that time of the season. Abbas wanted to give it up; "burn the field", he said, "it is cheaper anyway just to buy wheat these days". For Abbas, who now spends more time looking after his tour agency, the effort of the wheat process was not worth while. Senem, however, insisted that they carry on; "it is cheaper to produce it ourselves, and in any case, it is *adet* (custom), we are used to doing it". Abbas's elderly mother joined in the argument at this point, and added that "before, doing the wheat was the only way we could eat". Similarly, one time when *Anne* complained about her inability to join in with the food production activity because of her blindness, her daughter-in-law said to her "Yes, you like to work, don't you?". "Of course" replied the old woman, "what I eat depends on my work. So of course I like to work, it provides me with food".

There is clearly a deep-seated necessity felt towards garden work and food production, even though an economic necessity is no longer present. Despite the significant social and economic change that tourism has brought to the village, and particularly to the Goreme men, an element of continuity exists, more so it seems on the part of the women. The memory still lives on of times when survival of the household depended directly on working hard in the gardens, and it seems certain that such memories, of hard winters and empty stomachs, will die hard even though those times now seem to be firmly in Goreme's past.

Memories of a life past - Social Change in Goreme

Hard times

One evening I sat together with three generations of women and girls, and listened to an elderly neighbour's stories about her earlier life. Everyone listened eagerly, often laughing at the sometimes ridiculous and pitiful antics being described of the times she and her husband used to have to stay out for days on end in fields far away from the village. Afterwards I asked some of the younger women if they often sat and listened to the old people's stories in that way. "Yes, the old people often talk like that about when they became a bride (*gelin*), when they became a mother or a father... they tell of how hard it used to be for them, how they all slept in one room, and how it was dark and cold in the winter".

Social and economic change in Goreme has been profoundly influenced by the development of tourism business in the village, but is also the outcome of national economic reforms effecting change in economy and culture throughout Turkey, as well as through external migration programmes which occurred at their highest level in the late 1960's (Stirling,1993, Schiffauer,1993, Abadan-Unat,1986). To situate Goreme in the context of socio-economic change which occurred at that time throughout the villages of Central Anatolia, it is useful to draw upon the work of Paul Stirling, and in particular his edited volume on change in Turkish villages (1993). In his introduction to this book Stirling notes the incredible scale on which demographic, economic and social changes have taken place since Turkey became a nation state in 1923. His own experiences and longitudinal studies in two Central Anatolian villages, incidentally located within a hundred miles from Goreme, were witness to a sharp increase in the standard of living:

> GNP per capita increased roughly threefold, 1950-1986. What I see among the villagers and their urban descendants makes these calculations a plausible index. Food, clothes, heating, housing, transport, health services, household durables and furniture, consumption for pleasure and for display, operating capital for farming, investments in agriculture, real estate and businesses are all incomparably more plentiful per person than in 1950. (ibid.:7)

On a local level, everyday comments and stories told alerted me to the very deep-seated temporal nature of people's experiences of their lives in their village. Whilst tourists, and anthropologists for that matter, tend to come and go, the people of Goreme have a deep attachment to the place and to each other, an attachment perpetuated through the telling of anecdotes of happenings together, and through referring to memories of times gone by. Experience in the present is layered upon memories of the past, and these memories include those of the change which has

occurred at an increasing rate over the past thirty or so years. This change is shown through the memories of people like Abbas and Mehmet, and even older members of the community such as *Anne*, and it is these memories of how life used to be that are constantly referred to in daily life in the village, and which seem to serve as villagers' reminders to themselves that they should continue to struggle and take risks in order to secure a better future. Abbas often remarked to me how his father had been unable to maintain a living within the village and so had gone with his wife to live on the mountains to tend sheep, leaving Abbas and his brothers to stay with their uncle in the village while attending school: "There were no jobs to do. We had only a small garden. We were a big family, with five children, but with few gardens. He bought sheep and stayed with them on the mountain. Then he went to Nevsehir to sell yoghurt, and he sold fat. For his five children, it was necessary that he did that".

The younger generations are regularly reminded by their elders that if they do not work hard enough, they will not have money to buy tea in winter. This is an example of the references which are constantly made to the way things were before tourism began, and any sense of nostalgia seems always to be limited by an overriding memory of the hard times when the struggle through winter was real, and the ability to purchase items such as tea or shoes was always precarious. This memory, and the sense of relief that tourism has brought, was shown to me one day in spring when I went with Abbas and his wife to their vine gardens to prune the plants ready for the summer growth. They told me that the plants had been damaged by the late cold weather in April, and so would not produce many grapes either this year or next. Abbas then remarked, "If there was no tourism, this would be a big problem, maybe we wouldn't be able to buy any bread in the winter". These days, though, since tourism has brought relief from the absolute necessities of the agricultural produce, this was more of an annoyance than a big problem.

While Abbas and his contemporaries were growing up, a communication infrastructure was being developed which promoted a general climate in which men would begin to look elsewhere for work and the possibility of earning cash. As Keyder (1993) notes from her comparison of studies of villages from the 1940's and 1950's:

> [In the 1940's] The village was often the only life-world, and all national and world concerns were filtered through its structure; market transactions were few and infrequent; most of the output was for the household's own consumption or for local exchange... By contrast the literature of the 1950's is full of descriptions of market adaptation, new inputs and changing technology; the importance of banks and other formal credit institutions, and, of course, the beginnings of urbanisation. In the 1950's the Anatolian peasant seems to have resolutely started on a road towards commercialisation of outputs, of inputs, and of his own labour. (1993:171)

During the 1950's and 1960's many Goreme men began to go out of the village to seek cash-earning opportunities. Some were less successful than others, as is shown above in Mehmet's unlucky attempts both to migrate to Europe and to gain employment in a textile factory in nearby Nevsehir. Abbas had also tried unsuccessfully to find employment in Ankara when he was in his twenties. Others did manage to find work in Nevsehir as mechanics, or they became civil servants for the gradually stabilising government in nearby towns, as Mehmet did. Many others succeeded in migrating either to urban areas of Turkey, such as Ankara or to coastal cities such as Mersin, or to the northern European countries of Germany, Belgium and Holland. Indeed, by 1970 as many as one hundred Goreme families had migrated to Europe and many others were working in haulage and transportation having used money earned in Europe or credit from the government to buy their own trucks. By 1980 more than seventy large trucks were owned by Goreme men, some of them being used to transport goods between northern Europe and the Middle East (Bezmen 1996).

Migration - *Goremeli* 'outsiders'

Agreements between the Turkish government and those of certain northern European nations continued throughout the 1960's and early '70's until the migration programmes were brought to an abrupt halt with the international energy crisis in 1973. The migration agreements evolved throughout the intense migration period (Abadan-Unat 1986). Initial ideas concerning Turkish migration were largely based on men's temporary employment abroad. However, as the need for workers continued in prevalence, new policies were developed whereby many migrant workers were given citizenship and allowed to be accompanied by their wives and families (ibid.). In such cases, of which there are many from Goreme, women also became migrant workers, employed in factories often alongside their husbands.

There are also many cases, however, where the wives and children stayed at home in Goreme. Some remained in the house of their parents-in-law, but besides those, the situation arose whereby women became the acting heads of many households and took up the new position of being virtually in sole charge of family agricultural production, as well as of financial matters and the task of raising the children. This situation may have worked towards increasing the status position of village women, though I was made aware of a few examples of women now considered "abandoned" by their husbands who have not returned.

Many of the Goreme people who initially migrated to Europe have now returned, while others return for long periods during the summer and to be with family during

religious holidays and the months when marriage takes place in the village. Whether permanently returned or not, many such families have used their savings to build 'modern' homes in the flat areas of Goreme village away from the caves. Some permanent returnees have also invested in tourism business in the village. Those who return just for the summer period often undertake quite intense agricultural work on the gardens which they have retained all along, and work to produce all the food traditionally prepared, such as flat bread, bulgar wheat, grape syrup (*pekmez*), and dried fruits and nuts, which they then take with them to northern Europe for the winter. Again, this shows the integral part that garden work and food production play in Goremeli people's lives and identity.

The consequences of internal and external migration on villagers' lives and the socio-economic situation of the Goreme community are of course many and varied.[19] One such consequence was the creation of obvious inequalities in wealth and corresponding status among villagers, which has led to bitter displays of gossip and criticism particularly from those who never managed to leave the village to work. The people who left the village are accused by those who stayed of opting for a much lesser quality of life working in a European factory, and suffering the renowned racism of northern Europeans just so that they can show off their accumulated wealth in an "empty" and "uncultured" manner. Indeed, their wealth is often displayed in the form of Mercedes cars or northern European-style furnishing in their modern homes. As one Goreme woman, who keeps cows in her cave home and whose husband runs a cave-home *pansiyon*, told me:

> The people who went to Europe come back with all their money, build new houses and hold their noses in the air thinking that they are better than us just because they've got rich. But they're not, they think that more money means more '*insanlik*' (humanity, goodness), but it is not connected, you can't buy '*insanlik*' with money, can you?.[*trans.*]

Concurrently, returnee migrants might accuse those who stayed behind of remaining uneducated and uncultured villagers/peasants. Young men and women of today, for example, seem far more likely to have attended university if their parents had migrated away from the village, elsewhere in Turkey or beyond. One returnee migrant told me: "It was not easy for me to live here because I grew up in Holland - the culture was different for me - OK, I know I speak Turkish but not that well - because I grew up in Holland". He went on, though, to tell me how good the life of his parents is now that they have their retirement pensions from Holland:

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[19] Turkish outward migration is the focus of many studies, for example: Engelbrektsson 1978; Kocturk 1992; Stokes 1992; and articles by Schiffauer, Palaczek and Abadan-Unat in Stirling's collection, 1993.

My parents, my father was working in Holland for years, and he had a few operations - he was sick, and the doctor said to him: "You need a good climate, better weather, because Holland is damp, the weather is bad, its not good for you". So he retired and they decided to come back to Turkey. So they brought a home in the town (Nevsehir), and they are still living there. And both of them are retired from Holland. They worked there - my father and my mother - they worked together in the same company - my father worked there for 25 years and my mother worked for 17 years, same company together, and they now have good money, they have a wonderful life - they get a lot of good money from Holland.

This family, then, did not return fully to the village. They chose to live in a modern house in the town while their son converted their old family cave home into a *pansiyon.* Other stories, in contrast, conveyed the great difficulty many people have in returning to the village. One man, for example, who had lived and worked in Germany for ten years and now owns a tour agency in the village, told me of how he had not been accepted into the village tea house for a long time after his return. A man's 'belonging' and 'place' in the village clearly depends on his regular attendance and ability to partake in village discussion at the tea house, and is often referred to in illustration of the difficulties faced by returned migrants in regaining their social position within the men's community. The worst scenario for a '*Goremeli*' man is to walk unrecognised into the tea house because of his being away for so long. Interestingly, for men, working in tourism can have the same repercussions; because of their spending most or even all of the day in their tourism business, they effectively 'leave' the village during the summer months and, come winter, find it difficult to re-enter the tea-house. On this, a young man who works in a carpet shop told me: "The people who moved to Holland and everywhere, their sons are outsiders now...And maybe we'll end up like that too, because we don't fit into our village anymore".

Migration has led to the occurrence of people who are both *Goremeli* and yet at the same time 'outsiders'. It has begun a blurring of the boundaries demarcating the Goreme community, and it has concurrently forced the people of Goreme to reconsider their place in the world and to open their lives to 'other' possibilities. As is generally the case in Turkish villages from where migration has occurred (Schiffauer, 1993; Abadan-Unat, 1986, 1993), the people of Goreme have inevitably gained links with a much wider world than they used to have before migration occurred. As Abadan-Unat states in reference to Turkish villages, "The concept of distance has changed...in the 1930's men walked for two weeks to find work in Ankara. Today Turkish workers are employed on five continents. Peasant women in *salva* and men with traditional baggy trousers are boarding planes for Stockholm, Sidney, Berlin. For them the sphere in which one earns one's bread has grown to a global scale" (1993:207).

There is today, as there has been for two or three decades in Goreme, a prolific movement in and out of people, communications and goods, as well as the simple but striking awareness, even if only in people's imaginations, of ways of life and opportunities which exist outside of Goreme, and indeed outside of Turkey. This point is made by Schiffauer in his discussion of the effects of external migration on Turkish villagers' concepts of place and time:

> Of course there always had been the *knowledge* that there were other worlds than one's own; but what was different now was that one's own brother was living in a different world. And that meant that *in principle* one could be in his place. The abstract knowledge about other worlds thus became concrete and relevant knowledge. There was not only one future, but the individual had the choice between several 'futures'. In principle a different type of future was accessible. There was an option, even if one did not make use of it. (1993:76)

An awareness of the 'outside world' and its economic possibilities was frequently conveyed to me even by the women of the village through their relaying of their opinions of life in Europe. Although they may have never been as far as Ankara themselves they invariably have relatives in northern Europe, and have heard from them of the economic possibilities there. Many still hold out the possibility of their son's employment abroad, even though today, their son's employment in Goreme's tourism might prove to be more gainful. Schiffauer's point is important, though, regarding the advent among Turkish villagers of 'the choice between several futures'. Schiffauer goes on to conclude from this that the effect that migration had on villagers was to give them a loss of pride in their village life because of their perception that a future outside of the village was better than to remain; that those who did remain in the village were somehow "feeble" and 'losers' (ibid.:78).

While, to some extent, this process following outward migration of idealising a future outside of the village has also occurred in Goreme, it has been limited by the arising of a crucial difference between Goreme and most other Central Turkish villages. That difference is, of course, that the men of Goreme have been presented with an extra viable economic opportunity within the boundary of their own village - tourism. In the next chapter, I will go on to discuss the advent and development of tourism in Goreme and the changes it has brought about in the village and in villagers' lives. That discussion will thus build upon the issues illuminated in this chapter regarding the social, spatial and seasonal duality which exists in Goreme life, particularly manifested in the parallel but quite separate lives of men and women, and the simultaneous processes of continuity and change.

5

A COMMUNITY IN COMPETITION
- the business of tourism in Goreme

> Goremeli means - someone who keeps the old traditions and customs of the village, and someone who respects the elders and loves the youngsters. And who helps each other and loves each other. But unfortunately, from tourism, it's a little bit changing – Goremeli is going away from this principle ...When there was no tourism in Goreme, people had a village life, so the main income of the villagers was from farming, and so when they go farming or back to their home, they had time to talk with each other – so the relationships were much stronger. But when tourism became so important, people do many jobs – on many subjects – like pansiyons or whatever, so for money they would easily disturb each other even though they are family, you know, even though they are members of the same family. So this changed the peoples' lives. (*Goremeli* carpet shop owner [his own English])

This quotation resonates to an extent with the notion of 'impact' discussed in Chapter 1. Yet, there is a difference in these accounts in that the words of the villager above convey an idea that tourism is developing within the village and among the villagers, rather than being some external force which has 'hit' Goreme from outside. We are reminded again here of Picard's point that 'tourism should be conceived not as the eruption of an external force striking Bali [or any place] from without, but as a process transforming Balinese [or any other] from within' (1993:72). As the quote above expresses, significant changes have occurred in the lives of the Goreme people with the move from farming to tourism, but those changes have been effected *by* the people themselves as much as they have happened *to* them.

Processes of socio-economic change through tourism development interweave with cultural factors specific to the locale and, as I suggested in Chapter 1, it is important to elucidate here precisely the ways in which 'local' values and practices do mediate and influence 'global' tourism processes. To date, few studies have made any sort of close view examination of the 'internal mechanics' of tourism in rural societies which focus on the 'local' strategies and practices regarding tourism business opportunities.[1] The aim of this chapter, then, is to do just that; to elucidate the 'internal' transformation process occurring through the development of tourism business in Goreme.

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[1] Schoss's (1995) study of tourism entrepreneurs in Malindi, Kenya is one of the few. Other examples are Crick's (1994) study of Kandy, Sri Lanka and Michaud's (1991) on the informal tourism economy in Ladakh, India.

We saw towards the end of the last chapter how *Goremeli* people, like those of other Turkish villages, began during the 1960s and 1970s to act to improve their lot; to remove themselves from the 'hardship' associated with living mainly from agriculture. Many men and families migrated at that time, imagining a more prosperous future for themselves outside of the village. However, tourism has to a large extent worked to reverse that process, returning a sense of pride and future within the village. Young men who are otherwise likely to have gone to work elsewhere, remain and are working in the village; others who had already migrated out are drawn back. The chance and hope of having a prosperous future on home ground has never been stronger.

Simultaneously, however, that chance of a prosperous future from tourism is constantly threatened by both 'outside' and 'inside' influences. Outside threats include wealthy companies and would-be entrepreneurs from other parts of Turkey who would like to get in on Goreme's tourism opportunities. In addition, national and regional authorities are seen to interfere with the prosperity of *Goremeli* people through increasing measures of legislation and taxation. On the inside, as the carpet seller quoted above states, the threat is that the *Goremeli* men have been thrown into blatant and intense competition with each other as they battle between themselves for the custom of tourists.

The opposing trends - an increase in a sense of pride in community and place on the one hand, and an increase in risk, competition, and deception on the other - might be difficult to pool together here in one chapter. However, both trends seem to be equally influential in the everyday experiences of the villagers in their living and working with tourism in Goreme. As Redfield suggested in his discussion of ways of viewing small communities, rather than too much emphasis on one viewpoint, it might be better to work through "a kind of dialectic of viewpoint, a dialogue of characterisations. "This," but on the other hand "That,"...(1960:137). This chapter examines the 'this' and the 'that' of what is happening with regards to tourism business in Goreme. To do so, the discussion will begin with an overview of the beginning of tourism in the village, and will continue on to examine various aspects of the tourism business today.

Getting into Tourism

> Before tourism came many people went to Germany to work...And Goreme started to become known and famous in the world from the visitors to Goreme [the museum site], and there were just few tourists coming to Goreme. There were, in 1965, just one or two pansiyons in Goreme. And their neighbours saw that they were making some money, and when you have no job in town and you are staying here and probably you don't get much from your field, and so they thought they would also make a pansiyon

> in their home or they would hire a larger home, and so the number became more and more every year, and so they learnt the tourism from their friends - from each other. And the ones who went to Europe or to bigger cities like Ankara saw that life was changing in the village, and so they decided to turn back to their village.(*Goremeli* carpet seller, interview carried out in English)

During the 1970's and early 1980's the number of tourists passing through the village, then named Avcilar, in order to visit the nearby 'Goreme Open-Air museum' was becoming substantial enough to make tourism a viable economic option for would-be local entrepreneurs. In the vignettes in the last chapter, it was seen how Abbas and his brothers were some of the first in Goreme to get into the business of tourism in the village. As teenage boys with an entrepreneurial spark, they had the initial ideas of how to make some money from the few tourists who were beginning to pass through in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Notably, these individuals set the ball rolling, and it is useful to refer to an idea of Ardener's (1989) here in considering the amount of influence and determination these individuals had in Goreme's tourism.[2] Ardener suggests that 'remote areas' are 'event rich': 'Event richness is like a small-scale, simmering, continuously generated set of singularities, which are not just the artefact of observer bias...but due to...the enhanced defining power of individuals' (1989:222). He is referring here to the notion that in small remote places, what individuals do is more noticeable and consequently influential than in larger 'stable' areas. To consider the influence of individual men in the early days of Goreme's tourism, I will now lay out four men's narratives in which they talk about how they began to get into tourism[3]:

> **Abbas (aged mid 40's)**: When I was 15, I sold cards to the tourists. That was at the beginning of tourism you understand...That earned good money. And then I said to myself, if I sell things to tourists, I can earn money. So later, I bought cards and books and started to sell them - and then I sold antiques together with my friend. We did that job, from '68 to '74. In 1975, I went to the military service. After I returned from the military, I opened a restaurant, Goreme's first restaurant. I opened it in 1977. I ran restaurants for about 18 or 19 years, and then I opened a tour agency. Okay? That is how my life has passed.[*trans.*]

> **Omer (aged mid 40's)**: When we were school students, we were selling postcards in our pockets to tourists up near the churches over there. There's a restaurant over there, we were living in a cave in our holiday time, this was the start, started selling postcards, it was really good...After my school finished...I worked in a factory, a textile factory in Kavabak. And after two

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[2] See also the volume edited by Greenfield, Strickon and Aubey (1979) for anthropological studies of entrepreneurial behaviour in various cultural contexts.

[3] These quotations are extracts from taped interviews I collected with the men, and form the answers to my initial question which asked them to tell me about their lives and what they had done in their lives. I should add here that all four men knew generally what my fieldwork was about, and that I was interested in Goreme's tourism.

years I thought 'it's not the work for me' - it was hard really, and I didn't like it much. So, then I came here and I worked in the municipality office for two years. And then I thought I have to do my own business, so I started the travel agency - and that is 13 years now, I've had this business. And now I also have a hotel and a cave pansiyon which I bought last year and restored, and I have some partnerships in other businesses as well.

I asked if there had been enough tourists to run a tour agency in Goreme thirteen years ago:

Yes, there were enough. I was the first one to have a travel agency in this town, so there were enough, because I was the only one, and then the next came, and another came and another.

Tuncay (aged late 40's): I was born in Goreme in one of the caves, and I studied primary school in Goreme and I went to Nevsehir for high school. After I finished high school, I used to be a local guide for the churches, showing the fairy-chimneys to the visitors. And later, when I was 22, I went to Istanbul to do my military service...And after I finished my military service, besides my guiding, I was also interested in carpets. This was our family work, my mother and sisters used to make carpets, and so I decided to open a shop, and I am still running this business, for more than 15 years now...And I'm enjoying staying in this business, and in the future I'm thinking of expanding my business to outside of Turkey, maybe in Europe or America, this is my dream.

These three men, all in their 40's, represent the situations of those who first started tourism business in the village. The next narrative is typical of the younger men who have not yet gathered the capital to own their own businesses. In contrast to the older men depicted above, this younger man works as an employee for others and therefore sees tourism more as a 'job':

Huseyin (aged 29): I try to do different things every year...and then I can get to know people, I can get to know the jobs, what kind of jobs are important, like what belongs to tourism. Tourism is not easy. People think that it is easy, but every job has its own difficulty, in different ways..

I went to school for five years. I finished primary school and I didn't go to high school, I just started working. Before I was 11, I did three years at the *sanaye* (industry centre) decorating trucks, because tourism hadn't really started at that time...My father was a farmer...We didn't get rich, we didn't get poor either. We just stayed the same.

I started in tourism when I was eleven. I washed dishes for 3 months at Kaya Camping underground restaurant, and after I started at Rock Valley *Pansiyon* as a chef. You do everything there, when you are in a pansiyon, you must do everything; you must speak the language, you must cook, you must make the beds and wash the showers, and greet the people and check the people to see if you can get them to go to the carpet shop, and you can try to sell the tours before they go out, and that kind of business. When you are in the pansiyon position, you must know all these things.

Most of the earlier tourist activity represented in the memories above was centred around the museum site of the Goreme valley, situated a mile or so outside of the

village. Inside the village itself the idea of tourism business was slow to catch on, and most of the early contact with tourists inside the village took place at a little restaurant and camping stop called '*Haci Yeri*' (Haci's Place) set in a 'fairy-chimney' on the road leading into the village, which was run by an Urgup man called Haci. Some of the young men of Goreme, including the three older of the men above, worked at or hung around the museum area and Haci's Place, and it was not until later, when a tourist presence in the village was becoming more strongly felt in the early '80's, that they decided to follow up on their teenage antics of selling post-cards or acting as guides.

All of those men, now running their own businesses in Goreme, remember those early days when most of the tourists were 'crazy hippies' driving through the area in camp-mobiles: "30 years ago, the tourists who came here were all hippies - they all took drugs and older French women came for sex, and homosexuals too. Now more normal tourists come here, so it's OK". Tourists were thus quickly associated with drugs and sexual immorality, and so in the beginning mixing with tourists was considered far from being a respectable occupation, especially among the older members of the community. Abbas remembers the old people saying, "'Don't go near the *gavurs* (infidels). If you do, they'll cut you up into little pieces and throw you off the hill into the valley'". Tourists were most certainly 'others' and, what is more, they were considered Christian 'others', and thus "infidels" (*gavur)* in villagers' minds. Aspects of these early attitudes towards tourists do remain, although most villagers, particularly those who work directly in tourism, have become a great deal more used to tourists. Many villagers still regularly use the term '*gavur*' for tourists, though, but I also frequently observed people being reprimanded for doing so; there is today an air of political incorrectness surrounding the term.

Coupled with the suspicion and fear of the "infidels", there was, and still is, a tendency to ridicule any innovation; a tendency often associated with peasant societies where much of the time people are 'competing to remain equal' (Bailey, 1971). This aspect of close-knit communities is discussed at length by Bailey, who points out that 'Skills and energies go into keeping people in the place that they have always been: they run hard in order to stand still. It is the kind of world that stamps heavily upon change and innovation' (1971:23). Indeed Stirling noted what he regarded as a 'proverbially conservative' character of Turkish villagers, stating, 'If people take, as they are almost certain to do, the view that the innovation is malicious, pretentious, dangerous, impious or absurd, the innovator, if he persists, has to face criticism, ridicule or even ostracism' (1965:291). In relation to his opening of the first 'tourist' restaurant in Goreme, Abbas told me: "People said to me 'What on earth are you doing that for? Who will come and eat there?'".

However, despite being slightly marginalised, these innovators considered themselves knowledgeable in tourist matters after their teenage flirtations with tourism business. In addition, they were able to use the nearby town of Urgup, in which tourism business developed earlier, as a model. When I asked Omer, quoted above, how he had the idea of opening a tour agency in Goreme, he replied, "Well, there were some other travel agencies in Urgup, so I checked them and they were doing good, so I said this is the kind of business for me...and so I opened my own." Stories of the early days of tourism in Goreme are now rather mixed with many local men making claims to being among the first to have got involved. Though initially criticised, the early innovators gradually became the leaders in a trend which many other villagers would follow. Now that tourism has been proven a prosperous venture, there is even a sense of heroism attached to having initiated the trend.

This stark change in villagers' attitudes towards tourism is interesting in the light of Bailey's and Stirling's observations noted above. If innovation is suppressed, then how does change and, in this case, the growth of tourism business occur? It is useful to refer again, here, to Ardener's point about 'remote areas', which appears at first to contradict the assumptions of those who have written about 'peasant societies'[4]. Ardener states that indeed, 'remote areas are full of innovators', and further that: 'The paradox is that there is always change and intervention in remote areas, while in timeless Leeds stagnation seems to be the rule' (1989:218). In other words, in small societies, whatever anybody does is noticed by the other members of the community, and is thus endowed with significance. Hence, the culture of 'competing to remain equal' is two-fold: on one hand, attempts at innovation which fail are ridiculed; on the other hand, successful innovation is emulated as the ones who are 'behind' attempt to catch up with the innovators. The pattern of 'copying' in the growth in tourism business in the village is emphasised in the following words from Abbas:

> I opened the first restaurant. A few people saw that I was making money, so they also wanted to do something. Then they earned money, so others started. It started like that and so it carried on. They followed each other of course. If I hadn't done it, no one would have done it...One or two years after I opened the restaurant, I bought a car. Others in the village saw this, so they also started opening pansiyons and restaurants...In Goreme, 20 years ago there was one pansiyon - built from an old house. Then others did it, then they added more rooms, and it grew.[*trans.*]

In this way, ideas concerning tourism business gradually caught on in Goreme, with more and more villagers emulating the visible success of men like Abbas. Abbas opened his restaurant and a few people were beginning to convert some rooms in

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[4] See, for example, Shanin (1971) and Foster (1965) along with Bailey (1971).

their cave houses into *pansiyon* rooms for tourists to stay in. A few others were setting up the idea of selling carpets to tourists. During those early years, Haci's Place and the few small pansiyons together with the first carpet businesses began the process of working together for commission, whereby the pansiyon and restaurant owners would get a small cut of the profit if they recommended their customers to buy carpets. There started the process through which the tourism businesses in Goreme became, concurrently with being the source of bitter competition and rivalry among the villagers, an entangled network of friends and partnerships.

Those men also remember the tourism business in the early days as being better than it is now: "In the 70's, the tourists spent more money - they came in cars, and didn't understand the prices for things, they were sleeping, so we could sell to them for big prices. Now tourists have woken up, so they don't spend so much", one of the early local entrepreneurs told me. Everything being relative, the cash received from tourists in those early days probably seemed plentiful and easy in comparison to the meagre amounts of cash they, as teenagers then, received from any other means. Moreover, at that time there were so few tourism businesses in the village that the small number of men who did take the chance with tourism had the market pretty much to themselves. When I questioned Abbas further about how he started to earn money from tourists so early on, he told me:

> I did labouring work for the *Belediye* (municipality office) - gardening, building work and so on. But then I realised that selling postcards etc. could earn more money, so I did that. Then, after I came back from the military service, I thought, 'there is nowhere for tourists who come here to eat', so I opened a restaurant - good, eh!...I didn't think of going to Europe at all because they all went when I was about 20, and that was when I opened the restaurant, because I was earning good money. I was earning better money than in Europe, so I didn't want to go, I didn't try. [*trans.*]

The capital used to build their businesses was either accumulated gradually, as with all of the men quoted above, or from selling the trucks that some people owned. Very few have managed to use government credit schemes. On this, Tuncay, the carpet seller quoted above, told me:

> The people are just doing their own job and their own businesses with their own possibilities, rather than getting credit from the bank or things like that - some do but very few. The government does credit systems for short periods and if you are lucky you can get it, but it's only when it's a new government that they give credit, and only for short periods, so you have to be very fast and prepare the documents in time - and if you are lucky you get it, but usually not.

No Goreme families appear to have sold their land in order to raise the capital for tourism business, although, some may have 'given' their land over to those still

prepared to work it (as with Ali and his older brother Mehmet discussed in the previous chapter). And this is why the labour within each Goreme household has tended through tourism to become further split along gender lines; generally, the women continue to work the fields while the men bring in an income from tourism business.

A few families in the early 1980's began to either convert their old cave homes or construct new buildings for *pansiyon* or small motel businesses. When I first visited Goreme in 1984, there were three *pansiyons* and a small restaurant open to tourists in the village. Five years later when I visited the village in 1989, as more and more local men had entered into tourism business, there were approximately fifty pansiyons and a number of restaurants, carpet shops and travel agencies. That was the period of Goreme's most rapid tourism development.

Many villagers view the late 80's as being the 'heyday' of Goreme's tourism, when tourists seemed to flock to the place and so there were plenty of tourists to share around. The Gulf War is frequently cited as the cause of a dramatic down-turn in tourist numbers at the start of the 90's, and as such is probably the main event in Goreme's 'tourism history' which has promoted an awareness among villagers of the precarious nature of tourism business, as well as an understanding that entrepreneurship is not as easy as they had at first thought. The Gulf War seems to have given the villagers something of a shock, and even during my fieldwork time going into the late 90's, besides the few weeks during late July and August, there were fearful complaints sounded throughout the village that tourists are no longer coming there. Very few villagers during my fieldwork conversations considered the point that more and more tourism businesses open each year in the village, all of which have to share the tourists' custom. It thus seems as though, whilst tourists at first appeared as a great, perhaps unlimited chance befalling the village during the main growth period, they have later become entwined with the "image of limited good" which Foster (1965) has associated with peasant societies. This is an important factor in understanding the mechanisms of tourism in rural societies such as Goreme because it leads us towards an understanding of how local people's relationships with tourists are deeply entangled with their relationships with each other. This entanglement will be unfolded more in the latter sections of this chapter.

The early period during the 80s, then, is often looked back upon today with an air of nostalgia, especially among those who were the first to enter into tourism business such as the men quoted above. What is more, Abbas and his contemporaries seem often these days to be disillusioned with the processes of rapid change going on around them. Whilst once they were the main perpetrators of that change, they now seem to have been left behind by the younger men who have followed in their

footsteps, and who are now the ones who are prospering from and enjoying tourism the most. Reminiscing about the early days, Abbas told me: "In those days we always enjoyed ourselves, making jokes and so on. I used to close the restaurant, lock the door at the end of the evening, and go to Urgup with the tourists - until four in the morning. When I remember those early days my stomach churns with feeling"[trans.].

Furthermore, the businesses were previously of a more simple and informal character, and the village men seemed more in a position of 'hosts' to their 'guests'. With fewer prominent restaurants and tour agencies in the village centre, *pansiyons* at that time were the main centres of tourists' entertainment, and the *pansiyon* owners were the main providers of that entertainment; serving meals, guiding on walks and trips in their cars, and singing Turkish folk songs when the tourists gathered in the evenings. It is shown in the next chapter that this informal 'hospitality' and entertainment was (and still is) well suited to the desires and expectations of both the backpackers and their 'hosts'.

These days, whilst such 'services' still prevail and tourists can still be entertained within many of the *pansiyons*, businesses in the villages have tended to become more specialised. With the significant number of prominent tourist restaurants and bars along the main street of the village, tourists are more likely these days to go out of their *pansiyon* for their evening entertainment. Looking back through the Goreme village telephone books from previous years, it was noted that in 1994 there were four tour agencies, in 1995 there were twelve, and in 1996 there were fifteen. And as the businesses have become more specialised, so they have tended to become more formal and 'business-like' in the way that they deal with tourists. This was nicely put by one entrepreneur, who reflected that "Now it's only for money. Before we earned money from the tourists during the day, and then we went out with them in the evening and spent that money on them, all together. Now we've become cleverer, before we were a bit crazy". This changing nature of the interactions between tourists and the villagers who 'service' them is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

A gradual increase in the effectiveness of laws concerning licensing and taxation has pushed most of Goreme's tourism businesses along the continuum[5] from what has been termed the 'informal' sector towards the 'formal' sector economy (Hart 1973). Whilst *pansiyons* (accommodation with fewer than ten rooms) are not fully recognised by the National Ministry of Tourism (and therefore do not qualify for

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[5] I would certainly suggest that the idea of a continuum is preferable to a dichotomy when considering the differences between the informal and formal economic sectors discussed by Hart (1973); most of Goreme's businesses seem to lie somewhere between the two 'types'. Michaud (1991) provides an insightful discussion on the interaction between these two sectors of tourism businesses in Ladakh, India.

government subsidies and tax relief etc.), they must register, obtain a licence, and pay tax locally with the Goreme municipality (hotels of more than ten rooms must be licensed nationally under the Ministry of Tourism and they receive a star-rating according to their facilities). This shift has also added to the difficulty in running multiple services in individual businesses: because tour agencies are now under the control of the national controlling body TURSAB, which legally enforces the necessity of full insurance and licensing with certified guides, *pansiyon* owners therefore take legal risks nowadays if they take their guests out for a sightseeing trip in their car. Moreover, with the intense competition between the various businesses, tour agents in the village who do have the correct licence may be quick to inform the authorities of any illegal competition. These two themes - increase in competition and increase in the 'formal' character of businesses - are central to understanding the growth and change in tourism business in Goreme. Before going on to focus on competition in the second half of this chapter, it is pertinent here to consider the context within which Goreme's tourism grew.

Goreme's tourism in the context of national and regional tourism development

In Chapter 1 it was noted that foreign visitor arrivals increased from under two million in 1981 to over seven million in 1992 (Korzay 1994). On a regional level, transportation and other tourism facilities grew rapidly throughout the 1980s in the Cappadocian towns of Urgup, Avanos and Nevsehir, as well as in Goreme and Uchisar villages. During the eighties, a national Tourism Encouragement Plan had been enacted with new legislation providing incentives for private tourism investment under the new 'Thatcherite' government of Turgut Ozal, as well as decentralisation of tourism planning to encourage regional and local policy making (Sezer and Harrison, 1994:80). The regional Ministry of Tourism office in Nevsehir was now able to develop plans and policies aimed specifically at promoting Cappadocia and increasing the tourism infrastructure in order to draw and accommodate greater numbers of tourists.

In particular, the small town of Urgup, nine kilometres from Goreme and similar in its 'cave' setting, took up the government's local planning and incentive policies and developed a tourism infrastructure rapidly. Urgup was thus always a step head of Goreme in the tourism development process, and as mentioned earlier, therefore served as a model for the early entrepreneurs of Goreme. The two townships have consequently remained in stiff competition with each other concerning their claims to be the 'tourism centre' of Cappadocia; this competition including claims over the patronage of the 'Goreme Open-Air Museum'. The museum is situated on the road between the towns though much closer to Goreme, but in its early days was managed

by the Urgup municipality. Later the site was appropriated by the regional government under the auspices of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, and it was in the early 80s, following the passing of a national law which stated that the municipality closest to any historical site could claim 40% of the site's income, that the village's name was changed from Avcilar to Goreme. It was this claim on the museum site takings which probably was the major factor in the name change, though it would also have served the purpose of attracting more tourists to the village itself. As one villager told me, "It gave fame to this village, the museum and the name together".

Despite Goreme village's close proximity to the famous museum site, in most tourism literature Urgup is promoted as being the 'tourism centre' of Cappadocia. Urgup has always had more tourist beds, restaurants and shops than any of the other Cappadocian towns or villages, and during the late 1980s and early 1990s Urgup moved into the 'mass' tourism market, with national and foreign investment and the construction of large 3, 4, and 5 star hotels (the other biggest hotels in Cappadocia are situated by the road which runs between Goreme and Nevsehir). Today, most of the 'package tour' groups visiting the region are accommodated in Urgup, and because these package tours are generally 'all-inclusive', this sort of development has taken over almost the entirety of Urgup's tourism. Consequently, the locally-owned smaller businesses which used to service the non-group tourists are now struggling or closed. In a conversation I had with the Tourism Ministry representative in the Tourism Office in Urgup about these matters, he said "It's a debatable issue: Urgup townspeople do benefit indirectly from these hotels because the hotels buy food from the town and employ waiters and so on. On the other hand though, it is too quiet in town now, and the small restaurants and shops are suffering".[6]

The situation of tourism in Goreme today has, in contrast, remained mostly in the non-group tourist market. With Urgup otherwise so geographically and situationally close to Goreme, however, it is looked upon in policy discussions, among government officials as well as among the Goreme men, as a mixed example for the future planning of tourism in Goreme. The point which the travel agent quoted above made about his idea for a travel agency being copied from Urgup businesses, for instance, was continued with: "Yes, the businesses in Goreme are copies of Urgup. But now we are much better than Urgup, really, because Goreme is much better as a place, as a village, so travellers prefer to stay in Goreme and so we have a chance to make

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[6] See Michaud (1991) and Wahnschafft (1982) for discussions of the ways in which small-scale 'informal' sector tourism businesses tend to get subsumed or ousted under pressure from larger 'formal' sector businesses.

business with them". Similarly, Tuncay, also quoted above, spoke to me about 'protecting' Goreme's future, and used Urgup as an example of what Goreme should not become:

> ...so that it doesn't get spoilt - like Urgup, where it is out of control, with the buildings, 4 and 5 star hotels and so on. Urgup is a village I know from my childhood...I would go there with my father. We had two donkeys, we put sacks of grapes on the donkeys, and we would go there, to the market, and we would eat *helva* (a Turkish sweet), sitting in front of the horse-shoeing place, and watch them, and have our lunch - we can never see that again probably, so it has changed very quickly. And I don't want our nice village Goreme to be spoilt and changed...

The example of Urgup, then, leaves for many the question of the future of Goreme's tourism constantly hanging in the air since it is unclear whether Goreme is simply a few years behind Urgup's tourism development, or whether Goreme is actually on an entirely different tourism track; the track of a more 'alternative' tourism.[7] These issues are taken up in more detail in Chapter 8, but it is appropriate to re-emphasise the point once more here that, because of Goreme village's situation within the 'Goreme Historical National Park', the building of large hotels is (generally) not permitted in the Goreme valley, and so there has been relatively little investment interest from large 'outside' companies such as the hotel corporations that have invested in Urgup. It is mainly for this reason that most of Goreme's tourism business has remained relatively low key and low on capital investment, and has remained largely in the hands of local villagers.

Tourism in Goreme today - an overview of business and employment

Some villagers estimate that today approximately ninety percent of the Goreme villagers profit from tourism, either directly through their own work or through the work of other members of their families.[8] This highlights the great importance of tourism business in the village economy. With more and more men trying their entrepreneurial hand in one or various tourism services, the rather haphazard process of opening new and copying existing businesses continues on into the late 1990s.

During my fieldwork time in 1996/97, to accommodate tourists in the village, there were approximately sixty *pansiyons* and motels, plus a handful of more upmarket

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[7] A 'type' of tourism much discussed recently, for example in Smith, V. and Eadington, W. (eds.) 1994, usually seen as contrasting to more 'mass' forms of tourism with respect to its more positive effects on touristed localities.

[8] In his doctoral study of Goreme, Bezmen (1996 unpublished) suggested that, in 1995, approximately half of the village households have *direct ownership* of a tourism business (though it is unclear how this calculation was made).

hotels and a few camping sites. There was also an 'Accommodation Association' office in the bus station so that tourists could choose a place to stay upon their arrival in the village. Other services in the village included: fifteen tour agencies; fifteen restaurants; five or six bar / discos; ten carpet shops; several general stores; and numerous other souvenir shops and souvenir stands (these stands are not inside the village but are situated at prominent touristic spots outside the village such as at the Goreme Open-Air Museum and a 'panoramic view-point' on the approach into the village). There is also a horse ranch (owned by Abbas's older brother, as mentioned in the previous Chapter) which runs horse-riding tours, and a hot-air ballooning operation run by two pilots from northern Europe - one English, one Swedish.

Besides the ballooning company (which has established links with the main hotels in the region for its custom), all of these businesses are aimed almost entirely at the foreign 'backpacking' tourists, who must be 'caught' off the street. Some bars and restaurants are also frequented by local men who want to mix with female tourists, but otherwise it is really only the grocery stores which are frequented by the villagers. A couple of small more exclusive hotels, owned and run by non-Goremeli entrepreneurs, aim their services at the smaller of the bus tour groups. One of these is specifically aimed at a Japanese market. A few 'motels' housed in new buildings and situated just outside of the village, together with another larger but not so up-market hotel which is owned partly by the municipality and is part of a Turkish hotel chain, accommodates the minority of Turkish tourists who stay in the village. There are few formal links between the tourism services in the village and tour operators or hotels outside of the village; such links are something of an unknown quantity for most of the villager entrepreneurs. Many *pansiyon* owners do, however, have informal links with other accommodation establishments around the backpacker circuit, such as in Istanbul and along the south coast, whereby they 'send' customers to each other. As Stirling has noted in relation to the ability of Turkish villager entrepreneurs to establish organisational links:

> 'They learn mainly *ad hoc* what it is in their interest to know, what helps them to solve the next problem. They can only do this within the limits of their existing knowledge, perceptions and experience; and of their own morality...personal networks are thought to be the most crucial factor in the daily running of organisations' (1993:11-12).

The appearance of the centre of the village has changed significantly over the past ten years. Along with the increase in the number of restaurants and tour agencies lining the main road, there was in 1989/90, the construction of a small bus station and a shopping centre - or 'handicraft centre' as it is called - which houses many of the touristic souvenir shops. The municipality is constantly making alterations to this

central area of the village in order to make it 'more beautiful' for tourists; laying asphalt on the main roads, lining the roads with ornate street lamps (possibly copies in style of lamps in Urgup), planting trees, and so on. In 1997, an open-air theatre was constructed within the shopping centre complex, with the aim of providing entertainment to tourists and villagers (the opening event of the theatre, for example, took the form of a concert of Azerbaijani folk-dancing).

The Mayor has an obvious influence over tourism in the village, and the particular man who had this role during my fieldwork seemed to have been voted in largely because of his keen interest in promoting and improving Goreme's tourism potential. In a tourism magazine produced to promote the Cappadocia region, he is photographed and quoted as saying: "Goreme is a treasure of history and culture. Each year, hundreds of thousands of tourists visit Goreme to enjoy these unique beauties and to make a journey to thousands of years before...To grasp and experience Cappadocia thoroughly, you have to stay here at least a week so that you can be able to enjoy our traditional hospitality" (*Amfora,* 1995).

Another organisation which promotes Goreme for tourism is the 'Tourism Co-operative'. This was founded in 1986 and has over 150 village households in its memberships. "The main aim of the co-operative", the president of this organisation told me, "is to develop tourism in Goreme...We are one of the best co-operatives in Turkey. After the Ministry of Tourism, we are second in introducing Cappadocia to the world". The villagers in general seemed proud of the work their co-operative does. The organisation produces posters and leaflets of Goreme which it distributes at tourism fairs in Turkey and abroad, and it has a general store in the centre of the village, a tea house and snooker hall which opens for villagers on winter evenings, and a souvenir and drinks shop at the entrance of the Goreme Open-Air Museum (see Figure 2.3). This shop allows those villagers who have not become entrepreneurs in their own right to have a part in Goreme's tourism business. This co-operative enterprise is likely to be the product of a tendency towards co-operative organisation hanging over from the 'village life' which the carpet seller, in the quote opening this chapter, suggests existed previous to tourism; a life in which "relationships were much stronger". As such, the co-operative would appear to contrast with the general trend existing today whereby many of the villagers have set up businesses of their own "on many subjects – like pansiyons or whatever, so for money they would easily disturb each other" (ibid.).

In an article by Delaney (1993) on 'authority and co-operation' in Turkish villages, the concepts of *ortak* (partnership) and *imece* (community project) are discussed in relation to the co-operative aspects of Turkish village life. In addition to the more informal co-operation between women in their food-production and household work, as

mentioned in the previous chapter, Delaney discusses here the more formal 'ortak' system among the men. This is a sharing arrangement whereby, for example, heavy equipment such as farming machinery or perhaps a minibus might be bought co-operatively between two or more men. Interestingly, although Delaney states that in her fieldwork village *imece* was a very positively discussed concept, Goremeli people seemed adamantly to deny that such community projects had ever existed in Goreme. However, *ortak* systems are rife in Goreme, the Tourism Co-operative being perhaps a large village partnership system. Many of the more privately owned tourism businesses, as we shall go on to see, are also owned between two or three partners. A few people can raise the capital to start up a new tour agency more easily than one man on his own can. Also, such a system shares out the risk involved, but at the same time, of course, it splits the profit. Many men, therefore, have partnerships in a few different businesses, thereby spreading out their risk and also increasing the chance of earning a reasonably steady income.[9] Hence the tourism businesses in Goreme have developed into what has become a complex web-like network of partnerships.

Employment

An illustration of the figures concerning employers and employees from inside and outside the village is provided in a breakdown of the businesses in 1995, obtained by Bezmen (1996).[10] Bezmen shows that among a total of 188 tourism businesses in Goreme, 161 were operated by local men. Out of the total of 166 people employed to work in these businesses, only 50 were local villagers. Though best treated as tentative, these figures do appear to quite accurately reflect my observations and villagers' rough estimates concerning the ratio of inside versus outside employment and management of tourism business in Goreme, and illustrate the point again that business in the village is largely in the hands and control of local villagers.

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[9] The question of what the income of these 'semi-formal' businesses actually amounts to is extremely complex; it is made so by the ad hoc way in which money, employees, commission etc. seem to be handled on a day to day basis. (Crick (1994) also makes this point regarding tourism businesses in Kandy, Sri Lanka). Furthermore, it was considered inappropriate by entrepreneurs that I, as a woman, should have an interest in the economics of their businesses, anyway, and so I did not press the point. From observation, certainly the carpet shops have an enormous turnover of capital, and some of these businesses, together with the more successful pansiyons and restaurants, are now said to be worth hundreds of thousands of US dollars. Those other entrepreneurs who lease the buildings for their businesses, on the other hand, make a more meagre income. Young men such as Huseyin mentioned above, who do not have capital of their own and who have not received help in the form of capital from their family, work for others and try to save enough capital to eventually run their own business.

[10] Again, it is not clear how these figures were arrived at. Furthermore, as in the previous footnote, I, as a woman, was unable to obtain any statistics from the Goreme municipality on such matters, although I assume that such figures are kept by them for employment and tax purposes.

As well as being significant in view of the villagers' relationships with tourists (as discussed in the next chapter), this point bears strongly on the villagers' lives more generally. Here, we are reminded of the lives of Abbas and his friends as depicted in the vignettes in the previous chapter; because they are the owners of their businesses, they are their own bosses and so, in comparison to their employees, are largely free to do what they want when they want. This was shown to be particularly significant during harvest times in village, when I observed that employees had to take unpaid time off in order to go to the fields to help their wives in this busiest time in the agricultural calendar. Entrepreneurs such as Abbas, in contrast, had their employees on hand to enable them to go off and help their wives whenever they needed to. Similarly, these men are free to go out fishing, hunting, playing cards and chatting with friends whenever they wish.

The mostly young men who are employed to do the more menial tasks of cleaning and waiting in restaurants and *pansiyons* come largely from other parts of Turkey. Some Goreme youngsters are also employed in this role. It seemed from my observations that having to relate in their new role as entrepreneurs to people in new ways, the village men who own these businesses are bringing their paternalistic attitudes and behaviours directly from the household. The workers are often treated, much like the *gelin* (incoming bride)[11], as little more than 'skivvies', working extremely long hours and receiving very poor wages in return for their chance to 'learn the trade'. As we heard from Huseyin in the quotes above, "when you are in a pansiyon, you must do everything"; including greeting the tourists, cooking, washing the showers and so on.

Huseyin also added to this list of jobs that you should "check the people to see if you can get them to go to the carpet shop, and you can try to sell the tours". A main bonus of working in (or running) a *pansiyon*, beside the chance to meet tourist women (see Chapter 7), is the opportunity it brings to earn commission, either by taking tourists to carpet shops or by recommending a particular tour agency for a day tour. This process is similar to that described by Crick (1994) regarding the 'street guides' in Kandy, Sri Lanka who try to 'catch' tourists in the streets in order to 'guide' them to a guest house or shop so as to earn commission on whatever they buy. 'Touts' in the street are generally deemed inappropriate in Goreme, however, and while everyone is on the 'commission game', they do so from a position of employment so that, for

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[11] Unlike *gelins* however, most of these 'boys' can quite easily escape from their situation and turnover is consequently fairly high, although, while they are employed, they are expected to show absolute loyalty to their employer and the business they work for. They are expected, for example, to join wholeheartedly in the shenanigans involved in the competition between theirs and other businesses.

Fig. 5.1. People working in Goreme's tourism

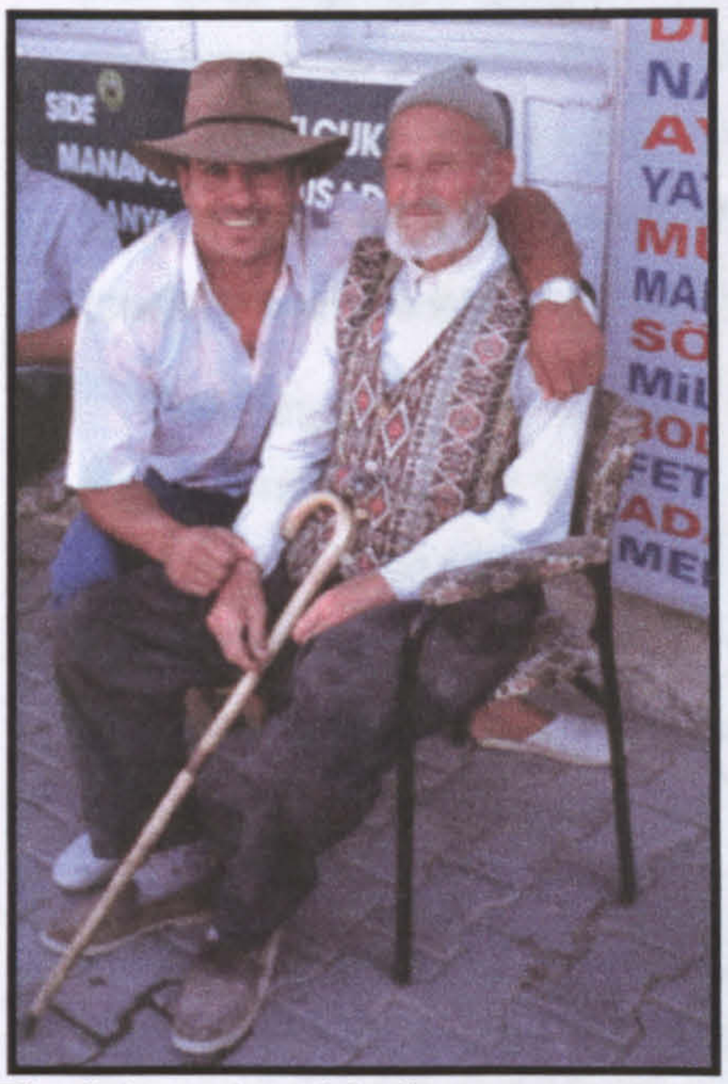


Fig 5.1a. An elderly man pays a visit to a tour agency to check up on the activities of the younger workers.

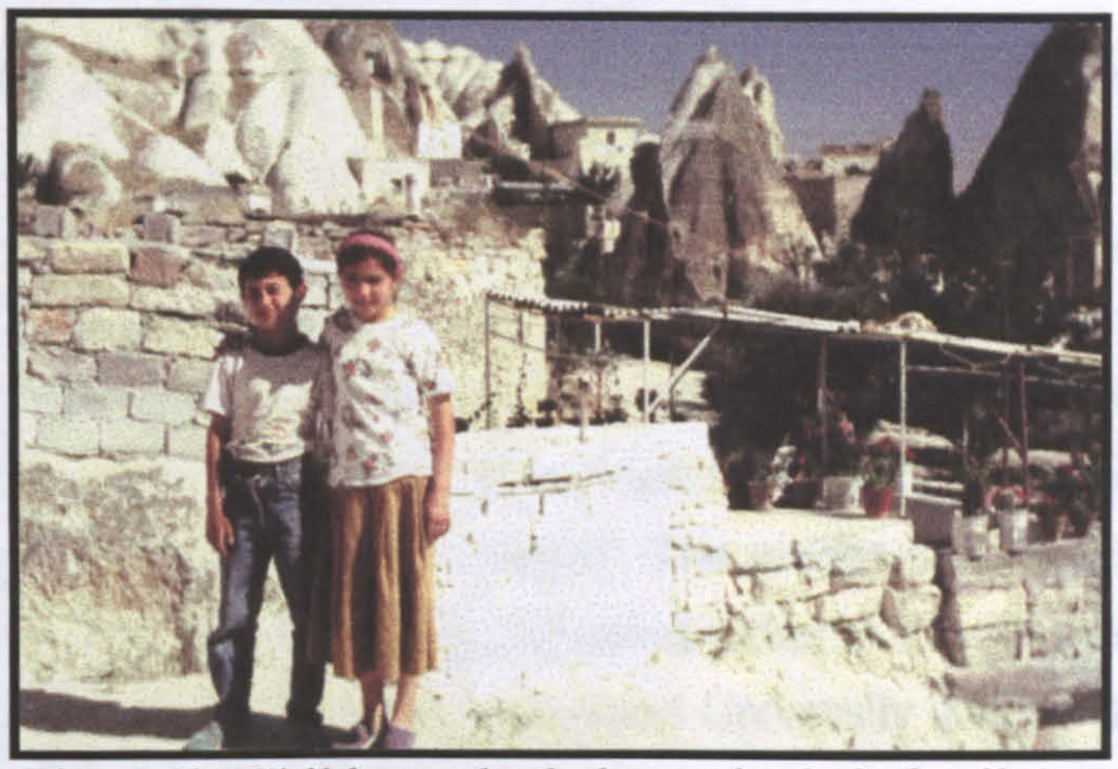


Fig. 5.1b. Children who help out in their family's pansiyon.



Fig. 5.1c. A Goremeli entrepreneur relaxing together with two long-term tourist 'helpers'.

instance, particular pansiyons have reciprocal links with particular tour agencies and they send customers to each other. Commission on carpet shopping is more of an individual system, and as with Huseyin, most employees together with entrepreneurs and business owners try to 'take' tourists to their friends' carpet shop. This all adds, then, to the situation I mentioned briefly above, whereby the businesses in Goreme form a huge entangled web; and it also adds the point suggested above that Goreme's tourism businesses are positioned in what might be termed the 'semi-formal' sector.

The young people who do work as actual 'guides' in the tour agencies do no more for commission than anyone else (this is in contrast to the 'package tour' guides who work on a national circuit and who frequently earn 40% or 50% on purchases their tourists make in the large shops built purposely for coach tours); they simply guide on the day tours, informing tourists about the regional/national history, and most of the tour agencies make a point of there being "no shopping" on their tours since they have learned that 'backpackers' would think that to be too 'touristy'. The guides employed in the agencies are often from outside of the village, and educated either in the 'Tourism College' in nearby Nevsehir (this college is a branch of Kayseri University and runs a diploma in Tourism), or are English language students at universities elsewhere. Few *Goremeli* boys do this job, probably because there is little chance of earning any commission from this position, and in any case, it is considered a role for those with particularly good knowledge of foreign languages and history (though very few have the guiding certificate officially required by TURSAB, the national governing body of travel agencies). Besides two young men from the Nevsehir Tourism College, two female students of English from Ankara were employed to guide for an agency during my fieldwork time. They were among the few Turkish women employed in tourism in Goreme at the time, and created for their employer a certain amount of worry and risk concerning his responsibilities of 'looking after them' (see discussion on *izin* in previous chapter).

Additionally, throughout the summer many tourists stop and work for a month or two, particularly women who have a boyfriend in the village. This is a trend which has increasingly caught on during the 1990s and, in the middle of the summer, Goreme seems full of these foreign 'helpers'. These 'tourist workers' are often used as 'catchers' to draw in custom from tourists who it is thought might believe their fellow tourists more than a Turk. As such, the foreigners are often used as pawns in the competition between the various businesses.

It was shown in the previous chapter that, because of the gender segregation in Goreme society, tourism work is considered a man's activity as it is inappropriate for women to be in the presence of unrelated men. Generally, then, village women are not

employed in and are not present in tourism businesses, and they have very little contact with tourists. Consequently, the women of Goreme (along with the elderly) have come to represent the 'traditional' to tourists, because the women continue largely with the 'traditional' village activities of farming and food production, and they have not, in tourists' eyes been tainted by commercial tourism. The contact they do have is shrouded in this air of 'tradition', and, as we shall see in the next chapter, some women have come to make (economic) use of these representations of them by inviting tourists to view their 'traditional cave-homes' and then attempting to sell them self-made handicrafts. Women's direct economic gain from tourism is therefore largely on an 'informal' basis[12].

However, a few village women are beginning to gain employment as cleaners in some of the more successful pansiyons and hotels, and although they usually receive low wages, this income is probably the only way in which village women can independently benefit financially from tourism. Indeed, Scott's (1997) study of women's employment in tourism in Northern Cyprus comes to similar conclusions. Contrary to studies (e.g. Castelberg-Koulma 1991; Garcis-Ramon et al. 1995) that have concluded that small-scale rural tourism can create business confidence and enhance the position of rural women, Scott concludes that 'women play a marginal role in small-scale family-run hotel businesses, and on the whole fare better in larger establishments with a more formal and bureaucratic employment structure' (1997:61). Just a few 'family pansiyons' still exist in Goreme wherein wives are involved in cooking and serving tourists. Most of the pansiyons which started off as family-run operations, are now run mostly by the men, as women have been gradually separated from the 'tourist front', so the main financial benefits they receive come indirectly through their husbands and sons. Explaining the extent of women's involvement in Goreme's tourism, Abbas told me the following:

> Some women do handwork, they make head-scarves and so on, and they sell them to tourists, but very few. Women from here in any case do house work;- they do their work in the house, they look after the children, they make the food. They don't do this kind of work [tourism], they go to the gardens and vineyards...But 90% of their sons or husbands do that work, so, they too earn a livelihood from tourism. If their husband doesn't bring money home, if their sons don't bring money home, where will they get money from? So they also live from tourism, even though they work in the house. [*trans.*]

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[12] Cone (1995) provides an interesting account of the experiences of two Mayan women selling handicrafts to tourists in Chiapas, Mexico. Comparative material is found in Swain (1993).

To briefly recap at this point, we have seen that the small-business character of tourism in Goreme provides the chance for local men to be the entrepreneurs of that business. Thus, young men are, if anything, drawn to the village from outside, rather than the situation found in most Central Anatolian villages where young men are drawn away from the village to look for work elsewhere. Tourism business, then, has in many ways served to hold the Goreme community together. Moreover, as the owners of the tourism businesses, the Goreme men are also largely in control of the tourism processes in the village; in answer to a question concerning who 'manages' the tourism in Goreme, the Goremeli entrepreneurs I interviewed said, "We do". Concurrently, however, tourism has created a climate of intense competition among villagers, and the gossip, lies and fights to go with it.

Volcanic eruptions - competition, fights and gossip

At times, particularly during the summer season when business activity and competition is at its most intense, Goreme feels rather like a rumbling volcano which might erupt at any moment. As the season wears on and tempers are wearing thin, eruptions do occur. The following is just one example which occurred during my fieldwork time in the village.

It was getting towards the end of the busiest season, and over the loud-speakers around the town the Mayor called all of the owners of tourism businesses to a meeting in the central café. His main objective of the meeting was to ask the entrepreneurs to donate money to the Goreme Middle School in contribution for a new photocopying machine. Many of the village businessmen attended the meeting. After the Mayor's business was over, one of the men handed out copies of a notice which had apparently been placed in each of the rooms of one of Goreme's more up-market hotels. The hotel is owned and run together with an adjoining carpet shop by a partnership comprising a non-Goremeli Turk and a woman from New Zealand. They had placed a notice in the rooms of their hotel warning their guests to be careful of the Turks they encounter in the village. It warned that, whilst villagers may pretend to be friendly, they are really only after your money and will rip you off at every opportunity; that everyone you meet is only after taking you to a carpet shop where they will receive at least 35% commission on everything you buy.

It seems that a Turk who was staying in the hotel, a guide accompanying a small tour group, had been angered by the notice and had sneaked one out to show some of the men he was friends with in the village. One of those men had photocopied it to hand out to everyone at the meeting. The villagers were unsurprisingly outraged: How dare anyone dirty their reputation and honour in this way?; How dare anyone

jeopardise their relationships with tourists in this way?. "It is completely wrong", they said, "What will it mean if tourists think we are just smiling at them for money?". Threats began to fly around freely: "They just do what ever they like and walk around with their noses in the air completely comfortable with what they have done - *olmas!* (impossible!). But now they will have to be careful. If they are driving their car out of Goreme one day, they will be stopped and beaten - just you see. Or some people might burn their carpet shop. Really, people are talking like that now. The Goreme people are very angry."

In the days following the meeting there were various attacks on the hotel business: their advertising signs were vandalised; tourists on their way to the hotel were intercepted and told to stay elsewhere; the owners received messages warning them to get out of Goreme. A few days later another meeting was called in order to hold a discussion between the villagers and the Turkish partner of the hotel, this time in the presence of the Mayor and a Tourism Ministry official. The villagers jeered and shouted at the hotel owner, and they jeered and shouted at the Mayor: "Why do you let outsiders come and work in Goreme? - why do you let them? - it is your fault too - you let them come here and open their businesses, and they take Goremeli people's money, and then they spoil (*shimar*) (meaning: get too comfortable, too big for their boots)".[13] The hotel owner was reduced to quivering in his chair and, forced to apologise, he promised to get rid of the letters.

These events seem to encapsulate many of the issues involved in the competitive and troublesome air which surrounds Goreme's tourism business today: They convey some of the attitudes which the villagers have towards outsiders running businesses in their town; they show some of the ways that they cope when riled; they show how precarious the villagers feel their businesses and their relations with the tourists are; and they show which aspects of 'tourism' particularly affect their honour, both in their own eyes and in relation to tourists. These issues, in other words, strike at the centre not only of the villagers' chances of future wealth from tourism, but also of their individual, village, and cultural pride: One villager, after the meeting, shouted, "It's completely wrong. We do not rip the tourists off, and if the tourists believe those things, then we haven't got anything!".

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[13] I did not attend either of these meetings as I thought it inappropriate for reasons of gender (the meeting was held in the tea house (male domain) and only men were present), and because I would not have felt comfortable to have intruded on such a sensitive issue. In any case, it seemed perhaps even more informative to get the local men's reported versions of what happened. I asked numerous villagers what happened and what I report here is a summarised version of a combination of their stories.

The question of the villagers' 'image' in the presence of the tourists is particularly complex because it links into the centuries old ideas held in the Western imagination about 'dark and corrupt' Orientals discussed in Chapter 1, and is confounded more recently by broadly publicised stories of tourists being 'hassled' and 'ripped off' by conniving moustachioed men across the band of Islamic Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries (see Bowman 1989,1996). These ideas were demonstrated in the tourist vignettes in Chapter 3, where female tourists had been warned not to go to Turkey, and many tourists, before arriving in the country, had assumed that they would "get hassled" more than they actually were. These less than favourable images of Turks in the eyes of tourists are, on the one hand, conflicting with the impressions that the Turkish Ministry of Tourism tries to create for the nation as a whole - one of friendly people, genuine hospitality, and so on.[14] On the other hand, just as in the scenario outlined above, warnings about the unscrupulous players in the game (the informal sector) work to support the formal sector, and this in turn suits the Tourism Ministry which prioritises the large-scale tourism industry sector.

Goreme villagers, then, are fighting a tricky battle in their trying to earn a living from tourism, and find themselves having constantly to try to negotiate and recreate the impressions which tourists have of them. One method in this is to assert a Goreme identity as different from a Turkish one, by, for example, emphasising their village hospitality (see the next Chapter) and by the creation of (unwritten) codes of practice in Goreme which disallow the 'hassling' of tourists. The Accommodation Office, mentioned above, is a manifestation of this code; it was set up by villagers in the early nineties in order to put a stop to the mauling of tourists by *pansiyon* owners that was occurring as tourists stepped off the bus on arrival into the village (this mauling continues in every other tourist town I have visited in Turkey). In sum, the dynamics in the competition among the tourism businesses in Goreme involves not only the villagers' chances to 'catch' tourists and earn some decent profits from them, but it is also intricately bound up with these men's self-image - their identity. In order to unwrap these dynamics further, I will go on now to consider in more detail the conditions, strategies and outcomes of the heated business competition in the village.[15]

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[14] Crick (1994) discusses similar conflicting problems for the Sri Lankan Tourism authorities regarding the images they maintain in the face of large numbers of 'rogue touts'.

[15] Comparative material in which the competition between tourism businesses is discussed is found in Crick 1994 and to a lesser extent, Bowman 1989 and Michaud 1991.

Causes of conflict

Firstly, it is the particular 'type' of tourism in Goreme which is largely attributable to the open competition which goes on between different businesses; the tourists are 'free-floating' individuals whose custom, according to the words and actions of local tourism workers, must be literally 'caught' off the street. Rather than choosing everything from a brochure before they arrive, as is the case with 'package' holidays, the tourists in Goreme are in a position to choose which services to patronise at the time and in front of the entrepreneurs. Moreover, whilst some tourists are following up recommendations from their guide book or from other travellers concerning which *pansiyon*, restaurant and bar to go to, others might go from business to business in an attempt to get the cheapest prices possible. It was discussed in Chapter 3 how the tourists in Goreme generally go by a discourse of 'low budget' travel, and are also competing with each other over how cheaply they manage to obtain the travel services. Local men often talk about the 'cheap' tourists who come to Goreme, and their reticence to spend money, but, by the same token, they are drawn in by these tourists' bargaining tactics in order to 'catch' their custom. It is often the case in Goreme that businesses will run at a loss for the sake of taking custom for themselves and keeping that custom from the other businesses. Tourists bargaining for the cheapest price greatly encourage this behaviour by openly pitting the entrepreneurs against each other; the 'cheap' quests of tourists, then, greatly affect the relations the local men have with each other.

The previously discussed 'culture of equality' in this rural 'peasant' society also contributes to the prevalence of active competition between the entrepreneurs; the villagers are constantly competing to remain equal. This 'paradox' in small communities has been discussed at length by Bailey (1969 and 1971), who points out that "People remain equal because each one believes that every other one is trying to better him, and in his efforts to protect himself, he makes sure that no one ever gets beyond the level of approved mediocrity. Equality, in communities like these, is in fact the product of everyone's belief that everyone else is striving to be more than equal" (1971:19-20). In practice, the villagers do not of course remain equal in their profits from tourism. Some have been more lucky than others, whilst some may have been ensured a strong position through an affiliation with a relevant authority figure such as the Goreme Mayor. Others still simply have more business acumen or have a knack of understanding what tourists want. On the whole, though, the 'culture of equality' is rife among tourism entrepreneurs, as throughout Goreme society generally.

Plenty of mechanisms work to ensure the on-going more or less equality between villagers. The 'evil eye', for example, is the envious eye and may cause harm to

whoever it is directed.[16] Villagers place small 'blue eye' beads on babies and sometimes girls and women to ward off any evil / envy which might afflict them because of their beauty, but the other side of the coin is that one should not pay compliments, especially to babies, as it may bring them harm. The tendency to down-tread anyone who is in a position to 'show-off' extends also to the possessions an individual may have. If a new acquisition is shown to friends too obviously, it is criticised in order to prevent the individual from becoming too 'big' in the presence of others. Before I came to understand these 'equality measures' in the village, I found that any clothes I bought were usually "bad quality" or I had "paid too much" for them, and meat which I bought to cook for village friends was almost certainly going to be tough and of poor quality (even though it was not when we actually ate it). When I questioned people about the notion of 'showing-off', they told me that 'Bigger than you there is God / '*Sen den daha buyuk, Allah var*'; in other words, you should not get too big for your boots.

These equality mechanisms are also associated with the notion of 'jealousy'. In their explanations of why new purchases and so on are always criticised, villagers said that the onlookers are 'jealous' (*kizkan).* The same reason is given for the sometimes nasty business tactics used to break the visible success of competitors among Goreme's tourism services. Each entrepreneur is 'jealous' when a competing business appears to be having more success at 'catching' tourists than himself, and will resort to measures which will break that other's success, even if those measures also damage his own profits. The frequent price wars which occur in Goreme during the summer months often reach a point where businesses are running at a loss. Indeed Bailey describes it as a "tragedy" that "Equality comes about through the mutual cancellation of supposed efforts to be unequal" (1971:20). Hence, the heated competition in Goreme's tourism occurs precisely because of the strong desire in everyone that no-one else becomes more successful than themselves. This reminds us once more of the 'image of limited good' associated with peasant societies (cf. Foster, 1965), and that such aspects of Goreme's 'peasant' culture have continued through into their new lives living and working with tourism.

The increasing presence of non-villagers engaging in business practice in Goreme adds to the trouble. Throughout Goreme's tourism development men from other parts of Turkey have trickled into the village for a chance of getting in on the act. As I discussed in the last chapter, the village is the single most important element in a man's identity in Goreme: even those from a village three kilometres from Goreme are

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[16] See Delaney (1991) for more on the connections between the evil eye, gender and cosmology.

considered to be 'foreign' (*yabanci).* A number of Kurdish men who have come to Goreme from the south-east of Turkey are sometimes treated by village men with an almost xenophobic leaning. In addition, as I have already stated, there are a considerable number of 'outsiders' from outside of Turkey, although they are generally regarded as less of a threat than Turkish 'foreigners'.

Yet, these incoming entrepreneurs frequently become quite successful. One reason for this might be that incomers may bring with them a hefty amount of capital to invest in a business. Another reason is that incomers might have more business acumen due to a higher level of education, and possibly specific training in tourism business practice. They may, for example, know how to pull the right strings in the right places in order that they get a good write-up in the tourist guide-books, something which can make a big difference to the relative success of a business. The businesses in the village which are run by non-Turks / 'tourists' frequently get the best write-ups in guide-books, probably because their owners are able to talk the most convincingly to the writers of the guide-books when they visit Goreme to check on the various businesses there.[17]

Indeed, whilst many Goremeli villagers still frequently claim that they 'don't know tourism', incomers certainly have more confidence that they know what tourists want and how to service their needs in appropriate ways. This brings us back to the point made earlier concerning 'innovation'; that it is incomers who have introduced many of the ideas for the type and style of the tourism services in Goreme, because those incomers - particularly the non-Turks - seem to have more of an understanding of what the tourists want. We saw from the quotes above that there were certain Goremeli individuals who innovated the start of tourism, but as tourism has grown, many of the characteristics of the pansiyons, tours, restaurants and so on were most likely 'thought of' by incomers, and then continued to be emulated by villagers. Rather than being valued for their input and ideas, however, these same incomers become the object of jealousy and even contempt because of their frequent business success in the village. In conversation with one small group of non-*Goremeli* businessmen, for example, they told me:

> We've been to university. We think about what the tourists want. We ask what music they want to listen to and we play that. We give service. Then they all come here (Goremeli men), they get jealous, they come here, they fight...It's because we know tourism, that the tourists come here. They

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[17] The extent to which these 'travel-writers' are aware of the incredible effects of their own favouritism is an interesting question. One writer of a key English language guidebook I spoke to in Goreme seemed largely unaware of the strong influence she had over individual business success in the villlage.

> (*Goremeli* men) don't know tourism. They don't ask what the tourists like. They have a cold atmosphere, no service - and then they come and beat us up, they are always jealous.

In villager discourse, on the other hand, outsiders come only to make money from tourism and, therefore, without caring for their own or for Goreme's reputation with tourists, will "steal tourists' money", thus tarnishing the experience and image of Goreme for tourism (as discussed above). One local tour agency owner described this in the following way:

> There are some foreigners (outside Turks). Compared to them, Goremeli people are much better. In interaction with tourists, Goremeli people are very good, very close, hospitable, ..but foreigners came from outside, and now they've behaved a bit bad to tourists, and the tourists don't know - they suppose they are also Goremeli...In time, tourists won't come. And it will be because of the outsiders that they won't come. Goreme will be ruined.

The feeling among Goremeli men that their own standing in Goreme's tourism is under threat is translated here as posing a threat to Goreme's tourism in general. A main cause of this threat is the increasing presence of outsiders; outsiders who do not play by village rules. Certainly if there is fighting occurring, outsiders will often be blamed, and any competition or trouble is usually directed more aggressively at 'foreigners'.

However, to paint a picture in which Goremeli people and outsiders were each homogenous groups and always working against each other would be over- simplistic. From my observations, the reality of the situation is rather more complex, and this is because, to a large extent, people are judged and treated individually and not simply according to whether or not they are *Goremeli*. Within the grouping of 'foreigner', in other words, different individuals attain varying levels of respect among the villagers, and this generally goes according to their perceived goodness of character. The 'foreigners' involved in the scenario presented at the beginning of this section, were treated with contempt by the villagers immediately upon learning of the letters in the hotel rooms largely because they were already generally disliked in the village.

I have thus introduced some of the factors in the social and tourism make-up of the village which contribute to the presence of troubled and often violent competition in the village. To briefly recap on these, the 'type' of tourism present in Goreme whereby tourists 'buy' the services within the village rather than having pre-booked them before they arrive serves to promote an active 'face-to-face' competition between the many pansiyons, tour agencies, restaurants and shops. In addition, the tourists themselves heighten this competition in their blatant quest for cheap services. An apparent 'culture of equality' together with the presence of 'an image of limited good' associated with peasant economic relations also creates a situation wherein individuals will resort to

often nasty tactics to prevent others from having more of the 'good' than themselves, particularly if those others are non-Goremeli. I will now go on to unpack some of those tactics in order to understand some of the actual processes and ways that the competition among the tourism businesses works within the village.

Competition Processes and Tactics

If we return to the illustration above of the incident surrounding the letters placed in the hotel room, then we can begin to see some of the tactics used in business competition in Goreme. The letters contained what was, according to villagers, a lie which was intended to deceive the tourists and let them believe that they could not trust any of the villagers 'out there' and that they should therefore only trust the places recommended by the hotel owners. A performance of deception and lies is one key move in the competition game. The use of lies and deception to attempt to steer tourists away from other businesses and therefore towards one's own is rife in Goreme. A culture of deception and lies is, in any case, prevalent in the village, and is in many ways inseparable from the prevalence of gossip associated with the egalitarianism and 'event-richness' of a small rural society such as this (cf. Bailey, 1971; Elias and Scotson 1994; Simmel 1955). This 'gossip culture' is also very much a part of the system of honour and shame which was discussed in the previous chapter. Gossip is an accepted form of social control in the village, often used explicitly to check an individual's inappropriate conduct; that inappropriateness usually involving gender codes in relation to women, and over-eager attempts to achieve success in relation to men. Gossip is, as Bezmen noted in his discussion of Goreme social relations, a form of 'indirect confrontation' (1996:216), and seems to be shamelessly used without any particular concern for 'truth'; "Dishonesty...does not always mean dishonour" (Bailey, 1971:8).[18]

Frequently, then, tourists become the unwitting 'pawns' in the game of competition between the tourism businesses. This is because they are largely unaware that the game even exists. From the point of their arrival in the village, tourists are told things about certain businesses, depending on who they are talking to: that the pansiyons over there do not have water or electricity for most of the day; that they will be ripped off at particular carpet shops; that the other agencies do not have insurance for their

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[18] This game of deception often involves the skilful manipulation of the boundary between 'truth' and 'lies' in order to effect a particular consequence. Indeed, when Bailey asks what truth is or is not in his discussion of deceit, he argues against the idea that "a word or a deed is a thing that either is or is not a clear-cut lie" (1991:14), and rather that the important element of the word or deed is its "consequences and the motivations".

tours. In the scenario beginning this section, the tourists were given the more extreme advice of not trusting anyone at all in the village.

A further illustration concerns a company operating in the village which runs hot-air ballooning trips for tourists. The company is sent most of its customers from hotels and pansiyons in the surrounding area. The owners of the company (who are foreigners and, though learning, are not fully *au-fait* with the rules and politics of business in the village) were wondering why they never receive customers from a particular hotel situated very close by. The hotel has many Japanese guests, and it is the Japanese in particular who often do the ballooning trip, because they can afford it and it is highly recommended in the Japanese language Cappadocia guide books. A small amount of research had told them that the hotel in question was not sending its guests to another ballooning company in the region. It was not sending its guests ballooning at all. It seemed that the hotel guests were being actively put off from ballooning by being told that it was dangerous. The balloon owners could not fathom the situation; in their view, the hotel owner only had things to gain by sending his guests ballooning, in particular his commission from the fee. In a discussion of the situation with two separate Goremeli men who know the way the competition game is played, both immediately deduced that the owner of the hotel was discouraging his guests from ballooning, partly because he was jealous of the visible success of the balloon company - even though there was no actual business competition involved, and also so that the tourists' money was saved for carpet shopping instead. Although the hotel owner did not have any partnership in a carpet business, he would likely receive more commission from carpet sales than from balloon-trip sales.

This situation conveys something of the complexity of the competition game, and it shows how the unsuspecting tourists are very much the pawns in the game, sometimes to the point where they might be manoeuvred away from a desirable holiday experience (though it should also be noted that this hotel owner is a rather extreme case, and has a bad reputation among villagers for his zealously selfish tactics). Being completely unaware of the games and politics in which they are embroiled, the tourists tend to believe much of what they are told and are usually quite easily led towards or away from particular businesses. It is in this sense that the tourists become more like the board pieces, rather than being players themselves, in what seems similar to the board-game of 'backgammon'[19]. Villagers play

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[19] A game regularly played in the village, as throughout Turkey, in which each player is constantly looking ahead and calculating the possible consequences of his moves in terms of its effects on the 'play' of his opponent.

backgammon with extreme skill and speed (almost always beating any tourist who may dare challenge them), and this is the same skill and speed, I observed, with which they play at gossip and deception within the village.

The limitations and restrictions which this culture of gossip imposes on individuals were clearly felt by the many people, both villagers and incomers alike, who commented to me during my fieldwork that "people talk too much in Goreme". People from outside of the village, however, seem to be engaged in the gossip process in quite different ways from Goremeli people. As Bailey notes in his discussion of the politics of reputation: 'Those who are outside of the moral community have different kinds of reputation. They are likely to be judged in an instrumental fashion, not 'in the round'. They are not human beings to the same extent as those of us who belong within the community' (1971:7). Because of this, outsiders may have a sense that they are 'freer' than villagers since they are outside of the complex web of honour and shame; they are, as Bailey said, outside of the 'moral community'. This 'freedom' from the moral system of honour and shame and therefore from the webs of gossip, however, is what renders 'outsiders' potentially so 'dangerous' within the village, because their actions cannot be checked by gossip in the same way as with villagers. This is perhaps why villagers often resort to violence when checking troublesome and over-zealous competition with outsiders.

Despite being outside of the moral community of the village, however, incomers can often feel the pressure of gossip upon them. I frequently heard incomers, both tourist residents and 'outsider Turks', complaining that everyone always knows your business in Goreme, and that they find it very difficult to do anything 'right'. One woman from New Zealand, for example, told me that she and others who come and live in the village are forced to "toughen up" because "otherwise you would just crumble under all the gossip and lies". The problem here is that the web of gossip, deception and lies constitutes a 'game' with quite clearly-set manoeuvres and rules which outsiders often do not get the hang of. Foreigners who attempt to partake in the 'game' often get it wrong and make blunders, as in the case of the hotel owners discussed above who clearly over-stepped the mark when they placed the slanderous letters in the hotel rooms. It was notable that only the Turkish partner of the hotel was called to the meeting with the other villagers to discuss the problem; the non-Turk was not even considered worthy of entering into the discussion.

Some tourists who stay for a while and find employment as casual help in the tourism services find themselves embroiled in the business competition shenanigans far more deeply than they ever intend. Some tourists are employed simply as waiters / waitresses or to help out in pansiyons, but more and more tourists are being hired by

the businesses to 'catch' other tourists. Although it is the Turks themselves who are hiring them - because they have to compete with the others around them doing it, the village men become very disturbed by the presence of so many working foreigners, particularly during the summer months when Goreme seems full of them. One day, for example, a Goremeli *pansiyon* owner I knew fairly well told me angrily that he had just thrown a group of Australians out of his pansiyon because they had taken a tour with an agency other than the one he had recommended to them. He went on to explain that the reason for his anger was that the tour the tourists had bought was sold to them by a fellow Australian working for that other agency:

> The worst thing is that I'm Turkish, but they'll believe a stupid looking guy from their own country before they'll believe me. That's the problem here. For example, those tourists listened to me telling about the tour, and then went out and listened to an Aussie and believed him that that agency's tours were better. They believed him. I'm from here, so I know better. That is what we're getting pissed off about. So I threw them out. I said 'get out!'. So they went to stay in another pansiyon. And I know they got ripped off by that Aussie guy - he took them to buy carpets - and I'm going to tell them they got ripped off.

The reaction and view of this pansiyon owner reflects the general views of many of the Goremeli entrepreneurs. Another man, a pansiyon and bar owner who had himself been involved with fights concerning foreign workers, told me in a similar vein: "You know, tourists always believe tourists better than us, that's the problem. For example, if a tourist comes in here now and sees you and me sitting here, they'll go straight to you and ask for information, not me, it's guaranteed, but I'm from here, I know everything, this is my place, so they should ask me, shouldn't they? But we are put in second place by this". I asked if this was why the local men become angry about the foreign workers, because it puts the locals in second place. He answered, "No, not just this. It is also because of the business. A foreigner can send all the tourists to one place. It's because of that".

The hiring of tourists as tourist 'catchers' is seen, then, as putting certain businesses at an unfair advantage. The disturbance this causes is evident in all of the quarrels and fighting that takes place; sometimes between the villagers who hire the tourists, and sometimes against the tourists themselves. Virtually every week throughout the summer there is some sort of troublesome eruption, often with the *jandarma* called in, because so and so hit a tourist 'catcher' and the tourist's employer went to hit so and so; it is a never-ending drama. A partner in a carpet shop told me at the height of the summer season, "It's got too much now, it'll have to stop soon. You know, it's not fair, we're all making business equally and if you employ foreigners to work, they make it too messy". Indeed, every now and then when the troublesome situation builds to a

crescendo, someone becomes agitated enough to call on the authorities to check on the illegal workers in the village. I was aware of many instances during my fieldwork when tourist workers were informed on by business competitors, and sometimes the *jandarma* were alerted to do a general search throughout the businesses in the village in order to throw out the illegal workers.

This is one example of how the villagers have come to use the external authorities to their own advantage in competition, a tactic which seems contradictory to the usual mistrust that Turkish villagers have of outside authorities (cf. Stirling, 1965). Another example of this tactic is where the representatives from the Ministry of Culture 'preservation office' in Nevsehir have been called upon to check certain businesses which may be defying the preservation laws of the village. There are many court cases in progress whereby villagers are being reprimanded for some illegal building work they have undertaken - such as building into a cave in order to create another room in a pansiyon. Most of these cases were probably instigated by villagers telling on their fellow villagers; fellow villagers who are now also their fiercest competitors. This point is important to bear in mind also in Chapter 8 where I discuss the laws and regulations regarding preservation of tradition and 'place' in Goreme. In that chapter, it should be remembered that the situation surrounding the regulations upheld by the authorities in Nevsehir is not simply one of 'village versus authoritative state', but in practice is more complicated, and also concerns the villagers' relationships with each other.

Despite all of the trouble it causes, entrepreneurs still continue to hire tourist 'catchers', partly because they are simply following everyone else. As I said above, the tourism businesses in Goreme have developed largely through a pattern of imitation, with each business constantly copying the practice, style and even decor of its competitors. The hiring of tourist workers is just one factor in imitation tactics, and is undertaken, like much of the business practice in Goreme, without much thought about whether it is actually 'good' business practice. For example, I met many tourists who said that they did not like to be served by fellow tourists when they were trying to see something of the 'real Turkey' here in Goreme. I sometimes told village entrepreneurs this news, but my attempts at advising them were usually met with something like: "No, it is good. Look there are Australians working in such and such restaurant, and English girls working over there. So it is a good thing to do".

With very little thought, therefore, about how anything is received by the tourists themselves, the businesses continue to almost blindly follow each other. When one restaurant decorates its exterior with a wooden terrace awning and cane tables and chairs, all the other restaurants along the street follow. When one travel agency adds a difference to the itinerary of its day tours, the other agencies follow. Copying then, is

another tactic in business competition, tending to ensure that one's own business will at least remain equal with the others, even if it does not manage to achieve a higher level of success.[20] However, these copying tendencies also cancel out most entrepreneurs' enthusiasm or spark for trying anything new. An illustration of this was given in the answer I heard a tour agency owner giving a guide who was complaining of being bored because the tours are all the same throughout the village. The agency owner said, "How can we do anything else? Then the other people will do the same, then they'll lower the prices and we'll end up losing money".

One strategy to curb the negative effects of competition is for villagers to work together to form partnerships and alliances. This tendency perhaps flows over from agricultural practices whereby work and resources were often pooled together, but in tourism, has now become a rather sophisticated business practice of the linking of different businesses together to form alliances or webs. These webs can take various forms. One of these forms, as mentioned above, is where pansiyon owners either open or take up a partnership in a tour agency so that the tourists from their pansiyon are strongly recommended to go to that particular agency when they buy a day tour of the region. Some agencies have a few pansiyon owners as partners, some of whom may also be partners in a bar or restaurant or shop, so that a particular web is formed in terms of where and to whom tourists who enter the web are recommended. Constructing these 'webs' of businesses therefore serves to 'trap' tourists into one's own business network, and thus to broaden ones' chances in the business competition and, at the same time, to decrease that competition. The webs are quite fluid; they change and mutate each season, and much talk occurs in autumn and winter planning partnerships for the next season.[21]

Another more informal version of this 'web' process is the 'commission' system. The dynamics of this system are extremely problematic, and contribute to much of the trouble that occurs in the village as commission alliances are created, dropped, double-crossed, and so on. There are also heavy moral overtones associated with commission; one entrepreneur told me that "commission is *haram para* / dirty money"

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[20] Bowman (1989) notes a similar process occurring along a row of souvenir shops in Jerusalem.

[21] (a) There is no strong connection between these business alliances and kinship, a point also noted by Bezmen (1996). Partnership are as likely to be formed between two good friends as they are between two brothers.

(b) The ways in which these alliances and networks are formed raise some interesting issues relating to social capital (see, for example, Woolcock, 1998) and trust (e.g. Misztal, 1996). These are important issues concerning small-business development in many tourism contexts, and whilst, unfortunately, there has not been sufficient time or space within this study to consider these issues fully, some questions are certainly raised for further research.

because it is stealing from the tourists. Of course, the commission system can put the prices up for tourists as the price of a carpet, for example, is heightened to include the payment to the person who took the tourists to a particular shop. Yet, at the same time, there is a strong realisation among all of the entrepreneurs that they need this system in order to 'catch' customers.[22] Moreover, commission is a mechanism whereby all of those people, for example younger men, who have not yet managed to be entrepreneurs in their own right, may profit from tourism. So, despite the trouble and strife that it causes, it might also be argued that commission ensures the wider distribution of income from tourism.

Another alliance system is where associations have been formed between the pansiyons and the tour agencies in order to impose fixed price rates. The Accommodation Association was formed primarily so that an accommodation information centre could be placed in the bus station, with all pansiyons and hotels having the chance to advertise their place equally and to prevent jostles and fights with arriving tourists. This association meets at the beginning of each season and sets a minimum price for that year, so that no pansiyon will give way to the tourists' bargaining to the point where one particular establishment has all the customers but no one has any income. The tour agency association does the same, and each member signs an accord agreeing that any member who breaks the price code is punishable by a large fine.

These alliances work as a mechanism by which the villagers protect themselves from their own competitiveness; they are attempting to avoid the situation where they undercut each other 'to death'[23]. A problem occurs, however, when, as each season progresses, pricing codes tend to be broken, as individual businessmen bow under the pressure of bargaining from zealously 'cheap' tourists, and when they want to 'catch' more customers than their fellow competitors. One problem is, it seems, that the fixed pricing encompasses a contradiction with the cultural importance in Turkey of negotiation taking place between buyers and sellers. It seems as though the villagers often simply cannot stop themselves from entering into the habitual conduct of 'bargaining' / *pazarlik* over the services given. In addition, some entrepreneurs told me

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[22] For comparative material, see Crick's (1994) in-depth account of the problematic dynamics associated with the commission system in Kandy, Sri Lanka.

[23] Such associations between small businesses in the tourism context have been formed elsewhere, such as Thailand (Wahnschafft, 1982) and Nepal (T. Kohn: personal communication). An important point to consider, though, is whether the associations are formal structures placed on the businesses by government authorities, or whether they are initiated by the entrepreneurs themselves. Wahnschafft (1982) noted that a taxi 'co-operative' with set pricing tariffs was placed upon municipal authorities in Pattaya in order to protect tourists from over-charging. In Goreme, in converse, the Associations were set up by the villagers in order to protect *themselves* from undercharging.

that villagers use the prices of their services as a way of arguing with each other, even when their argument started off being about something entirely different.[24]

There is without doubt a high level of tension between the opposing tendencies to compete and to co-operate among the villagers engaging in tourism business. Tourists would go around the village trying to find the cheapest services they could find. In an attempt to bargain, tourists would sometimes lie to tour agency owners telling them that another agency offered them the regional day tour for cheaper than they actually had. The tourists assume that because all of the agencies are competing against each other, they will offer the tour for less than the other agencies. What they do not realise is that the agency owners are very likely to telephone around to check whether or not what the tourist is saying is true. If they find that it is true that the other agency has lowered its price, they will discuss or argue it out. If they find that it is not true, then they will argue angrily with the tourist and probably throw them out telling them they do not need their 'crooked' custom.

Villagers who are competing against each other in business are likely to also be close friends or relations (this was frequently pointed out to me by Abbas regarding one of his main competitors, Omer, the tour agency owner quoted earlier in this chapter). As illustrated in the vignette of Abbas in the last chapter, these competitors / friends are always popping in and out of each others' businesses - to chat, to drink tea, to engage in the more friendly competition of backgammon, and so on. In this sense, the relations between the village men competing in business seem elastic; at times they stretch apart from each other, and then come back, but all the while they are constantly connected. In conversation with Tuncer (the carpet seller quoted above) about this point, he told me:

> I am still very good friends with my business rivals, I would say. We always visit each other and have tea and talk. But on the other hand, as I told you at the beginning of the interview, when tourism came and so you have to take a part of it - like a cake - and naturally also you are having an unhappy time. You hurt that they break your business telling something that isn't true - and it is really becoming very hard, being friends for many years, but it is also the life and you must live somehow, and some days you may disturb him and other days he may disturb you.

As with the system of gossip and deception in the village, there clearly are firm rules and codes concerning the ways that this tension between mutual competition and co-operation is played out which are difficult for the outsider to decipher. There

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[24] It would be wrong to assume simply that tourism is actually the cause of all of the trouble in the village. For example, Stirling (1965) noted feuds, violence and guns in the Turkish villages he studied back in the 1950s. However, there is no doubt that the competition between tourism businesses has heightened the number and level of violent troubles in Goreme.

Fig. 5.2. Events in tourism business

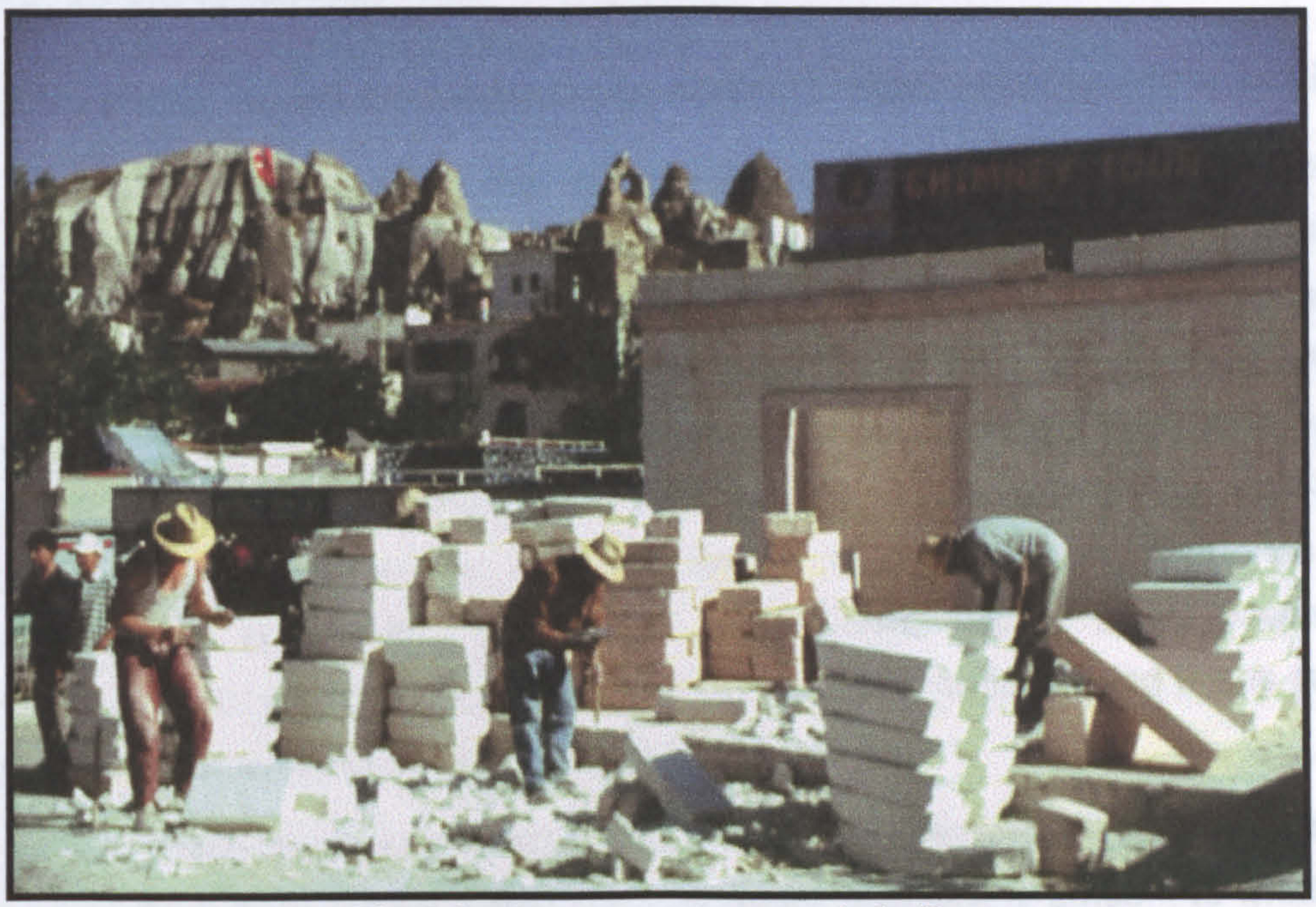


Fig.5.2a A new tour agency is built.



Fig. 5.2b A restaurant is closed to business while a boy's circumcision is celebrated inside.

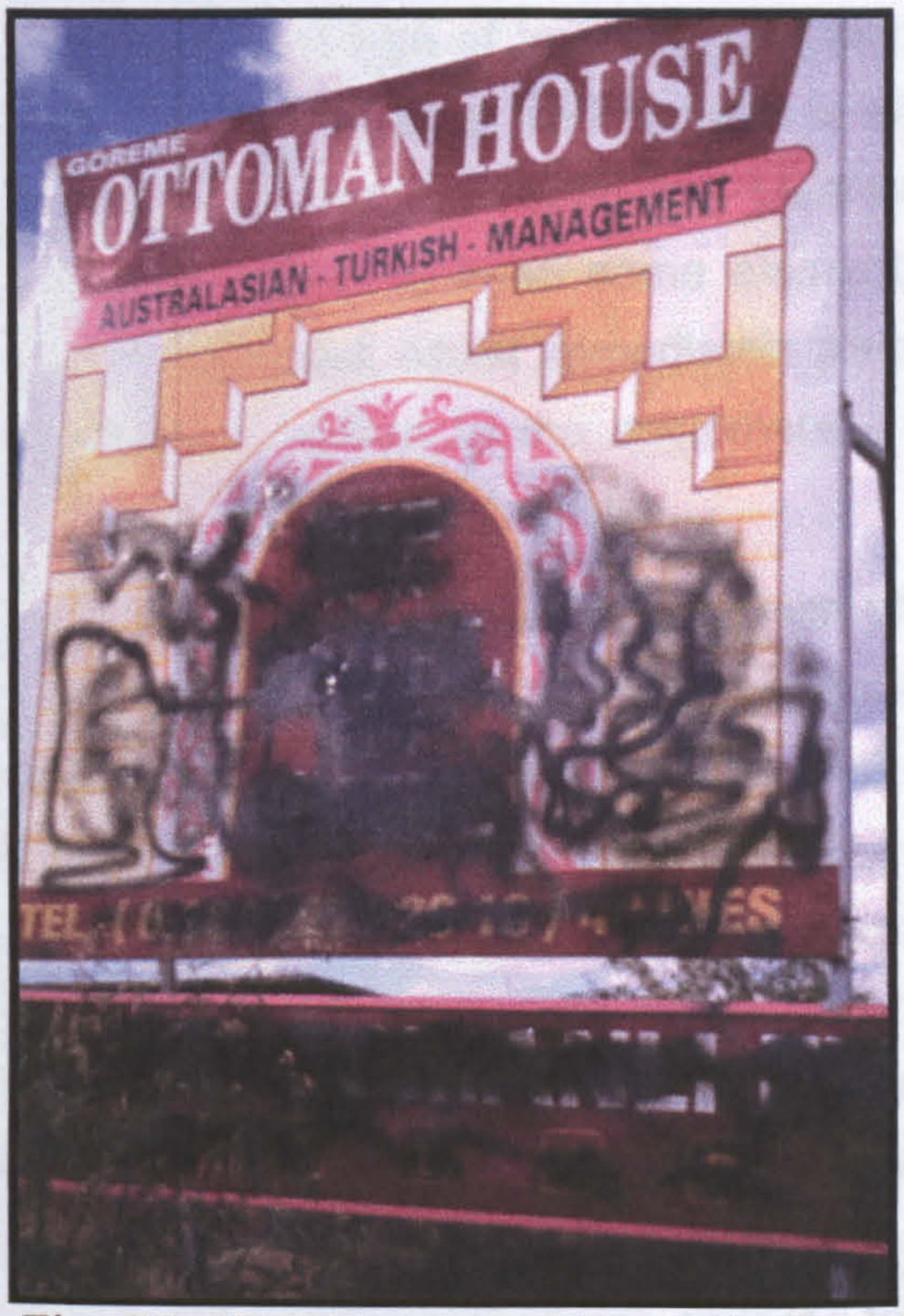


Fig. 5.2c Heated competition; a signboard is defaced by angry competitors

was one incident during my fieldwork when a man who came from outside and set up business in Goreme was murdered by a villager, most likely because he had way over-stretched the competition rules.

Conclusions: some consequences and experiences of tourism business

It would be easy here in this representation of the Goreme villagers and their changing social relations through tourism, to focus only on the trouble and fighting and the overall competitive streak which tourism seems to have drawn out in the character of the villagers. Indeed Bezmen seems to have focused on this aspect of village life when he argues that: 'When the critical moment comes, people tend to behave in a way which reflects their suspicion of corporate organisation. The individualistic character of village culture with its heroic and egalitarian overtones blocks understanding of mutual co-operation'. (1996:143). Concurrently, however, the villagers *do* form these associations, alliances and partnerships, and this is surely co-operation, or at least a will for co-operation.

Indeed, these alliances formed between the pansiyons and the tour agencies in the village through the Accommodation and Agency Associations amount to what is really quite sophisticated, and co-operative, business practice. The tour agencies are still competing with each other, for example, on service and type of tour provided, but at the same time, they work 'together' to the extent that they often 'sell' tourists to each other in order to balance out the load in each agency's mini-bus each day. Moreover, the price-fixing undertaken by these associations serves to keep some element of competition in terms of the quality of the service provided, whilst immediately placing more control in the hands of the entrepreneurs in relation to the customers - the tourists; the price-fixing removes the bargaining power from the tourists.

This demonstrates that the relationships which the local men have with each other now, since their development of tourism business in the village, cannot be isolated from those villagers' relationships with the tourists themselves. The ties and the competition between the men and their businesses do not exist separately from the tourists, because these partnerships and webs and alliances between the businesses are very much a function of the villagers' business relationships with the tourists, and indeed, serve to strengthen the position of the villagers in relation to the tourists. In addition, the tourists often feel embroiled in a particular 'web' and thereby restricted in their choice concerning which particular services they patronise in the village. We saw from one of the scenarios described above how a pansiyon owner was angered to the point of throwing a group of tourists out of his pansiyon when they went and bought a day tour from an agency other than the one he had recommended to them.

Entrepreneurs have a possessive attitude towards tourists, saying, for example, "They are my tourists and no one else can have them". If the tourists do then go to another business which is in another web, they are behaving in a way which dishonours the relationship with their initial 'proprietor'. The villager they belonged to in the first place might then break off the relationship altogether by throwing them out and telling them that he does not need their custom.

The 'event rich' character (Ardener, 1989) of small societies like this certainly adds to and may even be said to play a large part in the reasons and the 'mechanics' of the competition and trouble. Because the tourism in Goreme takes places around a fairly small, closed arena (the centre of the village), everyone knows everyone else's business; they can see with their own eyes, for instance, how many tourists are in the other tour agencies' mini-buses each day, and one restaurant owner can see how busy the restaurants next door and across the street are. There is, in other words, a definite 'face-to-face' character[25] among the tourism businesses, and this appears to intensify the competition between them. There is thus a strong sense in Goreme that there is always something happening, and that things are always changing. Besides the physical appearance of the village, which changes rapidly as each business emulates the other, there is constant trouble occurring as arguments flare up into fights which may even grow to involve the whole village, as with the 'eruption' described in the beginning of this section. Thus certain heavy and troubled 'moods' periodically hang over the village; these are most certainly attributable to the presence of tourism in Goreme.

Consequently, there is increasingly a sense of 'broken morale' / *morali bozuk* as each tourism season draws to a close. I observed during my fieldwork that the village men's moods changed and their patience wore thin as the summer went on. Compared with the spring time when they are busy planning and creating new partnerships and are optimistic concerning their co-operative alliances with each other, by the time the autumn arrives, they are not only tired of dealing with the tourists but are also fed up of their squabbles and fights with each other. Winter is the time when tourism is slow and there is the chance for villagers to spend time with each other once more. However, it seems that it is increasingly difficult for the 'community' to pull back together again. Again, the carpet seller quoted above, also told me:

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[25] Here, we are reminded of the basic principle illuminated by Goffman (1959)(1967) that the 'self' is only as it is in interaction with others; the presentation of the self is what constitutes the self.

> I wish that the people would come together periodically and talk about their problems, and I wish they would be more honest so that I would trust him and he would trust me as well. I wish that there would be trust all the time. Without talking, without communicating with each other, I am thinking bad about them and they are thinking bad as will, because you don't talk and you don't know what's happening.

A further consequence of the 'trouble' is that the villagers are yet to achieve a sense that they are 'professional' in tourism practice, and also a sense that they are in real control of what they are doing in their new lives of dealing with tourism. The men seem very much to still be trying to work out what tourism is, what they should be doing in it, and what it is doing to them. This is invariably due to the villagers having to learn to relate with each other in new ways. Since tourism is fairly new in the village, there is no 'tradition' to fall back on when they are wondering what to do; the villagers must muddle along, creating ideas as they go, as well as learning how to manage not only their new types of relationships with each other but also with tourists, incoming workers, as well as outside authorities such as relevant government officials. This air of 'scrambling around in the dark' so to speak, is only beginning to be lifted now; with the emergence of a new generation of tourism entrepreneurs (such as Huseyin, the youngest of the group described above), a new confidence is beginning to dawn.

Finally, there is a sense in which the Goreme villagers are constantly trying to reclaim their honour and status in relation to the tourists and tourism in general. And in having to negotiating their own image and honour in relation to the tourists, the villagers are aware that the various processes and tactics described above, such as gossip, deception, commission webs, and the influx of outsiders, all put their relationship with tourists and tourism in jeopardy. Aware that their over-zealous competition tactics often lower the trust that tourists have in them, the village men are constantly concerned with how to heighten their reputation in relation to their 'guests'. Perhaps they are right to be concerned because, as one tourist said to me whilst complaining about the annoyance of being 'hassled' by Goreme businessmen, "Sorry, it is not as if they are all like that, but it's just that if you are sitting in the mountains with a beautiful view of the sunset and there are two mosquitoes buzzing around you, you can't help focusing on them!".

The Goreme villagers are well aware that their entire image, and indeed their current livelihood, is tainted and jeopardised by the troubles which so frequently occur in the village. This point re-emphasises the necessity to consider the ways that the relations between the villagers and the tourists are affected by the villagers' relations with each other and vice versa, rather than viewing the two sets of relations as separate areas, as they have been in previous studies. Through negotiations of image, identity and power, these two sets of relationships between the villagers in

Goreme and the tourists in Goreme are inextricably mixed. It is these negotiations in the relationships that I will now move on to discuss in the next chapter.

6

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS
- Interactions and negotiations between hosts and guests

> We want to keep Goreme for backpackers because if we build more hotels then we will lose the backpackers, and we're doing that business for thirteen or fourteen years already, and we grew up with backpackers, and it is wonderful, you can talk with them, you can learn a lot from them. The package tours, people on buses and everything, they don't have time, we cannot talk with them, you cannot spend time with them, because they're all organised people. They come one day and then they go the next day. You don't have connection with them. Backpackers stay here longer, so you talk with them, you enjoy with them and you get to know their lives too.

These were the words of a *Goremeli pansiyon* owner when asked in an interview how he thought tourism was generally going in Goreme. In what he says, by conveying the importance placed by the Goreme villagers on their close level of interaction with the 'backpackers' who stay in the village, his words contrast quite significantly with the stark picture of tourist-host relationships often formed in critiques of tourism. This negative image of tourism relations is exemplified by MacCannell:

> The relationship between the tourists and the local people is temporary and unequal. Any social relationship which is transitory, superficial and unequal is a primary breeding ground for deceit, exploitation, mistrust, dishonesty, and stereotype formation. (1992:177)

Van den Berghe likewise argues that, 'nearly all tourist-host interaction takes the form of an unequal relationship between consumers of sights, spectacles, and services, and those who provide these commodities either simply by being there, by making a spectacle of themselves, or by making a living from tourism' (1994:18). Van den Berghe continues to suggest that, because tourist-host interactions are ephemeral and unlikely to be repeated, they are open to mistrust, cheating and exploitation (ibid.). These images of inequality and exploitation are further combined in the literature on tourism with the language of consumption, portraying tourists as moving 'freely' everywhere (Bauman 1996) consuming images, places and ethnic 'others' as they go. Through tourism, in this view, local places and people are 'consumed', 'commoditised'[1], and irrevocably altered[2].

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[1] See Cohen 1988 and Selwyn 1996 for discussion on this.

Yet, it is clear that there is something more going on. The touristic encounter is altogether more complex and not as one-sided as it is too often depicted. Local people are not necessarily exploited, consumed and disadvantaged by living with and working with tourism. They may appreciate and even enjoy their interaction with tourists, just as they may determine the ways and extent to which they play at being 'hosts' to their tourist 'guests'. And this is precisely, as I shall go on to show, where an over-concentration of the 'tourist gaze' can be misleading, and why there is a need for a closer analysis of the concerns of and the actual interactions between tourists and their local hosts. By placing the representations, quests and experiences of the tourists *together* with those of the Goreme villagers, the aim of this chapter is to highlight and elucidate the kinds of interactions and negotiations which occur between tourists and their Goreme 'hosts'.

Through tourism, Goreme has become a meeting place for a variety of different people whose worlds are quite apart from each other, and for whom Goreme means many different things. Yet, there are also important points at which they meet. All are aware to some degree of their own and each others' roles in the tourist encounter. The encounter takes place, therefore, on some sort of 'platform' to which both parties attach some level of understanding and meaning. A fundamental aspect of that understanding hinges on the issue of 'hospitality', and the mutual understanding that the Goreme villagers will show a certain level of accommodation and friendship to tourists. As with national identities throughout the Mediterranean region, 'hospitality' is indeed one of the main aspects of Turkey and Turkish people in tourists' imaginations; 'Turkish hospitality' is conveyed as being a core 'traditional virtue' of the place and its people in touristic representations of Turkey. Importantly, though, as Herzfeld has rightfully argued, the notion of hospitality is 'actively *constitutive,* rather than simply a *component*, of the stereotype of Mediterranean culture' (1987:86). Similarly, hospitality should be viewed as constitutive of the 'tourist platform' where encounters take place rather than being simply a component of it.

It is important to take note here of the clear feeling among Goremeli people that in their village they *are* 'hosts' to their tourist 'guests'. We have seen that in Goreme the villagers themselves are by and large the entrepreneurs owning and managing the tourism businesses. This allows for a clear differentiation in the tourism context

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[2] These processes of alteration of 'host societies' in the tourism context have been over-simply termed 'acculturation' and the 'demonstration effect' (see Rivers 1973; Nunez 1977; Shaw and Williams 1994), whereby the culturally 'weak' host societies are assumed to adopt cultural behaviours from the stronger culture of the visiting tourists. This whole argument, in my view, naïvely bypasses much of the complexity in touristic relations.

between 'hosts' and 'guests', even though objections have been raised in the anthropological literature regarding the use of 'hosts' and 'guests' for discussing tourism relations because of the sheer commercialism these terms disguise (e.g. Bruner 1989). It has been argued that, because tourism transforms the host-guest relationship into a commercial one, the power is transferred from the hosts to the tourists since it is they who have the money (Zarkia 1996). Yet, rather than simply accepting these transformations as given and as a set pattern to which all touristic processes subscribe, it is important to consider the ways in which these processes may be contested and negotiated. We shall go on to see in this chapter how the roles of 'host' and 'guest' themselves may even be used by local people, as well as tourists for that matter, in order to manipulate and determine the host-tourist relationship.

A further aim of this chapter is to show the kinds of interactions and relationships which occur in Goreme village as they contrast to interactions associated with the 'package' type of tourism in Cappadocia (and elsewhere), where the tourists are more heavily engaged with and structured by the 'tourism industry'. 'Package tourism', or the "people on buses" described in the opening quote of this chapter, is visibly present in Cappadocia and is hence in the awareness of both the tourists and the villagers in Goreme. A part of this awareness Goreme villagers have is that tour groups represent enormous income-potential, partly because of their sheer numbers and partly because of their notoriety for shopping. Many villagers have thus made attempts to tap into that market by setting up souvenir stalls in tour-bus stops such as the Goreme Museum bus-park, and some have recently made increasing attempts to arrange with these groups' guides to stop at their restaurant or carpet shop.

The quote opening the chapter, however, illuminates the point that most villagers wish to remain on a fairly similar tourism 'track' to that which they are on now. The quote also suggests that the reason for this concerns the different type of relationship 'local' people have with these two types of tourist; "you can enjoy" with backpackers whereas package tourists come and go and "you don't have connection with them". In Chapter 2, also, I suggested that the images and myths surrounding the Cappadocian 'other' are more strongly held by the 'fixing' structure of 'package tours' in the region than they are in backpacker tourism. This might be because of the different kinds of interactions each type of tourism allows. It is pertinent, then, to provide here an ethnographic example of the kinds of interactions which take place between tourists on group tours and local villagers, in order to see what this might tell us about the workings of the 'tourist gaze' in that context and to better understand how villager-backpacker interactions are situated against it.

'Package Tourists'

It is useful here to recount a particular scenario which I participated in and observed whilst visiting a family who live on the edge of Goreme village. This Goreme family live in a cave house set into the cliff of a valley just below the top ledge which has now become one of Goreme's main panoramic viewpoints. Bus groups of tourists often stop on this ledge to gaze over the valley, and the guides of some of those groups, in an effort to provide an experience of the 'authentic' cave-life of Cappadocia, lead their tourists down the rock-cut steps to visit this cave-dwelling family. The family have grown to see these tourist visits as something of an easy money-earner, and keep a pile of souvenir items such as folk dolls, head-scarves and lace items ready to sell to their captive audience. I knew this family well, and often visited them in their cave home to eat and chat with the mother of the family. On one occasion, a group of thirty middle-aged American tourists were led into the house by their guide, in this case, a woman from Istanbul.

The guide brought all of her tourists into the house, and behaved in front of them with the old mother as if she was her long-lost friend, seemingly to create the idea that the visit was an 'authentic' one and that her particular tourists were lucky to have a guide who was so intimate with a local cave-dweller that they were able to join her in a visit to this cave house. Throughout the visit the guide's performance seemed designed to convey the point that she wanted to bring her group to 'real' places. She was very ill at ease concerning my presence in the house, but was calmed to an extent on learning that I was an anthropologist rather than 'another tourist', and was keen to explain my presence to her group in order that the authenticity of their visit be established. She told the group explicitly that they were guests in this house rather than tourists and sat them in the living room telling them to feel at home.

Then, with the old mother at her side as a 'visual aid', she proceeded to deliver a long speech about the family and the house. She told of how they had dug out the cave house from the rock; how they live in harmony with the landscape; how the mother works hard in the fields but always has plenty of time still to sew and embroider; how they live self-sufficiently and do not need money; how they use animal dung for fuel; and so on. Through her speech, the guide conveyed to the tourists a particular picture of the woman and her family; a picture of them as 'traditional' cave-dwelling people who are in 'harmony' with the landscape and with each other.[3]

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[3] Dann (1996) also argues that the language used by tour guides is the language of control.

The tourists seemed pleased to have an anthropologist in their midst. It was as if I added to the authenticity of the situation; perhaps the fact that I was there to study meant that there *was* something 'real' there to study. Some of the tourists asked me questions about the local way of life. In answer I tried to include the mother, through translation, in the presentation being made of her and her way of life. The guide however, who was keen only to place a 'traditional' identity upon the family in order to meet with representations of Goreme people found in tourism promotion images and tourism discourse in general, was quick to cut both of us off. The mother, whose house it was, had not played any part in the negotiation of what the tourists were to experience, of how the interaction took shape, nor of her own identity as it was presented to the tourists. After the group had gone, she expressed annoyance, particularly when I translated to her some of what the guide had said. The guide was a liar, she said.

The discerning tourists likewise seemed to see the whole encounter as riddled with paradoxes and lies. One man had attempted to protest against the 'animal dung for fuel' story by pointing to the television and electric heater in the room. Another tourist wondered if there were any 'cash-crops' grown by the family. When I started to explain that grapes were the main marketable crops which the villagers sold for cash, the guide again interrupted with the idea that the people here have no need for cash. The same tourist then tried to establish what the family did regarding the payment of taxes. I believe he would not have minded if the mother had been able to say that her husband was a taxi driver and that her son owned a successful *pansiyon* for tourists in the village. What the tourists did mind was that they were experiencing an 'authenticity' which was blatantly 'staged', to use MacCannell's term (1976), by their guide. In addition, there was the troubling paradox that they were thirty American tourists all having a 'personal' visit at once.

Following their visit to the cave-house, this bus group was scheduled to go to the Goreme Open-Air Museum to visit the Byzantine churches there. Having viewed the contemporary cave-life at this designated stop just outside the village, the bus would drive straight through Goreme village to reach the museum. After the museum, the tourists would visit a large carpet shop before returning to their hotel in Urgup, and in the evening they would go to a 'Turkish Evening' with a feast and folk-dancing show held in a large purpose-built cave. The Turkish 'ethnicity' performed through these elaborate performances involving food, drink and dancing is what Bruner calls the reconstitution of culture for tourism (1989), and the 'shaping' of performances 'to fit

the practice of Western tourism' (1991). For these are ritual performances which are recreated or even created for tourism purposes. What was being presented to the tourists in the cave-house, in contrast, was the day-to-day life of the family who live there. This was clearly not so easily packaged and performed for tourists and, because of the effort by the tourists to experience 'real' domestic life which is usually hidden, was in many ways more problematic.

Yet this gazing upon 'real' life, 'behind the scenes' as it were, is a fundamental characteristic of 'cultural tourism' (Boissevain 1996). Cultural tourists wander through the streets of 'other' places, villages or towns, looking at and into old houses, attempting to get a peek at the hidden lives of the 'others' within. Tourists peer through windows, they point their cameras through doorways, and sometimes they may even more blatantly transgress usual codes of conduct by entering courtyards and even houses (Boissevain 1996; Puijk 1996). Indeed, by staying within the village, in and amongst the old houses in converted *pansiyons,* the backpacker tourists in Goreme are doing this for much of the time. The question that arises here, then, is how the touristic interactions are played out for tourists who stay within and wander freely around Goreme village expecting direct encounters with local people, compared with tourists whose activities are well-managed and structured by travel agencies and guides. It is these interactions occurring between backpacker tourists and villagers inside Goreme village which I will now turn to in this discussion.

Tourist interactions in Goreme village

Beginning to rethink the 'tourist gaze'

Along with promotions of the physical landscape around Goreme for tourism, come images of 'traditional', even 'primitive', troglodyte dwellings and cave-dwelling people whose identities become attached to 'the past' in tourists' imaginations.[4] Even when forced these days to mention the almost demonic presence of mass tourism in the area, many writers of travel articles still rely on images of 'tradition' existing in hidden corners in order to attract potential tourists, as illustrated in the following quote from a promotion article in the *Times*: "The modern world, in the form of mass communications, has come to Cappadocia, a once remote plateau in central Turkey; but beyond the enclaves of hotels, tourist agencies and brash restaurants, the old ways persist" (Feb. 24 1996:17). Here lies the idea that there are two kinds of spaces

[4] This idea was developed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

in Cappadocia, each signifying something different for tourists; the tourist spaces with hotels and restaurants, and the non-tourist spaces where 'the old ways persist'.

For many villagers too, the older back streets or upper *mahalle* (residential quarters) are where the traditional social relations and moral values of the village are still largely intact, whereas in the central part, the moral fabric of the village is blatantly corrupted. These spaces thus seem to match well with what MacCannell (1976) has termed, in the tourism context, 'front' and 'back' regions[5]: 'The front is the meeting place of host and guests or customers and service person, and the back is where members of the home team retire between performances' (1976:92). The main idea forwarded by MacCannell is that tourists forever seek to peel back stages so as to progress from the front to the back regions in order to contact the 'real lives' of 'others'. It is important to note, however, that the 'back' realm is not simply domestic space which tourists wish to enter, but is rather a tourist space which has particular signification and meaning for tourists which is apart from the meaning attached to the 'central/touristic' realm of the village. As Sant Cassia points out in relation to tourism in Malta:

> 'Front' is not to 'back' as 'posed and artificial' is to 'authentic and natural'. The nature of these regions emerges out of the politics of the tourist-host interaction, through which signs of what is worth viewing and experiencing are produced, circulated, exchanged, consumed and authenticated, thus validating notions about the self and the other. (1999:252-253)

In Goreme, as we saw in Chapter 4, this duality in Goreme, and hence tourism in the village, is strongly gendered. In the tourists' view, the village men whom they encounter in the tourism businesses have become touristified and therefore de-traditionalised, and the central area represents the place where tourists can meet and have fun with like-minded travellers in the 'backpacker' cafes and bars. It is largely the village women, then, who represent the traditional in Goreme because they are seen as holding on to 'traditional values', and because in their head-scarves and on their donkey carts they satisfy tourists' images of 'traditional' Turkish life. Within the village, besides occurrences of women and old men passing through the village main streets on donkeys and carts laden with produce from the fields, it is the back residential streets of the village which have come to represent for tourists something akin to a 'living museum'. Many tourists spend much of their time in Goreme wandering through these narrow winding streets looking around at, experiencing and photographing what

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[5] MacCannell (1976) in turn based his ideas on Goffman's (1959) front-back dichotomy.

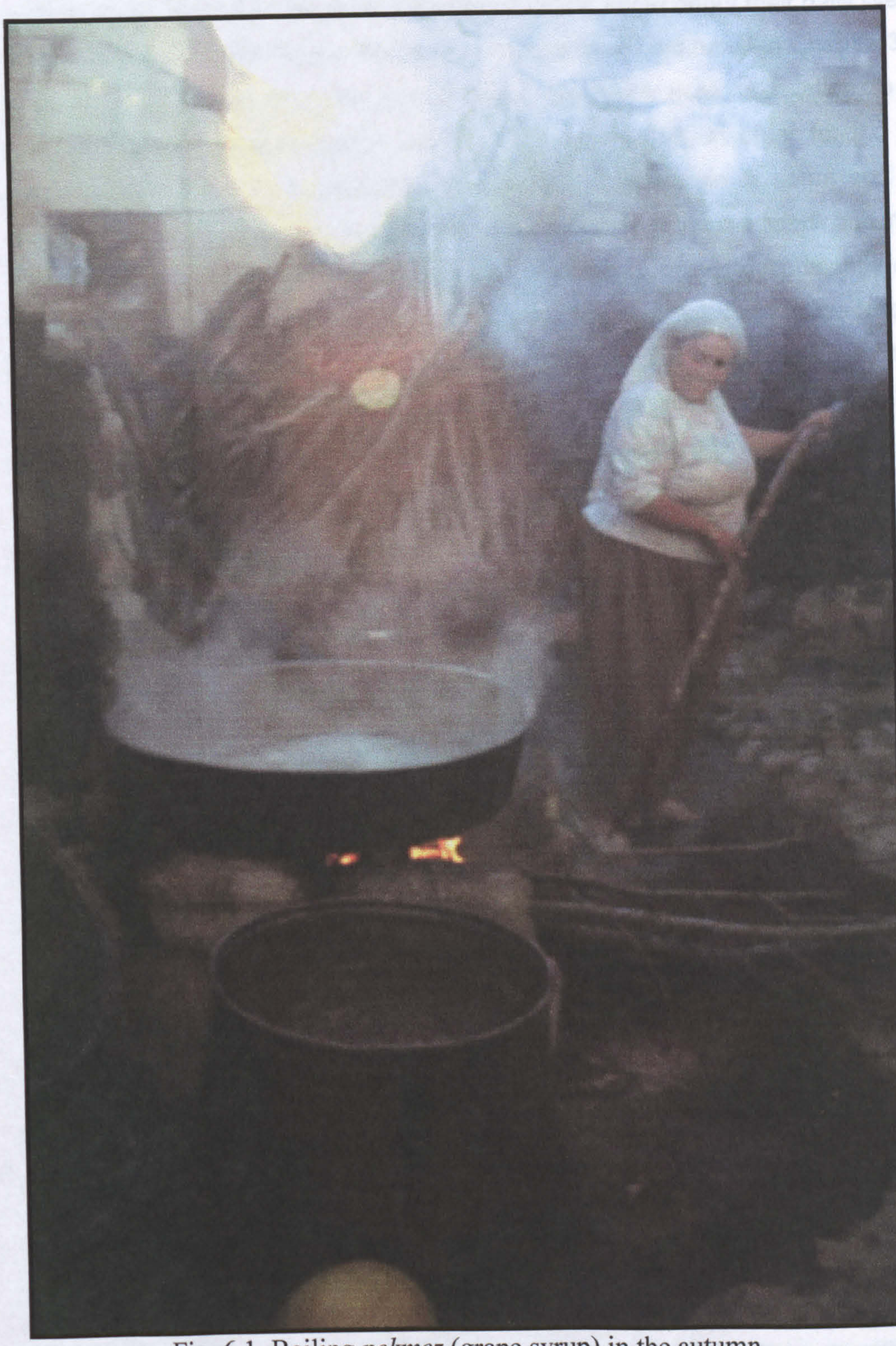


Fig. 6.1 Boiling *pekmez* (grape syrup) in the autumn.

they consider to be images of the 'traditional' elements of Goreme life; cave-houses, donkeys and carts, and whenever possible, villagers going about their daily lives.

The tourists' search for the 'authentically social' was introduced in Chapter 3, and in considering the way that this tourist quest manifests itself in relation to and in interaction with the local people and place, it seems that, in order for the tourists' experience to work, it is imperative for the 'other' to remain in some sort of 'pre-modern' state. Tourists are indeed troubled to find a place 'polluted' and rendered 'inauthentic' by modernity, and even worse, 'Tourism', and they constantly question whether a place, thing or person is 'genuine' or not. Involved here is the trope of the vanishing primitive whereby 'for generations of tourists, and for generations of ethnographers as well,...primitive peoples have always been seen as on the edge of change, to be experienced or described before they disappear' (Bruner 1991:243).

An interesting example of this was shown to me in Goreme when a German couple who were visiting Goreme for the second time expressed sadness at the observation that Goreme had become 'modernised' just in the space of one year. They based their judgement on the point that the previous year they had seen many women out cooking on open fires in the streets and courtyards, whereas this year they had not seen even one example of this 'traditional' activity. They concluded from this that over the past year, the villagers had earned enough from tourism to fit modern kitchens inside their houses and so this romantic tradition had, from one year to the next, been lost. In actual fact, the tourists had been in Goreme a month later in the season the previous year and had chanced upon the autumn time when the villagers use the last crops of grapes to make *pekmez*/grape syrup. At '*pekmez* time' villagers are indeed very visible, as they are out in open spaces near their houses in the 'back' streets boiling down the syrup in huge cauldrons balanced over large open fires (see Figure 6.1). The second year that the tourists came they were too early to see the pekmez-boiling and they concluded that it was a lost tradition; hence the 'trope of the vanishing primitive'.

This story also illuminates how much of the tourists' ideas and images of village life are their own imaginary projections. An important issue here, then, is the extent to which these projections rub off on and become absorbed by villagers' own self-images. The woman in the cave house scenario described above is without doubt 'performing' her cave-life for tourists by letting them come in and visit her in her house. The images that tourists have of her are thereby constituted through the performance and she is also made increasingly aware of those images. Moreover, this emerging

self-awareness among villagers through their performances for tourists is further coupled with a derogatory self-image of themselves as the 'primitive' cave-dwellers which tourists imagine them to be.

This derogatory self-image does not stem necessarily from tourism. Because of television (all the cave homes have one) and outward migration, the Goreme villagers have long been able to see 'how the other half' live in the rest of Turkey, and, as part of the 'globalised' world, are as aware of the 'primitive' connotations associated with their caves as anyone. Similarly, government discourse concerning Cappadocia has also shown embarrassment regarding the contemporary 'cave-villages' of the region, as seen in many policy moves to re-house villagers in government-built 'modern' housing. These issues will be discussed further in Chapter 8, but they also remind us here of the ambivalence discussed in Chapter 2 of tourism policies towards promotion of contemporary cave-life; it is far easier to sell images of Christian hermits dwelling the caves 1200 years ago than it is to present contemporary Turks as living this way. This embarrassment inevitably rubs off as shame onto the villagers themselves, an illustration of which is exemplified in the following extract from my fieldnotes in Goreme:

> In Esin's house, we have just been looking through the photographs that Esin took with the camera I gave her. When we came to one of her making bread, her mother said 'Who's that?'. I continued the joke and replied 'I don't know'. She continued 'Oh, just a *koylu* [villager / peasant], look at her making bread!'. Then we came to a picture of the group of women eating. 'Who's that?'. 'Oh, just peasants eating *manti* [a traditional dish] sitting on the floor. Look at them in their *yemeni* [head-scarves]'. 'Who says things like that?', I asked. 'People do, on TV they do', she said, gesturing towards the TV.

The links between villagers' shame and tourist images of their cave-dwelling lives relate to the topic of tourist photography. Indeed, villagers' negative self-image might be one aspect of the distress caused to some villagers when tourists take photographs of them; they are ashamed because they understand precisely why tourists wish to take pictures of them. Some villagers told stories of tourists coming and taking pictures which they then took away and printed in magazines in their home countries, thus displaying the 'poverty' of Goreme people in such a way that the villagers had no control over their own representation. They experienced, as Bruner has said, 'the shameful realisation that they are now classified as "native" and "backward" peoples' (1991:245).

The power in the 'photographic gaze' has been discussed by many theorists (for example, Foucault 1977; Sontag 1979, 1983; Urry 1990), and is evident both through

the symbolic representations 'captured' within the pictures, as well as in the actual process of taking photographs. When photographed, the villagers of Goreme are rendered 'objects' both in the Foucauldian sense, and in an existential sense, in which there is a constant battle to be subject or object in relation to the other. Moreover, this photographic perspective 'isolates the native people from their larger social context', because everything outside the framing of the photograph is removed from view, and this includes 'the politics of the situation' (Bruner, 1989:441). The act of photography, therefore, does very similar things to the behaviour of the guide in the cave house. In its selections and presentation of the appropriate representation, it 'decontextualises, and is essentially conservative' (ibid.).

In actual photographic interactions, though, Goreme villagers are adamant that tourists should "ask first" before taking a photograph of them, particularly the older villagers because of the negative meaning attached to images in Islam. This is a point at which tourists are expected by villagers to play at being 'good' guests in *their* village, and I observed many situations where the people who 'know tourism', such as the younger men of the village, acted as 'gate-keepers' in this regard. One such incident blew up into quite a fury when a women from New Zealand was trying to photograph old women on their donkeys as they returned from the fields through the centre of the village. At the time, the tourist was in a carpet shop and she kept popping out to 'shoot' anything interesting passing by. As per usual this annoyed the villagers she was trying to photograph and they conveyed their annoyance by turning away or waving a stick at the tourist. The carpet salesman, a young man from Goreme, asked the tourist to stop taking photographs because it was evidently disturbing the old women as they made their way home from the fields. The New Zealander, however, became defiant in her 'right' to take these photographs; she told me in conversation later that day, "The traditional life is disappearing and so of course we want to take photos of it, and they should respect that...They should respect our culture too, that we want to take photos".

This situation is illustrative of the Goremeli salesman's positioning of the tourist as a guest in his village.[6] He is asking of her to be a 'good' guest, and in doing so is attempting to assert his positioning as 'host'. However, the woman's rejection of his plea is also a rejection of the role of guest to him as host. Rather, she asserts her identity as 'tourist' and assumes the tourist 'right' to collect and consume touristic images. Tourists know very well that they cannot be 'closet voyeurs' when they travel

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[6] This idea also links with the debates within anthropology concerning ethics and 'cultural property' (see, for example, Brown 1998)

and when they photograph villagers, despite the assumption of many academic theorists that taking photographs of 'natives' is an attempt by tourists to hide behind their cameras (for example, Bruner's suggestion that 'the camera is a wonderful device for closet voyeurs, in that they can look, even stare, without embarrassment' (1989:441)). Tourists know that they are not invisible behind their cameras, and that is why most tourists are in fact very uncomfortable about taking photographs of 'native' peoples. However uncomfortable they are, though, it is their strong desire to collect and consume images of these 'others' which frequently wins the battle. Thus, the act of photography might be the epitome of the 'tourist gaze' and the power in that gaze (Urry 1990), but it is simultaneously the point at which the tensions present in tourist identity and the transgressions of the roles and relations of host and guest come to something of a head.

It is this positioning of hosts and guests which enables the Goreme villagers to have a say in determining their interactions with tourists and which is precisely where an over concentration on the 'tourist gaze' leads to the one-sided view of tourist/host interaction. Thus, whilst the gaze of tourists upon 'others' is considered by many theorists to be all powerful with tourists having the upper hand as the 'lookers' and host communities being the 'looked at' ('The practices and behaviour of the tourist and the native are defined for them by the dominant story. The tourists, powerful and civilised, come to view Them, powerless and primitive' (Bruner, 1991:240)), if we consider the possibility that local people may play with and determine their role of hosts to their guests, touristic relations become altogether more complex and less one-sided.

Watching you watching me watching you

In the afternoons groups of women sit chatting and sewing in shaded parts of the narrow streets at the 'back' of the village. Sometimes tourists walk by and gazes are exchanged. The dominant narrative of such encounters in the literature on tourism follows an assumption that the gaze is more or less unidirectional and projected from the powerful tourists to the objectified peasant women huddled in their doorway. However, the women, who are on home territory and in larger groups are, without doubt, also gazing back. The villager narrative revolving around the concept of *gezmek* / to walk around would certainly have it that way. The reason that women cannot or should not *gezmek* is because to do so would be to expose themselves to the gazes of men. In other words, those who are walking around are exposed to the gazes of those who are fixed in 'their' place, and that is precisely what is taking place when tourists wander through the back streets of Goreme. In villager narrative, the

women sitting in their houses, on their doorsteps, on their territory, are the ones with the more powerful gaze in encounters with tourists. On this, one Goremeli woman said:

> In my view, the Turks look more at the tourists than tourists look at them. But, for example, I always speak to tourists asking them 'how are you', because if I went to another place and people spoke to me like that I would really like it. But they don't like it. I say 'hello' to some of them, but they don't stop, they don't want to stop. But Turks look more, the women, when they are sitting, they look at every tourist, they say he's wearing nice clothes, she's ugly, she's beautiful, and so on.[*trans.*]

I observed many such instances. One afternoon I was inside a house drinking tea with a group of young village women. Some were gazing out on to the street below, and whenever tourists walked by they called "*turist, turist*", and mocked their clothing or their apparently ridiculous behaviour. We were behind a window and the tourists had no idea they were being gazed upon, let alone mocked. Another time, some women sitting in a courtyard eating fruit joked that we should all throw our apple cores over the wall with the aim of hitting passing tourists. We refrained, but it is this air of mockery which causes tourists a certain level of discomfort. As the woman quoted above said, "they don't like it" when she says "hello" to them. Whilst tourism discourses convey the idea that villagers, in this back realm at least, should remain passive to the tourists' gaze, villagers manage very well indeed to disrupt that gaze by interacting with tourists on their own terms.

There is far more to the tourist gaze than the 'looking' in the actual encounter however. The tourist gaze also includes the representations and images which tourists hold about the 'primitive', in this case cave-dwelling, 'other'. As I suggested above, these images do have a profound affect on villagers own self-representations by working to strengthen negative aspects of the villagers' self-image. Similarly, however, just as tourists project their image of the 'other' onto the Goremeli people, the villagers project their image of Western tourists back onto them. For some of the younger women, this includes a level of idolising the young tourists and placing them in a position of role model. Whilst they sometimes mock passing tourists, they also watch with admiration, and some of the younger girls emulate the dress, hairstyles and behaviour of tourists in secret, away from the watchful eye of older family members.

Meanwhile, most women and particularly the older ones, are able to clearly separate themselves from the tourists on strongly moral grounds. As I showed in Chapter 4, women's identity is primarily based on Islam. Knowing that the tourists are generally not Muslim enables them to position tourists clearly as 'other', and thus allows them to accept the tourists' uncovered hair or their short sleeves and trousers.

To villagers, tourists are *giaours*/infidels and whatever tourists do, whatever they wear, villagers know that it is all right for them to do so in their own country. This ability to separate the *giaours* from themselves has enabled them, largely, to 'get used to tourists' infidel behaviour:

> The people have got used to it. Everyone has really got used to it, they don't get uncomfortable anymore. But they say, for example, the very old ones, they say, 'look, how they are coming, they are very young but they can come here, our girls are by our sides all of the time, but they can come here, how do their families give them permission [*izin*]? Some people talk like that. But for us it is not a problem, we've got used to it, to the tourists. And now my mother says sometimes, you know, when I wear jeans sometimes, she says "You *gezmek* like a *giaour*'.(Goremeli girl [*trans.*])

So whilst the 'tourist gaze' and all that it entails is a clear positioning of 'us' and the 'other', this works both ways, and villagers are not necessarily passive to a tourist unidirectional gaze. Both the tourists and the villagers are equally aware that the gaze goes two ways; they are *both* looking at each other and they are both aware of the roles each of them is playing. In this 'back' realm, at least, the villagers play at cave-dwelling peasant, while the tourists fulfil their role as wandering, photographing tourist. Most importantly, though, the tourist who is *there,* wandering, knows that she or he becomes the 'looked at' as well as the 'looker'.

The Power in Hospitality

Turkish people take pride in their 'hospitable culture' and have come to promote and even sell it for tourism. Goreme people are no exception, and the concepts of *misafirperverlik* (hospitality) and *misafir* (guest) are central to villagers' discourses regarding themselves, their lives, and tourism. Hospitality is connected with honour (Herzfeld 1987) and even nobility (Heal 1990), and guests to any Turkish village must be treated with the utmost respect and generosity. The issue of 'hospitality' can nevertheless be a confusing one for both the 'hosts' and the 'guests' in touristic encounters. Hospitality is considered by local people to be an integral part of their traditional culture, and tourists usually receive that hospitality graciously, and often discuss the great friendliness, helpfulness, and hospitality in their experience in Turkey. Yet, it is a misconception that hospitality should come easiest to the guest, as it is an exchange which always places the host in control.[7] This was felt by a travel writer who visited Goreme and ended by writing a story precisely about the problem

[7] Hospitality is discussed by Pitt-Rivers (1968), Herzfeld (1987), Heal (1990). On hospitality as a form of gift exchange, see Mauss (1990) and Sahlins (1974).

that she did not have time to write there because of all of the invitations and adventures to which she was forced to succumb. She wrote "Turkey is a hard place to work. I had no idea how seriously the Turkish people take their hospitality, nor how devilishly difficult it would make my life" (Holmes 1997).

Various factors are therefore at work when considering the issue of hospitality in Goreme's, and perhaps any rural village, tourism. Firstly, as I have suggested above, the host-guest relationship may be used to redress the inequality potential of the tourist gaze. However, there is also an increasing sense of risk involved for villagers in their hospitality being abused by tourists: 'Even generosity and hospitality, which are generally admired, may bring shame when carried to excess' (Abou-Zeid 1965:259). The giving of hospitality may thus be problematic, and simultaneously, it can be confusing for tourists to receive. Whilst the experiencing of villager hospitality suits the serendipitous quests of these tourists, it also highlights some of the paradoxes in tourist identities and relationships.

Tourists wander in the village and in the valleys, and any 'unplanned' interaction such as an old man gesturing that they may help him unload his donkey cart or help him to get fruit from a tree, are welcomed 'surprise' encounters. Moreover, such events are well suited to the tourists' desires to have authentic encounters with the 'traditional' in Goreme. Some villagers may even invite tourists whom they encounter wandering around the back streets of the village into their houses, this conveying villagers' understanding of the tourist image of themselves and the knowledge that this is what tourists come to Goreme to experience. While this type of encounter seems in some ways to be not too dissimilar to that depicted above concerning the group of thirty Americans who visited a cave home, it contrasts quite significantly. Firstly, for the tourists within the village, such encounters are not so blatantly 'staged' or pre-planned for them. Secondly, with no guide acting as a buffer between the two parties, such events are arbitrary and open to negotiation by all involved, since they allow the villagers themselves to take some control over their relationships with the tourists, as well as, to some degree, the way they are viewed by the tourists.

Through direct interaction with tourists and the imposing of a host-guest relationship, villagers are able largely to negotiate relations of equality and respect with their passing guests. All of the villagers are extremely sensitive to the issue of respect, and if they perceive that the tourists are in any way disrespectful, then they will not interact with them. Villagers' have a seemingly remarkable ability to make prompt judgements concerning tourists' characters, and they are adamant of the importance to judge each individual on his or her own merits. I was frequently told by

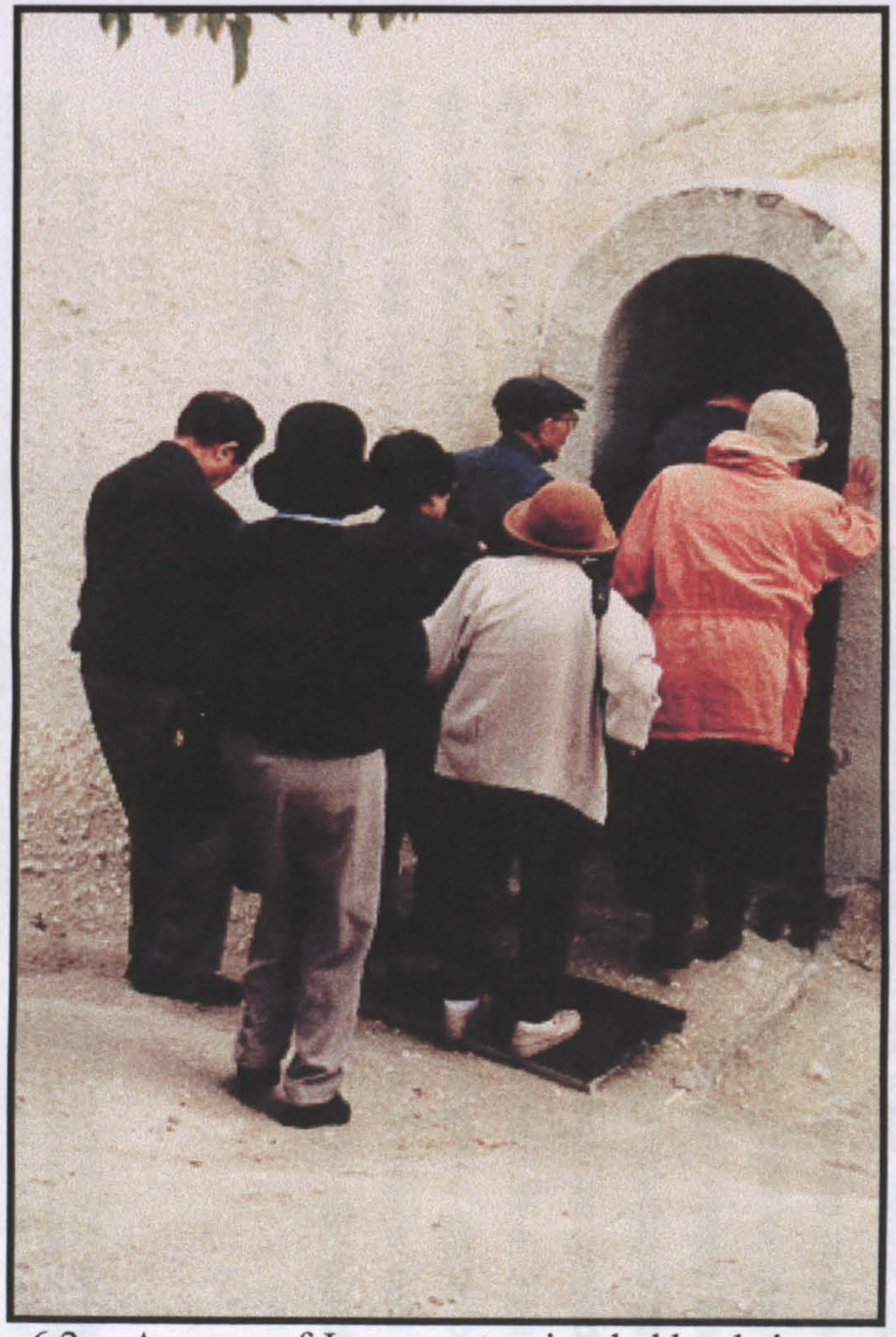


Fig. 6.2a. A group of Japanese tourists led by their guide into a cave house.

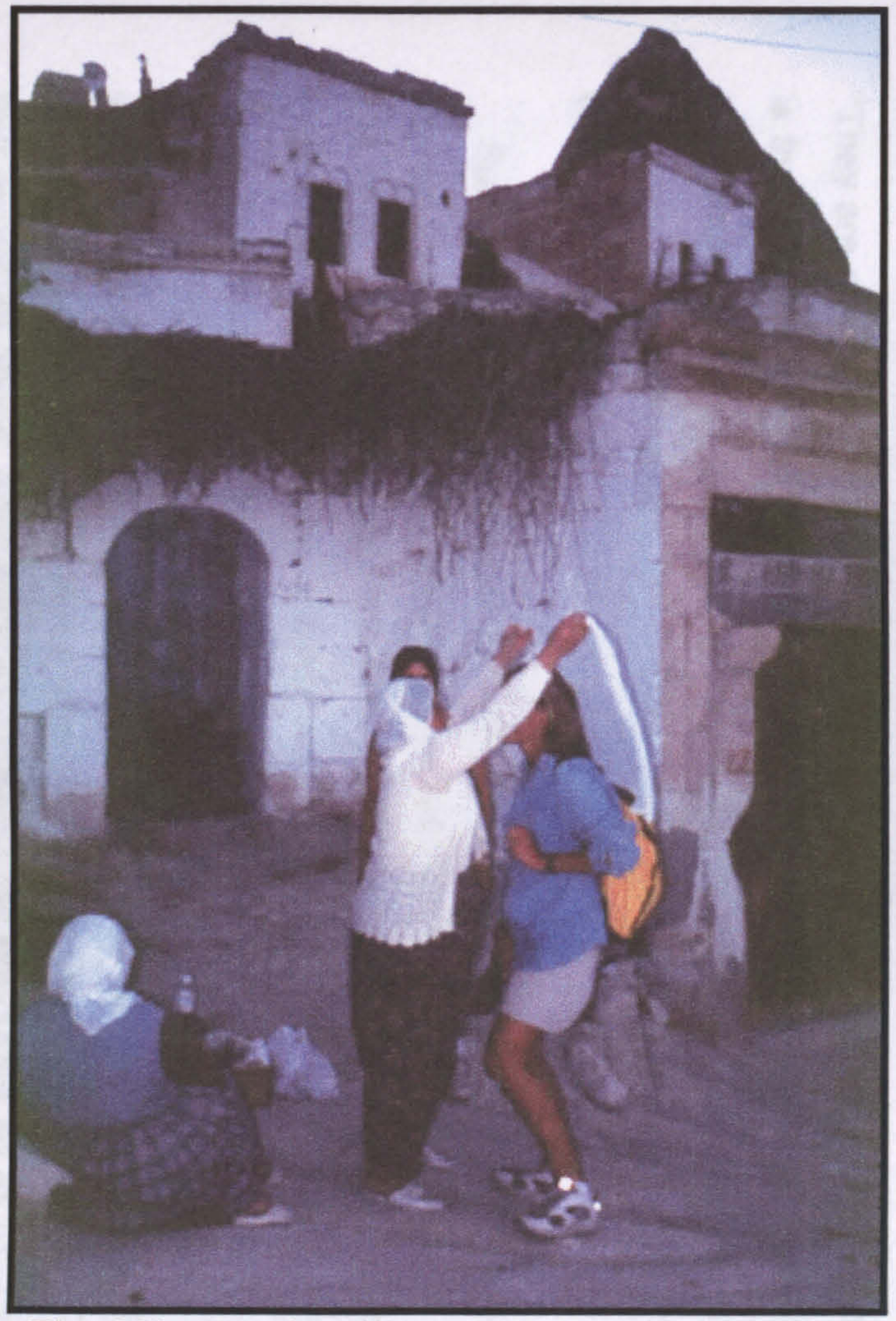


Fig. 6.2b. Tourist-villager encounter in the back streets of the village: tourist being shown how to wear a headscarf Turkish style, in the hope they will then buy one.

villagers that tourists are like the fingers on your hand; they are all fingers, but they are also all different.[8] Likewise, some tourists are good and some are not so good, and they should not be tarred with the same brush. Villagers are usually extremely critical of tourists who do not appear to consider their position as guest in a foreign country, and who, for example, walk around very underdressed or behave in a rowdy fashion. If asked what they think about tourists, a typical answer from villagers is "They are our guests and we like them. If they respect us, we respect them". And so it is that only the tourists who behave in a respectful manner when wandering through the village can enjoy any such close interaction with the local people, and this is the background against which the identities of both parties are negotiated in relation to each other.

Such encounters might not always run completely smoothly, however. When a woman invites wandering tourists in to 'come and look at my cave house', for example, she often proceeds to present a pile of head scarves for her visitor to buy at rather inflated prices. At this, some tourists are disillusioned by the encounter, since, in their view, the situation instantly becomes a tourist event and no longer one of 'true hospitality'. One tourist who had been disillusioned by such an encounter told me 'This place slides between being authentically real and what's done for tourists'. It was interesting to note the way that the 'economics' was managed in the cave-house group tour described above. Attempting to construct the encounter so as to appear as 'visit-hospitality' rather than as 'tourism-profit-making', guides were always careful to hide the payment that they made to the family for allowing their group to view the house. This then posed a problem, however, when it came to the end of the visit and the tourists were faced with the stall of handicrafts which the family were blatantly marketing. Interestingly, the guide with the Americans in the scenario above told her tourists that it had been *her* idea for the mother to have a few hand-made lace items and head-scarves to sell so that she would be able to benefit in a "home-economy" way from the tourist visits. Determined to keep up the 'authentic' gloss on the family, the guide did not want her tourists to know that the cave-dwellers had entered into 'market relations' with tourists from their own doing. As Heal has noted, specifically relating to tourism:

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[8] Crick (1994) also notes that people of Kandy, Sri Lanka, particularly the entrepreneurs in the 'informal sector' are good judges of tourists' qualities, nationalities and characters. Such judgement becomes crucial in the tourism context, as the livelihood of entrepreneurs may depend on it. Again, though, this highlights the problems and dilemmas in discussing the category of 'tourist', and even one 'type' of tourists - such as I am here regarding backpackers - because this dismisses much of this individuality identified by the tourists' hosts.

> The American usage 'hospitality industry' suggests an immediate paradox between generosity and the exploitation of the market place. For modern Western man hospitality is preponderantly a private form of behaviour, exercised as a matter of personal preference within a limited circle of friendship and connection. (1990:1)

Since tourists construe a strong dichotomy between friendships and 'market' relationships, in situations like the ones I have described here where hospitality turns into an economic event, they feel duped because the two are irreconcilable. For tourists, it seems, friendliness/hospitality and economic relations are two very separate and opposing phenomena.[9] Indeed, we are told of the duality between friendship and economic exchange by *The Good Tourist Guide to Turkey*, which warns us that "invitations to view the insides of houses should be seen as what they are: low-key commerce rather than simple friendliness" (House and Wood 1993: 253). For the people of Goreme, on the other hand, economic transactions are often negotiated on a personal level and so the two can coexist. As one local entrepreneur told me, "Turkish people really take pleasure from giving hospitality. Whether it's for money or not, it's in our culture". Moreover, even if the women and families who invite tourists in to view their houses do regard the situation primarily as one in which they can make money, they are really quite open about the fact that they are merely making good use of tourist representations of them as being 'traditional' and 'authentic' by letting them have their desired experiences for a small fee; the price of a scarf must be nothing, after all, compared to that of the camera draped around the tourist's neck.

Indeed, for some of the tourists, for those who accept their position as 'guest' or 'good tourist', it seems fair that the women should make the most of their 'traditional' identity and directly benefit from the tourists' desire to interact with and possibly photograph them.[10] And by placing the tourist in the position of *guest* (outsider), villagers are taking some control in and demanding some sort of levelling in their relationships with the tourists they 'let in to look at their lives'. As 'guests' the tourists *have to* oblige their hosts by accepting the hand-crafted head-scarf offered to them, and they *have to* pay the small fee which is asked for it. As 'guests', tourists have certain obligations placed upon them since the guest is obliged 'to accept the customary parameters of his hosts' establishment, functioning as a passive recipient of goods and services defined by the latter as part of his hospitality' (Heal 1990:192).

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[9] This tourist view strongly resonates with what Carrier (1995) has described as an essentializing of 'gift' and 'commodity' systems, of the 'Orient' and the 'West'.

[10] As Feifer argues in reference to the post-tourist introduced earlier, 'Resolutely "realistic", he [the tourist] cannot evade his condition of outsider. But, having embraced that condition, he can stop struggling against it' (1985:271).

This point has important implications for tourist interactions and 'hospitality' in the touristic 'service' realm of the village.

Hospitality in the tourist realm

The 'hospitality' offered to tourists in the tourist realm is altogether easier for the tourists to deal with. Here, where it is accepted that services and experiences are paid for, interactions between 'hosts' and 'guests' and the positions of each player in those interactions are more clear-cut, and all tourists expect the tourist realm of the village to provide them with what they need in terms of accommodation, meals, transport and information. However, while they expect to pay for these services, they also expect, in their 'non-tourist' quests, even the tourist realm to be suitably 'other' and consistent with the particular locality. As Urry points out, since,

> The tourist gaze is structured by culturally specific notions of what is extraordinary and therefore worth viewing...the services provided...must take a from which does not contradict or undermine the quality of the gaze, but...must be appropriate to the almost sacred quality of the visitors' gaze on some longed-for and remarkable tourist site (1990:66-67).

The *pansiyon* accommodation in Goreme fits perfectly with these expectations for various reasons. Firstly, the *pansiyons* are small-scale tourism businesses and so allow the tourists to indulge in the idea that they are not participating in more 'typical' tourist activity. They also allow the tourists to meet with other like-minded backpackers to swap tales of their travels and to experience an important sense of 'community' in their travelling. At the same time, since many are set in converted cave homes, Goreme's *pansiyons* are suitably 'other' and consistent with the place, allowing tourists to engage in the fantasy that they are also, for a time, cave people. Moreover, because these small businesses are mostly owned and run by local men, they allow for close and unmediated contact between tourists and villagers, this again meeting with the tourists' desire for serendipity.

The services and interactions in the tourist realm of the village have not been perfectly set up and smoothed over, such as by an outside travel company, and so tourists' expectations include a rather tumultuous but friendly production of services. The expectancy that things will not go smoothly is all part of the adventure in Turkey, and the amicable terms in which services are conducted provide the close encounters which these tourists are seeking. As villagers are constantly saying to tourists, "everything is possible in Turkey". Tourists frequently comment on how their experiences in the village are enriched by such happenings as the mosque calling to

"Turkish Hospitality"



Fig. 6.3a A tea-house owner entertains tourists by playing his '*saz*'.

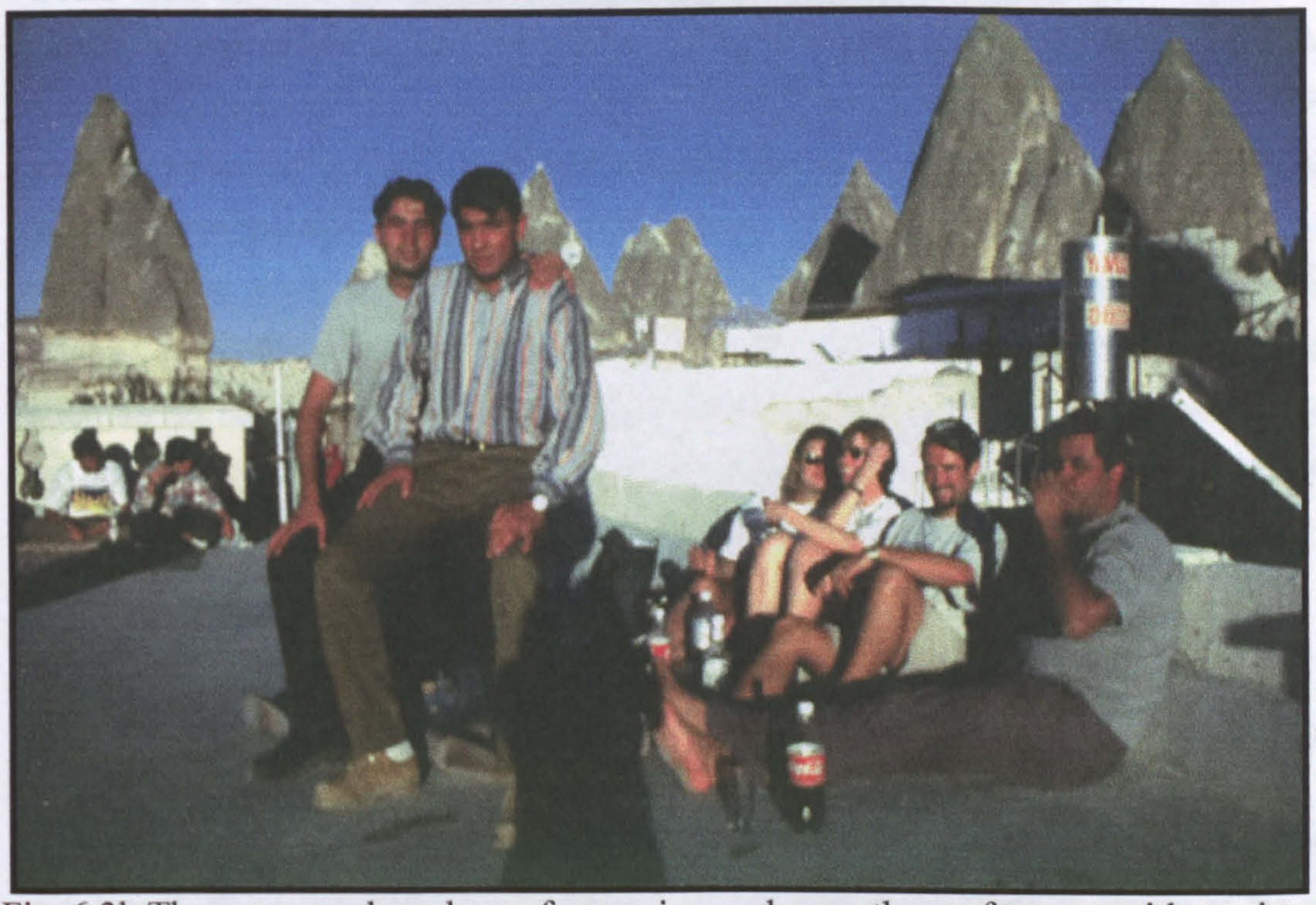


Fig. 6.3b The owner and workers of a pansiyon relax on the roof terrace with tourists.

prayer and the loud speaker announcing village news and events from the municipality office. Every few days a truck goes around the streets bellowing out insecticide spray, inciting comments, coughs and clicks of the camera from tourists. On most summer weekends the streets are alive with wedding parties or circumcision processions. There is always someone to talk to; if not some other tourists, then a waiter inviting you into a restaurant or a carpet salesman engaging you in friendship in order to seduce you into eventually buying a carpet.

From the villagers' viewpoint, they like dealing with backpackers because they can "spend time with them" and "enjoy with them". Whilst the tourist realm of the village is a place of work for local men and a chance to financially prosper from tourism, the men also see their role in this realm as hosts to the tourist guests in *their* village. In a Turkish village, private space is not necessarily equivalent to domestic or household space, but rather it is equivalent to the entire village.[11] Thus, anywhere in the village, tourists are in the position of guests to their villager hosts and must also have the imposition of being guests placed upon them.

This point was brought to my attention when, during my fieldwork, I visited other non-touristed villages in Central Anatolia together with a fellow 'tourist', posing as my husband. Driving into villages picked more or less at random off the map, the road would lead us into the centre of the village where there was an open space over-looked by the village tea-house. When we stopped the car, we would immediately be descended upon by crowds of men from the tea-house, sometimes virtually carrying us out of the car and into the tea-house where we were given tea and fresh bread fetched from the village 'oven' where the women were busy baking. There is no way that it would have been possible for us to wander freely as tourists through their village. If we did express a desire to leave the tea-house and see something else, such as an old mosque or cave which they told us about, we would be accompanied by one or two villagers who were appointed to be our guides and hosts. We were smothered so thoroughly with hospitality, that any sense of tourist freedom was removed from us.

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[11] It was shown in Chapter 4 through the explanation of the varying levels of head-'cover' village women wear in different areas beyond the home, that 'private space' to 'public space' seems to go outwards in concentric circles from the home. The ultimate public space is outside of the village boundary, where women should not go at all unaccompanied by a male relative. It follows that inside of the village boundary is construed as 'private' to some degree, and indeed, the village itself is private space.

The 'myth of consumption' (introduced in Chapter 2) provides tourists with the idea that it is their *right* to roam and to gaze upon places and people to photograph them. Though few of the tourists I met in Goreme asserted their *rights* as tourists and *to be* tourists, the idea underwrites much tourist activity and tourist representations. My experiences in other Turkish villages, however, shows us that whilst tourists expect to be able to roam around, have fun and enjoy themselves freely, in villager discourse tourists are guests in *their* village and should be 'managed' as such. As the predominant owners of the tourism businesses in Goreme, the village men are largely able to 'manage' tourists through regional day-tours and, in the evenings, through being 'entertained' by way of *pansiyon* barbecues, full-moon parties and trips to the disco. Thus villager efforts to 'enjoy with' the tourists, as the villager quoted earlier said, is more than simple enjoyment, and it is also more than a cover-up for dollar signs in villagers' eyes. For it is also an expression of their desire, as hosts, to assert their own position of power and control over the visitors in *their* village.

Eroding hospitality

The tourists' position as guests in relation to villagers' 'hospitality' can be confusing for both players, however, largely because the relatively clear-cut quality of market-type relations created by paying for services is missing. I saw many incidents where tourists refused offers of food, drink or help because they were unsure of the villagers' intentions in the offer regarding payment. A village *pansiyon* owner also noted such incidents when I asked him in an interview about some of the difficulties in relating with tourists:

> I mean the culture is different. Like in Goreme, in our culture, if there are cigarettes on the table you just take one, without asking. But for them [tourists] you can't, you must ask. And when we have food on the table we say 'come and join us'. They say 'how much?' And they ask me how they can get to Avanos to the market, and I say 'I'm going to Avanos, I'm going there anyway, to the market, so I'll take you in my car'. But they say 'no, we'll take the bus', and they don't come. Then half an hour later I see them in the market in Avanos. They took the bus, you know? Those sort of things. But we understand them because they're travelling a lot and they get ripped off everywhere.

The tourists' fear of 'getting ripped off' leads them to turn down many of their hosts' offers of hospitality; relations are easier to understand if they are centred clearly on a market idiom. Moreover, by not accepting their hosts' offers, they stay removed from ties of obligation with their hosts, those ties seeming restrictive on their tourist quests

for 'freedom' and 'choice'.[12] In Goreme, obligatory ties are usually placed on tourists quicker than they could have expected, and though these chances of close and friendly interaction with local people do meet with tourists' serendipitous quests, they can also indeed make things "devilishly difficult".

Concurrently, villagers are gradually being put off from their sensibilities of generosity and hospitality, largely because of tourist reactions. They either find that their hospitality is rebuffed, as described in the quote above, or conversely, they get a sense that tourists are abusing their hospitality as a result of the quest for 'cheap' or even 'free' goods, services and experiences. This is also a point made by Riley who notes that the 'status enhancing' experiences of getting a lot for little cost puts "budget travellers" 'in a position to exploit the hospitality of locals' (1988:321).[13] An illustration of this was provided as I listened to a woman from the USA sitting on the terrace of her *pansiyon* telling other tourists how she likes Turkey because it is cheap. She went on to explain how, whenever she arrives in a new place, she "begins to flirt with some guy" so that she will get free meals and accommodation for the rest of her stay. Although this woman is by no means typical, there is something in her quest for 'free' services which rings true for many of the tourists who come to Goreme, and the villagers are well aware of this. As Herzfeld notes in relation to "hippy" tourists in Greece:

> The wealthy tourists can at least be exploited. The "hippies" on the other hand, take everything, but own nothing that can be taken from them. Their presence is somehow an abuse of the system, because it subverts the balance of reciprocity between foreign exploitation and local cunning that tourism of the grander sort has helped to create (1987:82-83).

Indeed, local men who run tourism businesses often talk about the 'cheap' tourists who come to Goreme, and their reticence to spend money; "they just bargain, bargain, bargain, and then they complain about the service". Villagers have come to understand that the tourists' constant bargaining is a part of their backpacker 'scene' rather than because they really are poverty-stricken. They know that a large sum of

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[12] Also in my own experiences during fieldwork, the ties of obligation arising from my being a fully fledged 'guest' in Goreme became so intense that I frequently left the village, even just to spend a few hours in a nearby town, to be in a place where nobody knew me and where I could sit and drink a coffee in a restaurant of *my* choice. The intensity of this experience is noted by many anthropologists in the field and so is by no means specific to Goreme village hospitality.

[13] Though this is put rather glibly and with too much haste by Riley, since this is the conclusion she reaches after saying that 'Today's budget traveller is very likely to state that a prime motivation for travelling is "to meet the people" and seek invitations to share meals or stay with locals. They find that "passing" as one with little money, they are more likely to encounter these opportunities' (ibid.). Riley neglects to consider, in other words, the point at which locals may regain their power precisely by providing that hospitality.

money is required in the first place for any tourist's flight to Turkey, and they also see many tourists trying to bargain a $5 room down to $3 one day and the next day going and buying a $500 carpet as a souvenir. As tourism plays an increasingly prominent part in the local economy, the local entrepreneurs are becoming increasingly disillusioned by the attitudes of the 'hard-up traveller'. Constantly being affronted by tourists' over-zealous bargaining, some villagers seem to despair at the 'cheap' tourists who come to the village. Following an incident where a tourist couple came into Abbas's agency to ask for train information for a route that would take them ten hours instead of three hours by the more direct bus route, but would save them £3 off the bus fare, Abbas exclaimed:

> Some tourists are maniacs, really! What kind of tourists do we have here? Tourism is sightseeing and spending money, but with these tourists they don't want to spend any money! They even get free food from us, from our gardens. They go out into the valley and stay in a cave, and get up in the morning and munch their way through our gardens: apricots, pears, apples, they munch around like sheep - they eat everything!

Both tourist and villager discourses are filled with stories of how they themselves emerged as the 'righteous hero' whilst being 'ripped off' by the 'other'. The tourist narrative usually ends with the tourist managing to bargain the price of the item or service down to a remarkably low fee, or perhaps indignantly walking away and taking his/her custom elsewhere. Conversely, the villager narrative usually tells of the villager's hospitality being abused by the tourist who tries to out-do his 'host' and who expects and takes more than should be given. The narrative always ends, though, with the villager managing somehow to give the tourist his come-upance, either by throwing the tourist out, or by taking the moral high-ground by offering the tourist even more 'hospitality': '"Go on, take it" I said. "I don't need your money!"'.

Besides the stories told, I observed many instances of tourist-host clashes in this regard. An example occurred one evening as I sat with Abbas in the door of his agency watching the goings-on in the busy street outside. In front of the shop next door, a general store selling provisions and also foreign language newspapers for tourists, we saw a tourist woman sitting on the kerb reading a French newspaper. She was hiding behind the newspaper stand so that she would not be noticed as she read the newspaper for free. Abbas called to get the attention of the shop's owner, who responded by wandering slowly over to the tourist and, standing above her, said "Hello", to rouse her attention. She looked up and, clearly embarrassed, placed the newspaper back into the stand. The shop owner then took the bottle of water the tourist had under her arm, he took the lid off and offered some water to his friend standing nearby. The men laughed and put the water bottle back into her hand.

'Sorry', she said and walked off. She was embarrassed, and had been put clearly in her place by her Goreme 'host'.

Such effort to rebuke tourists for their 'cheek' is related to the issue of tourist respect. As 'good hosts', villagers make a point of being sensitive to the "character" of each tourist, and many tourism entrepreneurs are coming to view each tourist nationality as different in this regard. One villager, for example, told me that whilst Americans are good tourists because they are relaxed, fun, and open, Europeans are too serious, and Australians are "too cheap" and "abusers". Indeed the increasing numbers of Australians are gaining a reputation among Turks as being the worst among the 'backpackers': "Australians are *pis* [dirty]! They have no culture and no respect. They bargain over everything - they don't want to spend any money!". Villagers are thus quick to discriminate between those who are and those who are not 'good guests', and are becoming increasingly intolerant of those who are not.

Another element in tourist discourse which causes further clashes with the host discourse is the tourists' desire to meet and have fun with each other. Villagers running tourism businesses frequently complained to me that tourism in the village has changed during the past few years because the tourists are increasingly gathering in their own groups and only show interest in interacting with each other. The increasing hordes of Australian backpackers, such as the group depicted in the tourist vignettes in Chapter 3, are usually blamed for this. As one villager complained, "the Australians are changing tourism here because they all get together - travelling, walking, drinking. They don't mix with us. This is our town, you know". Another entrepreneur told me: "Tourism used to be better before, because it was all European tourists and they had really nice times. We always had barbecues out here - nice atmosphere, nice conversation. Now it's ruined in Goreme, because it's all Australians, who aren't interested". "Tourism's going down here", he kept saying.

This apparent change in the ambience of the village's tourism is possibly linked to the trend discussed in the previous chapter for the tourism businesses in the village to become gradually more 'formalised' in their structure and services. As the businesses have gradually become more specialised with the increasing emergence of restaurants, bars and discos in the centre of the village, tourist now leave the *pansiyons* in the evenings and party in the village's bars and discos rather than having to submit to the more 'complete' hospitality of their *pansiyon* hosts as they did in the earlier days of Goreme's tourism.

In addition, there has also been an increase in the backpackers' tendency to gather in groups. This process has recently manifested in a "hop on, hop off" bus, started by

an Istanbul-based company specifically for backpackers travelling around Turkey. Now new hordes of twenty to thirty backpackers arrive in the village every two days, all booking into the same *pansiyon* and descending upon the bars and discos in the late evening together in their large group. Even though their time and activities are not managed as such by an agency and a guide, as with the mass group tour previously depicted, groups of tourists such as this tend to interact with places and peoples in different ways from 'individual' backpackers. What is internal to the group inevitably takes on more importance than anything external to the group, such as the village and villagers they are visiting, and their cultural self-confidence (Graburn 1983) may gather such strength from the group that they become openly abusive to those outside of the group.

The villagers thus feel further abuse of their efforts to be hospitable, and are led to assert control over the tourists in other ways. An illustration of the above was demonstrated to me through an incident I observed one evening in the disco. A group of about ten Australian men were sitting in the free-entry disco and not buying any drinks, and they were overheard criticising and cursing Turks. Word quickly got around and within a few minutes a crowd of local men arrived and sat near to the Australians. Nothing was said but their intimidation was enough that the Australians soon left the disco. More recently, and especially since the advent of the backpacker bus company, villagers have resorted to more violent means to deal with tourist abuse, and fights and even stabbings are not wholly uncommon during the night-life activities of Goreme's tourism.

This increase in violence, like the 'competitive' violence between villagers discussed in the previous chapter, places villagers in a state of flux regarding their self-image in relation to tourists. Aware that they may be perpetuating the Western image of Turks as "barbarians who will offer strangers no hospitality and will just steal their money", as one villager put it, they are left juggling with their Goreme versus Turkish identity. This ambivalence was illustrated to me in Abbas's agitation the day after a robbery had taken place (tourists had drugged and stolen from fellow tourists in a dormitory room) in his brother's *pansiyon*. He said to me:

> In your interviews with tourists you should ask them what they think of us, and if they think wrongly you should explain the truth to them. Goreme people are honest and good people, they don't deceive tourists. That robbery that happened, I bet that tourists will think it was Goreme people who did it. But it was tourists!

Abbas continued after this, however, to talk about how tourism had changed the village, and in this he expressed sadness that there is no longer hospitality in Goreme because tourism has ruined it: "Now we just smile at tourists to get their money". Indeed many of the entrepreneurs I interviewed expressed a similar loss of what they clearly consider to be a traditional Turkish virtue. One local man told me:

> It is very important for Turks to offer hospitality to foreigners - they even fight over visitors - 'he's mine', 'no, he's mine' and so on - and *Pasas* used to build big houses so that they could take the most guests. But in Goreme it's finished - it is not hospitality now. They used to see a tourist passing a field and offer him grapes but now it's finished.

There is a clear sense, then, in which the villagers feel as though their hospitality is becoming eroded through their dealings with tourists.[14] This erosion of 'hospitality' is felt as a loss of an integral part of villagers' identity at a variety of levels. Herzfeld makes this point in relation to the abuse by tourism of villager hospitality in Crete: 'They [abusive tourists] were not simply strangers to the village, but also guests in Crete and in Greece. Since their behaviour violated the rules of local hospitality, it also violated those of the larger entities...to the reassertion of domestic, local, and national sovereignty - to control over the metaphorical "home" at all these levels' (1987:81). In Goreme also, just as "home", from individual household through village to Turkey, is layered, so hospitality is also layered, operating at all levels of the villagers' identity.

The central place of hospitality in villager discourse is indicative of the fact that this issue is at something of a crisis point in Goreme's tourism. Many jokes and parodies performed by villagers regarding tourist-host relations highlight the strains. One example of this was when a friend of Abbas's picked me up in his car as I was walking back from the Goreme Open-Air Museum one day. He then told me to, as a joke, tell Abbas that he had charged me 500,000tl (about £2) for the ride, so that Abbas would get angry at his 'ripping me off'. When I then ate at that same friend's restaurant (in order to repay him for the ride he had given me), he then told me to continue the joke by reporting to Abbas that the meal was not nice and that I had been over-charged. On another occasion, a village man got me to phone up one of his carpet salesman friends pretending that I was phoning from Australia to ask where the carpet was that I had brought last year but had never been sent to me. A lot of fun was had from the salesman's squirming on the telephone and his reporting to us later of the difficult situation he had apparently got himself into.

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[14] A similar process is noted by Zarkia (1996) in her discussion of host-guest relations on the Greek island of Skyros.

Further parodies are made of tourists and their behaviour in relation to villagers. I saw a clever example of this being performed by a carpet salesman who sat in the bar next to his carpet shop and started chatting to a group of newly arrived Australian tourists. His good command of English and dress of jeans and T-shirt allowed him to play at being a tourist himself. But he played the wise tourist who had been in the village for a while and therefore knew what was what. He told the Australians that if he were them, he would not stick around long because it was too expensive and everyone here would try to rip them off, especially at that carpet shop next door. The tourists looked thoroughly confused; his accent and demeanour were slightly 'off' for him to be one of them and so they suspected that he was a Turk, but why then was he telling them these things? He was in fact performing with such irony that he was managing to make a parody of both tourists and locals at the same time, thus highlighting the tensions between them.

All of these parodies were clear attempts to deal with some of the tension points felt by villagers at their own and each other's behaviour in relation to tourists and, in turn, at what tourism was doing to them.[15] They seem particularly pertinent when, as we have seen from this discussion, villagers' expressions of regret over the loss of hospitality through tourism may be translated as expressions of the loss of a sense of control over individual tourists, over the village, and over the nation in the face of international tourism. As MacCannell remarks, 'Parody builds solidarity in the group that stages it and potentially raises the consciousness of an audience that it is the butt of it' (1992:32).

Close encounters of a more 'real' kind

This chapter has focused on the interactions and negotiations between tourists and villagers in Goreme as they compare to the types of relations evoked by group tourism which is characterised by the conditions of 'touristic surrender' and is largely controlled by external tour agencies and guides. By taking this comparative look at the two different styles and structures of the tourism in and around Goreme as the starting point of the analysis, an in-depth understanding has been developed of tourist quests and the tourist gaze, and of the relationships between tourists and local people. Whilst the initial quests and desires of the group tourists and the backpacker tourists are not necessarily different in terms of their imaginations of the 'authentically social', what

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15 See also discussions on 'joking relationships' by Radcliffe-Brown (1940) and Goody (1977). Goody, in particular, notes the cathartic value of joking and humour and their function in relation to the management of conflict.

does differ is the degree to which their experiences are structured and mediated by external travel agencies and guides, and hence the degree and quality of their interactions with villagers.[16]

The guide of the group tour worked to place a stereotypical 'cave-life' identity onto the family they visited. This then asserted a need for the preservation of a static cultural identity, because the group tour situation allowed for no negotiation of this identity to take place between the tourists and the villagers and thus rendered the local people little more than 'passive' museum objects. This backs Weightman's (1987) observation, introduced in Chapter 2, that it is the 'design' and conditions of the cultural tour group which give rise to the perpetuation of stereotypes concerning 'local culture', rather than it being necessarily the 'tourist gaze' in itself. And the tour group situation was also shown to be unsatisfactory for both tourists and villagers; villagers are unable to offer hospitality to tourists and thereby to level their relationships with tourists, and tourists are left to juggle with the apparent contradictions between the representation and the reality of what is being presented to them.

The non-group tourists staying in Goreme, on the other hand, buy into local tourism services and are thus more able to individuate their experience through asserting their own role as guest. This is part of their 'non-tourist' discourse, since the guest is one who avoids 'touristy' places, who stays for longer, and who 'hangs around' having meaningful interactions with local people and places. As three young German tourists told me:

> We like it here more than the coast because the people here are very open and friendly, and there are lots of nice places to go hiking. It's really different because the people are so open here, you can feel closer to them, you know, you don't really feel like a tourist here because you can have closer contact with the people.

These words neatly echo the quote from the Goremeli *pansiyon* owner at the beginning of the chapter, and this echo in turn highlights the point at which, despite difficulties and contentions, tourist and villager discourses and experiences do meet in Goreme. Goreme meets with tourist quests in that the encounters tourists are able to have with villagers both in the front and the back realms are sporadic, and unprepared or mediated by guides. They generally satisfy both the tourists desires for 'unstaged' and authentic experiences, and also provide the chance for the local people to place their own demands on the situation. As the owners and managers of tourism in

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[16] This study therefore makes important contributions to the discussions concerning rural and village tourism planning such as those by Bramwell and Lane (1994) and Fagence (1998).

Goreme, the local men are in the position to assert a host-guest relationship and to thus have a reasonable amount of control over their relations with tourists. So whilst providing adequate services and entertainment for the tourists, villagers are able to demand and determine in various ways that their relations and identities are negotiated in a context of equality and respect.

Concurrently, however, many areas of contention arise between villagers and tourists, largely hinging on the important issue of the host-guest relationship. Situations often arise in which tourists feel confused about offers of generosity and friendship in the 'tourist realm', or where they feel trapped and restricted by the obligatory ties created by their villager hosts. Conversely, the villagers increasingly feel that their hospitality is abused and eroded by tourists. While this is increasingly the case, however, and while relations between backpackers and villagers in Goreme can be ephemeral and distant, there is also an ever increasing number of tourists who stay longer-term in the village, many of them developing strong friendships and liaisons with villagers. Having looked in this chapter, then, at tourist-host interactions more generally, I will now go on in the next chapter to focus on these longer-term touristic relationships in the village.

7

Romantic Developments
- new and changing gender relations through tourism

> We say eye-wash. European girls are washing the eyes of the men. Like they're uncovering their legs, showing their arms, and putting on lipstick. Turkish women, especially Goreme girls, they don't know - of course they know lipstick by now - but they don't use it. And of course we go to the fancy one, nice one, pretty one, open one. She can speak with me about herself and I can speak openly with her. Because she is free and I am free, but that one [the Turkish one] is not free.

This extract from an interview with a local man explains how the men in Goreme are being drawn into particular relations with tourist women which contrast with the kinds of relations they have with local women, placing this type of touristic liaison firmly against the context of local gender roles and relations (discussed in Chapter 4). It is precisely against that context that the men's relationships with tourist women is presented here almost as an inevitability, as an opportunity difficult to miss; "she is free and I am free, but the Turkish one is not free". Indeed, this aspect of touristic relations is becoming extremely prominent in Goreme's tourism, with an ever increasing number of short-term 'romances' and also long-lasting relationships and marriages taking place between local men and tourist women. A triangular set of relations thus unfolds between tourist women, local men and local women, giving rise to many important issues concerning not only the interactions between the global and the local, but also the links between gender and power. The 'romantic developments' in the title are two fold. Firstly, this refers to the growing presence of romance, or at least an ideal of romance, in the local setting through and because of these liaisons taking place between tourist women and Turkish men. Secondly, there is a development of tourism business taking place in Goreme specifically through and because of these romantic liaisons.

Sex relations in the tourism context are embedded in the cross-cultural complexities of gender, sexuality and power (Bowman 1989, 1996; Hall 1992). As was seen in the previous chapter, the 'close' level of interaction between villagers and tourists is an important factor in the villagers' experiences with tourists; that 'closeness' allowing the local men to redress the power inequalities inherent in the tourist-host relationship by asserting their own control over tourists' activities and experiences. Sex relationships may thus be a further way for these men to 'conquer' their tourist guests; thereby

regaining a sense of control which is otherwise experienced as diminishing in their 'living with tourism'. This is precisely the way that sex relations between tourist women and 'host' men are explained by Bowman in his assertion that: "Fucking tourists' in Jerusalem in the eighties was...a means of imagining and acting out a power that, in fact, the merchants did not have' because it provided them with 'a field in which to play out scenarios of vengeance against foreigners who, in their eyes, oppressed them both economically and socially' (1989:79). Zinovieff (1991) paints a similar view of Greek men's sexual relationships with tourist women, arguing that the men's tricking, lying and sexually conquering tourist women is a way of symbolically counteracting ideas of the women's and the West's underlying superiority.

However, like many studies of tourist-host encounters, these accounts fail to provide a balanced view of both tourist and host discourses and how they relate together. Rather, they tend towards an over-concentration on the purpose and strategy of the men involved in such relationships, and under-include the voices of the tourist women. Moreover, again and again anthropologists look for the structure and function in process to the neglect of the chance elements of excitement and attraction. Indeed, Bowman (1989) explicitly states that the focus of his discussion of Palestinian men 'fucking' tourist women is the *function* of host-guest sexual interaction in the tourist domain. And that is where the problem lies; these relationships (along with most other contexts of cross-cultural courtship and marriage (see Berger and Hill 1998)) are usually presented in terms of their outcome and hence as a means to a particular end. They are seldom viewed as *processes* in which the 'anti-strategy' of emotion may play a part[1], particularly where the men involved are concerned. In other words, these relationships are constantly conveyed in the literature through the idiom of male 'predator' and female 'victim', thereby reiterating the gender stereotypes of rational and strategic men versus emotional and weak women (Seidler 1987). By contrast, I aim here to unpack some of the complexities of *both* the reasons and emotions evoked by *both* genders in the touristic sexual relations in Goreme.[2] In doing so I intend to continue discussion of what Pruitt and Lafont (1995) have termed

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[1] Kohn (1998) raises this issue with reference to inter-ethnic marriage in Nepal, pointing out that the anthropological literature on marriage has tended towards a neo-functional leaning, leaving no room for the 'simple attraction' of the exotic other. Commenting on Bourdieu's (1990) account of the 'game' of marriage, Kohn argues that 'the whole emphasis on strategy as the impetus for marriage does not leave room of the aesthetic spark, the romantic and wholly reckless anti-strategy of love, especially across culturally constructed 'boundaries' (1998:69).

[2] The information collected for this chapter was collected through a combination of methods: informal conversation and observation throughout my fieldwork; periodic semi-structured interviews with individuals - both men and women; and focus group discussions held separately with groups of 'tourist girlfriends' and groups of 'local boyfriends'.

'romance tourism', as opposed to the 'sex tourism' more widely discussed, especially in relation to SE Asia (Cincone 1988; Lea 1988; Hall 1992).

Fun and Romance

As it has been shown in previous chapters, tourism business is largely the domain of men in the village, and although the touristic realm is therefore the men's place of work, it also represents something of a free zone in which the men feel relatively free from much of the restriction normally present in Turkish village life. It is in this arena that tourist women and local men first meet, and where the men find themselves to be both the victims of the tourist's “eye-washing” presence, and the lucky inhabitants of a tourist “paradise”. Whilst male tourists are accepted but largely ignored, newly arrived women generally receive a great deal of attention.

There is a belief among some village men that they are more handsome, more willing, and somehow 'better' in sexual relations than men in the tourists' home environments; they deduce from this that foreign girls actually go to Goreme for sex. The answer one young *pansiyon* worker gave to me when I asked why so many tourist women come and have relations with Goreme men was: “Because we are handsome and young, you know, nice *tak tak*. We can do it 24 hours!”. The fact that so many tourist women do have relations with the men is clearly enough to prove the men’s sexual prowess and thus to heighten their sexual identity. With bus loads of new arrivals everyday, tourism in Goreme has produced a sense of paradise for local men. Some men even referred to the *Quran* in conversations about this, telling of where it says that in heaven there will be forty women around each man. Goreme is like that now, they said; “It’s raining girls here!”.

Similarly, the charm that the Goreme men display to new arrivals clearly appeals to the tourist women's sense of their own attractiveness, and in doing so heightens their sense of their own sexual identity. A woman from the USA said of her experiences in Goreme: "I don't get looked at at home, then I come here and I've got ten guys all looking up admiringly at me. If there is any girl here who says she doesn't like it, she's lying. Any girl who didn't make the most of it and have a good time here would be stupid". This was also expressed by two women from New Zealand who told me that although they had heard that women are hassled a lot in Goreme, they had found no problems there, especially after Istanbul. They added, "you get chatted up here, but it's no big problem", and, "its nice to get a bit of attention, I felt quite bubbly when I was first here". Moreover, as the American woman suggested, some women who “don’t get looked at” because they may not satisfy standards of beauty or ideal weight,

for example, at home, can find themselves being the object of much amorous attention from Turkish men (see also Pruitt and Lafont 1995).

If, as it was suggested in the previous chapter, encounters between tourists and hosts engage a process of 'mirroring' in that meetings with the 'other' produce reflections on the 'self', then, whilst desire for the other is about longing for what one does not (yet) have (Kohn 1998), it is also a desire for a positive reflection of the self. That is, the way the tourist women feel about Goreme men depends on how the men make those women feel about themselves, and vice versa. And just as the tourist women reflect back a positive self image onto the men regarding their sexual identity, the men enhance the women's positive image of themselves: "They are so charming - they make you feel like a queen". This, together with the financial and cultural powers usually associated with the tourist in relation to the local people in the tourist setting (discussed in the previous chapter), serves to enhance, for the time that she is 'on holiday' at least, her own sense of personal and sexual power.

Furthermore, the sense of enchantment surrounding these meetings is strengthened by the context in which they take place. The women are in a magical land of fairy-chimneys and cavey underground complexes, and the men are in the tourist realm where they are free to play and experiment with roles and identities. The liminal nature of both the women's and men's experiences in this tourist realm allows for and promotes a sense of romantic and sexual freedom which in their 'home' contexts might be more restrained. He is in his new paradise where uncovered and 'free' women are plentiful. She has arrived in an enchanting landscape where she is charmed by numerous attractive and very attentive men. Of course, she is usually aware that the men must have a family life somewhere 'behind the scenes', and for some women this point feeds into her ideals of the exotic in her touristic interactions. As Pruitt and Lafont (1995) and Meisch (1995) also point out with reference to romantic relations in Jamaica and Ecuador respectively, close liaisons with a local man may be viewed by some tourist women as a key to her own access to local culture: 'What could be more back stage, and offer a more intimate experience of a culture, than being invited into someone's bedroom and bed?' (Meisch 1995:452). Conversely, many women have no interest in anything other than the fun and play of the tourist realm; fixed in the 'holiday' mode, they prefer to ignore the potential complications of the background of the men they meet. The tourist realm of central

Goreme, together with the backdrop of fairy chimneys and caves, thus provides a magical and bewitching context within which these touristic liaisons take place.[3]

However, the interactions between village men and tourist women are not without problems. After receiving warnings from family and friends, special notes for women in the backpacker guide books, and experience of annoying 'hassle' from men in Istanbul, many tourist women travel around Turkey without any intention of having a relationship with a Turkish man. They then experience the men's advances as annoying "hassle". The term 'hassle' is a common expression across Turkish and English spoken in Goreme, used and understood to mean chasing foreign women.[4] It is a term used by the local men in reference to their chasing tourists, and is also used with more negative connotations attached by tourists themselves in reference to their being chased either sexually or for their custom in restaurants or shops. In Goreme, though, the men working in tourism are by now well aware of the negative connotations attached in tourist discourses to the term 'hassle', and, as mentioned in previous chapters, they pride themselves on their not hassling tourists to the same extent as men in other Turkish tourist destinations do.

The women's rejections of the attention they receive may stem from their more general desire (discussed in the previous chapter) to interact with the 'local people' they meet on their trip in a way which somehow includes 'real' selves rather than mere stereotypes. For example, one Australian woman told me in conversation:

> I'm not saying I'm cleverer than other women, but, I can just see straight through the crap, I just don't trust them. It's all this "I love you, you're beautiful" and so on, but I haven't fallen for it. They're always after something else, and I don't think that one of them isn't. I don't trust them. I could have gone for them, but I didn't want to get involved. And they're too intense - all this "I'll kill myself" stuff.

While this is suggestive of the fierce intensity with which the men of the village may sometimes feel attached to tourist women, many such women doubt that the attention a man shows towards them is based on attraction and choice of them in particular, and reject the attentive advances they receive; this choice itself perhaps being experienced as a way of redressing the imbalance of power they sense in interactions with these seemingly over-bearing men. The men's behaviour, on the other hand, is a

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[3] The mayor of Goreme also used the language of magic and bewitchment to explain the presence of so many tourist girlfriends and brides in the village. Kohn (1997), citing Schneider (1993), also discusses the bewitching forces which draw tourists into gradual residency on a Scottish island.

[4] It has similar use as the Greek term *kamaki*, described by Zinorieff (1991) as meaning to hunt.

response to the "eye-washing" of the beautiful and free tourist women, and it is also a direct manifestation of certain aspects of the traditional gender relations in the village.

Traditional gender relations - the view from the 'back'.

The 'traditional' gender relations in Goreme, and most other Central Anatolian villages, are such that men and women do not meet except with close kin or in marriage. The women's domain is always within the realm of the household, and to socialise in public, or *gezmek,* "even with her husband" is unthinkable (see Chapter 4). The behaviour of tourist women is thus deeply inappropriate to local ideas about gender identity and behaviour. Being a tourist is the ultimate in 'being out and about' (*gezmek*), and so even before considering the behaviour of tourist women when they are actually in the village, the fact that many of them are travelling independently of their men-folk back home is a complete anomaly in the local view. The villagers have had to stretch the boundaries of their gender repertoires a long way to grasp the concept of touring women, and have succeeded in doing so to varying degrees and depending on the level of contact and experience they have had with tourists.

Only tourist women *gezmek*, and that indeed is precisely why the men are drawn to them. As a *Goremeli* man who owns a tour agency told me:

> In our eyes, in our heads - the women would always help the husband, everywhere - clean, cook - this is what we think about the woman. OK, you could take her out, but she doesn't want to go out, she doesn't like to go out. She is shy, because she hasn't eaten in a restaurant maybe all her life... Sometimes the man needs to do this because we are seeing it from Europeans. They are very happy, having dinner together, going to a bar, drinking. They look very happy. I think we learn from these guys [the tourists]. Also we want to do things like that, what they're doing. So you go and ask your wife, she doesn't want to come, so you have to look for a girl. That's the reason to hassle girls.

The men are consequently learning new ways of relating to women, though of course, they are well aware that their fun in the *pansiyon*s and bars is always played out against the context of the village. The young men in particular are accused by their elders of turning their backs on their religion and tradition. One man (interestingly, the president of the Goreme Tourism Co-operative which promotes tourism in the village) explained:

> Formerly there was no tourism in our life. People were going to the gardens to work and adults were going to the mosque and children were going with them after school. Now what's going on?...If boys are with European girls and getting drunk in pubs, it is impossible for them to read the *Quran* and practise Islam.[*trans.*]

There is clearly a generation difference in the ways in which local men are behaving in and responding to the tourism processes. Many of the middle aged men such as Abbas, who ten or fifteen years ago had their fun with tourist women, are today considered to have returned to a way of life more appropriate to village tradition. The younger men, on the other hand, who have only known tourism and who are growing up with the bars and the presence of 'available' tourist women, are increasingly drawn by the pulls that tourists and tourism present to them. They are drawn away from religion and also away from the patterns of gender relations which are traditional in Turkish village society.

Marriage (*evlilik*) is the central focus in the life of any person, family and village in rural Turkey[5], and is an arrangement made strictly between the families of the boy and girl, though the children themselves are increasingly being given a say in who they would like to marry, particularly in more urban regions of Turkey. In order that the girl's shame and the honour of her family be kept safely guarded until the day of her marriage, there is no 'courting' between unmarried boys and girls except perhaps for occasional chaperoned meetings between engaged partners. Ideally, marriage candidates are selected by parents and ultimately decided upon by the patriarch of each family, the selection criteria being predominantly based around issues such as hard work and good temperament for a prospective bride, and family wealth and honour associated with the boy (Incirlioglu 1993).

When I asked Goreme villagers whether love ever featured in choice of marriage partner, the reply from the older people was generally "No, if they're lucky, love will come later", whilst the younger generation gave more confused answers which were suggestive of a newly emerging ideal of romantic love in the dreams of adolescents. As with other societies where arranged marriage is the institutionalised norm, love, whilst not considered to be entirely separate from marriage, is certainly not the main reason for the marriage union.[6] Nevertheless, the concept of romantic love has long held a central place in Middle Eastern poetry (Magnarella 1974), and Turkish music is filled with the desperation of *karasevda* (doomed love, or literally, black love). Moreover, in Goreme, romantic love is becoming increasingly 'visible' for villagers, not only through the behaviour of tourists but also through exposure to Western films,

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[5] It is important to note that rural village life makes up approximately one half of modern Turkish society, and that there are vast differences between marriage and gender practices and ideologies between the rural and the urban settings. Goreme is said by villagers, for example, to be extremely 'conservative' with respect to gender relations, even in comparison to Avanos town which is only ten kilometres away.

[6] See, for example, the literature on "love marriage" and "arranged marriage" in India, such as Fruzzetti (1982) and Trawick (1990).

television and travel/migration. When I visited the homes of Goreme women in the afternoons, they would often be sitting there enthralled by a love entanglement being played out in a Turkish soap opera on TV. If I asked the women how they felt as they watched such life situations that were so different from their own, they shrugged and said that "for others it is like that but in Goreme it is like this". Hence, while the beginnings of an ideal of romantic love seems not too far away, the parameters of emotion in traditional marriage rules remain firmly in place.

Furthermore, because of the strict codes of shame and honour (discussed in Chapter 4), it is the women of the village who are kept within the parameters of traditional gender roles and relations. Men, on the other hand, particularly with their ready made excuse of 'working' in tourism, are relatively free from traditional village gender codes whilst they are in the tourist realm. And because of this heightened separation of the nature of gender relations in the 'back' and the 'front' realms of the village, the men are not only drawn increasingly towards what is on offer to them in the tourist realm, but they are also expanding their repertoire of possibility regarding gender relations. Through entertaining and socialising with tourists, the men are learning a pattern of 'courtship'; they are going out with and socialising with women in a way that is not possible within the traditional gender relations and in a way they had not done before. A young *pansiyon* worker who has a tourist girlfriend told me, "Before we didn't have any chance. We can't go out with Turkish girls, we can't go to bars, we can't have fun, we can't meet each other, we can't know each other...Turkish girls are slowly going out - in Istanbul and Ankara they are, but not here, not in Goreme. But here it is also good, really. It is good to share everything with the tourists". The men are learning *how* to have a girlfriend and simultaneously developing a new feel for romance. Increasingly often, then, what started off for both the man and the tourist as a part of the play and fun in the liminal tourist realm, turns into something longer-term.

The development of long-term relationships.

The presence in Goreme of long-term tourist girlfriends has steadily increased in recent years. During the four summers in which I carried out my fieldwork in Goreme there was a very visible presence of long-term tourists who stayed for varying amounts of time depending upon the 'success' of their relationship with a villager. Some women came back repeatedly from year to year after spending winters in places such as London where they could earn money to keep them throughout the following summer. A very few women became more or less permanent in the village and either married a village man or had long-term plans in that direction. The women were of various nationalities; many of them from Australia or New Zealand, others from Northern

Europe or North America, and one or two from Japan. All of them worked in Goreme's tourism businesses; some investing in and running *pansiyon*s with their Goreme partner, others earning 'their keep' by serving in bars or sitting outside travel agencies or restaurants in order to 'catch' customers. Only very occasionally would a woman stay and work in the village without having a local boyfriend and simply because she enjoyed being there. Such women were usually 'hassled' so much, however, that they would either give up and start a relationship with a man, or they would leave.

Following are some women's accounts of how they ended up longer-term in Goreme:

> I stayed another week and then I had to catch a flight back to Sidney for my best friend's wedding, and Mustafa asked me to stay and I'm like "I can't", and he said "Well if you go, you're not going to come back cause I leave for the army in four months"... And I went "Ah, I'll just miss the wedding". So I rang Rebecca...and I said to her "Look, I've met this guy and I really think there's something huge between us, that I'm falling in love with him already". But we'd only been here a week, but I said "There's something big between us, he's asked me to stay, and I know you're going to be really disappointed but this is something I have to do, and I want to do". And for the first time in my life I did something for me.

> We had all intentions of going to the Middle East until we got on the bus that morning. We just thought "What are we doing on this bus?'" And after two and a half hours, we're were like, "No come on, let's go back". The only thing that was stopping us from doing it was losing face with people we'd told we were going to do the Middle East. That was the only thing - which is just so dumb! Because travelling is all about meeting people, and that's what we'd done - we'd found people that we loved - and came back! And a lot of the people we'd met here seemed a lot closer than a lot our friends in London, even my friends at home. Some friends you've known for life don't feel like friends like this.

Most women's accounts of why they stayed in or returned to Goreme combine an expression of romantic commitment to a particular man with an attraction to a life-style they perceive to be possible in Goreme as a place. As it was discussed in Chapter 3, many of the Australian and New Zealander backpackers, in particular, are undertaking long trips in Europe, many for around two years in duration, as 'rites of passage' before they embark on their life career. Unlike most of the northern European travellers, therefore, they have no fixed strings pulling them home after their 'holiday'. Also, many of these long-term travellers expressed a desire to escape from the drudgery and 'normal' expectations of them in a career back home, and were more than open to diverting the path of their lives by exploring unusual and exotic possibilities. As one Australian described it:

> The concepts of what we've grown up with as a normal life - you work, you save, you buy your house, you buy your car, you get married, you have kids, those fundamental things that you're brought up with doing, getting

> your pension fund and everything like that. They are not like that here, they are not established, they don't know, that's why it is sort of not reality, because it's just different from everything you'd be doing at home.

An 'alternative' life in Goreme is attractive because it is so different. It promotes a sense of freedom, and it is also a chance to purposefully 'reject' norms and expectations present in the women's home life. As one of the women quoted above said, "For the first time in my life I did something for me". Many of the women also express a pride in their having ignored or gone against parent's wishes and friend's warnings not to get involved with a 'guy from the Middle East'. They are actively rejecting over-protective and restrictive relationships in the home situation through their escape to and survival in a somewhat forbidden and exotic world. Thus, these women's decisions to stay in Goreme clearly combine a romantic ideal about the life and love they might have there, together with a strategic *choice* concerning their own lives.

Local men too see their long-term involvement with a foreign girlfriend as something of an escape from the ties and restrictions surrounding traditional gender relations. One young man explained this in the following:

> I have a girlfriend, a foreign girlfriend and we suit each other very well. So I don't think that I could find the same characteristics of her in a Turkish girl. Because - the foreign girls think more freely than the Turkish girls, it is easy to communicate. And we don't care about the culture, tradition, religion, we don't care about any of them. But if I want a Turkish girl, it would start with her parents, her parents would have been involved in our relation, it's our tradition. Of course there are many reasons to be attracted to my girlfriend, but I knew also that nobody will be involved in our relation, neither her family, nor my parents. They can say something, they can try to be involved in our relation, but she told me and I told her that we don't care, we didn't care about anybody else.

The language with which these relationships are discussed is filled with notions of freedom, choice and the defiance of restrictive 'structures' in place in both the women's and the men's home societies. By entering into a long-term 'romance' with the foreign 'other', both the men and the women are at once embarking on something new and something perceived to be emancipating.

Yet, as the relationships progress, many problems and conflicts emerge between the couples, as well as among the men and their relationships with each other. Moreover, tensions are clearly created between the 'traditional' and the 'new', regarding gender relations and ideals in the village context. Throughout the summer in particular, there are often fights in the bars and discos in Goreme. Fights are sometimes against tourist men who are seen to interfere with a local man's chances with a tourist girl, and sometimes between local men when one man sees his

'possession' of a particular girl being challenged by another man. Once belonging to a particular man, a woman's sexuality is potentially dangerous, as she has the power to provoke trouble between men.[7] This was described by one man in the following way:

> All the women are coming over - it's changing everything. Women came, they stayed here, and there are many problems going on in town, fighting and killing because of the tourists. It wasn't like this before. Tourist women, they sleep with another guy, and they sleep with another guy tomorrow and then they all have to face each other tomorrow. And it's starting to make problems for the guys - especially the young guys. They are active, they are young. They want to go out and they want to meet a woman, and...it's getting worse and worse every year. It's no good. But you can't tell the women "Stop doing this", and you can't tell the men "Stop doing this".

Unlike local women, tourist women have the power to choose, to reject and to play among a plurality of local men. Unaware of the structure and rules in the scheme of local gender relations, tourist women can behave in ways which provoke often violent disputes among the men, as well as misunderstandings between themselves and their boyfriend. An example of this came from a woman from South Africa I met one day in a *pansiyon*, who told me of her experiences with a *Goremeli* man she had been seeing for about ten days. She was very tense and told me almost immediately that she was "having problems with a guy". She said that the problems had started when she had gone for what she considered to be a harmless walk with a tourist guy she had met in her *pansiyon.* This had clearly angered her Turkish boyfriend, though she did not understand why. She went on:

> He was very charming for the first few days, but now he's turned *very* possessive. He's treating me like a possession. He won't let me go out, he tells me to sit and shut up, what to wear. He told me to change before I went out to the bar one night - told me I couldn't go out like that here. He won't let me smoke, he told me not to talk while we're eating. He won't let me go out alone - even down the street. It's archaic, he's really a peasant! He's got all his spies out. They all know that I'm with him, he's told everyone, and he says "This is my town", with the idea that I have to do what he says or else.

Many such misunderstandings occur between tourist women and Goreme men. As soon as women are considered to be 'attached' to a man in the village, their interaction with other people in the village becomes limited and they find themselves subjected to all sorts of rules and conditions which they do not understand. These are the rules and conditions, or a confused version of them at least, placed upon women in local gender relations. Such situations, though, can not only severely restrict the sense of play and freedom which the tourists initially expected from their stay in

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[7] Some of the underlying reasons for this were unpacked in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Also, refer to the more thorough works on this topic by Delaney 1991 and Marcus 1992.

Goreme, but can also cause some heavy disputes between partners. From the 'local' perspective, this woman had commanded no respect from her boyfriend and, worse, had behaved in a way which would be potentially damaging to his pride and honour. He therefore had acted towards saving his pride and honour, which involved playing a heavy hand and subjecting her to *his,* and the village's, rules. As he apparently repeatedly told her, "This is *my* town". He acted to remove any sense of power her sexuality might have had, leaving her feeling sour, and with no choice but to leave the village. Similar occurrences happen time and time again throughout the summers in Goreme, some occurring a few days into the relationship and some a few months. As a further illustration, a Canadian woman talked of her experiences like this:

> It was fun when I came. I had fun with him...he never made a pass at me and we used to go for walks, and then we'd go out for dinner, and then we'd dance all night...really all night!...But then it became work. I think at first Turkish guys are attracted to the free spirit of the foreign women, but then they start to impose rules, like don't wear short T-shirts, so it cramps you....and now it's lost it's charm, it's worn thin. They become more controlling of you, and then they go out and do things with other people that they used to do with you, and leave you to do all the work.

It is such situations, or the outcome of such situations, which appear to be behind the accounts of touristic sexual liaisons between local men and tourist women which portray the men as strategically abusing their tourist 'victims'. Zinovieff (1991), for example, places a strong emphasis on the way Greek men cast women out after the conquest, since they are using their sexual 'conquests' with tourist women largely as armour in their competitive relationships among their peers. There is no doubt that in Goreme, too, games and competitions occur among the men regarding their sexual conquests in the tourist realm. I heard groups of men judging newly arrived girls on whether they were likely to be 'easy' or 'difficult' (to get into bed) in order to then make bets with higher kudos for scoring a 'difficult' one. I also heard men 'teaming up' to go out to the bars to get 'chicks' for the night. There are certainly some men and boys in the village who have achieved higher status among the others because of their skill and the sheer numbers of their accomplishments in this sphere.

However, it was pointed out by some men that competitions and showing off has lessened during the past few years, because tourist women have gradually become more plentiful and so it has become more common or 'normal' to have sexual relations with them. Now, if men tell each other what they did last night, the reply is "So what?", except perhaps for the younger men, for whom these activities are new and exploratory and do have great importance in achieving status among their peers. The relationships have therefore gradually become more valued in themselves, rather than being wholly part of a male system of prestige. When the relationships 'break down',

then, such as the situation described above of the South African woman, it is not necessarily because they were always intended as short acts of conquest for the men concerned. Rather, it is often because of tensions and conflicts which emerge out of clashes in the codes and understandings concerning gender roles and relations between the two partners.

Similarly, I find equally problematic the explanations such as those from Bowman (1989) and Zinovieff (1991) of the men in tourist settings strategically using manipulation and sexual conquest over 'Western' women as a way to displace and re-assert their own power over the socially and economically empowered tourists. Bowman (1989) tells of the way groups of Palestinian men in Jerusalem who are 'feminized', thus weakened, by their economic and political positions, are able to regain a 'masculine' position through sexually dominating the women of the 'dominators'. Through their concentration on male narratives 'after the event', however, such portrayals of masculine identities are repeatedly placing a template of rational strategy over all male behaviour whilst constantly contrasting that to the 'weakness and femininity' associated with emotion (see Seidler 1987).

Certainly, it is probable that as a single woman researcher in Goreme I was unable to obtain quite the same male narratives of sexual conquests as Bowman could in Jerusalem. Moreover, there is no doubt that, as I described in the previous chapter, the negotiation of power and 'rights' between tourists and their hosts is always in process. The men's assertions of control over their tourist girlfriends, therefore, may be similar to the villagers' broader assertions of control over the tourists in *their* village generally, as achieved through the pronouncing of tourists as 'guests'. Furthermore, parallels may be drawn between Bowman's Palestinians and the men working in Goreme's tourism businesses who come from other parts of Turkey, especially Kurdish men from the South East. Those men undoubtedly experience dis-empowerment regarding the Turkish political arena, and, as 'foreigners'/'outsiders', they are also in a weak position relative to Goremeli villagers. It is interesting to note that these men were generally the group in Goreme who were most strongly accused of 'ripping off' foreign women in village male discourse.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful that relations with tourist women function in the same way for the Goreme men. Being very obviously on 'on home ground', their pride and power in gender as well as economic relations is not so evidently in the balance as is the situation for 'outsider' men. As I indicated above, therefore, the Goremeli men seem more obviously to be exploring the new experiences of charming, courting and socialising with girls. Concurrently, however, as the relationships become longer-term,

the tensions and conflicts experienced in the juggling of relations and gender codes between the tourism and the 'back' realms in the village grow more intense.

Caught in the middle: tensions between the tourist and traditional realms

Since these touristic relationships are developing within the context of the men's home environment, the uncertainty and lack of parameters and codes of practice arising from their newness presents various problematic issues for the men concerned. For example, as a couple's relationship becomes longer-term, the women have certain ideals and expectations regarding how much time they should spend together and how 'close' they should live their lives. The men too may be developing ideals of living and sharing time with their girlfriends, but they are unable to express these desires within the village. One young man who has a long-term tourist girlfriend told me:

> In Goreme everybody knows each other, it's too small, and also our families look at us. Normally in the house we never touch, we never kiss, they never sit close. They never touch in the home with family. For example, if I was married, and my wife was sitting here, we would never touch because they see it. It doesn't look good. That's shameful for us, shame...In Goreme, we can't walk together in the centre, or near the cafe, because everyone will see us. The old people, they can't do anything to us, but they tell people. It's shameful. They tell that he is having a tourist girl, they are gossiping. And they are saying to my father and mother "How will you find a Turkish girl for him?", because I am all the time going with tourists.

Gossip and shame act as strong social controls in village societies such as Goreme, and the men experience the intensities of this form of control when they are contravening village tradition by "all the time going with tourists".

Problems also arise for the tourist women, who are, of course, well aware that there is a 'home' setting up in the back streets of the village to which their boyfriend belongs. And so whilst the men feel themselves to be torn between the values and expectations of the tourist realm and the 'back' of the village, there are further tensions arising between the tourist women and the 'traditional realm', and also between the local women and the 'tourist realm'. With their activities occurring mainly in the tourist realm, most of the tourist girlfriends maintain a somewhat uncomfortable awareness of the 'back' areas and the women who are related to their partners. This was evident from their frequent questioning to me (in my position as a 'link' between the two realms) concerning what the local women thought of their presence in the village.

The social controls of teasing, gossip and also the occasional firm 'telling off' press the tourist women into having some awareness of the many rules and expectations of them in the village. The situation of the South African woman described above is just

one example of many in which tourist women are made to feel uncomfortable about their inappropriate behaviour. Many woman who came to me during my fieldwork for advice on the ways and 'culture' that they were dealing with, were frequently made to feel "ashamed" in the village. They told of feeling acute discomfort as they walked through the village centre sometimes, sensing that people were always watching them and talking about them. A tourist woman's respect among the people of Goreme is lacking from the outset because of her being 'open' (*acik)* and associated with infidelity. Many of the women's reticence to learn Turkish is another barrier in their communication with villagers, and if they wish to remain living in the village in the long-term, they must also work hard at gaining respect through learning to behave appropriately within the village. Some of the women do try, however uncomfortable they feel, to spend some time with their partner's family. Others are shamed into keeping away, feeling much more comfortable in the tourist sphere of Goreme. When I told one Australian girl that I had just been speaking with her boyfriend's mother, she assumed that the mother must have said bad things about her. I asked her why she assumed this. "Because I never go up there - they're too scary!", she answered.

I had met this mother while I was with a group of women making bread in their neighbourhood. I had asked them what they thought about all the tourist girls coming and staying in Goreme. "We don't like it!", the mother exclaimed, "would you like it if your children went with 'others'? We can't get on. We have a lot of work, bread, grapes - we are always working, and our men are going around with tourist girls!". She expressed concern that she and her son's tourist girlfriend could not understand each other, and so would not get along in the future in the same way that she would with a Turkish daughter-in-law. Her concern though was not only for herself and the family but also for her son and the danger for him in the new and unknown quantity of his long-term involvement with a tourist girl. Unlike Turkish daughters-in-law, tourist girlfriends can always leave, and she talked of this and other young men's hurt when their girlfriends had left them and not returned in the past. The concerns of these women emphasised the ideas held by villagers that foreigners are dangerous and threatening to their relatively closed village order.[8]

Yet there have been approximately twenty marriages to foreign/tourist women over the past 15 years, and the numbers continue to increase by one or two every year. Marriage to a foreigner is more or less condoned within the village. Brides are in any case very often incomers from other places, be they other villages, provinces, or

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[8] Delaney (1991:207) emphasises this point, referring to Turkish villagers' notions of the village as *kapali* (closed) and *temiz* (clean), just as a 'proper' woman should be.

countries (through migrations). However, tourist women are recognised as being unable or unwilling to come in to their husband's family as a Turkish daughter-in-law would, and as a partaker of women's work within the household. The structures of households and gender relations are therefore changing significantly, though it is important to note here that changes in family and household structures were already occurring through outward migration from the village (see Chapter 4).

Complaints, heard particularly from elderly people in the village, concerning the young men's relationships with tourists tend to refer more to a general absence of marriages, and thus brides (*gelin*), due to the men's new-found play and courtship with tourist women. Because the men employed in tourism are away from the traditional realm while they are actually working, they are 'escaping' from village structures and rules in the short and the long term. One consequence of this is the tendency for them to marry at an increasingly later age. Households are thus left with no *gelin* for an elongated duration and this is a big concern for the mothers whose sons work in tourism. An increasing concern, also, is that men who work in tourism and experience the 'fun' of foreign girls will carry on with this play even if they do comply with their parents' wishes to marry. As the young man quoted above said about his situation, "They are saying to my father and mother 'How will you find a Turkish girl for him?', because I am all the time going with tourists".

This leads onto another issue which was raised in the conversation I had with the local women during bread-making; the issues for the wives concerning their husbands "going around with tourist girls". Through networks of gossip, the women are well aware of, and some even remarkably informed on, what takes place in the tourist realm of the village. However, while men's relationships with foreign women might be *socially* problematic, they may be more accepted by women and the village as a whole, on *economic* grounds. The village women accept their husband's staying out late and going to discos with tourist women largely in the understanding that they are "working". It has been learned through the past years of running tourism businesses in the village that tourism is about entertaining people, and that might necessarily involve taking tourists out to dinner or for a dance at the bar. The stretching of socio-cultural boundaries is thus justified, to an extent, for economic reasons.

Nevertheless, it was difficult for me to gauge exactly how the village women felt about the idea of their husbands 'going with' tourist women. During my fieldwork, I never actually asked about this directly because to do so might have suggested to the women that I knew their husbands *were* 'playing' with tourists; these women knew that I spent time with the men in the tourist realm and that I could therefore see what their husbands were doing. When I did discuss this topic, I tended to ask general questions

about 'the Goreme women' and 'the tourist women', thus leaving it up to the individuals as to who and what they told me about. Other than that, I listened avidly to the women's chatter in situations such as neighbourhood bread-making.

To return to the point, the women having the conversation about their husbands' infidelity was expressive of some contempt, though the tone with which the women spoke remained light-hearted and jovial throughout. In general, there is a certain tolerance concerning men's 'playing' with tourists for short-term flings. This toleration does, though, seem to include an element of resign; there is a sense that their wives cannot do anything about it anyway. As one local girl explained: "Sometimes they know that their husband slept with a tourist girl when he comes back at 4 o'clock in the morning, but they don't think anything except 'now he's sleeping with me'!"

Some foreign women told me of being invited to their boyfriend's house and meeting his wife. A few foreign women even end up living in the man's home, or *pansiyon,* with his wife. The man would usually tell his tourist girlfriend that he had been forced into the marriage by his family when he was very young and that he had never loved his wife and no longer had relations with her. That seems to satisfy the foreign women who, because of their own ideals of love-marriage, consider his love-less marriage to be void. They still wonder, however, about the wife's stance on the matter, and for me also, following from what I said above concerning the difficulties of fieldwork on these matters, it was difficult to determine how much the village women feel emotions of jealousy towards the foreign women who spend time with their husbands.

It seems apt to suggest that since marriage in village tradition is a practical arrangement and does not include an ideal of love, then jealousy in the sense that many of the tourist women imagined to be an issue, is not prevalent. This was confirmed by a village girl who, in conversation about marriage and jealousy, told me: "Everyone marries, but they don't know love, they can't find love, they cannot love them, because they are not a good person, but they are obliged to live (with them). For that reason they do not get jealous, what ever is done, let it be done. It is not important at all in that case."[*trans.*] Hence, the differences between local and the Western tourists' understandings of love and marriage are clear. As Delaney has stated: 'In the customary American view, marriage is an expression of romantic love...; in the Turkish view, marriage is a contractual agreement of a particular kind, specifically sexual cohabitation for the purpose of procreation, and must be grounded in practical supports if it is to survive and thrive' (1991:123-4).

However, since these touristic relationships take place within the village, they are prone to much gossip. As I suggested above, it is these gossip networks which allow the women to be informed about what their man-folk are up to in the tourism realm. But it is also this gossip which seemed often to be more hurtful to village women than the actual behaviour of their husbands. When I asked Abbas's wife, for example, what the Goreme women thought about the tourist women having relationships in the village, she told me:

> They all ask "Will they marry, will she take your husband?" - They said it about me a lot. My husband went out with foreign women, especially one for a long time, and everyone said "He will marry her". But I knew he wouldn't, because we're happy like this. And we became friends, me and the girl, we slept in the house together, we ate together, I liked her a lot. But all the gossip, everyone saying she'll take her husband from her - that she wouldn't go...I know he did everything - I see everything and I know everything - of course I do, am I mad?! [*trans.*]

Besides the intense gossip endowing her with shame, these words also indicate the local women's fears about their husbands actually leaving them to be with a foreigner more permanently. It is largely accepted that the men will have their play with tourist women, but it becomes a different story altogether when the possibility arises that a woman's husband develops a longer-term relationship that might continue well into the future. The worst scenario for a married woman in Goreme is for her husband to actually leave her and go off with another woman, because then she is left with no choice but to wait alone and hope that eventually her husband comes back. One village girl told me:

> They can't say anything, because when they get divorced, their family doesn't want to take them back. It is difficult, very difficult. Because their family will ask what happened, and they will say my husband was unfaithful to me. 'That's natural' their family will say. 'It is normal' they will say. So they cannot come back, women cannot divorce. It is very difficult". [*trans.*]

The foreign women are not necessarily blamed for these occurrences. As one girl, whose father had left to live with a German woman some years ago, said: "We don't like them (foreign women), because they are breaking up families, but many of the men in Goreme don't tell them that they are married. Then by the time she finds out, she either doesn't believe it or she doesn't care".[*trans.*] However, because women are completely dependent financially on their husbands (see Starr 1984), it is devastating for her and her children if the husband leaves to be with another woman. It is also extremely dishonourable for him to leave his family in this way. Hence the attempts by some men to bring together their wife and their girlfriend under one roof; he can then have the best of both worlds. And the (economic) devastation caused to a woman if her husband leaves her also explains her acceptance of a foreign girlfriend

into the home. As her marriage is very much a practical arrangement, what takes place within it tends to be less concerned with emotion and more with the economics of the situation.

Developing business through romance

Foreign women are sometimes welcomed into families largely as providers of wealth, either directly through their investments and work in tourism businesses in the village or as a chance for the men they marry to go to their home country to work. As I indicated in previous chapters, local entrepreneurs have come to believe that they will sell more rooms, meals, tours and so on if they have a tourist woman working for them to 'hassle' potential customers. Similarly, many of the long-term tourist women are asked by either their boyfriends or by other men in the village to invest money and enter into partnership in a business in the village. In contrast to local women, then, whose value is in their gardening / household work and procreation capabilities, foreign women are forging new gender roles in the tourist realm of the village where their presence, work and investments are seen as increasing the success of many businesses.

Many of Goreme's tourism businesses were built on tourists' money or work. This process began with the first marriage between a villager and a tourist woman fifteen years ago (Abbas's brother and his Scottish bride - as mentioned in Chapter 4). The ideas and styles of these often successful businesses are used as prototypes by other entrepreneurs. Examples of style elements introduced by 'tourist managers' in *pansiyon*s include: dormitory rooms with many beds which can be rented cheaper than beds in double rooms; communal areas with floor cushions where tourists can 'hang around' and meet with each other; laundry services, and so on. Tourists have also opened cafes which sell cappuccino coffee, chocolate brownies and *vegemite* sandwiches. The Turks who work in these businesses learn how to make these 'tourist foods' and may later open their own business selling similar items. The latest 'craze' in the village, starting in 1998, is in 'Cyber cafes', offering Email and Internet services. The long-term tourists are frequently the innovators in tourism business (see also Chapter 5).

As we saw above, the women's narratives concerning their staying and 'investing' in their lives in 'romantic' Goreme demonstrate how they made an active choice to do something for themselves. They are attempting to improve their own lives by escaping the social and financial pressures which they perceive to be present in their home lives. The problem for them is that the longer they stay in Goreme, and the more involved they become with a Goreme man, the more they inevitably become involved

in the social and financial pressures associated with *his* home life. This was evident from parts of the conversation in a focus group interview I carried out with some Australian 'girlfriends' in the village. For example, a woman who runs her partner's *pansiyon* said:

> His whole family is taking money out of my pocket. I'm getting used for work. I mean I'm not doing anything that I wouldn't normally do anyway, but when it comes to being fair, I'm putting all the hard labour in.. and then most of it goes to his family.

Another woman, who was working at the time in a bar unconnected with her partner's business, said in reply:

> Yeah...I know it's their duty to look after their family and give them money and all that, but I find it very hard cause if he's got any money it goes to his family. He's never got any money, cause he's paying for them, and I find that very hard to cope with. So that's what makes me think that I can't come back here and work and just live to support his family, cause that's not the way it works for me. You work for yourself, and you work for your kids education, or to make your business better or whatever, but with his family, it's never going to work like that.

In more extreme cases, some tourist women have invested quite large sums of money in the businesses of their partners. A problem for them is that they cannot obtain any legal status regarding their investment, and if later on, their relationship breaks up, they have little power to take back their financial investments. What had started as a woman deciding and choosing to invest in bettering her own life-style, often turns later into a situation in which she feels trapped and largely dis-empowered in relation to both her partner and the whole Goreme context that she is in. One Australian woman who had been in the village for two years told me that:

> In the short-term relationships, the tourists are in control, because they're here for a short time and then they're off. But in the long term, the men are in control because somewhere along the line it enters into some sort of business relationship....And...whether it's cultural or financial or whatever, the men tend to control...and even women here who I'd thought of as being fairly strong, seem to be dominated by the men in that sense.

This woman was reflecting on her own situation in which she feared having lost tens of thousands of dollars to a villager. From the villagers' point of view, the fact that many women have entered into these joint business ventures has led to a belief that, when capital is lacking, the simple answer to building up a tourism business is, as one local man said, to: "Just meet a tourist girl and get her to invest in a business together telling her that you can make good money together".

The local women, too, many of whom we have seen to be marginalised through the men's romantic liaisons with the tourists, are tolerant for the sake of potential

economic gain. It has been frequently noted in discussions on gender and development, that, as the development of capitalism and entrepreneurship occurs, traditional gender roles limit women's access and rights to any property and 'business' for themselves, and the situation serves to reinforce women's dependency on men (Scott 1997; Sinclair 1997; Starr 1984). As we have seen in previous chapters, this has been the case in Goreme with the growth of small tourism enterprises. It follows that a way for Goreme women to include themselves and to have more control over the economics of the household might be to gain a daughter-in-law (over whom the mother-in-law has most direct and everyday control) who does have financial resources. Thus, a local woman's access to financial resources may be gained through the 'touristic liaisons' of her son, or in some cases, even her husband. So while these touristic relationships might be socially problematic for local women and villagers generally, they may be tolerated, or even sought, for economic reasons. This point was made evident in my fieldwork encounters with some of the poorer families of the village; mothers would suggest that I (as a representative of tourist / Western wealth) married their sons, and on one (rather unpleasant) occasion it became clear that a wife was trying to place me together with her husband. As we saw from the two accounts of the long-term tourist women who feel that their boyfriends are giving too much money to his family, it is always expected that any honourable man will provide for his kin, whether he is working in his home town or whether he is abroad and sends money back. It is not only for the men concerned, then, that foreign women are seen as being rich and a possible route to economic salvation

In addition, as with most other case study accounts of sexual/romantic liaisons between tourist women and local men (Cohen 1971; Meisch 1995, Pruitt and Lafont 1995; Zinovieff 1991), marriage to a foreign woman might be seen by the male partner, and possibly his family also, as a means of escape to the woman's home country and a prosperous future. Following the end of the chance for villagers to so easily and legitimately migrate to northern European countries (see Chapter 4), this has become fairly prevalent in Goreme. One day in the village, I heard a group of teenage boys wandering through the streets singing 'No woman, no visa' to the tune of Bob Marley's 'No woman, no cry'.

However, with a number of village men having been to northern Europe and Australia to work with their wives, the view of prosperity in a foreign land does not appear as rose-coloured as it used to. Many of these young men have returned with stories of finding it hard to gain employment there, and also of being treated badly among a hard and cold people. Along with this disillusionment came the break down of their marriage, and they returned. With tourism ever increasing in their home village,

then, it is gradually becoming considered to be a better prospect to stay and, if need be, obtain a foreign partner's help in the starting and running of a tourism business in the village. Any men working in the tourism realm who were explicit about wanting to marry a foreigner in order to 'get out' were 'outsider' men who, as I suggested above, do not have a standing of power within the village.

These, of course, are the key scenarios which give rise to popular as well as anthropological portrayals of the men in these relationships as the strategic 'players', and the women, stricken by romance, as the hapless victims of the men's exploitative tactics. Whilst these men do dream of escaping to a richer land, and they soon learn from others around them that to court and then marry a foreign woman is the easiest way to achieve this, it should be remembered that alongside this, the foreign women are also acting out of choice and strategy for a happy future. Furthermore, such male games have proven over time to clash with some men's real emotions felt for some of the women they have relationships with. I knew some men who were distraught when a long term girlfriend left them after finding out they had been repeatedly cheated on; that cheating probably being influenced by male camaraderie and competition.

Also, the tourist women's discourses convey little resentment towards the men, nor a sense that they have been outwardly wronged by the Goreme men. Just as the men generally convey the idea that it is fair and 'normal' that the villagers should take the opportunities presented to them through their relationships with foreign women to better their life chances through joint business, the women do not feel that they are victims. One woman said, "If I had more money, I would probably give him some of it, but I don't have any more money...I've got no money cause I've given it all to him... but it's the same as home, if I was going out with someone there, I'd put money into his business there also, its the same". Since the women do often start out economically stronger than their partners anyway, most of them express an idea that it is fair that they put money into making a life together; "If you're going to make a life together...that's normal isn't it? I mean...you get married, and most people get married for life, so you think 'this is my life', so you're going to put money in!".

Today, then, after stories of unhappiness and lack of work in those foreign lands, many couples are choosing to stay in Goreme to build businesses together in tourism. Along with the innovative ideas these foreign residents have regarding tourism business, and the changes to the 'landscape' of Goreme's tourism which result from those ideas, the women's working together with their husbands is demonstrating and creating a new type of gender role within the village. Instead of entering their husband's home and working in the traditional way within the household together with the mother-in-law, these new wives are working together with their husbands in the

tourism realm of the village. The husband's family gains from the work of their new type of *gelin* (bride), not from her work within the household, but from the financial gains she brings in from the tourism realm. Her work in the tourism realm is condoned because it is understood that that is what she knows best. After all, she is a tourist herself.[9]

Moreover, as she is working in the tourism realm, she is able, like the local men working in tourism, to live half way between the tourism realm and the 'back' realm of her family. Whilst she is expected to spend some time with her female relatives in the village, and to attend the village and family celebrations such as weddings and religious holidays, when she wants to escape back to her own world, she always has the excuse that she has some tourist customers to attend to. The presence of foreign women and the romantic relations they develop together with local men are thus forging new ideas about gender in the village; from their beginning as romantic liaisons where young local men are learning about the possibility of courtship and romance, through to marriage and the development of new business in the village along with a new 'type' and role of *gelin* (bride).

Developing Romance: Changing Village Life

In this chapter I have discussed the ways in which gender identities and ideologies are re-negotiated and moulded at different points of the intimate relationships between Goreme men and tourist women. Rather than merely studying partners' retrospective narratives after relationships have taken place, which tend to emphasise misunderstanding and abusive power relationships, usually in favour of the men, I have viewed the relationships as processes throughout which the expectations and power of each partner are constantly negotiated. Looking at how the relationships begin in the fun and playful realm of the tourist sphere, and following them through to longer-lasting relationships and marriage, allows us to see the choices and strategies of both the men and women involved, together with the part that the anti-strategy of romance and emotion plays throughout. By re-negotiating gender conditions set in their home context, many men in Goreme are experiencing and developing a new taste for romance, as well as exploring ways of using that romance to develop tourism business in the village. Similarly, foreign women are *choosing* to stay and negotiate new roles for themselves in the village, new roles which themselves challenge and re-

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[9] Even after fifteen years of marriage in the village, and becoming a Muslim and taking the Muslim name of Ayse, the Scottish woman previously mentioned is generally known as *'Turist Ayse'*. I also frequently heard her children being lovingly called 'Giaour tohumu' (seed of a giaour) by their Goremeli relatives.

work the values and ideologies regarding gender identities throughout the wider context of Goreme.

However, for reasons discussed above, many problems and misunderstandings occur between the partners because of clashing concepts of gender identities and expectations. As the women's status within the village changes from that of 'tourist' to relative 'insider', so it becomes necessary and expected that she corresponds more with the 'traditional' life and indeed the traditional gender relations of the village. Foreign women therefore consider themselves to be more empowered in the earlier stages of their relationships. As the relationships move towards the possibility of marriage and life-long commitment, the identity and status of each partner in relation to each other, as well as their status in relation to the context of gender ideologies in the village, are very much under negotiation.

Some men in the village learn from these negotiations, and decide after years of fun and play with tourists, to marry a Turkish girl. One young man who, after many tourist girlfriends had finally married a girl from the village, told me: "Maybe we've lost some of our culture, our traditions, but still we have some...I've lived with tourists all this time, learned about them, their very different culture - even if I have some of your culture now, it's very different. You can't tell a Western woman 'No, you must stay at home, you can't go alone to the disco. Anyway, they don't listen, they just leave". Interestingly, though, this man married a village girl whom he chose carefully for her non typicality regarding the usual conformity to gender identity in Goreme. He wished to marry a girl who understood village expectations but who would also in some ways be able to fit in with what he had learned through his relations in the tourist sphere, regarding work, travel, and socialising. His and possibly many other Goreme men's gender repertoires have expanded to include some sort of blend of local and tourist gender ideologies, a blend which is also serving to gradually re-work gender roles and identities of local women in the village. Through the romantic developments between tourist women and local men, then, tourism is creating something very new in Goreme, not only through change in terms of economics and livelihood, but in the gender roles and relations which are at the very centre of villagers' lives. In the next chapter, I will turn more to the issue of 'place' and will discuss the new that has arisen in consideration of the continuation of Goreme as a 'tourist site'.

8

THE CONTINUATION OF GOREME AS A 'TOURIST SITE'

- Politics, Performance and Place.

Belgian tourist: Goreme isn't beautiful anymore. There are all the fairy-chimneys and caves which is nice, but everything is in English, and all the boards and names of the pansiyons...Things like the Flintstones cave bar, I don't like it - it's for more typical tourists...I suppose it's good to have for those tourists who like it, but also it's good to have more natural places...In ten years time, there will be more signs, neon, it will lose everything that *we* come for.

Ministry of Culture Official, Preservation Office, Nevsehir: The local people are not cultured, they are villagers, they are uneducated. They only want to sell things, they don't know what tourists really want. Tourists don't want to buy carpets, they want to see history and culture. The Goreme people don't understand our preservation project because they are uncultured. We can't teach them how to protect the place - they make things ugly.[*trans.*]

> ***Goremeli* villager / pansiyon owner:** If I was Mayor, I would restore the whole of Goreme, and look after all the old people here, that's more important. My friends come from other towns and they say 'Hey, Goreme looks nice, all the roads and flowers', and I think 'Oh, it's so stupid'. We don't need asphalt, we don't need flowers...All the rocks are falling down and the people have a lot of problems. If I was Mayor, I would help those people first, and the second thing, tourism. Why? Because we need all those people, they lived all their lives in caves, they are our ancestors.

It has become almost a truism that tourism represents 'a totalising modernity that tarnishes all it touches, destroying 'authentic cultures' and polluting earthly paradises' (Abram et.al, 1997). Indeed, a question underpinning all of the above quotations is the question of Goreme's future, and whether Goreme is being 'ruined' by tourism, though the meanings in this question differ for each of these 'interested' viewpoints. The continuation of any tourist site is the product of both global processes and trends together with local concerns and practices, and it is the particular convergence of these two sets of issues in the 'meeting ground' of Goreme which forms the focus of this chapter.

Through tourism, places are imbued with multiple simultaneous meanings which might be both contradictory and contentious. As Sack has pointed out, 'creating tourist places embeds the tension of commodities into the landscape' (1992:157). This is

exemplified in the quote above from the tourist, for whom the tension embedded in the landscape as it is 'commoditised' for tourism is conveyed as the contradiction between the caves and the tourist sign-boards, between the natural and the neon. A further example is in the obvious contention between the meanings in the Goreme landscape for both the Ministry of Culture representative and the Goreme villager quoted above. Indeed, rather than being an 'empty meeting ground' (MacCannell 1992), it seems that Goreme has become a hotbed of communication between global and local processes, and is a place full of vibrant negotiation concerning the future of the village, the villagers and the tourism there. In this, I would agree with Lindknud in his suggestion that rather than being situations of 'authorities' / 'developers' versus 'locals' / 'affected', rural tourism settings are indeed 'arenas for negotiations of social identities' (1998:142).

Rather than viewing the tensions and negotiations which arise in the tourism context as necessarily threatening to some imagined stability, we should perhaps aim at unravelling some of the conditions and parameters within which these negotiations are played out. It is precisely these negotiations which create the 'new' in tourism, and as I explained in the 'Introduction' chapter, there is a need to get out of the corner that some anthropologists have argued themselves into regarding the issues of 'authenticity' and 'impact'. In this chapter, I will show how this may be possible by undoing the categories and dichotomies which fix tourists and tourist places, and which seem to underwrite much of the literature on tourism. The aim thereby is to recognise the full complexity of the relationship between tourism and tourist locales. This discussion is thus intended to draw the main themes and issues which have been discussed in previous chapters together, in order to consider the continuation of Goreme as a 'tourist site'. The discussion will begin with an overview of the key political influences and processes in the representation and construction of tourist Goreme.

The politics of representation and place

We saw in Chapter 2 that the 'sacralised' (MacCannell 1976) aspects of Cappadocia - the features marked off in tourism images and myths - are its 'lunar' landscape, its Christian (Byzantine) history, and the contemporary 'troglodyte' way of life in villages such as Goreme. The growth of tourism has led to an aesthetic valuing of all of these 'features', and has hence served to promote their preservation. This preservation is manifested through the Goreme National Park and regional Preservations Committee (under the national Ministry of Culture), both set up in the

1980s with the broad aim of preserving and restoring the 'historical and cultural heritage' of the area.

The regulations of the National Park and the Preservation Committee can be viewed as the regional filter of a more global preservation rhetoric. For example, they closely follow the decrees of international organisations such as UNESCO, which designated the Goreme Museum a World Heritage Site in 1985. Cappadocia is largely represented in past and present tourism promotion literature as a Byzantine / Christian site (Chapter 2), and so the preservation rhetoric surrounding the region's 'heritage' is heavily focused on the hundreds of caved Byzantine churches in the area, specifically, the Goreme Open-Air Museum. Heritage sites such as the Goreme Museum are socially and politically constructed (Allcock 1995; Hollinshead1997; Urry1990), and, as they are also frequently the product of a nation's efforts to construct an official 'monumental past' (Herzfeld1991)[1], they are often points of contestation between local, national and international levels of discourse. The inclusion of the contemporary village of Goreme in the National Park and as a 'monument' worthy of preservation is very much a contentious issue in this sense.

Whilst most preservation and restoration work is focused on the Byzantine churches, National Park policy is also expressive of an active interest in the contemporary cave-habitation and way of life in the villages of the area. For example, a leaflet prepared in the mid 1980s by the National Park directorate states that the aim of the Park is the preservation of the 'traditional view' in Goreme, and that includes: 'The picturesque village life, the activities of the villagers, the small volcanic farming areas and the farming methods and the crops'.[2] This inclusion of the 'picturesque village life' was initiated through the development of a 'Park Plan' which was prepared by members of the United States National Park Service Planning Team on special assignment to the Turkish Government in the late 1960s. This team of American architects and planners were obviously quite taken with what they describe as the 'vital living landscape with deep traditional ties to the spectacular "Chimneys of the Fairies" and cliffs that define the area'.[3] It was hence deemed that:

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[1] Drost also makes note of UNESCO policy to open designated World Heritage Sites to visitors 'so that international and national heritage identities may be strengthened in the public mind' (1996:481). See also Tomlinson (1991) who discusses the point that the discourses of bodies such as UNESCO and the Turkish Ministry of Culture are *nationalising* discourses.

[2] A longer extract from this leaflet is quoted in Chapter 2.

[3] This is quoted from the Goreme Park Plan Report, prepared for the Turkish Government in the late 1960s (exact year not stated). A copy of this report was located in the library of the Turkish Ministry of Tourism, Ankara.

> Differing in concept from the usual National Park where park lands are for the most part held in government ownership, Goreme National Park is proposed as a zoned entity with the bulk of the park designated lands remaining in their present ownership. Only those lands needed to protect natural and historic values, and those required for the construction and protection of public use facilities will be taken into Government ownership. (ibid.)

Within the National Park, even though the villagers are still officially in private ownership of their houses and businesses, all 'rock' structures have been appropriated under government control so that the Preservations Committee may impart regulations concerning building and alteration to the fairy-chimneys and cave-homes. The romantic (and orientalist (Said, 1978)) view of the contemporary cave-life expounded by international discourses such as the US National Parks Service and travel literature (see Chapter 2) is thus filtered directly through the more localised rhetoric of the Goreme National Park and Ministry of Culture Preservations office.

There does appear, however, to be a certain amount of contradiction, and perhaps ambivalence, concerning the preservation rhetoric surrounding the contemporary cave-culture embedded in the landscape. This was partly explained in Chapter 2 where it was noted that in the early travel and tourism literature a far heavier emphasis is placed on the Byzantine churches and their frescoes than on the Muslim Turkish cave-life in the region. A myth emerged (and I say 'myth' because very few tourists that I spoke to included the Byzantine history as a reason for their coming to Cappadocia) of Cappadocia being of touristic interest primarily as a Byzantine site. Indeed, a firm belief has developed among villagers and most Turkish authorities that Western tourists are on a sort of pilgrimage, coming to Cappadocia in order to visit shrines to their Christian ancestors: 'As the centuries progressed and the region became increasingly Islamicised, Christian residents of Cappadocia gradually disappeared. Now, though, the wheel has turned full circle and many of the tourist visitors to this region are Christians trying to make renewed contact with their roots'[4].

In addition, as I suggested in Chapter 6, there appears to be a sense of shame associated with the contemporary cave-life of the region. The government policy (*AFET* / Disaster Relief Directorate) during the 1960s and 70s to subsidise villagers' re-housing from cave-houses and into more 'modern' concrete-built housing was, I would suggest, a possible manifestation of this shame; cave-dwellers do not sit comfortably with the images which an otherwise rapidly modernising nation would like to portray. Whole sections of Goreme village were declared 'disaster zones' and

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[4] Quoted from a Cappadocia promotion supplement to Turkish Daily News, 1997.

appropriated under the National Disaster Relief Directorate. Hence, deemed too dangerous for habitation owing to severe erosion and the threat of collapse, many cave and 'fairy-chimney' houses were evacuated and their residents re-housed in government-built houses at the lower, flatter end of the village. At that time a general move towards more 'modern' and 'prestigious' housing was instigated and that lower part of the village remains into the late 1990s as the main 'building zone' (although construction there must also be granted permission by the relevant authorities).

When tourism really got under way during the late eighties, however, many of these re-housed villagers began to reclaim and restore their old homes for the purpose of making *pansiyon* businesses. Although all evacuated houses officially belong to the state treasury, this kind of activity has largely been tolerated because it has meant that such old properties are restored and maintained. And this tolerance, along with the recent removal by the Department of Infrastructure of the 'disaster zones', is indicative of an increasingly powerful interest in the preservation of the old village.

The preservation rhetoric surrounding the village is further complicated by the fact that the Goreme municipality (*Belediye)* is primarily responsible for local planning, and so the local Mayor is also a powerful authority in these matters. The engineer employed full time by the municipality to control the ground planning of the village told me that tension is very high between the expanding of the village on the one hand, through construction of housing and tourism business, and the 'protection' of the village from over-expansion on the other. This tension arises largely in that each of the 'interested' authorities has their own political, and perhaps personal, agenda. There is remarkably little co-operation between the National Parks directorate (under the state Forestry Department), the Preservation Committee (under the national Ministry of Culture), and the Goreme Municipality office. Any political figure is under the constant pressure of not being re-elected if he or she does not appear to be working, at least in part, towards the peoples' interests; social connections and bribes thus play a large part in what building and business is or is not permitted.[5] Also, however, it is the governmental departments which ultimately have the most powerful say in building matters in the village, and as conveyed in the quote above from the Ministry of Culture representative, a prominent view of the wider regional and national authorities is that the villagers are "uncultured" and "they make things ugly".

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[5] This is the main cause of the bitter criticism surrounding the enormous number of deaths in the recent earthquake in Northwest Turkey; in order that they may be re-elected, politicians allegedly let earthquake-protection building regulations slip.

The National Park plan in action



Fig. 8.1a Municipality workers placing telephone and electric cables underground so that, in accordance with the Goreme National Park plan, wires and pylons do not obscure the "natural" landscape.



Fig. 8.1b The top floors of this hotel situated on the edge of the National Park are removed so that it will no longer be visible from within the Park.

Depending on each villager's politics, they either like what the Mayor is doing to the village, or they criticise him for doing things just for show and for his own profit rather than for the good of the whole village. This scepticism concerning the Mayor is likely to be an aspect of the scepticism and suspicion generally shown by villagers towards any 'authority'[6], but is also part of a developing discourse about what is 'best' for the village. One debate concerns the pros and cons of the Mayor's concentrating on making the village centre 'more beautiful' for tourism, but to the neglect of the 'back' or residential areas, and in particular roads, which the villagers more often use. A case in point here is that mentioned briefly in Chapter 2, where, because of the improvements made to the central road running through the village, traffic - and especially the large tour buses - move more quickly along that road, and the road has therefore become extremely dangerous for the villagers to drive their donkeys and horse-carts. Now 'banned' from the main roads, villagers on donkeys and horse-drawn vehicles are left to skirt around the centre using the badly conditioned dirt roads. According to villagers' complaints, the municipality rarely pays any attention at all to these back roads.

Nonetheless, the prominent move of the villagers to restore and make tourist accommodation from their previously abandoned cave homes is indicative itself of an increasing awareness among the villagers of the aesthetic and economic value of their cave houses and 'cave-life'. It is generally cheaper and easier to build and move into the new area at the lower end of the village because of the lengthy and difficult process of obtaining permission from the Preservations Committee to make any alteration to houses in the old sector of the village. However, the old sector is gradually being given a new lease of life with more and more properties being bought and sold for residential as well as business/tourism purposes. A trend is occurring whereby those villagers who have by now made some financial capital from tourism,

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[6] This suspicion of political authority is often associated with peasant societies, and is discussed in relation to Turkish villagers by Stirling (1965) where it is noted that villagers are highly aware, since the instigation of the political party system in the 1950's, that winning village votes became the primary aim of all officials. "Very noticeably", states Stirling, "after 1950, officials in villages became more polite, more concerned to please, more willing to discuss village needs and desires, and less peremptory and paternalistic. In other words, to the roles of maintainer of law and order, legitimate robber and arbitrary universal provider, the government added that of vote catcher"(1965:269). Further, he adds that "No villager doubts that officials are all primarily interested in their own advantage" (ibid.:268).

An example of this scepticism was illustrated to me frequently in Goreme when the villagers 'rubbished' the announcements coming from the municipality office over the village loud-speaker system. Through the crackled sound it was often difficult for me to make out what was being said, so I would always ask whoever I was sitting with what the announcement was about: "Uh, just some nonsense from the Mayor", would be the typical answer.

and also foreigners or long-term tourists who seek a romantic retreat in Goreme[7], are restoring and moving into the old cave houses. Indeed, there is a general discourse developing also among villagers themselves about the need for 'protection' of the village's natural and historic beauty:

> We need to keep Goreme, we have to try not to destroy Goreme, we have a lot of future in Goreme. I mean, all of Turkey has a future in Goreme - I'm not just thinking about ourselves and profit...but the old houses and caves are what's really important. If you build new buildings then I think I'm going to do another business - it's really sad, what is happening to this place now.(Goremeli pansiyon owner)

Not all of the villagers engage with tourist discourse and official rhetoric in the same way, however, and they certainly do not hold the same 'romantic' aesthetic evaluation of the caves and the old village streets as most tourists do. This was illustrated to me during my fieldwork when I painted scenes of the old houses in the 'back' streets of the village. When I sometimes left out certain aspects of the scene, such as loudspeakers and pylons, which I viewed as unattractive blips on the otherwise romantic landscape, women friends and children who surrounded me, would always point out the omitted parts wanting me to fill them in. Such features of the landscape which indicated 'modernity' were shown here to hold quite a different aesthetic value for the villagers compared with myself.

Furthermore, villagers often feel restricted with regard to what they can and cannot do to their own houses (similar processes occurring in rural Greece are recorded by Herzfeld 1991 and Williams and Papamichael 1995). In conversation with a carpet salesman, I was told:

> Suppose you have a cave, and you have been living there many years, and your toilet is falling down, and you want to build a new one, and all those officials come to you and tell you cannot do it...And probably they are from Ankara or Nevsehir, and they are just sitting at their desk, and probably they have never been to Goreme. It's becoming a big problem. They say 'this is the rule, it is forbidden, it is the law'. But it may not match with people's life.

This interference with the practicalities of their homes and lives is one problem for the villagers. Added to this, is the fact that it is *external* authorities who are interfering with and appear to have gained significant control over their lives. The carpet salesman continued:

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[7] It is only recently that non-Turkish nationals can legally own property in the country, as increasing numbers of foreigners are now beginning to buy old 'cave' properties in the back streets of the village and restore them as houses and businesses. Though foreign-owned business can create friction because of competition with villagers' businesses (see Chapter 5), during the time of my fieldwork many villagers were keen to sell houses to 'tourists' if they could sell to them for a higher price. For discussion of similar processes occurring on a much larger scale, see Waldren's (1996, 1997) accounts of 'outsiders' moving into the old village of Deia in Mallorca.

> I wish the director of the national park was someone from the region, who knows the region, not someone who is from somewhere else. So I wished he lived here, that he was a man from the village, so that he could help the people. I wish the people could live in Goreme for longer, and their future generations - so they need new homes, so it must be permitted by the Ministry or the director or whoever does that.

Besides this sense of pressure from external authorities, there is also an acknowledgement among villagers that this aesthetic valuing and preservation rhetoric surrounding their cave-homes stems from tourism. When I commented on the darkness of a young woman's cave kitchen, for example, she said, "Yes, but we are forbidden to make new windows or shelves or anything in the rock. Before it wasn't forbidden, but when tourists came here it became forbidden". Another villager told me: "In some ways we are lucky because tourism has brought work and money, but there are also many forbidden things, and expensive things. We can't do anything - we need permission for everything. Even on little alterations to our houses we must use the right stone and so on, and we can't build new caves for the animals".

Indeed, many villagers have been brought in front of the law as a consequence of alterations undertaken on their rock houses, many of which were carried out to convert the houses into tourist *pansiyons*. The building and alteration legislation hence manifests itself in the face of tourism as a series of contradictory binds for villagers. Firstly, villagers' experiences of a lack of choice and control over the homes that they live and work in are recognised as beginning, as the young woman quoted above said, 'when tourists came'. However, because tourism brings chances of prosperity to the village, the villagers themselves also take on board these same values concerning the need for preservation and protection of the village. The tourism which brings villagers the chance of financial gain is the same tourism which brings the building regulations that may deny entrepreneurs permission to build or improve their tourism businesses.

The conflicts and negotiations surrounding the preservation of the village take various directions, then, even among the local people themselves. So, whilst at first glance, official rhetoric concerning preservation of the old village appears as a simple relation of 'authority' versus 'villagers', at times, the preservation rhetoric may be used by the villagers, for example, in their competition tactics to try to 'harm' each others' businesses. As I pointed out in Chapter 5, pansiyon owners may alert the authorities to some 'damaging' and illegal building work carried out by a neighbouring pansiyon in order to have a large fine or even prison sentence incurred on the 'competition'. In one particular case, a pansiyon owner from the village was imprisoned for a year because he white-washed over a faded Byzantine fresco in order to 'clean' a cave-room in his pansiyon. I was told that it was actually villagers who lived in houses surrounding the

pansiyon who had alerted the authorities, in the hope that the pansiyon might be closed down; they did not like the presence of a bar and *giaour (*infidel) activity so close to their homes. I was also told by some villager entrepreneurs that it was good that he was put in prison because it served as a warning to villagers generally, and it conveys the importance of the preservation of the 'old aspects' in Goreme.

These complexities, both in the official rhetoric surrounding Goreme and in the way this rhetoric is filtered through local values, discourse and practice, clearly convey the tensions created by the conflicting sets of values regarding Goreme local identity and place. On one level, this hotbed of cultural negotiation is tempered and obscured by the villagers' more mundane concerns of the practicalities of their day-to-day lives. On another level, though, the theme of preservation and 'protection' of the natural and traditional landscape of Goreme forms a highly visible seam which runs right through tourist, official and villager discourse concerning Goreme, and is hotly contested.

Does the past have a future?

Further illustrations of the workings of preservation rhetoric include the setting up of a 'Save Goreme Committee' by a Dutch man who has managed a *pansiyon* in the village for many years, and a section in the recently updated version of the *Lonely Planet* guidebook entitled 'A Future for Goreme?'. Such sections are not a usual feature in the *Lonely Planet* series, but the writer, in this case an English woman, had spoken to the advocator of the 'Save Goreme Committee' and felt keen to promote awareness among the visiting backpackers of the cause of Goreme's preservation. The point that both of these advocates of the preservation of Goreme are from northern Europe seems quite significant here. We have seen that it was western travel writers and US planners who romanticised about the "picturesque" rural cave-life in the village in the first place. Hence, the preservation rhetoric surrounding Goreme village is not only a manifestation of western visitors' *orientalist* tendencies (discussed in Chapter 2), but is also part of the global 'socio-environmental movements' which have grown enormously in the past twenty years, and advocate environmentalism and cultural preservation (Mowforth and Munt 1998).

These global movements are self-justifying in that they believe themselves to be the key to the sustainability of the world's natural and cultural resources. Likewise, the associated 'new wave' of culture and environment-oriented tourism is suggested by many to be the answer to sustainable tourism development; this is the reasoning behind green, eco or 'good' tourism (Wood and House, 1993, see also Sharpley and

Sharpely 1997; Wheeller 1997). However, as Mowforth and Munt (1998) point out, these global socio-environmentalist movements and the associated tourisms are hegemonic in themselves, in that they promote these values as global *needs* and in turn are blatantly neglectful of local voices, and also because they advocate environmental and cultural preservation as ends in themselves. Indeed, one objective of the UNESCO convention drafted in 1972 is 'to recognise and preserve natural and cultural properties throughout the world that have outstanding universal value to all of humanity' (cited in Drost 1996).

These same values were frequently expressed by the many tourists I encountered during my fieldwork. One middle-aged woman (though originally from urban Turkey, she was married to an Englishman and had been running offshore business from Guernsey for many years) who I got chatting to about my study in Goreme immediately exclaimed, "Negative! Tourism is all negative! It just ruins people and places!". We were at a tourists' full-moon barbecue organised by a village tour agency in one of Goreme's fairy-chimney filled valleys, and when she said this the others standing around the fire, mostly younger backpackers, began to look slightly uncomfortable. They did even more so when I said, "Well, in that case, everyone stop being tourists and go home right now". There was a stony silence. This silence was indicative of the discomfort caused by their being labelled tourists, and also of the responsibility they had to admit regarding the 'ruin', as it was being described, that tourism and thus they themselves bring to places like Goreme.

The above mentioned 'Save Goreme Committee' and the article entitled 'A Future for Goreme?' are also comprised of the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in these values and practices. Besides the special piece in the *Lonely Planet,* the writer also wrote an article of the same title for *In Focus* magazine, the publication of the organisation 'Tourism Concern'. In this article she was scathing of local entrepreneurs who have 'eyes only to turning a quick buck and landing themselves a tourist girlfriend' (Yale 1996). Moreover, hearing of some of the politics surrounding tourism, and particularly the hotel-building in Goreme, she was led to 'tremble for Goreme's future'. She does, though, at least acknowledge in this article the contradictions between her "personal feelings" and "concern for Goreme's well-being", and the fact that she writes for the guide book which is probably one of the most powerful forces in bringing tourists to Goreme.

The advocate of the Save Goreme committee engages similar contradictions, though for him, profits from current tourism should be used to restore the old village,

rather than the AFET and tourism organisations continuing to construct new buildings "which are spoiling the natural beauty of the environment". He argues that, rather than being moved out into safer new houses, the villagers should be kept in their chimney houses so that the houses and the culture contained therein will be retained. If the houses are neglected, the houses will ruin, and "then, this natural and architecturally historical unique monument - a natural open-air museum - will no longer be around for future generations to see" (Leyssen, Turkish Daily News 1993). Like the *Lonely Planet* writer, Leyssen is clearly advocating that Goreme become something akin to a living museum. Many of the tourists in Goreme express similar ideas, and here we are also reminded of the 'trope of the vanishing primitive', illustrated in the anecdote concerning *"pekmez"* in Chapter 6. In further illustration, an Australian woman told me that she "would hate the Goreme people to all be driving cars in twenty years. Donkeys and horses and carts are much nicer. It's nice for time to stand still in some places".

Indeed, both tourist discourse and the official rhetoric expounding the 'need' for cultural preservation in Goreme show a marked desire for the village to somehow remain static, in order to suit their aesthetic ideals of Goreme 'village life'. The 'preservation' orders surrounding Goreme's rock structures, cave-houses and village way of life are clearly an attempt to transform this village into a tourist aesthetic ideal of village life (Tucker 1997). And as I mentioned above, this aestheticisation of the 'old' village is also becoming filtered through villager discourse. Abbas, for example, told me:

> It was better before, 10 or 15 years ago, because it was more like real Goreme - the old life, donkeys, it was different for the tourists and that's what they came to see. Now the tourists don't like it because the young people are also like tourists, and all the new buildings and cars and so on. It isn't different for the tourists now so they don't like it. And it'll get bigger and bigger - with more tourism things, because the old people will die and the young are like tourists themselves, so it will become like Urgup. Goreme's gone, its finished. I miss the old times when people rode donkeys to the garden.

Yet, despite this permeation of nostalgia and the urge for preservation throughout Goreme's tourism, it is clear from the discussions throughout this thesis that Goreme is anything but 'an empty meeting ground'; cultural negotiations between tourists, villagers and the various authorities are clearly vibrant in their intensity, and social relationships among villagers, and also incomers, are alive with the push and pull of ties and contentions just as any rural village might be. Of course, all of this means that Goreme cannot remain in any sort of 'static' state, 'protected' from change and the perceived homogenising forces of modernity, and especially, tourism. Indeed, for

anyone who stays in the village for a prolonged length of time, there is more than anything a sense of very rapid change in Goreme: the changes in the seasons; marriages; deaths; a sense of the transition from a poor past to a hopefully prosperous future; the yearly opening, closing, reorganisation and changing in appearance of the many tourism businesses; and so on.

In addition, there are some perhaps more culturally profound changes, such as transformations in the village marriage celebrations which seemed to occur just in the two years of my main fieldwork period. Village wedding celebrations would usually take place over three days, with separate dancing parties (*dugun*) for men and women occurring in the courtyards of the respective family's home. Marriage in urban Turkey, however, has become 'westernised' in that it usually takes place in a 'wedding salon', often attached to a hotel, and comprises a party lasting for one evening, which men and women, and the bride and groom, attend together.[8] During the first year of my fieldwork the son of the village Mayor was married and, perhaps considering a usual village wedding inappropriate for such a politically conspicuous occasion, the Mayor arranged a 'modern-style' marriage party on the swimming pool terrace of the 'Turist Hotel'.[9] Consequently, numerous similar wedding parties were held in the same hotel during the next two years of my fieldwork, even though it is difficult, and at the least uncomfortable, for village women to attend such a party because of the associations of *gezmek* attached to such an event (see Chapter 4).

We saw particularly in Chapter 5 that because of the 'event-rich' quality of village life rendering all change highly visible, villagers tend constantly to copy each others' patterns of behaviour in an effort to remain equal. Whilst such changes may clash quite profoundly with other cultural values (such as codes of shame and honour surrounding women's movement in the village) the 'copying' can snowball so rapidly that the new changes quickly become normalised into the new *adet (*custom). Schiffauer notes similar processes of change in the Turkish villages he studied: 'Because status is involved, imperatives are set, which cannot easily be changed even if they seem to be irrational' (1993:75).

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[8] For more detailed accounts of wedding celebrations in Turkey, see Delaney 1991; Magnarella 1974.

[9] This particular hotel is the subject of much controversy in the village. It blatantly defies the preservation and building regulations (especially as some whole fairy-chimneys were apparently knocked down to make way for its construction), but it is joint-owned by the Goreme Municipality office and a governmental hotel chain, so villagers frequently denounce the dubious way that permission was obtained for its construction.

Other similar processes of change in Goreme might include a current trend whereby children are sent to private schools outside of the village where it is believed they will be better educated in English and computer skills. This trend was begun by a few tourism entrepreneurs in the village, who on one hand, became able to afford such schools for their children, and who on the other hand, believed that this education would equip their children better for tourism work, or indeed some other non-agricultural work, in the future. Importantly, as it is girls as well as boys who are beginning to be sent to these schools, the trend might have profound influences on village gender roles and relations in the future. Yet another change occurring in village life, as mentioned in Chapter 4, concerns villagers' new-found ability to relax their agricultural efforts since they can now afford to buy most of what they produced in the market (we are reminded once again of the argument I overheard between Abbas and his wife about whether to burn the wheat field and be done with it).

A final change which is important to mention here is the natural erosion of the fairy chimneys and cave houses, which forever continues to alter and remould the Goreme landscape. The restrictions determined by the Ministry of Culture Preservations Committee more or less forbid any new digging into the rock in the Goreme area, and yet it is such continuous new digging which has allowed populations to be resident here for centuries. As older chimneys and caves collapse, new cave-homes are dug out and that is most likely how the village of Goreme today has come to be situated two kilometres from the original monastic site of Goreme - now the Open-Air Museum. Though technology is currently being used to rebuild some fairy chimneys containing the best Byzantine frescoes (see Figure 8.2), this restoration process is too costly for extensive restoration in the area. By forbidding further digging out of new cave-homes, therefore, the preservation laws are actually preventing the continuation of Goreme, the place, because the village will gradually, and inevitably, be eroded away. A villager entrepreneur made this point when he was complaining to me about the preservation restrictions in the area:

> It's forbidden here and forbidden there...the thing is that if the carving of the rock was forbidden in Christian times, we would never have those churches!...When you go to the valleys you can see big rocks which are not touched, which have never been carved. So people should be allowed to carve them, to use them as storage at least, or later on it could be used for other purposes, so that maybe a hundred years later we can leave something for the future people - so they can come and visit our homes.

Both physical and social changes, short-term and long-term, are rife in Goreme, and such change is inevitable. Therefore, any efforts to somehow freeze the village in

'Disneyland tells us that technology can give us more reality than nature can' (Eco 1987).

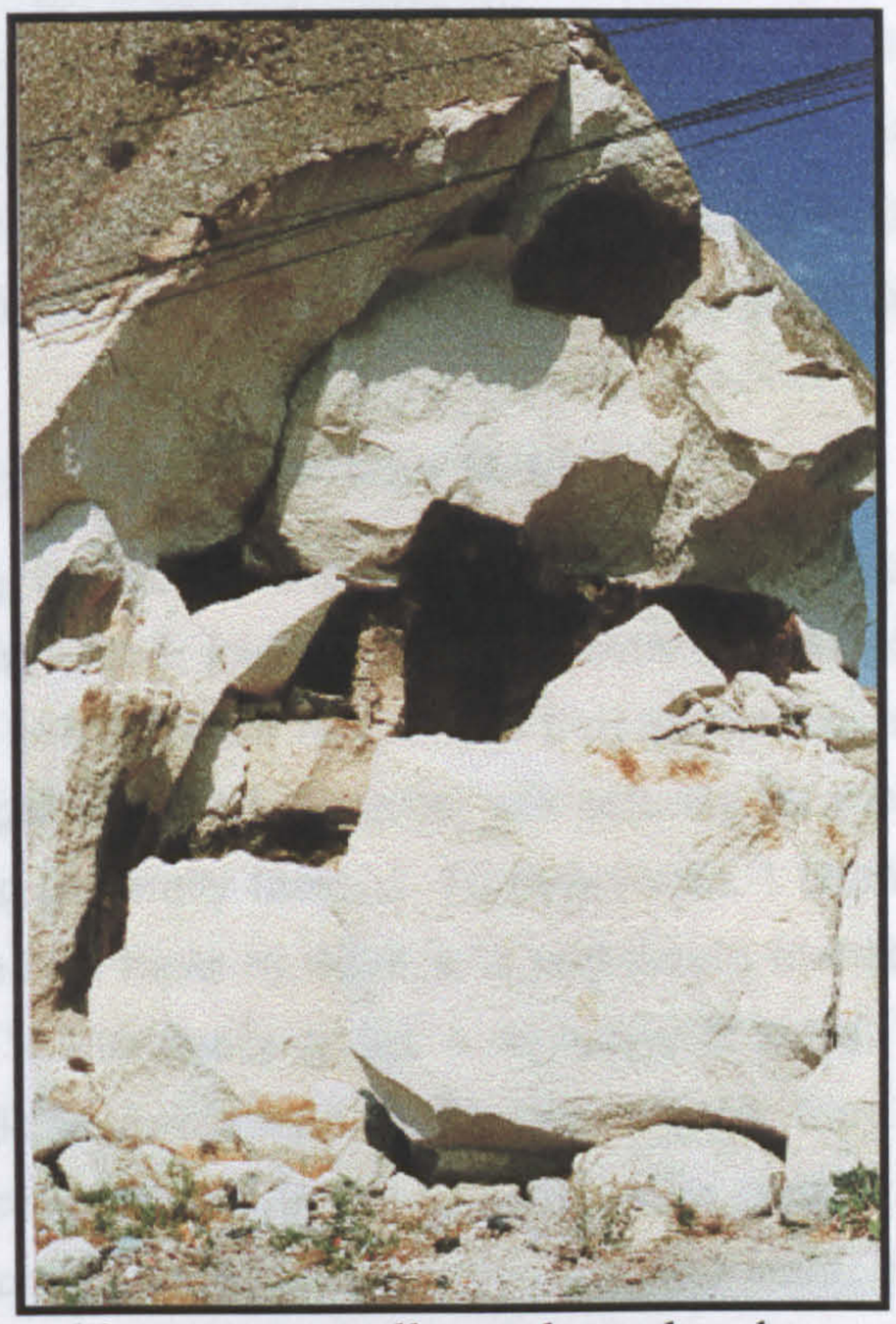


Fig. 8.2a The fairy chimneys naturally erode so that they eventually collapse.

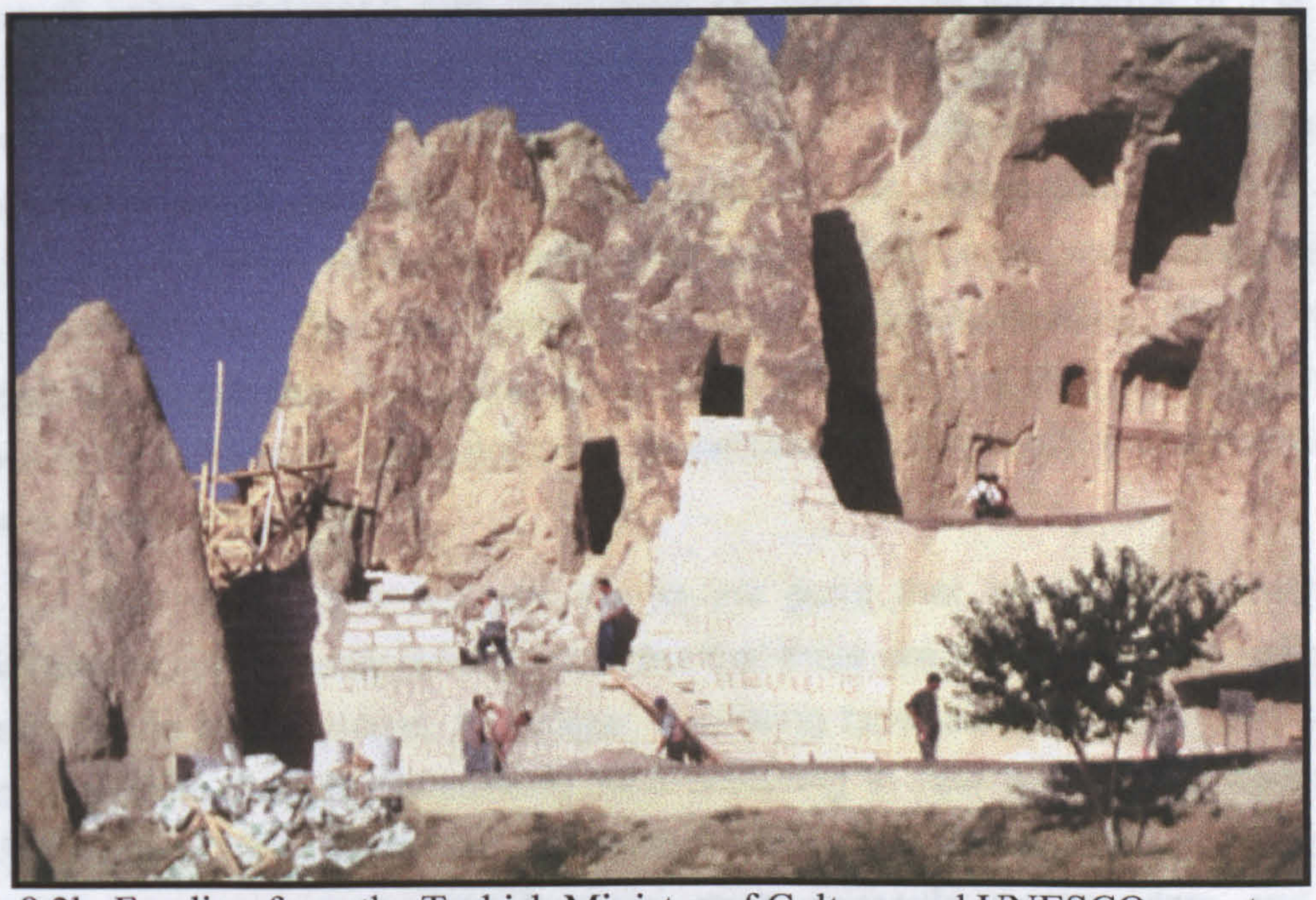


Fig. 8.2b Funding from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and UNESCO pays towards these efforts to strengthen and rebuild the fairy chimneys which house the best examples of Byzantine churches in the Goreme Open-Air Museum.

some static form in order that it will continue to remind tourists of 'the past' well into the future, are surely hopeless. Thus, it might actually be the socio-environmentally sensitive ideologies themselves which are causing the problem here. That is, rather than being the key to sustainable tourism, the aesthetic ideals carried under the guise of cultural sensitivity and asserted within preservation rhetoric are in fact at the root of the problems and contradictions here. Sustainable tourism development itself, in other words, seems to threaten the sustainability of tourism in Goreme.

Another view - Flintstones fantasy-land.

However, surely the above line of argument which drives (cultural) tourism, and tourism theory along with it, into a corner, is vastly oversimplified. A closer look at the tourists in Goreme in this thesis has shown that tourist expectations and experiences, even within the 'type' who visit Goreme, are actually far more complex that the one-sided view which is generally formed. To begin with, I showed in Chapter 3 that the tourists in Goreme can have multiple and negotiable identities and experiences and that they seek the 'authentically social' in a variety of ways. They not only seek some sense of 'authenticity' embedded within the places they visit (giving rise to the preservation rhetoric outlined above), but they also seek a 'social togetherness' with their fellow travellers in backpacker *pansiyons* and bars. In addition, these tourists desire their interactions with the local people and places to somehow be 'authentic' by way of being unplanned and un-'staged' for them. The importance of this point is twofold. Firstly, it allows us to see where tourists' quests and experiences are open to negotiation together *with* the environments and people they interact with during their trip (see Chapter 6). Secondly, it suggests that for contemporary tourists it is the unexpected in their interactions with local people and places which holds the key to 'authenticity' and desirable touristic experiences. Understanding this point allows tourism theorists (and tourists) to step out of the 'corner' that they are forced into when their focus is fixed on some notion of 'authenticity' as a property embedded within the local people and place.

In other words, the problem lies in the point that tourist and tourism-related discourses continuously reiterate the idea that there are two broadly opposing types of tourism and tourist places: the vulgar, fun-loving type taking place in contrived sites; and the real, authenticity-seeking type occurring in real and natural settings (Urry 1990; Cohen 1995; Munt 1994; see also Selwyn 1994, 1996). Dichotomies, or at best continuums, are constructed between such concepts as travellers and tourists, romantic and crass, authentic and contrived, real and fake. Most discussions of tourism assert the view that places, together with touristic experiences of those

places, can only be one or the other; authentic or contrived, non-touristic or touristic. However, in reality, where ideas of place, 'other'ness and ourselves are influenced through tourism in highly complex ways, such dichotomies do not necessarily hold: the tourists in Goreme delight in adventure and the unexpected in their touristic interactions as much as they delight in experiencing a 'real' cave-life in the village; they say they are not Tourists, but then they buy a day tour of the sites of Cappadocia; they enjoy the chance to wander around the back streets of the village where the 'traditional' activities are performed, but they also relish in the fun of the bars and discos in the evenings in the 'tourist realm' of Goreme.

Perhaps, a key to understanding all of this is to consider the irony that these tourists engage in to enable them to cope with the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in their condition and in what they are doing. In Chapter 3, it was seen how tourists constantly play with and between various layers and levels of irony so as to negotiate their problematic 'Tourist versus non-tourist' identity. To miss the importance of this irony, I believe, is to fix tourists and tourist places into the dichotomies outlined above, and this fixing in turn renders the chances of continued tourism quite hopeless in places like Goreme precisely because of the need for preservation in the face of continuous and inevitable change and development.

Indeed, the landscape of Goreme seems to be particularly conducive to this state of ironic play, because besides its being associated with a sense of the authentic and the past, it is also perceived and enjoyed by tourists as a cavey "adventure playground". Besides the clambering around in the tunnels and caves in the Goreme valleys during the day time, tourists can spend the evenings in cave bars and restaurants, and then at night, they can even sleep in their 'very own cave' in the *pansiyons*. Tourists can enjoy adventure and play in Goreme, not only in the fact that they are *in* a cave village, but also in imagining that they too, for a while at least, are cave-people themselves. To some extent, then, interactions between tourists and villagers also take place within this context of play.

The idea of the playful tourist has been developed in particular by Dann (1996) in his assertions that tourists can be child-like. This idea also links with the concept of *liminality* in the *ritual* process (Turner 1973) as it is often related to tourism, whereby the usual order of things is removed and rules are reversed (Graburn 1983; Jafari 1987).[10] Furthermore, the temporary nature of the tourist's stay means that the tourist experience of a place and its people has a certain 'virtuality' about it; it is very much a

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[10]Following Turner's description of ritual (1973), which in turn is based on Van Gennep's earlier work of 1909 (1960).

'surface' experience, thus never really achieving a sense of reaching the 'core' of the place. Indeed, if ever tourists do begin to get a sense that they are becoming more deeply embedded in the 'core' of the place, by being invited to stay in local homes, for example, they often feel claustrophobic and a desire to pull back out of the situation and place. This is the situation set by the laws of hospitality discussed in Chapter 6. Whilst on one hand, tourists want to have close unmediated interaction with their villager 'hosts', the tourist condition is simultaneously characterised by *wanting* to be on 'the edge' of places and peoples, where it is possible to experience this sense of freedom and play.[11]

Furthermore, if tourists are on the edge of the places they visit, then that is surely where tourism workers must come to meet them. So whilst the pansiyons, restaurants and tour agencies are places of work for the Goreme men, they are also contexts in which the men are relatively free from the village way of life and village rules. This idea was expressed in an interview with a village entrepreneur when asked how he felt when in his *pansiyon*:

> It's like a free zone - I can't walk in shorts on the street but I can here. So I must be careful to change when I go back into Goreme. I can't walk with a girlfriend through Goreme holding hands... so I'm happier here - I feel more free.

This sense of being apart from the village life whilst in the tourist 'enclaves' is perhaps confounded by the point that, during the summer tourist season at least, the men are working more or less 24 hours everyday. Many of the men who work in the tourist arena pointed this out as a significant feature in their experiences of being employed in tourism. During the summer, they may rarely go home - even if their home is only some metres away from their business. On this point, a carpet salesman told me, "The problem is that in tourism we don't have a holiday, we have to be here all of the time. I wish we could have a day in the week when we could tell all the tourists to go and do something else so that we can have a holiday!". These men also become neglectful of village events such as weddings and funerals. Some village men even placed their experiences of working in tourism in the village together with the experiences of villagers who have migrated out of the village to work in the cities or even in northern Europe; the commonality in the two experiences being the difficulty in being re-accepted on 'return to village life' in the winter.

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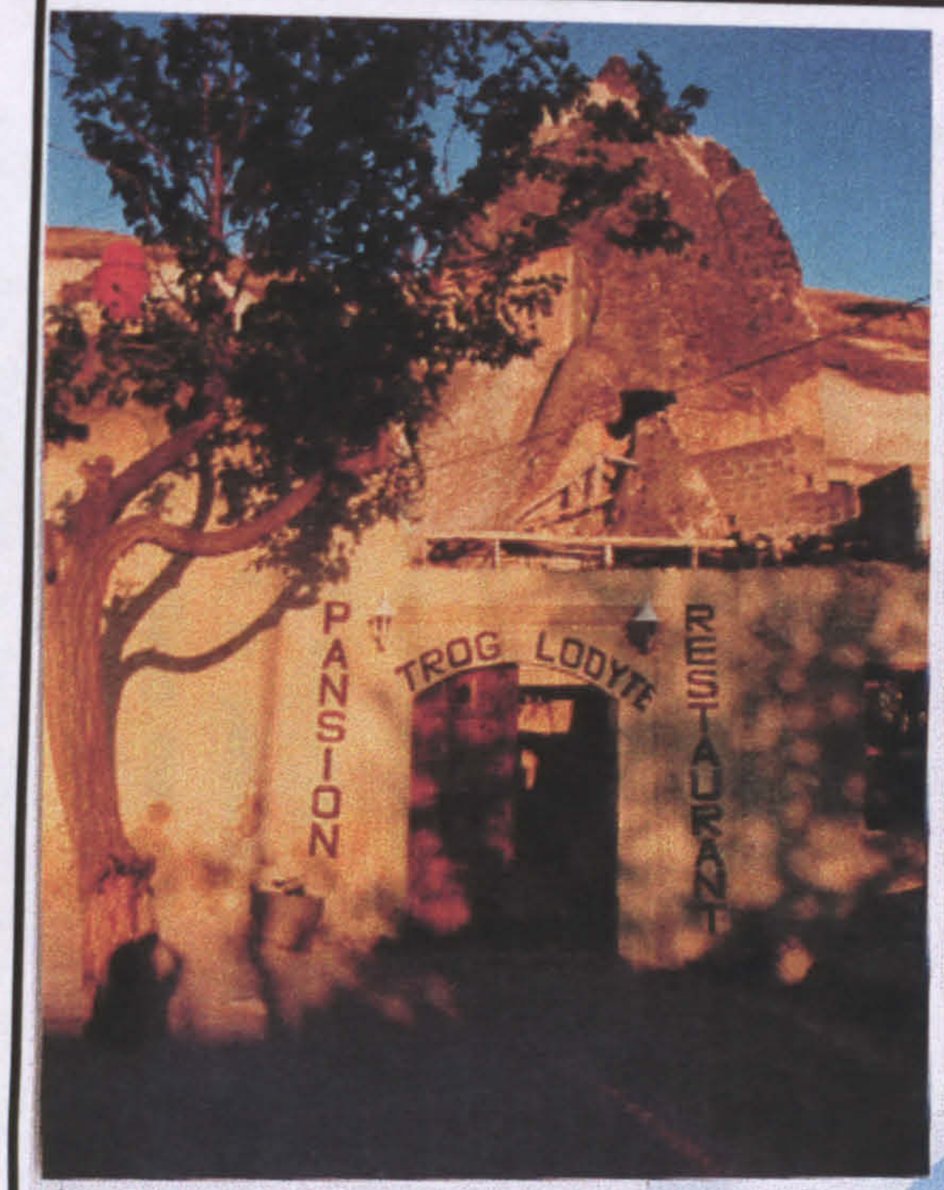
[11] Some of these aspects of the tourist's / incomer's experience are discussed by Kohn (1994, 1997).

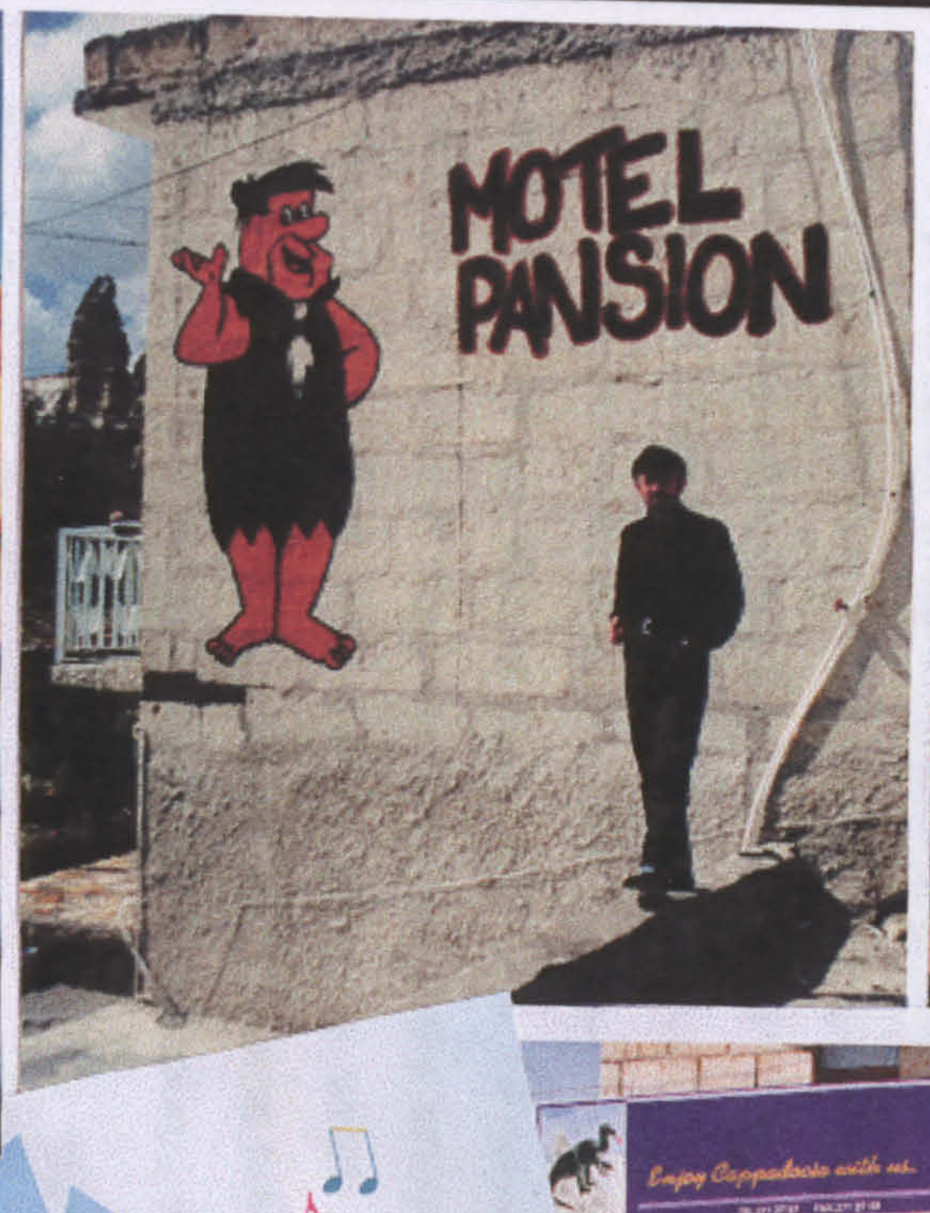
On the other hand, a more positive view of work in the tourism realm was expressed when a Goreme *pansiyon* owner, who was sitting in the *pansiyon's* cave-bar drinking and chatting together with his tourist 'guests', said to them: "You are on holiday now, but we are always on holiday here". The converse of the negative experience of being 'outside' of the village is that the men are able to join in with the 'play' of tourism. They are therefore able to join in together with the tourists in the fun and fantasy of the tourist experience, and in Goreme this includes the playful performance of being troglodytes in a cave-land fantasy. Together with the tourists, then, the Goreme men play and experiment with their own identities, allowing them to engage in an ironic play on touristic representations concerning their cavey identity.

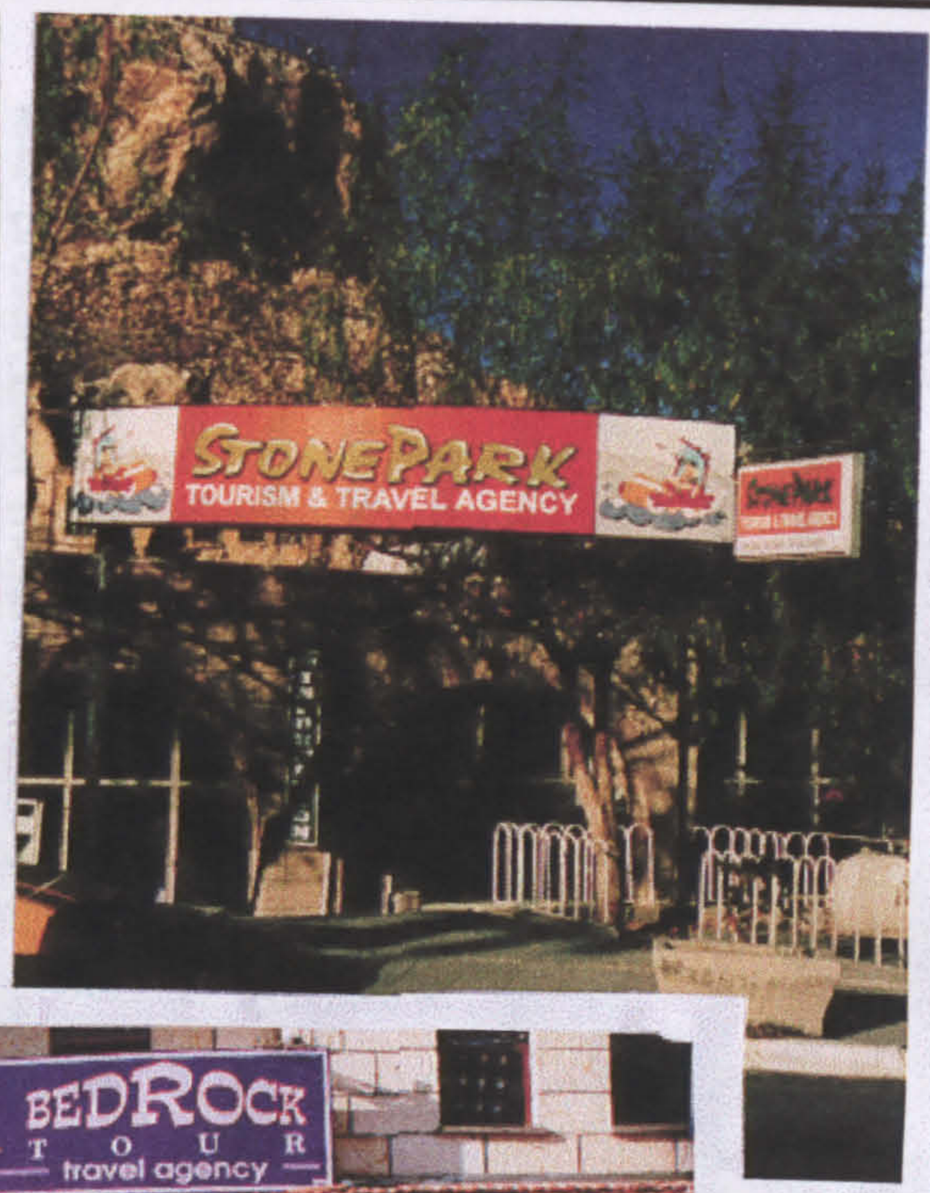
Indeed, one of the young Goreme men has named his *pansiyon* 'Flintstones Pansiyon' after the cartoon comedy anachronistically depicting cave-dwelling people living out a modern lifestyle in a pre-historic cave-land environment. The Flintstones is shown in Turkey on satellite TV and, based on this, other businesses in the village have names such as 'Bedrock Travel Agency', after the town where the Flintstones cartoon is set and for some years now tourists have heard about the 'Flintstones Cave Bar' long before they arrive in the village. Many other businesses follow the same theme with names such as 'Troglodyte Pansiyon', 'Rock Valley Pansiyon' and 'Stone Park Travel Agency', to name but a few. The owner of the 'Flintstones Cave Bar' told me the following about how his 'play' resulted in his use of a Fred Flintstones characterisation:

> A few years ago in this pansiyon, there were four Aussie girls sleeping in the cave in the fairy-chimney - I was born in there - and I had to give them an early morning call and, just for a joke, I shouted, 'Wilma wake up!', and they said 'We're coming Fred!'...and so they gave me that nickname, of Fred. And they sent other tourists here later, telling them to go to Fred's place...It began like that - and they liked it - and they sent me socks of Fred Flintstones, alarm clock of Fred,...and then I decided to call the bar Flintstones Bar. It's a really good name, because it's in the rocks, a real cave, like the Flintstones, it's the Flintstones bar - the Flintstones movie - it's so famous in the world...but it's fun - of course - people come here and I invite them to come for a drink in the cave bar - and they say this is fantastic, who did this? And I say I did that.

Goreme has consequently become a fantasy-land of caves and troglodytes, a sort of Disneyesque Flintstones World where tourists can stay in a cave room in somewhere like 'Flintstones', 'Peri (Fairy)' or 'Rock Valley' Pansiyon. Many of the day tours of the area are entitled 'Mystic Tour', 'Fairy Tour', and 'Dream Tour', and they can be chosen from cartoonified regional maps and booked in the offices of the 'Stone Park Travel Agency', 'Magic Valley Tours', or of course, 'Bedrock Travel Agency'. At







Examples of 'Flintstones' imagery used in Goreme's tourism

night, tourists can go to the 'Flintstones Cave Bar' or 'The Escape Cave Bar and Disco' which is "set in gigantic medieval donkey stables". There, they can watch a "traditional Turkish belly dance act" and "dance to the latest in dance music" together with some of the local troglodytes, who might tell them about how they were born and brought up in a cave and how the fairy-chimneys come alive at night.

The villager quoted above often introduces himself to newly arrived tourists as Fred, a local cave-man. He points to a cave and tells tourists that he was really born in a cave right here. He also calls his dog 'Dino', and he collects Flintstones paraphernalia to decorate the office of his *pansiyon*. Fred was indeed born in a cave-room of the house which has now been converted into the *pansiyon*. However, he might be viewed today as a cave-man in something of a *post*-modern sense rather than the pre-modern sense conjured up in much of the tourism promotion literature and preservation rhetoric concerning Goreme. In the first place, the link with the famous American comedy cartoon is in itself an indication that Goreme village is not so pre-modern as to not be linked up with the global network of terrestrial and even satellite TV. Further to this, though, it is the actual way that the imagery is manifested in the villagers' performances, and the way it is negotiated together *with* the tourists, that becomes significant here. For the Flintstones imagery is generated largely through the idiom of irony which arises in the interactions between the tourists and the villagers. And it is this sense of irony which enables the men, through their performances, to both play to and at the same time resist the 'pre-modern' cave-man representations of themselves in tourist discourse and official rhetoric.

By performing this caveman identity for tourists, the local men are bringing themselves into the foreground and acknowledging the role that this particular aspect of their 'traditional' identity plays in Goreme's tourism. Interestingly, the owner of another *pansiyon* called the 'Flintstones Pansiyon' is the son of the family who take tourist groups into their cave-house described in the scenario in Chapter 6. He has, of course, seen only too often the images and representations through which the guides who bring groups of tourists to his parents' home paint imaginary pictures of his family. Indeed, all of the tourism entrepreneurs are well aware of the importance that tourism discourse places upon the unique and natural qualities of this cave-village. As we have seen above, it is particularly through the official rhetoric concerning the preservation of the village that villagers have come to realise the value of their 'traditional life' in their cave-houses as an important tourism asset.

Not being prepared, however, to accept a 'troglodyte' or 'peasant' identity which merges with a sense of unmoving tradition and even *backwardness* in their interactions with tourists, villagers present themselves and Goreme as a sort of comic fiction. In an interview with Fred, for example, he told me about a time when he got into an argument with a man in Istanbul. The man said to him "What's wrong with you, were you born up a mountain?" Fred answered "No, I was born in a cave!". It is precisely through this same sense of fun and irony in their interactions with tourists that the men are able to re-negotiate and divert some of the representations placed upon them by tourist discourse and the complex multiplicity of authorities and tourism bodies who assert a need to preserve their 'cavey' identity. Indeed, in some parts of the village the 'real' cave-life does remain 'preserved', and there, tourists may wander and have their more serious experiences with the 'authentically social'. In the tourist realm, too, the villagers are retaining their 'cavey' identity, but here they are doing so together *with* the tourists (the same tourists who may at times be more serious) in an ironic twist through which they are able to bring their ascribed pre-modern identity into the realm of the (post)-modern.

Experiencing the hypo-reality of Goreme

For the tourists, the Flintstones characterisation in Goreme is experienced in a variety of ways. The four Australian girls staying in the cave-room clearly enjoyed playing the Flintstones game, whilst others, as we saw from some of the tourist vignettes in Chapter 3, seem to distinguish in their constructions of the village, a tourist realm which would service them in modern comfort, and a 'traditional' realm where they could experience the 'authentically social'. Others still, feel that the Flintstones characterisation is so obviously contrived for tourism that it, to their annoyance, blurs their experience of being in a "natural" cave place. An example of this view came from the Belgian tourist quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

Indeed, the hegemonic discourse of preservation, as it has emerged throughout the realm of global tourism, is prevalent in Goreme, and many tourists there do show a marked desire for the village to somehow remain static. This point is also expressed by the Belgian tourist in the quote above where she imagines that in ten year's time Goreme is likely to be too touristy for her to be able to enjoy it, this seen as manifested in touristic signboards and neon. As I have said, tourists frequently express this trope of the vanishing primitive whereby 'for generations of tourists,...primitive peoples have always been seen as on the edge of change, to be experienced or described before they disappear' (Bruner 1991:243). The important point here, however, is that although Goreme seems always to be on the verge of

tipping the balance towards becoming over-touristified, it also seems to stay on that verge 'for generations'. A recent 'Internet explosion' in the village illustrates this point. Although the many cyber-cafes that are springing up in the late 90s might initially jar with tourists' expectations of this rural cave village, they are frequently used by the tourists and seem even to add a quirky element to tourists' perceptions of the village.

Hence, whilst the discourse of preservation of 'tradition' is very much at work in Goreme, the tourists also seem to be adapting to fit the place just as much as the place is adapting to fit with them. In other words, as the performances of the villagers in their interactions with and production of services for tourists become increasingly multifaceted regarding their presentation of a 'traditional' identity, the desires and experiences of the tourists simultaneously increase in their ambivalence concerning the 'traditional' in the village, as least in its static sense. This is because, regardless of whether the presentations and performances of the village and the villagers are perceived as authentically traditional by the tourists, the touristic encounters in themselves meet with the tourists' quests for the 'authentically social' precisely because they are not blatantly staged.

Goreme village, both in its dividing into two different spheres and in the performances of the Flintstones characterisation played out, appeals to the ludic tendencies which tourists have alongside their desires to experience the village as a real 'cavey' place. As the village and the villagers change to become increasingly touristed, so tourists seem to be prepared to accept it, as long as they are having fun and as long as they get a sense that the performances are embedded at least partly in the 'real'. The following short anecdote told by the owner of the Flintstones Pansiyon further illustrates this point:

> I was talking to some tourists who I met on the street in the centre, and I said, 'Let's go to the Flintstones Bar', and they said, 'Oh no, it's too modern'. I said, 'Have you been there yet?' - They thought the name was too modern, too artificial, but they hadn't been there. But when they went to the place, they had a different idea, because.. it is in a cave! (he laughed), and very natural!

This point highlights the problem, mentioned above, with discussions about tourism which convey the idea that there are two opposing ideal types of touristic places and touristic experiences which can be characterised by such concepts as natural and contrived, real and fake. Whilst it is generally assumed that tourists and tourist places are either one or the other, it seems from close analysis of touristic processes in Goreme that the two might be combined. This is because, not only does Goreme, the place, seem to appeal to various touristic tendencies at the same time, but it also seems to collapse tourists' experiences of 'real' and 'fake' into one.

Indeed, it has been widely noted in recent academic discussions on tourism that the contemporary touristic experience is characterised by a suspension of "the saliency of the boundaries between...fact and fiction, reality, reconstruction and fantasy" (Cohen 1995:20). This point, however, is most often discussed in reference to the proliferation of contrived or simulated tourist sites such as theme parks, and the touristic perception, highlighted by Eco (1987), of the fake as more real than the real. Goreme, on the other hand, is a natural place and has a 'traditional culture', and is importantly perceived as such by the tourists. And yet, because of the 'fantastic' landscape there together with the Flintstones characterisations played out in the touristic centre, the village can be imagined and experienced, alongside the real and traditional, as somehow artificial. The landscape of Cappadocia is naturally formed and yet is perceived by tourists as being so weird that it is often described as "Disneyesque". It is like a "huge adventure playground", tourists say, a sort of "moon world", "like a different planet", "it's unique, visually stunning, weird, the most abstract place I've ever been to". [12] As one tourist said as she stood looking at the weird rock shapes pitted with steps and doorways carved through centuries of real lives, "I'm having a hard time believing this is real. I guess I've been influenced too much by Disney World where they make things like this out of poured concrete". The suspension here of the boundaries between the modes of experience marked by reality and fantasy are striking.

A further example concerns a young American tourist I chatted with in the village. He viewed his travel as an escape from the rat-race back home and his 'unethical' job as a maker of videos and computer games, but found himself feeling keen to return to the US so that he could set about making a computer game of Cappadocia. The game would feature moonscape valleys and underground networks of caves and tunnels, and the player would enact an early group of Christians fighting off the attacking Hittite or Persian armies. This man's ideas are indicative of a developing global culture of tourism which accepts anything or any place being produced and reproduced, moved and recontextualised in any place whatsoever. Usually regarded as post-modern, this process marks the proliferation and increased consumption of experiences generally characterised by 'stylistic eclecticism, sign-play,... depthlessness, pastiche, simulation, hyper-reality, immediacy, a melange of fiction and strange values..[and] the loss of a sense of the reality of history and tradition' (Featherstone,1995:76). And from an

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[12] Again, this kind of 'fantasy' tourist-talk is argued by Dann (1996) to link the (adult) tourist with childlike characteristics.

analysis of touristic experience in Goreme, it seems as though such experiences might be at their most intense in the tourism context.

In an age of simulation and a world where one moves freely and easily between the real and contrived, there is instilled a belief that anything is capable of being reproduced. Therefore, 'the 'completely real' becomes identified with the 'completely fake" (Eco,1987:7), and the ability to distinguish between the two is lost. Theme parks, then, are not only created worlds of fantasy, but places of hyper-reality where 'absolute unreality is offered as real presence' (ibid.). Here, latex crocodiles in the Amazon jungle are more lively than the real thing, for example, and two-dimensional pictures can come to life. The point for Eco is that the simulation seems more real than the (really) real. My point concerning Goreme, however, is that if simulations are experienced within the post-modern ethos to be more real than the real, then the other side of that coin must be that the real appears to be more fake than the fake. Goreme is not a theme park, a fantasy-land created commercially for tourists' entertainment and recreation. Yet tourists frequently make comments such as, "This place is like a cross between a board-game and a fairy-tale, it's unreal!". Some tourism, then, may become travel in *hypo*-reality, and that, I suggest, is what is happening in Goreme when tourists have trouble deciding whether it is a 'real' place that they are in or a Disney World created out of poured concrete. This certainly seems to be the spirit in which an English tourist shared the following:

> It's pretty cheesy, you can't take it seriously. I said when I came here a few years ago that it was like a film-set, but now it's more like a theme-park - but it's really nice at the same time - but it's really unreal - with the fairy-chimneys like they were made out of polystyrene - they're mad formations that you wouldn't think could be formed - and with all the Flintstones stuff, like Bedrock this, and fairy-tour that, it takes out the spirit of it being a real place - it's more artificial - it's a Cappadocia theme-park.

It is clear from these comments, however, that this experiencing of a sort of hypo-realty in Goreme does not necessarily interfere with tourists' enjoyment of the place. Though tourists may have come to the village initially with a desire to experience the 'traditional' in a more 'natural' sense, and whilst a few tourists do experience tension in the juxtaposition of new and old, real and contrived, most seem quite easily to be able to suspend the importance of such serious matters as long as they are having fun. An English tourist who was riding a motorbike around Turkey described his drive up from the south coast to Goreme like this: "I was coming up onto the Anatolian plain, and as I was passing villages I felt as though I was going back in time. That was until I came over the hill and into the Goreme valley, and realised that I had arrived in - Blackpool!". This tourist proceeded to really enjoy his stay in the village, having adventures

exploring and clambering in the valleys and caves, and ended up staying quite a few more days than he had originally intended.

And this is where we may see the collapsing of the supposed dichotomies between real tourism and contrived tourism, and between the 'real' type and the 'fun' type of tourist. The tourists in Goreme are willing and able to indulge plentifully in authentic experiences with 'other' peoples, and at the same time to play with Disneyesque experiences of fantasy and fun. There is no longer an either/or situation, but one it seems where the poles of the post-modern continuums are inextricably mixed. To only talk about simulations and how they are more real than the real, is to miss an important point in the actual processes of tourism taking place, for simulations *are* only simulations. For real places on the other hand, to be experienced as fictional and fake, is to bring the experience of real and fake into one.

The continuation of Goreme as a tourist site?

Whilst Goreme village is represented in tourism discourses as a 'traditional' village of cave-dwelling peasants which might be gazed upon and preserved under a shroud of 'authenticity' and 'preservation', in the tourist arena within the village, tourism services display names and imagery which engage tourists in a sense of fun and irony by presenting Goreme as a Flintstones fantasy-land. It is precisely through this sense of irony that the Flintstones characterisation played out in touristic performances simultaneously feeds and diverts certain touristic representations of the Goreme people and place. So, although the Flintstones characterisation works to convey the 'other' identity which is expected from tourists, it also, I have suggested here, goes some way in defying the complex multiplicity of authorities which have a hand in managing tourism in the area. The local men are reinventing, and even re-contriving, their 'cavey' identity, and in doing so, are resisting something of the 'traditional' and 'backward' identities placed upon them, and thereby some of the limitations and frustrations they face under the weight of the hegemonic discourses concerning the value and preservation of *their* place and life.

Moreover, this characterisation permits the sense of equality in the men's actual interactions with tourists discussed in the previous chapter, as it openly acknowledges an awareness of representations of themselves and Goreme, and brings them together in a sort of communitas of irony *with* tourists. Simultaneously, this play on the Goreme cave-life works within a post-modern ethos to meet the tourist's desire to be in a place which is both real and yet fantastic at the same time, and to encounter people who are both 'authentically other' yet fun and fictional at the same time. It seems that even the serious authenticity-seeking tourists can also enjoy some fun,

and this fun is plentiful in the fantasy of being troglodytes in a Flintstones-land which the tourists can play out together with their 'hosts' in the liminal zone of Goreme's touristic sphere.

This links directly with the issues of the *sustainability* of Goreme as a (cultural) tourism site, and the question raised at the beginning of this chapter of whether or not Goreme might become so de-traditionalised and so over-touristified that tourists will no longer have any desire to go there. There is no doubt that Goreme is increasingly constructed as a 'tourist site'. The myths and images which underpin Cappadocia's tourism discussed in Chapter 2 are hard at work in the imaginations not only of tourists but also of the National Park and national and international 'cultural' authorities who decree that the region of Goreme must be constructed and preserved in ways specific to meeting the tourist myths. Likewise, villagers must also tap into these myths to an extent in order to make a living. Alongside the workings of the hegemonic values concerning the preservation of the village in some static state, the village and the valleys surrounding Goreme are increasingly constructed to fit the tourist myths: panoramic viewpoints are sign-posted; a specific 'sunset' viewing location has been designated; rather than discovering apparently long-lost churches deep in a Goreme valley, tourists are increasingly led to them by signposts erected on footpaths by the National Park authorities. The appearance of Goreme village itself changed significantly even during the period of my fieldwork there. New buildings and tourism businesses spring up in the central realm of the village every year, and the Mayor's 'improvements' in that realm such as fancy street lamps and garden areas planted with flowers are all making the village appear less and less like the quiet dusty village that it appeared to be even just ten years ago.

Indeed, it is also largely because of the development of the two distinct realms in touristic Goreme, the 'front' and the 'back', that Goreme does meet so well with tourist quests. Tourists clearly experience these two realms differently and they thus perceive Goreme village as 'traditional' on the one hand and as 'touristic' on the other. Whilst 'traditional' and 'touristic' are generally considered to be opposing phenomena, though, these tourists seek and desire both at the same time. In other words, they are not purely 'authenticity-seeking' tourists and nor are they entirely 'fun-seeking' tourists. With ease they wander in the back realm of the village by day and then visit the tourist disco in the evening. And whilst calling themselves 'travellers' rather than '*tour*ists', they concede to taking a day tour of the main sights of Cappadocia which they should not, as tourists at least, miss. Hence the duality in Goreme is well suited to the duality in tourist quests. While tourists might come seeking a 'real' Goreme, following images of romantic village life, they still manage to enjoy their experiences of what now

appears like a 'Flintstones theme park'. They do so, as we have seen, because their tourist fun is often coupled with a sense of irony; an irony which concerns their useless attempts at 'off-the-beaten-track' travel, and their fruitless search for 'authentic experiences' in a place which is obviously not authentic at all. Selwyn's suggestion, then, that 'within the same individual tourist may beat a heart which is equally pilgrim-like and child-like' (1996:6) seems to be correct, because there is an apparent collapsing of the supposed dichotomies between real tourism and contrived tourism, and between the 'real' type and the 'fun' type of tourist. In Goreme there is no longer an either/or situation, but one it seems where the authenticity pole and the fantasy and fun pole of the post-modern tourist continuum are inextricably mixed.

We should be careful here, though, not to get carried away with the 'fantasy' elements in the contemporary tourist experience. As Selwyn also remarks, if we lose sight of the distinctions between tourist fantasy and the socio-political-economy of the tourism processes, 'there may be no way out of an eventual wholesale Disneyfication of one part of the world built on the wasteland of the other' (1996:30). To put this another way, the tourists' liminal experiences of fun in this Disneyesque fairy-chimney land is only temporary because in the end the tourist always goes home. For the local villagers, on the other hand, this fantasy-land is home, and so where we might ask is their reality? Indeed, we have seen throughout the thesis that beyond concerns about the weight of preservation rhetoric on villagers' activities, and beyond the repercussions such hegemonic values have for their identity, the villagers' 'reality' is necessarily structured by their more practical desires to improve their economic situation and to have some control over their lives in the tourism context.

Whilst tourists tend to come and go, the people of Goreme have a deep attachment to the place and to each other, developed through memories embedded in the landscape. The tourists see Goreme and Cappadocia as a magical land of fairy chimneys and cave-dwellers, and a few as a monumental site of Byzantine history. Many tourists see Goreme as a place in which they can experience the 'authentically social'; as a place in which life is aesthetically natural and 'wholesome'; a place that somehow got stuck in the past. Concurrently, tourists seek the company of like-minded backpackers in Goreme's *pansiyons,* bars and discos, and for them, the moonlike landscape is an appropriately 'other' environment in which to have fun and adventure; it is a Flintstones fantasy-land. Many of the Goremeli men, too, enjoy their new lives with tourism, and they fight the pulls of the social and moral order of their lives in the village in order to participate in the freedom and fun of the tourism realm. For most of the villagers, though, men and women, the village is home, land for gardening and, in more recent times, it is also a place of business and economic

prospect. This multiplicity of meanings and values associated with the landscape and 'culture' is bound to give rise to tensions and clashes, and we have seen throughout this thesis that these are plentiful in Goreme.

It might have been noticed by the reader that nowhere in the thesis have I attempted to give an actual definition of 'the tourist' or 'tourism'. Rather than giving my own definition, I thought it better that the meanings and practices conjured up by these terms emerge according to the particular site and occurrences under discussion. However, during my fieldwork, it struck me that more than any of the meanings associated with the 'tourist', it is the point that the tourist does not belong to a place and so can always leave which is crucial. Of course there are others who do not belong in places, such as incoming workers and entrepreneurs, politicians and officials who visit briefly in order to decide on the future of the landscape, and, of course, anthropologists. Also the categories of 'tourist' and 'local' are transcended by long-term 'tourists' such as Abbas's Scottish sister-in-law who have now become 'local', as well as by Goremeli people who migrated out and have now returned as highly cosmopolitan 'locals' to run tourism businesses. Nonetheless, in Goreme, it is the tourists' ultimate freedom to up and leave whenever they want that more than anything seems to define their stance on Goreme in contrast to the meanings attached to Goreme by the Goremeli villagers. While most tourists in Goreme do wish to individuate and perhaps 'authenticate' their experiences by having close and 'real' interactions with Goreme villagers, they simultaneously desire to stay on the 'edge' of the places they visit, in some sort of liminal zone from which they may easily escape. It is this contrast in the positioning between tourists and villagers which creates the pervasive tensions in the multiplicity in meanings embedded in the Goreme landscape.

In order to balance the more hopeful arguments laid out in the latter half of this chapter, then, it should also be remembered that there are many problematic elements concerning the Goreme villagers' relations with tourists and with each other. We saw in the previous chapter that 'hospitality', which lies at the centre of the villagers' identity, is gradually being abused and eroded so that they are losing their sense of place and control in the tourism context. The rapid opening of small businesses in recent years has also led to a sharp increase in aggressive and violent competition between villagers, and the increasing numbers of 'outsiders', both Turks and '*turists*', trying to carve out their own fortune from tourism business adds to the tensions. Likewise, the presence of tourists has given rise to new forms of gender behaviour and relations which are often seen as problematic by villagers. The increasing social separation of the tourist realm from the back realm and the

households leads to a sense of the young men, even without their actual outward migration, having somehow left the village. The situation, therefore, is far from easy.

Concurrently, however, there is no doubt that most of the villagers also see this level and type of tourism business, which they are able to fully participate in, as a blessing because of the economic opportunities it has incurred to them. Moreover, by providing these new chances of prosperity within their home village, tourism has lessened the need of young men to migrate out to seek work, and so the village, whilst becoming divided into two separate realms, has in many ways stayed more intact and full of hope than it might otherwise have done. In this, their ability to position themselves as hosts to their tourist guests has largely enabled the Goreme villagers to have a say in negotiating their interactions with tourists, and this is a negotiation not only of the 'traditional' identity of the villagers and their way of life in the village, but of the tourists' quests and experiences in themselves, so that neither the tourists nor the tourist site should be viewed as static and fixed. And it is precisely through this negotiation rather than 'preservation', I believe, that Goreme may continue as a tourist site into the future.

A poignant illustration of the tensions and negotiations embedded in 'place' with which to end this chapter, was a situation I observed at a circumcision party which was held in a *pansiyon* converted from an old cave-home. Appropriate to village practice, the men and women had separate seating areas and, whilst the men took their place in the more 'public' area of the *pansiyon* courtyard, the women were sent downstairs to the cave cellar which was otherwise used as a cave-bar in the running of the *pansiyon.* I joined the women, wrapped in their usual layers of clothing and head-scarves, in the cellar and as I sat among them I realised that the walls of the cave had been painted with dark and harrowing images of skulls, cross-bones, and naked women hung from crosses. At first we sat in more or less silence eating the festive meal, but then the tension was thankfully broken by an old women cracking a joke about how we were made to eat our feast among the naked ladies. What these women must have thought about what goes on in the minds of tourists if tourist bars are painted like that is anybody's guess!

The important point to remember, though, is how quick these women were to engage an ironic slant on the situation in order to cope with their initial shock here, just as the villager entrepreneurs have been quick to twist their cave-man identity around to their own advantage in the realm of tourism business. As we have seen, the tourists too are largely able to cope with and derive fun from the Flintstones-land in which they find themselves in Goreme. As long as certain conditions prevail, those conditions elucidated throughout the previous chapters, that allow for this mutual negotiation of

identities necessary for the acceptance of the 'new' which emerges through tourist meetings in Goreme, then perhaps all will manage to enjoy *living with tourism* for some considerable time more.

9

CONCLUSIONS

Living With Tourism

The thesis began with the assertion that tourism creates a whole set of new social relations, practices and 'cultures', and that, as tourism becomes one of the world's largest industries, a more holistic view of the interactions which arise through tourism is essential for our understanding of this global institution in the contemporary world. Furthermore, the tendency in the anthropological and other literature on tourism issues to form an overarching critique of global tourism needs to be carefully reconsidered. Rather than clinging to notions of 'authentic' and *a priori* cultural forms which should remain protected from the homogenising forces of tourism, I argued, we should be unpacking tourism processes through more thorough ethnographic research in order to elucidate the 'new' social processes which are arising. An important way to do so is to redefine the 'community' in anthropological analyses of touristed locales by including qualitative research on the tourists *within* the tourism context as they interact with the 'local'.

By taking this more holistic approach to tourism research, and through extensive participant observation within the various 'realms' of Goreme, I have been able in this thesis to unravel many of the complexities, not only of the tourists and the local villagers who are meeting through and living with tourism in Goreme, but also of the interactions between them and other parties interested in Goreme as a tourist site. The intention has thus been to draw the relevant links between this case study material and the salient theoretical concerns within tourism anthropology, and also to contribute to the more practical or 'applied' focus of tourism research. Overall the broader question was raised concerning the future of Goreme, and the 'type' of tourism which might be most conducive to the 'successful' continuation of rural villages such as this as 'tourist sites'.

Tourist myths and discourses about Goreme are complex and multifaceted; both myths about the place and about its 'over-consumption' as a result of tourism. Thus a tension exists in these discourses between the necessity of conceiving of Goreme as an unpolluted 'authentic' landscape, and the polluting effect of tourism itself. Tourists

in Goreme constantly juggle these contradictions, particularly through the use of irony, and they are constantly negotiating the paradoxes of their presence through continual interaction in and with the locales they visit. Moreover, because they *interact* with the places and peoples they visit, so those places and people are in no way passive in relation to tourists and their experiences. The concerns, choices and practices of the Goreme people as they attempt to make sense of and to have some control over their lives and their village in the face of tourism, are equally 'active' in the tourism processes as tourists' expectations, values and practices. Local processes are intricately entwined with the more global processes of tourism 'culture' and economy, and just as the tourists struggle with the paradoxes of their situation, tension and conflict between continuity and change are emergent themes in the lives of touristed villagers.

Juxtaposed with the gendered separation of lives and roles in the village, the tensions seen to exist between 'tradition' and 'tourism' have created the emergence of two distinct realms in Goreme - the 'front' and the 'back' - for both tourists and villagers. The tensions created by tourism between these two realms thus work to produce new social relations in Goreme, as well as a new physical landscape whereby the back streets of the village are shrouded in preservation rhetoric whilst the central area comes closer every year to resembling a Flintstones fantasy-land. Each of these two realms constantly tugs on the strings attached to the other; men's fun and sexual relations with tourists are checked and inhibited by their moral ties with their families in their 'home' lives, and likewise, the limits of the codes of honour and shame concerning local women are stretched when women attend a wedding party by the pool in the 'Turist Hotel'. However, I have argued throughout the thesis for the need to consider the complexity in these processes and the ways and conditions under which the mechanisms of power in the 'tourist gaze' may or may not be negotiated and resisted in the practices and interactions of the peoples involved. Rather than adopting an 'impact' stance which would render the local people passive victims to the tourism processes which befall them, I have focused here on the conditions under which local people may 'successfully', in one way or another, live with tourism.

All the while, villagers, tourists and policy-makers alike have an 'other' tourism to bear in mind and to compare with the situation of Goreme; that is the town of Urgup and the 'package group' tourism which has developed there. The concerns of villagers are frequently focused on the development of large hotels in Urgup built by exogenous companies, and most villager entrepreneurs voice a desire to remain with 'backpacker tourism' in the village. Despite the imposition of preservation laws which assert certain hegemonic values onto the physical and cultural 'landscapes' of Goreme, the

assimilation of the village into the Goreme National Park and therefore under park restrictions has had significant consequences which indeed have worked, albeit indirectly, *for* the local villagers. Since external business investment in the form of large hotels has been kept, on the whole, *outside* the National Park boundary, tourism business in Goreme village has developed on a smaller, locally-owned scale. This has afforded the villagers the opportunity to remain in and make a reasonable living for themselves in 'their village'. A sense of hope is especially strong among the younger entrepreneurs today; in contrast to the older villagers who are beginning to express a nostalgia for the earlier days when they seemed as individuals to have more control in the tourism processes, I heard many of the young tourism entrepreneurs planning what they will do and how tourism in Goreme will be when they take charge and become Mayor.

So whilst the 'community' of Goreme has been drawn into blatant and often violent competition, it is this smaller, more individual type of tourism that is exactly the type over which villagers can retain some level of financial profit and control. There is no doubt that the troubles and strife which occur in the context of tourism sometimes seem so intense in Goreme that the balance between resilience and sense of control on the one hand, and fragility and downright confusion on the other, seems extremely rocky. However, villagers are also able to derive some sort of *enjoyment* from their close level of interaction with backpackers, and, by being in the position to offer hospitality to their tourist guests, they are able to negotiate their 'standing' and identity in the tourism context.

Furthermore, following Weightman (1987), mass tourism in the form of the cultural tour group is prone to the perpetuation of stereotypes, and it is under those conditions in particular that cultural forms are necessarily preserved in some static state so that tourists may continue to be fed the stereotypes they come to see. To recall the scenario in Chapter 6 of the touristic encounter experienced by the American tour group, every effort was made by the guide to ensure that her tourists would satisfactorily experience the 'authentically social' in their visit to the cave house. The tourists were provided with the full picture of whole and harmonious life devoid of the nasty necessities of commercialism and modernism which grip the lives of the tourists. The tourists in Goreme village, by contrast, can cope even with the presence of the highly 'modern' Internet in cavey Goreme, as long as they and the villagers are in a situation to write their interactions and experiences for themselves. Tourists can cope with the paradoxes in their quests as long as they are free to negotiate them and to play with them; indeed it is playing with the paradoxes and tourist identities which is part of the (post-)tourist's fun (Feifer 1985). And this was precisely the mistake of the

guide in the cave-house scenario; by attempting to shroud the encounter in 'authenticity', she was achieving precisely the opposite. Within the village, regardless of whether the presentations and performances of the village and the villagers are perceived as authentically traditional by the tourists, the touristic encounters in themselves meet with the tourists' quests for the 'authentically social' precisely because they are not blatantly staged.

It is because non-group tourists seek and expect a close level of interaction with local people that they in turn allow those local people, in some degree at least, to play at being host and to have some determination over the ways in which tourists view and experience them. In the back realm of the village where tourists seek the 'traditional', relations are negotiated largely through the roles and associated conditions of hosts and guests. In the touristic realm of the village, where tourists seek fun and entertainment, negotiations take place largely through an idiom of irony played out in a mutual liminal zone. When local people are in a position to demand relations of equality and respect with tourists, they can negotiate an identity for themselves which is more suitable to their inevitably 'touristic' situation than the unmoving identities which are often placed upon them by official rhetoric asserting the need for their preservation; they can do so without necessarily spoiling the tourists' view of them. Moreover, it is precisely by playing 'host' to their tourist 'guests' that the villagers answer to the tourists' desires for the environments they visit to sometimes surprise them, to play to their serendipity.

And this is where I differ from Urry in his suggestion that tourists may just as well be tourists at home these days, since it is possible to 'see many of the typical objects of the tourist gaze...in one's own living room, at the flick of a switch' (1990: 100). Urry is actually following Feifer here and her suggestion that because of the media explosion, 'the passive functions of tourism (i.e. seeing) can be performed right at home, with video, books, records, TV' (1985:269). However, Urry presents this idea more strongly than Feifer intended it, I believe, precisely because of his over-emphasis of the 'gaze', of *seeing*. Feifer rightfully recognises in the 'post-tourist' the validity of experience which goes beyond the gaze:

> She travelled at an unhurried pace, and there were just a few things she wanted to see: the maritime museum at Greenwich in England, the Norwegian fjords, and the Greek islands of Santorini; but she was looking forward, in a non-specific way, to whatever might lie in the way between them. It did not really matter what - it was a kind of random sample; not-seeking was a good way to find things of interest.(1985:261)

To merely 'look' at places and peoples on television would not fulfil the post-tourist because these tourists are primarily serendipitous. A large part of their tourist quest is

adventure, and that also includes real human interaction. Moreover, if the experience or encounter is already decided upon, 'packaged' or 'staged' as a touristic event, then they lose their own sense of framing and subjectivity and their interest is lost. The important point here, though, is that this arbitrary and open quality of the tourists experience answers to their serendipity precisely by allowing, even inviting, the 'object' of their interest - the locality and the local people - to also be active in the writing of their experience. An important part of the adventure, then, is letting the locale 'speak to' them.

This thesis has hence gone some way towards unlocking one of the central paradoxes of (cultural) tourism which, as it is discussed by Picard (1993) and Wilson (1997), is the truism that tourism necessarily destroys the object of its desire. The key to unlocking this paradox has been the dismantling of the seam of contradictions between tradition and tourism which runs through many studies of cultural tourism, and which blocks the way forward for any notions of sustainability in cultural tourism. Rather than constantly re-iterating the need for preservation and protection of 'tradition' in some *a priori* form, there is a need to develop an understanding of where cultural tourism might begin to encompass and even embrace new cultural forms which often emerge through tourism itself. In other words, rather than always associating cultural forms and differences with continuity of prior traditions, cultural difference should also be recognised in the novel forms which arise through and are the very product of those institutions which are generally thought to be homogenising (Miller 1995).

In generating an appropriate theory of sustainable cultural tourism, however, it is necessary not only for tourism researchers and social scientists to avoid casting off these novel cultural forms as the inauthentic and sad consequences of commoditization in tourism, but also to consider the conditions in which the novel forms may be accepted by the tourists themselves. It is precisely those conditions which this thesis has considered, showing that whilst the initial quests and desires of mass cultural tourists and budget travellers are not necessarily different, what does differ is the degree to which their experiences are structured and mediated by external travel agencies and guides, and hence the degree and quality of their interactions with local people. It is the positioning of hosts and guests in the tourist encounter which meets with the Goreme tourists' serendipitous quests. And it is this positioning which also enables the Goreme villagers to have a say in determining their interactions with tourists. Contrary to the one-sided view of tourist/host interaction conjured by the tourist gaze, where local people are in the position to play with and determine their

role of hosts to their guests, touristic relations become altogether more complex, and this is what is happening in Goreme village.

Furthermore, contrary to Bruner's (1989) suggestion that the preference for the simulacrum is the essence of post-modern tourism, cultural tourists do engage plentifully in authenticity-talk. They also engage in commoditization-talk which, in tourist discourse it seems, is simply the presence of the former in the negative. Yet while these issues are ever present in their discourse, tourists are more pliable that we think. They are very much the "post tourists" who Feifer (1985) discusses, in that they are fully aware that they are tourists and that they are not invisible observers in an hitherto untouched Turkish village. Contemporary tourists have thus developed something of an ambivalence towards 'authenticity' in the sense that it is embedded in the places and people they visit. Instead, they seek unexpected encounters and experiences with those places and people. A pivotal issue here, then, is the varying levels and ways that tourists tap into the 'tourism industry'. It is, of course, an obvious but usually understated point that, more than something inherent in the locale itself, it is 'tourism' which is seen by most tourists to 'carry' inauthenticity. The authentic versus inauthentic dichotomy seems to have become somewhat less relevant when reconsidering contemporary tourism, then, and perhaps the most important 'poles' in any typologies or continua which we might construct regarding contemporary tourist experience are serendipity / unexpected versus pre-planned / predictable.

Further contributions and questions raised

Besides adding, then, to the theoretical discussions concerning tourism and contemporary culture, and the contemporary concerns within anthropology to analyse the interactions between global and local processes, this thesis also contributes to the continuing discussions concerning local participation in rural tourism practice. Where the arguments for local participation are usually based around economic issues, however, the particular comparison drawn between the mass group tour and Goreme's "backpacker" tourists here has provided the cultural evidence for the need for participation in sustainable tourism. Whilst tourists who are travelling independently of packaged tours are often over-looked by governments and tourism industry bodies because the income they bring is usually not taken as seriously as the income derived from mass group tourists (see Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995), it has been shown in this thesis precisely why this particular 'style' of cultural tourism should be taken more seriously. Not only might this small-scale level of tourism incur more direct financial benefit to local communities, but it inspires relations between the tourists and the

peoples and places they visit which tend towards a more dynamic notion of sustainability, and consequently to a more beneficial tourism for all.

Most importantly, rather than viewing issues of 'local participation' in tourism processes as purely of local concern, I have considered the ways that local or 'indigenous' control over tourism business, in contrast to external control and structuring of the tourist experience, is experienced by tourists themselves. It is only when we include tourist discourse and experience in issues concerning 'sustainable' tourism development, I believe, that we can make any headway in linking tourism theory and practice. More than anything, then, the issues raised in this thesis have implications relating to 'local' tourist sites anywhere by accounting for the ability of tourists to adapt as those local sites become inevitably more 'touristy' (cf. Nash's (1996:133-139) discussion of the Bali case).

The thesis contributes to the field of anthropology more generally in its elucidation of some of the complexities in the global-local nexus. Besides providing an in-depth picture of life in a touristed village in Central Turkey, the discussion here has unravelled some of the ways in which local concerns and practices interact with and become filters of global trends and hegemonic discourses in the context of global tourism. It has thus also highlighted some important issues and questions relating to anthropology and tourism in the contemporary world. These have concerned anthropological method and the need to include multiple 'communities' in contemporary fieldwork, and the need to focus on 'meetings' and interactions as well as social change. Rather than viewing communities as homogenous and fixed, we need to refocus on the ways in which parallel communities are constantly having to re-negotiate their relations and identities at many different levels.

More specifically relating to tourism research, this thesis also raises certain questions and themes which might be usefully followed in the future. Certainly the issues raised here to do with tourists' expectations, discourses and experiences might be investigated further in other tourism settings. In particular, more of an in-depth investigation into cultural package tour groups would provide useful comparative material on tourists' experiences and the ways tourists interact with the locales they visit. Comparative research concerning national differences in tourist trends and experiences is another issue which I have not had adequate time or space to go fully into here, though I alluded to this point in Chapter 3 when I suggested that different nationalities of tourists may vary in the extent to which they fit with Munt's (1994a) association between social class and tourist identity. Furthermore, if tourism is a kind of 'therapy' (also Chapter 3) in that it is a reaction to, or even simply a break from, some negativity associated with the tourists' home environment, then tourist quests

again will surely differ according to the specific circumstances of their home situation and society.

The complexity and variety of experiences of tourism for those who live and belong in touristed locales is also an important area of investigation in relation to other touristed locales. The discussion in Chapter 4, 5 and 7 of this thesis, in particular, highlighted the importance of the gendered inclusion and exclusion from certain aspects of the tourism processes. Moreover, the discussion highlighted the importance of consideration of the variety of ways in which the tourism processes are mediated and affected by the gendered framework of social relations and roles in the touristed society. It has been evident throughout this thesis that without a deeper understanding of the codes of honour and shame and concepts such as *gezmek* and *izin* in rural Turkish society, that a clear understanding of tourism processes in Goreme would not be possible.

Another important issue for further research relating to touristed societies concerns socio-cultural relations in the sphere of tourism business. As the development of small tourism businesses has been shown to have so much importance in the case of Goreme, for example, some important questions are raised regarding variations and extents to which social capital and trust (see Chapter 5) play an important part in rural or village tourism development. This links also with issues concerning the economic interactions between tourists and local peoples, such as shopping for Turkish carpets and other souvenirs. Further investigation on this might throw important light on the complex interrelationship between bargaining, identity and trust in the tourism context.

Finally, I would like to return to the general question which seems to permanently hang over Goreme village, and which this thesis has really been able to raise more than it has been able to answer: the question of Goreme's future.

Postlude - some final thoughts and observations

I revisited Goreme in the summer of 1998 during the writing-up period of this thesis, and as my stay that time was brief compared to the main period of my fieldwork, I felt less 'embedded' in events and social relations and thus more able to obtain a sharper perspective of what was taking place in Goreme, and perhaps where tourism there might be heading. The changes which had occurred even in the one winter I had been away seemed quite staggering. Of course there had been various events in the villagers' lives; marriages, road accidents, new houses built, and so on. But the village seemed, more than anything, a 'tourist site'. The dominant feature of any tourist

landscape is the tourists themselves, and in Goreme they were everywhere. Hordes of backpackers wandered the streets from early morning until the early hours of the next day, when they drunkenly made their way back from the Flintstones bar to the Flintstones or some other cave-pansiyon. In almost every tourism business I went into, to visit an old friend who I had perhaps interviewed the year before about his running of tourism business in the village, I was greeted and served by a tourist; probably another one caught up in a Goreme romance. A few more 'tourist brides' had also entered the Goreme community.

There were now as many as twenty-five tour agencies and a handful of new pansiyons in the village, some of which had been refurbished to be a little more upmarket than the others. The municipality workers were busy rebuilding the row of tour agencies and ticketing offices in the bus station so as to re-surface them with local stone, and so that the bus station could be extended to make room for a small park and seating area. The number of tour buses thundering through the village every day was so great that Abbas said, as we sat together looking out on the main road from the steps of his agency, "Istanbul gibi oliyor" (It's becoming like Istanbul). And a rather incredible explosion of computers and the 'Internet' had also occurred; 'cyber-cafes' had sprung up everywhere, and tourists emailing friends and family back in New Zealand whilst drinking cappuccino seemed suddenly to have become a new 'normality' among the caves.

During this visit the Turkish Prime Minister came to the village on an official tour of the Cappadocia region (see Figure 9). Huge banners were erected in the bus station arena depicting portraits of Mr. Yilmaz, the Prime Minister, and Ataturk, the founding father of the Turkish Republic. Among the flags and balloons there were camels donning traditional rugs, carpet-weaving displays on traditional looms, and Goremeli women seated on the road rolling flat-bread and cooking it village-style on an open fire to give to on-looking tourists. The event was a pastiche of all the tourist images of Goreme, a melange of the touristic and the political. A central banner flying over the bus station area where the Prime Minister gave a speech about how important Goreme is for Turkish tourism read 'Goremesiz Kapadokya dusunulmez' (Cappadocia without Goreme is unthinkable).

Perhaps the most important event of all that year was the opening of a new 'international' airport in Nevsehir, approximately twenty kilometres from Goreme. This airport will clearly have a profound effect on the future of tourism in the Cappadocia region, and villages such as Goreme in particular. Yet the airport may bring the possibilities for a level and type of tourism that would be good for Goreme to move towards. That is, until now, tourists have been more or less limited to a choice

Turkish Prime Minister's Visit, Summer 1998.



Fig. 9.1a. The "festival" on the day of the Prime Minister's visit including this display of village bread-making.



Fig. 9.1b. Ataturk – the founding father of the Turkish nation.



Fig. 9.1c. The Prime Minister Mr. Yilmaz (right) standing next to the Mayor of Goreme as they watch the bread-making.

between taking an all-in coach tour, or the opposite extreme of 'backpacking' and having to find their own way to Goreme by public transport and so on. With an airport close by, and also increasing opportunities for Goreme businesses to promote and sell their tourism services directly with potential tourists via the Internet, perhaps some tourists from the package tour groups might be creamed off and drawn in to Goreme village to sample the delights of the more 'vernacular' services on offer there. Indeed, some of the Americans who came out disgruntled from the cave-house scenario might at once wish to fly and pay slightly more for accommodation than the usual backpackers; but also desire to engage with vernacular-style services and to encounter 'local' experiences rather than being given the "same old stuff" on an all-in cultural package tour.

Indeed, this fits rather well with an apparent global trend in tourism away from the uniformity and predictability of the package tour and towards more specialised forms of tourism. Recent articles in the travel pages of the British press have conveyed this current trend: 'The package holiday will soon be gone, according to Britain's biggest tour operator...Out goes the traditional welcome meeting, sugary cocktails and usual excursions. In comes "a range of different welcomes" and "interactive Millennium experiences", (*Daily Telegraph* July,1999). Feifer also notes that 'Now...the modern tourist is more self confident. While travel agents sell just as many air tickets, they now sell fewer all-in packages. The tourist is more ready to go around on his own; and he has developed a taste for foreign foods' (1985:260). Such tourists would certainly have a chance in Goreme to stay within the cavey vernacular architecture, and to have interactions with the local place and the local people that will suit their desires for more individual experiences, and indeed play to their serendipitous quests. Meanwhile the Goreme villagers would be able to continue to prosper financially, and to continue offering hospitality to their tourist guests in such a way as to retain a sense of place and control in their village. Overall, then, the future for Goreme is looking pretty good.

On a more cautionary note, however, while I have argued throughout this thesis why the more 'individual' type of tourism is 'successful' in Goreme in that it allows for local ownership and control of tourism business, and for negotiations of identity and relationships, it might be remembered here just how fickle the tourism industry can be. As I write this conclusion in Durham during the summer of 1999, I have had telephone and email conversations with friends in Goreme village. Unfortunately, the current situation there seems fairly close to desperation as the war in Kosovo and the troubles surrounding the Kurdish problem have this summer been enough to keep most tourists away. Suddenly tourism entrepreneurs are telling me more about their apricot and wheat crops than about their business plans, and so once again, the tugs and the

tensions between the global and the local have clearly been impressed upon the villagers who are attempting to *live with tourism*. Perhaps, then, both the tourists *and* the villagers need to develop a liking for the serendipity in their circumstances, because it seems clear that much of the complexity of contemporary tourism is given to chance and thus requires sagacity from all involved.

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