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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES M.A. PROGRAMME

M.A. THESIS

EXPLORING THE CONCEPTS OF BELONGING AND PLACE-MAKING IN POST-INDUSTRIAL ERA: THE CASE OF FETHIYE

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ABSTRACT

EXPLORING THE CONCEPTS OF BELONGING AND PLACE-MAKING IN POST-INDUSTRIAL ERA: THE CASE OF FETHIYE

Adem Dal

October, 2016

Over the last few decades, we have been seeing global processes of increased human mobility due to the alterations in political and financial realms. Transformations along this line have been predominantly reflected on two broad areas. The first one is related to the spatial reconfiguration of cities and concomitant integration of global markets into the local. The second domain concerns how these displaced individuals relate to the new community and make a place for themselves. However, this process of reconstruction has been explored, to large extent, in terms of reasons for migration, or financial, and cultural effects. In the case of pensioner foreign residents exhibiting distinctive features compared to other migrants, their lives have been extensively studied lately, but in their own entirety, excluding other constituents in the locality. However, with the growing interest in the '*space*' as an active participant in social life, individuals' experiences need to be explored through the concept of '*belonging*'. In this context, the major aim of this thesis is to explore how the residents of Fethiye, including not only foreign residents, but also in-state immigrants and the local people, work towards constructing their belonging to the city. 'Spatial belonging' is re-interpreted by employing concepts like place-making, performativity, and the politics of belonging among many others. To this end, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a number of residents from each group. It has been found out that almost all the informants believe that they belong to the city. Foreign residents tend to apply place-making strategies while concurrently trying to remanufacture their Britishness in communal spaces. However, their belonging seems to be disturbed by recent residency policies. On the other hand, the locals are observed to be involved in maintaining their space and culture amid financial and cultural changes by inventing mechanisms. Finally, in-state immigrants consisting of mainly pensioners seem to be socially and financially integrated.

Keywords: belonging, place-making, performativity, space, tourism, agriculture, foreign residents, Fethiye.

ÖZ

SANAYİ SONRASI DÖNEMDE AİDİYET VE MEKANLAŞTIRMA KAVRAMLARININ İNCELENMESİ: FETHİYE ÖRNEĞİ

Adem Dal

Ekim, 2016

Son birkaç on yıllık zaman zarfında politik ve finansal alanlardaki değişimlerden dolayı artan insan hareketliliği görmekteyiz. Bu çizgideki dönüşümlerin çoğunlukla iki geniş alanda yansıması olmuştur. İlki, şehirlerin yeniden yapılanması ve beraberinde gelen küresel marketlerin lokal olanla entegrasyonunu ilgilendirmektedir. İkinci alansa bu yerinden edilmiş bireylerin yeni toplulukla nasıl bağlantı kurdukları ve kendilerine bir yer edindikleriyle ilişkilidir. Fakat bu yeniden inşa süreci büyük oranda göç sebepleri veya ekonomik ve kültürel etkileri açısından araştırılagelmiştir. Diğer göçmenlere kıyasla daha ayırt edici özellikler sergileyen emekli yerleşik yabancılar örneğinde, son zamanlarda yaşamları kapsamlı şekilde araştırılmıştır. Bu, lokaldeki diğer bileşenleri dahil etmeden kendi bütünselliği içinde yapılmıştır. Fakat sosyal yaşamın aktif bir katılımcısı olan '*mekan*'a artan ilgiyle beraber, bireylerin tecrübelerinin '*aidiyet*' kavramı üzerinden araştırılması gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu tezin esas amacı sadece yerleşik yabancılar değil ülke içi göçmenler ve yerel halkı da içeren Fethiye sakinlerinin şehre aidiyetlerini inşa etmeye yönelik nasıl çabaladıklarını incelemektir. Çalışmada 'mekansal aidiyet' kavramı, mekanlaştırma, edimsellik ve aidiyetin siyaseti başta olmak üzere birçok kavram kullanılarak yeniden yorumlanıyor. Bu amaçla her bir gruptan birçok sakinle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Hemen hemen tüm katılımcıların şehre ait olduklarına inandığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Yerleşik yabancılar, mekanlaştırma stratejileri kullanma eğiliminde olup aynı anda da toplumsal alanlarda Britanyalılık'larını yeniden üretmeye çabalamaktadırlar. Fakat aidiyetlerinin son zamanlardaki ikametgah politikaları yüzünden bozulduğu görünmektedir. Diğer yandan yerel halkın, finansal ve kültürel değişikliklerin ortasında mekanizmalar üreterek mekan ve kültürlerini devam ettirme çabasında oldukları gözlemlenmiştir. Son olarak çoğunluğu emeklilerden oluşan ülke içi göçmenlerin sosyal ve finansal anlamda entegre oldukları görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: aidiyet, mekanlaştırma, edimsellik, mekan, turizm, tarım, yerleşik yabancılar, Fethiye.

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Istanbul, October 2016 Adem Dal

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

On one of my regular visits to my hometown, Fethiye, I was in a rather dull, everyday conversation with my brother talking about the heating system of houses in general. Trying to make a point about how things are different in Istanbul, I said, "In my house, nothing works as effectively as the central heating system. However, you don't have that sort of problems here.[1]" Hearing this quite coincidentally, my mother remarked, "Oh yeah, anyway 'here' isn't your home anymore! Look at you, you even started calling elsewhere your home.[2]" I was just referring to the material substance, house that translates into Turkish the same as 'home'. However, she attributed it to the idea of 'home'. Thus, she resented the fact that I stopped calling the same house where I grew up 'home' and referred to it as 'here'. What's more, she felt more discontent with how I presumably happened to embrace another place as my own and started calling some other place as 'home'. Then, I found myself questioning whether I had really lost the feeling of belonging to Fethiye. It was another version of the same question that I asked myself at times after I left the very same house at the age of fourteen: "Should I ever come back home?"

Undoubtedly, I still call Fethiye 'home' even though I have spent half of my life outside the town in different locations. However, the questions followed one another on my mind: Is 'home' a fixed concept that can inherently adhere to different locations, would anyone stop calling a place home and why? More importantly, if yes, what does it take one to call a new place 'home'? I also wondered whether the people I see around could actually call Fethiye or any other place they settle in as 'home'. To my mind, Fethiye with its national and international reputation as 'the paradise' could easily be adopted as 'home' by the newcomers. Could I be taking it for granted? It was intriguing to ponder questions of this sort. That's how I decided on my thesis topic.

The concept of home is the constitutive starting point of the current study. Therefore,

[1] "Benim evde hiçbir şey merkezi sistem kadar iyi çalışmıyor. Fakat burada bu tür sorunlarınız yok."
[2] "Tabi ya, zaten burası artık senin evin değil! Baksana, başka yerlere evim demeye başlamışsın bile."

the main concern is to explore the social relations and processes through which the residents of Fethiye coming from different walks of life relate to the city. For this reason, I do not dwell on the reasons that give rise to movements from one place to another, as this is *not* an inquiry about immigration. Toward this end, my concern is to unpack various senses of what it means to 'feel at home' and what sort of interactions take place among the residents of the city. In order to do this, I identify and examine different concepts from different disciplines, which infiltrate into that conceptual area. For example, I benefit from urban studies in explaining the transformation of the city structure and varying modes of residence that reflect such changes. Similarly, I borrow from cultural geography in order to dwell on the particularities of the landscapes that have triggered the city's development.

My research is an attempt to find answers to the following questions within the context of Fethiye: (1) What does the concept of 'belonging' or 'feeling at home' mean and include? (2) Is 'the feeling of belonging' a fixed concept in place and time? Can we talk about belonging to multiple locations? (3) How does residing in a new location impact the way individuals identify themselves? (4) What implications does 'feeling at home' have for individuals and other residents in a locality? (5) How does the way individuals perceive others impact their social relations in a specific area? (6) How do immigrants re-construct their sense of belonging in their host societies?

To this end, I first intend to explore the notions of space at the conceptual level. Then, I try to bring together theories of macroscale such as the global city together with theories that engage the local level. I argue that these two levels cannot be separated. This argument is followed by discussions on belonging, and how they apply to the patterns, causes and consequences of relationships between local populations and the newly migrated. Given below is a summary of the theoretical positions I search for this end, starting with space. I then introduce the work done on migrants to Fethiye and the limitations of these studies. I conclude with a summary of the significance of Fethiye for this work. I argue that, due to its history, social and demographic structure, and economy, studying Fethiye contributes to our understanding of space and belonging in times of change, and exposure to the new.

1.2 The Theoretical Perspectives on Space

Space needs to be studied theoretically at the most comprehensive level. For this purpose, I take the work of Lefebvre and Harvey. Theories proposed by these two scholars will be investigated first in its own entirety and then they will be contrasted.

The key figure that has played the biggest role in the development of contemporary interest and concern with space is Lefebvre. Lefebvre applies Marx's concept of 'production' to space, to incorporate all of human activity and historical development. Under capitalism, the central role that the city plays increases substantially. According to Lefebvre, space acquired the features of a commodity on the market, gaining an exchange value for trade (Zieleniec, 2007). The city is not only considered as the site of political power but also for all economic activities directly or indirectly. The city is also the domain where social relations are produced and reproduced. Lefebvre analyzes the constituent elements of the city and the domination of the urban:

> The urban is not a certain population, a geographical size or a collection of buildings. Nor is it a node, a trans-shipment point or a centre of production. It is all of these together, and thus any definition must search for the essential quality of all these aspects. The urban is social centrality, where the many elements and aspects of capitalism intersect in space, despite often merely being part of the place for a short time, as is the case with goods or people in transit. 'City-ness' is the simultaneous gathering and dispersing of goods, information and people... From the cities, financial, ideological and governmental control spread out to regiment the countryside (Lefebvre, 1991: 145, 148).

Lefebvre (1991) adopts a dialectical approach to space and argues that space is both a product and a determinant of social relations and actions. To put it in detail, Lefebvre explains that space is the product of ideological, economic, and political forces. These forces restrict, regulate and control the activities that happen within and through the space. Zieleniec (2007) contends that Lefebvre eventually strives to prove that space is political.

Lefebvre (1991) provides three interrelated elements with respect to the production of space. The flow of commodities and people as well as interactions taking place in space are brought together under the first element: spatial practices. The second element, called representations of space, denotes the conceptualized space over which urban planners, social engineers or political forces have a power. That is why, production of space has a political nature. Finally, spaces of representations refer to the spaces that are lived through its images and symbols. These are also the spaces that artists describe in their works.

Similar to Lefebvre, Harvey also borrows from Marx and tries to 'spatialize' Marx's theory by incorporating the production of space as a vital element. Harvey (1990) claims that the creation of the built environment of the city was crucial for the processes of accumulation, circulation and consumption of capital. Zieleniec (2007, 100) states that Harvey's attempt, in essence, is to provide a political economy of space under capitalism, which embodies insights for the analysis of industrial capitalism and urbanization. Through this attempt, how the urban environment is produced as a social landscape can be analyzed. It is in this landscape where class struggle and conflict inevitably construct the spaces of reproduction, which holds political importance for Harvey.

Although theories of Lefebvre and Harvey point to a political nature of production of space, they have different approaches to the relation between capitalism and space. Lefebvre suggests that production of urban spatial forms help capitalism survive while, for the latter, new spaces are created by the demands of industrial capital (Zieleniec, 2007). In other words, urbanization serves as the means for survival of capitalism from Lefebvre's perspective. On the other hand, for Harvey, capitalism actively determines the required urbanized areas for its survival.

Following the discussion of space on the conceptual level, I continue the discussion on a macro level: the global. Saskia Sassen, a prominent scholar with respect to theories on 'cities', argues that traditional way of seeing a process or an entity national no longer holds true. She points at the increasing need to incorporate instances of the global, which she refers as the localization of the global. She famously coins this interaction of these two domains as 'the global inside the national' (2010). Eventually she arrives at the term 'denationalization'. The emergence of institutions such as the World Trade Organization and integration of global economic markets into the national boundaries play a significant role in this framework.

For the purpose of investigating Fethiye as a city, I offer the concept of 'the global city'. Cities such as Antalya has a global image. Due its similarity to cities like Antalya in many respects, Fethiye can also be investigated in this respect. The term that Sassen formulates as a result of her theorization on the global is 'the global city'. In fact, it is what concerns the current study most. Sassen (2004, 27) claims that processes such as privatization, deregulation and the opening up of national economies to foreign corporations, the increasing participation of national economic actors in global

markets have led to the weakening of the national. Sassen continues to argue that these processes can basically be territorialized as regional, national or global. It is in this context where Sassen situates the emergence of global cities. The global city entails spatial units or scales such as sub-national (cities and regions) and supra-national entities (i.e. free trade blocs) that have also arisen as a result of globalization process. Since the global city is integral to tourism, Fethiye can be investigated to see where it stands as an extension of this development.

Sassen is interested in the working systems of global cities such as London, Paris, Tokyo, and New York among many others. Inspired by Sassen's theory, the current study seeks to explore regional scale as Fethiye does not embody the same qualities as these cities to a large extent. Nevertheless, it cannot be exclusively regarded regional due to the transboundary nature of economic activities. Seen this way, the primary goal is to locate 'the local inside the global'. The effort in the study, however, is not only to explore these two scales but also to analyze interdependence of all three terrains: the local, national and global.

For the local landscape, I offer the work of David Lowenthal. For Lowenthal (1975), the landscape is more than a mere product of past human actions. Instead, it represents people's attachments to the past concretely. What it pertains to is that landscape is to be explored not only in its relation to the present but also in our relationship with the past. Such an endeavor is about memory and the importance of landscape in its formation.

Lowenthal continues to argue that heritage has been undergoing a transformation (1996). It used to be a historically elite-dominated practice, which is progressively becoming populist with the changes in its participants and themes. The construction of landscapes of memory is in a transition period at present. It takes place through propagation of commemoration, heritage tourism and historic preservation, which causes alterations in identities. Therefore, according to Lowenthal (1996), championing heritage compensates a sense of loss that market forces, high rate of human mobility, and rapid transformation of technology have produced. He also maintains that heritage has now become an industry that is globally promoted. Harvey (1979 as cited in Alderman and Inwood, 2013, 187), another contemporary cultural geographer as Lowenthal, argues that the events of the past could easily be hidden by

landscapes just as readily as being exposed. He refers to landscapes of memory such as monuments that could play significant political roles within nations.

1.3 On the Concept of Belonging

The fundamental human need to belong to a group or a place has been explored through different constructs in the literature. The first aspect concerns how they relate to the people around. In other words, belonging to a group or a community constitutes the first line of discussion.

One of the preliminary scholars to offer a construct on individual's relation to the society is Pierre Bourdieu, who builds his theory upon Durkheim's 'collective consciousness'. According to Bourdieu, 'collective consciousness' is reinforced by values, norms, traditions and social practices of 'social capital' (1985). According to Bourdieu, through participating in social entities such as groups and building up social resources, individuals can accumulate certain benefits. The concept of social capital is used to denote these benefits. In another sense, Bourdieu offers an instrumental approach to social capital. Nevertheless, Portes (2000) criticizes Bourdieu's ultimate conclusion on social capital. Portes argues that Bourdieu's treatment of the concept reduces the results of having social or cultural capital into economic capital. Portes (2000, 4) insists that social and cultural forms of capital each have distinctive dynamics and they are relatively less transparent and more ambiguous compared to economic one.

Another aspect of belonging is related to the human need to belong to 'place'. In order to understand how the residents in Fethiye relate to the city, exploration of residential practices is vitally important. The way they situate and identify themselves with the place within the social structure disseminates a sense of belonging (Butler, T., & Robson, 2003; Savage et al., 2005). 'Belonging' highlights the distinct relationships that people may have to the place they are residing in (Savage et al., 2005).

Basically, two theoretical frameworks concerned with the concept of 'belonging' will be utilized to analyze 'belonging' to Fethiye. The two concepts, performativity and place-making, constitute the first line of theoretical framework. As shown above, there are several definitions of 'belonging'. However, what persists is the understanding that belonging is a dynamic sense of being a part of a group or place. Such dynamism

requires that subjects are to be viewed as active components of the process. Thus, the concept of performativity (Butler, J., 1993) should be incorporated into the discussion of belonging. In Butler's (1993, 2) words, performativity is not understood as 'the act by which a subject brings into being what she/he names, but, rather, as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains'. In the case of space, it is remade through the practice in everyday life and place is re-inscribed on the individual (Butler, J., 1993). The second concept is place-making, a set of discursive practices (Benson & Jackson, 2012). Individuals 'do' neighborhoods through the images and practices in everyday life. It is the process of creating a social and cultural space where individuals fit in the environment.

The second line of theoretical framework concerns analytical levels to which belonging is constructed. Yuval-Davis (2011) states that belonging refers to emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'. In the words of Yuval-Davis people can 'belong' to many different objects of attachments in various ways (2011, 5). It can be a person, the humanity or a place, in a concrete way or an abstract way. Belonging is constructed on three main analytical levels. The first one is about social locations. Social locations are related to classes, professions, and groups. It deals with whether a person is a worker or a businessman, a man or a woman and so on (Yuval-Davis, 2006). However, what is significant is that each category is often situated on an axis of power. The power each category embodies is subject to change depending on time and space. The second one concerns both the degree of people's emotional attachments to different collectivities and people's identities. The final analytical level is connected to ethical and political value systems (Yuval-Davis, 2011). It is about how a person views others' belonging in relation to his own belonging. Discussions on citizenship, certain rights as well as inclusion or exclusion strategies toward other groups are investigated at this level. Just like Lefebvre's three categories of space, one cannot reduce these levels one to another despite being interrelated.

To summarize, exploring the concept of 'belonging' is the main aim of this study. Even though people can belong to a variety of entities such as place, group, institution or a specific category, the central point will be about belonging to the city of Fethiye. In this attempt, Yuval-Davis' three analytical levels, Butler's concept of performativity, Bourdieu's concept of social capital, place-making mechanisms, and primary structural domains such as economic, cultural and political will be utilized.

1.4 Tourism-based International Immigration

The current study is engaged in understanding residents' relation to the city. In this regard, immigration based on tourism comes to the fore as the first crucial area of exploration. This is because Fethiye as an attractive destination draws people mainly due to its features associated with tourism: climate and nature. Immigration of this sort commonly involves retired people.

The number of studies on international retirement migration (IRM) is substantial given the experience of countries in the Mediterranean basin such as Portugal, Spain and Italy. Legido-Quigley and McKee (2012) state that empirical international research on retirement migration within Europe was initiated only at the start of the 1990s in areas of social geography, tourism, sociology and migration studies. These studies described and documented 'who moved where'.

The mid 1990s witnessed a shift in the nature of studies. Characteristics of the migrating population, reasons for moving, and residential choices were explored through the surveys (Rodriguez et al., 1998; Casado Diaz et al, 2004; King and Patterson, 1998). While Rodriguez et al. (1998) studied the British people in Costa del Sol, a region in the south of Spain, King and Patterson (1998) dwelled on British people in Tuscany. Relying on data through surveys, these studies provided pull and push factors on the new phenomenon of old retirees moving towards the south. Decisive factors underlying their movement were categorized as environmental, economic, geographical, and socio-cultural.

The studies mentioned above provide effects of this type of immigration on the host societies as well. To give an example, King et al. (1998) and Casado-Diaz (1999) emphasize that IRM causes considerable economic, cultural, social and political changes affecting the host populations. IRM is also a reason for expansion of populations and settlement areas. It also results in the aging of the society. Rowles and Watkins (2001) mention the benefits and costs of elderly migration for the local community from various perspectives. Among the positive effects increases in local sales, and the local capital pool, creation of jobs, development of service jobs are counted. On the other hand, discouragement of industrial expansion, increase in housing costs, polarization of the housing market, environmental concerns such as

traffic jams, or infrastructure problems and transformation of the existing local social and political climate are given for the negative consequences.

Survey-based research was predominant in these studies. The study on Costa del Sol by O'Reilly (2000) was different in this respect. O'Reilly's work stands out among many others because of the use of ethnographic methods, which sheds light on migrants' lifestyle strategies. It reveals that climate is given as the main pull factor not because these people enjoy a specific type of climate, but because it provides an outdoor oriented lifestyle. The number of studies based on qualitative research using in-depth interviews and, the range of countries increased towards the end of the 2000s (Innes, 2008; Oliver, 2008). Innes (2008) studied British pensioners in Malta while Oliver (2008) conducted interviews with the British population living in the southwest of France.

Finally, drawing on other disciplines, the scope of research on international retirement migration extended as well. Scholars went beyond reasons, residential choices, motivations, effects and integration of these residents. For example, the concept of transnationalism was incorporated to explore the identity and mobility of older migrants (Gustafson, 2001). While Ackers and Dwyer (2004) studied the concept of supra-national citizenship, Huber and O'Reilly (2004) examined the concept of *Heimat* (homeland). Still, a considerable amount of studies on IRM focus on retirees' experiences with health systems in the host country (Legido-Quigley & McKee, 2012). This is in line with the boost in medical tourism.

When it comes to literature in Turkey, the subject is increasingly incorporated to studies on migration. Until recently, an abundant amount of research has been done on 'outgoing' emigrants from Turkey to other countries. Especially, the number of studies exploring the labor migration from Turkey to European countries in the1970s and 1980s abounds in the literature. Among them we can name studies by Abadan-Unat (1976), Gitmez (1983), Abadan-Unat (2002), and Kaya & Kentel (2005).

Despite being the source of immigration for quite a long time, however, studies on Turkey as an immigrant-receiving country is a quite recent phenomenon. Turkey has become a transit spot and has started attracting immigrants of different kinds in the process. Thus, the amount of literature on international immigrants to Turkey is relatively few. The number of studies focusing on Turkey as the target country started

to increase ten years ago only (Kirişçi, 2003). Even less is available when it comes to studies on elderly foreign residents living in Turkey. There were only a couple of studies until 2005 (Kaiser 2003, Akgün et al. 2004, Turan & Karakaya 2005). For instance, Kaiser (2003) and Turan & Karakaya (2005) studied EU citizens. The research by the latter was the only one at the time to investigate tourism-led migration to Turkey through examining experiences of the migrants. It investigates the potential financial contribution of migration of the British people to Didim, a district of Aydın province. The study demonstrates the main features of foreign residency such as migration purposes, socio-demographic features, and expectations.

The number of European foreigners, the British and German in particular, who first came to Aegean and Mediterranean coastal cities for vacation and then moved to these locations increased strikingly after the 2000s. It turned out that this type of migrants differed greatly from other migrants like students, or illegal immigrants in terms of their source country, socio-economic features, purposes, and impacts on the new locations. They started buying properties or lived in rented flats on a temporary basis. These factors led to increasing numbers of studies in the literature in Turkey particularly since 2005 (Südaş, 2005; Koylu, 2007; Nudralı, 2007; Dirlik, 2009).

Nevertheless, the issue raised political debates and had such impacts on various parts of financial, social and cultural life that it led various think tanks or institutions to conduct studies on the matter. To name a few, the International Strategic Research Organization in cooperation with TUBITAK (Bahar et al., 2008) and Fethiye Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Avcı et al., 2008) investigated the phenomenon. Reports were published to analyze the phenomenon and to propose certain policies that could help manage this new surge of movements. These studies include statistics on the number of foreign residents, the source of immigration, purposes, problems experienced, their daily practices, and financial aspect of the phenomenon especially in terms of real estate and construction sectors. In addition to these studies on elderly foreigners, Deniz (2012) problematizes one of the most recent types of migration: migration of young or middle-aged Russians to Antalya.

The studies above draw on various disciplines; therefore, they adopt different perspectives. For instance, Deniz (2012) studies the case of Russians in Antalya while Südaş (2005) explores the lives of German people in Alanya, both studying international immigration from a geographical point of view. They explore the changes

the city structures underwent with the settlement of foreigners. Besides, both studies place the foreign residents in the center of their study. The exploration revolves around and proceeds through foreigners' practices. Both Koylu (2007) and Dirlik (2009) study Fethiye as cases of international immigration. Looking through lenses of management, Koylu studies migration from a financial perspective and examines foreign residency by looking at aims and expectations through a set of questionnaires. Dirlik (2009) adopts a more sociological approach and tries to pinpoint the daily practices of these people and their adaptation process. Though they both used a questionnaire, Dirlik's study was applied to a wider number of residents and, its scope is more comprehensive. For the Didim case, Karakaya and Turan (2006) value the potential benefits of the foreign residents for the economy of the town. They claim that progressive increases in British settlement to Didim will influence the socioeconomic structure of the region positively by enabling the growth of income levels and employment opportunities in numerous sectors, particularly in real estate and retail.

These preliminary studies on international immigration in the context of Turkey are quite valuable in terms of exploring foreign residents' socio-demographic features, reasons for moving, their post-immigration experiences, as well as financial effects. Nevertheless, the immigrants have been studied predominantly as a separate group of residents rather than in relation to the whole community in its entirety. The majority of these studies examine the issue from foreign retirees' perspective in that questionnaires or interviews were conducted with only foreign residents. Even when studies touch upon the effects on the locality, it is often financial and spatial aspects of the changes that are problematized without in-depth analysis. It is mostly hearsay.

The number of studies that have explored the perceptions of local residents in areas that are subject to immigration waves of foreign retirees is limited. In other words, we could not find many studies on the locals' perceptions taken together with in-state and foreign international immigrants. There is little mention of how the locals perceive all this process and reconstitute themselves. Only Nudralı (2007) addresses locals' perception on the effects of migration and their attitudes towards the foreigners. Even there, the main aim of the study is to explore foreigners' lifestyle in detail. This is another aspect by which the current thesis differs from others. Seen this way, this thesis has been formulated in such a way that the basic concepts (belonging and place-

making) are examined through accounts of all the residents whose perceptions and experiences are integral to such inquiries.

The studies mentioned also lack historical transformation of the location to be studied. Without providing what stages a certain place has undergone over the years, it is difficult to examine the case of residency and a myriad of influences on the place in its full extent. The significance of the historical context is clearly shown by Lefebvre (1991) in the extract below:

> In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space (1991, 228).

For the reasons cited above, the perspectives of the local residents need to be incorporated since their feelings about the changes in their economic activities, prevalent social norms in the city and newcomers' integration influence their social practices. Therefore, while certain variables have been studied in the past, the interaction between all the residents has yet to be fully explored in the case of immigration to Fethiye as this study aims to do.

It is also true that after the studies above took place, the law in foreign residency was changed in 2013[3]. Therefore, its probable implications on residency need to be revisited in the light of such concepts as belonging. For all these reasons, this study is an attempt to address this significant gap in the literature.

1.5 Chapter Summaries

In the second chapter, the methodology of the study will be explained in detail. Reasons for choosing Fethiye as the location of the study will be discussed. Demographic features, and the amount of attention Fethiye has drawn in the media will be highlighted. In this context, the concerns of the choice of methodology, and informant groups are presented. This part is followed by relevant literature that forms the base for semi-standardized interview questions. The remaining parts are reserved for socio-demographic features of participant informants, data collection procedure as well as limitations and concerns over the conduct of the study.

The third chapter is devoted to the analysis of the socio-structural transformation of Fethiye. Firstly, a brief history of the city is given. It is followed by an exploration of

[3] https://www.expatguideturkey.com/new-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection/

climate and geographical features, which gives the city an edge in the financial realm and attracts people from different locations. The growth of the city is explained through its dependence on nature and climate as famously dubbed 'territorialisation' (Storper, 1997). Developments in transportation are explained to show how physical distances have faded away. The next section is about demographic features of Fethiye. An overview of the population is presented without giving details since it will be explored in depth in the fourth chapter. The last part of the third chapter is spared for the examination of its economy. In fact, it comprises the bulk of this chapter. Two mainstays of the economy, agriculture and tourism, are explored historically. Both macro-level financial policies and local developments that gave an impetus to agriculture and tourism are studied in detail. The time span covers the years starting from the 1950s to today. Changes in people's financial endeavors are given in relation to macro-level financial alterations. The basic claim of the chapter is that natural features and climatic conditions coupled with national and international economic policies have historically made Fethiye an important ever-growing city.

The fourth chapter focuses on historical socio-demographic transformation that Fethiye has undergone. Three main informant groups (the locals, in-state immigrants and foreign residents) are specified. Then, important events or factors that led to the formation of local residents are explained chronologically. Pensioners rather than younger generations prefer Fethiye. Thus, pensioners are divided into two groups as Turkish citizens and foreign residents. However, since the existing literature does not have specific information on in-state pensioners, the section on in-state immigrants is relatively shorter. As for the foreign residents, their status of pension/work, property ownership and citizenship is provided. The last section of this chapter involves informants' views on the immigration phenomenon: how it has affected the environment and spatial texture of the city. The question of why people prefer to come to Fethiye will be investigated through different accounts as well.

The fifth chapter is where the central argument of the thesis lies. It concerns residents' belonging and place-making strategies. In the first three sections, theoretical frameworks through which these concepts are explored are exhausted in depth. In discussing the concept of belonging, each group is examined in its own entirety. There are five basic layers of discussion: the status of their emotional attachment, views on cultural similarities and disparities and how they are reflected on residents' behavior,

the question of economic competition, social interactions among groups and judgments regarding other residents' lifestyles.

In the conclusion, all the participants' belonging processes are discussed in a comparative manner. For this end analytical levels are kept the same and participant groups are analyzed in relation to the same domain. In this way, common practices and views shared by different people are brought into the forefront. Also, differences in the way people are attached to the space and their social surrounding are accentuated. It is made clear that local belonging is scrutinized through the lenses of a cosmopolitan space, not in a local space because a place can in no way remain absolutely local under global neo-liberal structures. Discussions do not see the city as a global place either per se, because both domains are intermingled over time.

CHAPTER II FIELD AND METHODOLODY

2.1 Why Fethiye?

Recently, Fethiye has made the headlines on national media not only because of its position as the well-known touristic destination but also on various other aspects. The wide range of news coverage has been as the following: the lives of British residents in the city[4][5], the increasing demand on the city[6], and outspoken local reactions against current national events[7].

The second and the most obvious reason concerns the fact that the foreign settler population in Fethiye is considerably high compared to the rest of Turkey. Similar to locations on the west and south coast of Turkey, residency of foreigners has caused changes on the city in terms of economy and culture since the second highest number of British residents live in Fethiye, only outnumbered by Didim.

Another significant factor is related to the political realm and political tendencies of the residents of Fethiye. Compared to other 12 districts of Muğla, Fethiye is the only district that elected a candidate outside two major political parties, AKP (Justice and Development Party) and CHP (Republican Party) in local elections of 2014. The current mayor of the city is from DP (Democrat Party)[8]. Interestingly, he had been a MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) candidate and served as the mayor for three consecutive times until 2014 elections. Due to the political disputes, he did not run for a candidacy from MHP. Instead, he became a candidate from DP and was elected as the mayor for the fourth time. The residents' tendencies for reelecting him in 2014 are interesting and need to be explored in this respect. The fact that the mayors of the neighboring districts of Antalya on the coastline such as Alanya, Finike, Korkuteli and Kemer are from MHP is also interesting although it might only be coincidental. These

[4] http://www.zaman.com.tr/pazar_fethiyede-bir-kucuk-ingiltere_1308169.html
[5] http://www.haberturk.com/yerel-haberler/haber/6288781-cenazesi-vasiyeti-uzerine-muzik-esliginde-defnedildi
[6] http://www.sabah.com.tr/turizm/2011/03/28/ingilizlerin_ikinci_vatani_fethiye_oldu
[7] http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/gunun-icinden/fethiyede-yas-ilan-edildi-929694/
[8] http://www.renklinot.com/haber/gundem/mugla-2014-yerel-secim-sonuclari.html

facts point to significant conclusions in terms of political alignment of Fethiye residents: They do not embody the same line of political leanings as the residents in other Muğla districts such as Bodrum, Marmaris, and Datça. In other words, Fethiye residents show nationalistic tendencies more than residents in other districts and are engaged in political incidents. For instance, there was a reactionary incident in the opening of HDP (People's Democratic Party) office[9] in 2014. Nevertheless, considering other nationwide incidents, which were more violent and destructive, one can say that the incident in Fethiye ended with much less damage. In addition, comparing incidents in the aforementioned cities on the coast such as Alanya[10] to the one in Fethiye provides a different point of view. There were even injuries in some events in Alanya[11]. One can argue that nationalistic tendencies are milder or have been kept in control more in Fethiye. In short, Fethiye acts like the middle ground between politically left-winger districts of Muğla and more nationalistic right-winger districts of Antalya like Alanya.

2.2 The Research Method

2.2.1 Qualitative Research Because Details Matter

In order to find answers to our intended inquiry, qualitative research was conducted. There are two essential reasons that played a role in the choice to carry out a qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews. In essence, they are associated with how people relate to changes in the spatial and social realm.

Firstly, the work entails qualitative research since the main concern is to assess the quality of things using words, images and descriptions (Bruce & Lune, 2014). Specifically, the aim is to understand how the city residents feel and think about the changes taking place in the city regardless of living there for a long time or moving from different cities and countries. The intention is to offer insights into a variety of experiences specific to this location. Secondly, qualitative research is preferred because one of the aims of the study is to explore how the individuals in Fethiye perceive themselves and other people in this changing environment. Thus, their perceptions are examined with the end goal of being able to depict how they

[9] http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/hdp-fethiye-ilce-baskanligi-acilisinda-gerginlik
[10] http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/bu-kez-de-alanya-hdp-binasi-atese-verildi-88860.html
[11] http://www.nerinaazad.com/news/life/politics/alanyada-hdplilere-irkci-saldiri-4-yarali

reconstruct or 'remake' themselves, which is ultimately likely to influence their social relations woven within their new surroundings. All these reasons necessitated a qualitative research as it helps one to discern how human beings understand, experience, interpret, and produce the social world (Sandelowski, 2004, as cited in Suğur et al., 2009, 102).

Of all qualitative methods, I conducted one-to-one and face-to-face interviews for two reasons: firstly, people were, in this way, given the chance to describe and elaborate on their experiences in full swing per their own choosing. Secondly, my aim was more to comprehend personalized feelings and home making rather than group-based motivations. These interviews have enabled me to have a better grasp of particular details of the experiences that Fethiye residents have had.

2.2.2 Determining the Informants: Childhood in a Globalizing Town

As people's way of relating to the city is at the core of my analysis, singling out one specific group and conducting interviews only with them was avoided. To put it more clearly, giving voice to one group of people with similar traits might fall short in exploring issues such as belonging. Thus, all those who play a role in the making of the city need to be included. Therefore, the study sample consists of all the performing actors and the range of interviewees reflects the population.

The first group was easy to determine: the foreign residents living in Fethiye. First and foremost, due to globalization, the increasing human mobility is considered as an international revolution and it is influential in reconstructing the politics and the societies in different parts of the world (Castles & Miller, 2008, 11). Subsequently, the life of foreign residents has been the subject to a growing number of sociological, and geographical research studies (Demirkaya & Artvinli, 2011; Dirlik, 2009; Deniz, 2012; Südaş 2012). So, the foreign residents were included in the current study as a growing body of literature points to the importance of and a need for further research from different perspectives. The second reason is more personal and depends on my experiences in this frame: I have been seeing them in public places like the local bazaar all year long since I was a child. I have often felt the existing admiration towards these *yabancı*'s[12] on local people's part. Besides, I have quite often witnessed the scenes in which the foreigners and others were struggling in terms of language to understand

[12] People around me used to call the foreigners by the iconic word: 'yabancı'

each other in social interactions such as shopping. It used to make me feel they were out of place. So, when the central concepts of the thesis became clearer, the first group of people I wanted to include were these foreign residents, whose numbers are even higher compared to the past. Finally, they are also mentioned in the news in relation to the adaptation practices and their efforts to familiarize with the existing culture[13]. Then, one might wonder about answers to certain questions: why do these people living in a small town arouse attention, what part of their life interests the readers or the audience, how are their actions in a place relevant to ours and more importantly, what are their experiences like? This study holds importance in terms of being attempt to shed light on these questions.

Another aim of the thesis is to inquire how Fethiye residents feel about the immigration and how it influences the way they relate to the city after the immigration. In the words of Lefebvre (1991, 416), upon encountering other values or ideas in space, each idea of 'value' acquires or loses its distinct feature by confronting them in that space. Therefore, the degree of change they are undergoing matters in terms of place making. Following this line of thought, people living there long before others had to be in the discussion since they are likely to find themselves in contestations with others over the space. However, the group of people living in Fethiye prior to immigration waves from abroad is not very homogenous. It consists of two main groups: those who claim the ownership of the space and consider themselves 'the local' and those who define themselves immigrants. This led to the categorization of two other groups: the locals and in-state immigrants. However, while creating these two distinct groups, I did not designate the participants myself into a certain group so as not to dictate my own categorization and definition of 'local'. Instead, I asked whether they are a local resident or not at the beginning of each interview in order not to impose any pre-given definition on the informants. The ones who said 'no' are included in the second group. Those who said 'yes' are included in the third group, the locals. As a result, the participant residents of Fethiye were categorized as follows: the foreign residents, in-state immigrants and the locals. It should be noted that the first two groups are often included in academic studies. Therefore, what sets this study apart from others is the fact that the local people's perspectives are incorporated into the discussion.

[13] http://www.fethiyehaber.com/yerlesik-yabancilar-turkce-ogreniyor/

2.2.3 The Semi-standardized Interviews

Upon clarifying the focus of the study and the informant groups, key themes and topics were identified. To obtain relevant and comprehensive data, I opted for conducting semi-standardized interviews. By doing this, I aimed to have an awareness of how individuals understand the world in different ways (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003). Below, the determinant literature and aspirations that influenced the choice of themes and specific questions will be demonstrated.

At the beginning of the interviews, certain preliminary questions were asked. Informants responded to questions about their demographic and socio-economic features, reasons for living in/moving to Fethiye, and problems faced right after moving. Informants were also asked about the state of knowing anybody before moving or not so as to see if the newcomers utilize their existing contacts while creating their own space in newly settled area.

The questions in the first part provide insights into informants' life before and immediately after the immigration. Therefore, they set the stage for deeper accounts. This part was followed by four main question categories: people's perceptions on the changes taking place in Fethiye, belonging and feeling at home, intercultural interactions, and remarks on socio-political issues. The bulk of the thesis depends on answers given to four main question categories in the second part.

Having semi-structured interviews has affected the course of the study and even provided new areas of exploration. The best example for this came from one interview with a resident, Murat (42). As an answer to the question of intercultural interactions, he claimed that the foreign residents often *do* adapt to the existing cultural practices. He commented that witnessing this process makes Fethiye residents happy. Here is what he said about the foreign residents and interactions among residents of Fethiye:

> "There are many things that they adopt from our culture. For instance, most of the people who die here are buried in Turkish cemeteries. This shows that they have become integrated into our culture, our life, which makes us happy. It shows that they've embraced the place. You know in our culture our ancestors announce where to be buried. If a tourist wants to be here after his/her death, it means he/she is used to here and wants to exist here."

I would have not imagined that the issue of a foreigner's death and where he/she is buried could have such impacts on the way people construct ideas (Figure 1) or feelings regarding others. To be more specific, I realized how a very ordinary act or wish of a resident in its own entirety (in this case, that of a foreign resident's) could

stimulate certain attitudes in other residents. It seems to have promoted genuine positive feelings among the groups in the locality. In the same period as the interview above, I was randomly scanning the local newspapers online. The news about the funeral of a Dutch resident in Fethiye attracted my attention.[14] As the news goes, he asked to be buried in Fethiye in a special funeral ceremony in his will. I found out that the same news appeared in national papers[15]. The news and the aforementioned interview complemented each other and made me realize that a variety of meanings are attached to it not only locally but also nationally[16]. This realization, in turn, led me to incorporate burial choices in my research as I thought new dimensions could be brought to my study of the socio-cultural structures of the city, foreigners' belonging and, in particular, the reasons and motivations by which residents perceive others and form opinions. All in all, the interview excerpt exemplifies the fact that the scope of my research was open to expansion during the interviews.



Figure 1. The Cemetery and the Site of Villas Overlooking at the Sea

[14] http://www.fethiyehaberi.com/haber/8107/hollandali-adam-muzik-esliginde-defnedildi.html
[15]http://www.haberturk.com/yerel-haberler/haber/6288781-cenazesi-vasiyeti-uzerine-muzik-esliginde-defnedildi
[16] As luck would have it, I interviewed the same late Dutch man's neighbor after deciding to pay a visit to the cemetery where he was buried and talk to the residents around.

2.3 Existing Literature Guiding the Interview Content

David Harvey (2006) comes to the fore in terms of theoretical framework on spatiality. He reflects on two tendencies of social theory: space is either dismissed totally or treated as a simple container where social processes take place. He argues that his theory of uneven geographical development becomes impossible in these tendencies since space for them is absolute and predetermined. He finds a solution to this problem in recent theories especially in those backed by Lefebvre's philosophical arguments (1991). Lefebvre treats space as relational and relative rather than an absolute framework for social action that leads to the theory of production of space. Only within such framework, Harvey (2006, 77) continues, can capital accumulation create spaces and different forms.

After presenting his viewpoints on space, Harvey concludes (2006, 76), that social theory has predominantly dealt with how to relate the individual agency to the evolution of social structures and vice versa. For Harvey, the roles prescribed for people and the city while interpreting this process determines the sort of meaning people attach to the space and other residents. Even though policy makers and politicians determine the city structure through laws, people cannot be regarded as inactive. In fact, there is a bilateral interaction between the city and its residents. People are active agents in making of the city. The city, in return, affects its residents in an ongoing process. Therefore, in this present study interview questions are intended to explore whether the residents consider themselves active agents in the process or not (i.e. what kind of changes have you observed recently in the city, to what extent do these changes affect your life?). Answers to these questions tell us something about what roles the residents cast for themselves and how they exploit the space according to their wish. To be specific, it is possible to make inferences about if they position themselves as an outsider who only observes the changes or as a person who includes himself/herself as an active participant. Accordingly, whether participants claim the ownership of the space and use exclusionary language towards others is another area of interest.

In the process of preparing the question categories regarding belonging and intercultural interactions, a textual analysis of similar discourses in different studies conducted in geographically or demographically similar cities was useful. I borrowed

from the literature on social integration to the degree that it relates to this study. Guest and Stamm (1993) mention the vast literature on how destructive migration can be of social ties. However, the question of how such ties are reconstructed is ignored to a large extent. They argue that people follow three major 'paths of integration', namely, social, residential and personal integration. They also provide a detailed list of integration activities exercised by new immigrants. Similarly, Kraußе (2010) offers five models of social integration into a new community in a globalized society: economic, political, cultural, solidarity based and systemic. In this study as well, the aim of the interview is to analyze the issue of social integration and adaptation process from the complex and analytical structures surrounding the experience of the particular subject.

Another area of interest concerns ethnicity, albeit somewhat essential. Kraußе (2010) also dwells on the ethnic conflicts and shows how economic theory explains such conflicts. If a group has the perception that their loss exceeds their gain due to co-existence with others, and loyalty is not in the picture, ethnic conflicts do occur. This approach led me to explore ethnicity tangentially at the local level.

There is a growing body of literature on the issue of ethnicity in Turkey. It dwells on the increasing amount of in-state immigration to touristic areas in search of better employment opportunities. For instance, Duman (2013), in her study on ethnicity and encounters with the 'other' in metropolitan cities of Adana, Mersin and Antalya, proposes that ethnic identities may usually lead to conflicts among the residents. However, under certain circumstances they do not necessarily create ethnic tensions and may even contribute to social cohesion. As a city where people from relatively different ethnicities live together, Fethiye needs to be studied in relation to the discussion on ethnicity as well. To this end, the question of whether newcomers are seen as a threat will be investigated from economical perspective while analyzing intergroup relationships. In other words, to what extent ethnic relationships are curbed by economic activities will be explored. Although there is no explicit question about ethnicity in the interview, some questions refer to people with different ethnic backgrounds.

Another area of interest related to the idea of belonging and 'home' is the perspective that constructs Fethiye as a political landscape. In related literature, Till (2007) argues that landscapes were neither considered political by cultural geographers nor seen as

outcomes of political processes. However, Duncan (1990, as cited in Till, 2007, 348) claims that there are recent studies that examine the processes, places and people as making of landscapes at different lengths. Duncan asserts that we can theoretically consider landscapes as arenas of political discourse and action where continuous reproduction and contestation of cultures take place.

Till (2007, 348) provides three distinct approaches to how landscapes create and reinforce meanings about the political realm and social identities. They are landscapes of state power, landscapes as work, and landscapes as everyday practice. Inspired by this, I want to find out whether the structure of the city communicates certain political values or meanings for the residents. As I am concerned with formation of social identities, the third approach (landscapes' impact on social identities) relates to the study more. Besides, memories in relation to landscape can be explored here[17]. It can prove useful in discussing 'belonging' and the idea of 'home'. So as to evaluate these two concepts, I ask about their future projections and plans (i.e. Are there any structures or things that evoke your belonging to Fethiye or give you that feeling? Would you ever consider moving out of Fethiye?). Answers to these questions will enable me to discuss the covert anxieties that the residents experience in the city.

The final question category relates to where the residents place Fethiye nationally and globally in terms of economy and politics. References regarding current events at the time were made in questions under this category. On the whole, the interview questions aim to explore post-immigration process, perceived changes in the city and their effects on its residents, ideas of belonging and home, interaction patterns and finally views on socio-political issues. However, questions were not necessarily asked in the same order during the interviews. They were only utilized as guidelines.

[17] Landscape used to be interrogated simply for its historical use. However, different layers of meaning that landscapes have today are also studied. Regarding the link between memory and landscape, the French thinker Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora come to the fore (Alderman and Inwood, 2013). Halbwachs advocated the collective nature of all memory including personal memory. He argued that not only individual psychology but also group interactions, social institutions, and cultural practices play a role in shaping the way the past is remembered. Nora claimed that the construction of "sites of memory" (or *lieux de mémoire*) is, in part, influential in the formation of social interpretations of the past. These sites of memory include physical, concrete places of commemoration in addition to the non-material rituals and displays of memory.

2.4 The Informants' Profile

After determining participant groups conceptually, and preparing semi-structured interview questions, I started finding the interviewees. Snowball sampling was utilized for practical purposes. Given below is how the informants were contacted and how the interviews took place.

2.4.1 The Foreign Residents

Since there are various definitions regarding the foreign residents, it is necessary to define what we mean by 'foreign resident'. In this study, it refers to a person with a non-Turkish nationality that decided to live in Fethiye in his/her later stages of life. One important point regarding participant foreigners is that they spend most of the year in Fethiye. Foreigners living in Fethiye seasonally or 5-6 months were not included. In other words, only permanent residents participated in the study because the local dynamics of the city is quite different in winter months especially in areas like Ölüdeniz and Çalış. In this way, one can have a more comprehensive grasp of the social dynamics in Fethiye.

After determining the informant groups, I visited FETAV (Fethiye Turizm Tanıtım Eğitim Kültür ve Çevre Vakfı) to contact foreign residents. They helped me contact a bar owner who hosts charity events in Çalış. Çalış is a part of Fethiye that is famous for its foreign residency. This first subject mediated the very first interview with a foreigner. Then, I reached half of my informants using the snowballing sampling strategy through this informant. Most of them were retired English residents living in Çalış.

To be able to reflect the foreign residency profile more comprehensively, I paid a second visit to FETAV. This time they helped me contact a well-known middle-aged English woman in the district of Hisarönü. Her working in a travelling company is of importance to the research for several reasons. First, it is very close to Ölüdeniz and home to many bars and clubs. It is acknowledged as the place where tourists often go out at night. In fact, it is the place labeled as 'the little England'. Talking to a foreigner from an environment where the local life and tourism are closely linked provided different perspectives. In addition, my informant is married to a Turkish man. She had more detailed and different observations about family structures than those in Çalış. Also, she introduced me to a circle of foreigners who currently have different

occupations. Most of them are/were married to Turkish men and have been living in Fethiye for almost 20 years. The average length of their residency is longer than that of the ones living in Çalış.

Conducting the second round of interviews with a group with different characteristics was a decisive turning point. It gave me a considerably different path to follow by providing new strategies, experiences and perspectives different from those found in the Çalış district. These informants had a lot to say about their experiences with the locality. They also made remarks on the expatriate community and life of the retired group in Çalış despite not being prompted to talk about such issues. As a result, the second group of foreign settlers offered insights into differentiation among the foreign residents. In brief, the group of foreign interviewees consists of 15 residents who live in different parts of Fethiye. They display two distinct socio-demographic features: the retired elderly and the middle-aged working group.

2.4.2 The In-state Immigrants

As for the group of in-state immigrants, nine people were interviewed. I reached five of them through friends and acquaintances. I approached the other four *'esnaf'* in the city centre and conducted interviews after explaining my research. Because I do not focus on an occupation in particular, I tried to reach people from different lines of business. Therefore, the range of jobs in this group is very wide: a real estate employee in the villa business, a construction worker, an optician, a waiter, a pensioner, a barber, a shop owner (*bakkal*)**,** a teacher and a restaurant owner. Hence, people from different walks of life were interviewed in this group. Since these people are more likely to interact with other constituents of the city due to their business, they were a valuable source of information.

Two out of nine interviewees had moved from Izmir, two from Ankara, one from Istanbul. There were two immigrants from Eastern part of Turkey who represent the Kurdish population among Fethiye residents. Their experiences and place-making strategies are different than those of other immigrants, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

2.4.3 The Locals

The last group, the locals included 13 informants. Except for two retired women, all of them are currently employed. About half of this group consists of either people that I personally know or those I reached through a friend. I contacted a few others through the snowballing strategy. I also interviewed a couple of local '*esnafs*' upon their consent. As mentioned earlier, I was inspired by the news of a foreigner's burial. Thus, I made some observations around the cemetery in Çalış and interviewed three people in that neighborhood.

The range of jobs is as diverse as follows: a farmer, a retired housewife, a *bakkal*, a taxi driver, an owner of a well-known restaurant, owner of a computer repair shop, a security guard, a teacher, a construction worker, a yachtsman and an employee working in yacht tourism. The informant providing different perspectives than others in this group was the person who worked on preserving the Yörük culture. Yörük is a term applied to nomad Turks on Anatolia and Thrace[18]. He holds an important position in the Foundation of the Yörük and the Turkmen. As he is quite knowledgeable about Yörük people, his contribution has been highly invaluable in that he articulated their feelings and anxieties in the changing social dynamics.

2.5 Notes on Data Collection

The actual conduct of interviews took place in different districts as diverse as Çalış, Hisarönü, Ovacık, the city centre and Patlangıç. The first four districts are places in which one can witness more foreign residency and intercultural encounters. On the other hand, Patlangıç is the neighborhood where relatively economically lower class people live.

At this point, I would like to point out the particular significance of the informants from Çalış for the study. In hindsight, these informants' ideas and feelings turned out to be quite valuable in contributing to the study from a different perspective due to the location. Looking at their neighborhood on a hill from the cemetery, to the left, one can see luxurious and comfortable villas with swimming pools. To the right, however, is quite another world: farming fields and resident areas including considerably old shanty houses. What is readily seen on top of the hill would be in terms of the contrast

[18] See Chapter 3 and 4 for details about who the Yörüks are and how they have fared in the last century.

between old and new, a narrative of development from the agricultural fields to the modern order of the new resident areas. The familiar juxtaposition of these opposed worlds of rich and poor in neoliberal restructuring is quite common in big metropolitan cities.

I conducted 37 interviews in 2 months' time in August and September 2015. Of all the participants, only three of them refused to be recorded. Therefore, I took notes of what they said. Participants' oral consents were obtained at the beginning of each interview. In order to protect interviewee confidentiality upon their requests, the names are replaced with pseudonyms. Their age is also provided in parentheses in cases where it might be an important factor while evaluating the situation.

The total amount of recordings equals to 653 minutes; the longest being 45 minutes and the shortest 7 minutes. As for transcription, I used speech-to-text dictation software for the interviews with the first group, foreign residents to some extent, and transcribed the rest on my own. However, for the locals and in-state immigrants I personally transcribed data word by word through multiple listening.

2.5.1 Interview Venues

Interviews took place in three different locations: residential areas, workplaces and public space. I conducted four interviews either at informants' house or their workplace in the first group. The other eleven interviews with foreigners took place at bars in touristic locations. Having interviews in communal spaces such as bars enabled me to observe the social space they are engaged in more closely and provided more data on top of the data provided during the interviews. It is significant in another respect: when you observe them as an outsider, they seem like a very homogenous group. It is difficult to know what they talk about in these circles. However, conducting interviews in these places where they spend most of their time allowed me to penetrate into this space and have a closer inspection. In the second group, except for one, all of my informants work. Partly because of this, I interviewed 7 out of 9 people at their workplace, which was fruitful in that I had the first-hand opportunity to observe them interacting with the customers. Coincidentally, during the interview the optician and two shop owners had foreign customers and I even helped one of them in English. The observation that they somewhat managed to maintain a conversation was a good snapshot of their encounter for me. As for the local residents group, I conducted 7 out

of 13 interviews in their workplace, 3 of them at their home and 3 of them at a public place.

It is important to keep in mind that the type of venue might affect the trajectory of the interviews especially on a topic as sensitive as home and belonging. For instance, informants seemed less anxious to speak and contribute more when they were interviewed in familiar places.

2.5.2 Documentary Analysis

Prior to and during the research, I collected primary qualitative documents such as official records. They include a promotional magazine that The Municipality of Fethiye published, leaflets and sectorial bulletins. The most useful sources have been socio-economic reports published annually since 2006 by Fethiye Chamber of Commerce and Industry. They provide comprehensive data related to socio-cultural structure, both micro and macro financial indicators, and demographic distribution of the city. I made content analysis of four local Turkish and two local English newspapers in Fethiye and followed their online websites. I examined the official webpages of Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism, FETAV, The Municipality of Fethiye, Fethiye District Governorship, TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) and some blogs that regionally well-known people write.

2.5.3 Concluding Remarks on Interviews

So far in this chapter, the factors leading Fethiye to be the case study, the reasons for conducting semi-structured qualitative research, the determinant literature and the data collection procedure have been explained. Individual place-making mechanisms and personal ways of relating to the city in the context of increasing amount of immigration constitute the core objectives of my thesis. That's why, people from three main resident groups in Fethiye were interviewed: the foreign residents, the in-state immigrants and the locals.

In preparing the interview questions and determining my objectives, I have benefited from the literature on neoliberal restructuring, belonging, encounter and interactions among groups of people and the socio-political situation. The order of the questions was generally followed. However, in cases where there was need for more clarification or when the issue brought up by the informant seemed to offer a new insight, the

informants were prompted to elaborate along those lines. In other words, the flexibility of interviews led to other areas of exploration during the interview.

The interviews were conducted in major locations in Fethiye where these three groups are likely to encounter each other more so than any other place. For purposes of variety and to be able to reflect on the socio-cultural structures of the city to a greater extent, no particular profession was taken as the focus in the thesis. Informants from the in-state and local groups have quite diverse and different jobs. In fact, this enables me to make arguments about what people from different lines of business think of the financial situation from their perspective. However, the variety of jobs in the first groups is limited since most foreign residents are pensioners.

2.6 Concerns and Solutions

Prior to the interviews, I had years of participation in this social space, and I had been talking to people about immigration, spatial changes and the new route the city has been taking recently. However, I am well aware that it is difficult to detach oneself from such space and conduct a study objectively. Some doubts about the validity of the study might arise. Therefore, I will, in what follows, shed light on these issues, limitations or considerations with the aim of answering possible questions regarding the conduct of interviews.

First of all, I would like to refer back to the fact that informants were interviewed individually, but each informant's data was analyzed under a certain group name. It is necessary to highlight that forming groups of informants does not point to a concern to provide collective ideas and generalize the individual experiences. Taking it from Weber (1921 as cited in Ritzer, 2008, 124), I treat these people as "agents in a course of subjectively understandable action" and I try to reduce their actions to patterns and regularities of individual action. However, I still keep in mind that there are certain socio-structural conditions under which certain forms of individual practices and motivations are constructed. They cannot be thought independent of such conditions. So, it would be misleading to argue that these two could exclude each other totally in the course of discussion.

The next point concerns the proximity between the informants and the researcher and its reflections on the end result of interviews. Reaching the foreign informants upon

instantaneous requests proved difficult due to the tense political atmosphere at the time. Considering my failed attempts to interview a couple of foreign residents at a bar, it was clear that it would be almost impossible to conduct the research without networking beforehand. As Perez states (2006) immigrants are a particularly difficult group to interview due to their socio-economic position, their cultural difference, their racial visibility and their legal position. These issues are often valid for labor migrants in rich countries and do not seem to apply to foreign residents from the Northern countries. Nevertheless, apprehensive feelings of the expatriates about the host community and the political realm of Turkey and hesitations on certain issues were raised in some interviews.

For the reasons above, I cannot appreciate enough the significance of reaching the informants through FETAV. It helped me to have an easy access to the lives of these people. Because the request came from their friend, they seemed to share details of their experience with the people and the city quite comfortably. In fact, interviews with foreigners often lasted more than other groups. They were both surprised and delighted by the interest in their lifestyle from such a different perspective. However, I noticed that some foreigners hesitated to answer questions related to politics. They even made jokes about being deported because of the interview.

As for the second and third groups, some might claim existence of bias and undermining of the procedure due to the fact that I knew some of the informants. On the contrary, it facilitated the conduct of the interviews. The proximity established presumably by either the fact that they know me personally or that I am a local person created an atmosphere which encouraged them to share daily issues and their encounters with others more comfortably. However, I have to note that some informants were a little anxious and talked about very mundane things.

Another related issue is about the personal involvement in the interviews. To begin with, because they knew I am from Fethiye they responded to certain questions by asking “Why are you asking me that? Don’t you know it yourself? You also witness such stuff.” Then, I would say, “Yes, I am from here, but I have been away for a long time and I wonder your ideas as you must have first-hand experience”. In other words, I avoided passing my personal judgment and encouraged them to give voice to the views that are taken for granted by them. It is possible to argue that my personal opinions could have gotten in the way during the interview because it is easy to fall

into the trap and turn to the local discourse, which exhibits itself in the usage of local-bound words. I believe I have avoided this in two ways: first, I asked neutral questions and remained neutral during the interview. For instance, I did not use 'them' and 'us' dichotomy while referring to the residents living in Fethiye. I tried to situate myself outside the context. Second, I refrained from using value-laden words like 'why' because it sounds more judgmental and causes the informant to take defensive position (Bruce & Lune, 2014). Instead, I used 'how come', which provides more comforting environment.

In short, even though there are undoubtedly some issues and limitations that require more attention, my identity including a double position, as a person from this city and as a researcher, enabled me to obtain a lot of valuable data which, otherwise, might have been challenging to gather.

CHAPTER III THE SOCIO-STRUCTURAL TRANFORMATION OF FETHIYE

Once called a variety of names in different periods, today the name of Fethiye comes to mind predominantly in relation to tourism. One can easily understand why this is so and it has attracted quite many civilizations.

Fethiye is often called the paradise in the public eye. Paying close attention to the beautiful nature surrounding the city and hovering over Ölüdeniz, a breathtaking and secluded sandy bay at the conjunction point of the Aegean and Mediterranean seas does justice to such naming. Taking a moment and standing at a corner where you can spot paragliding company services taking people to Babadag, British people who have settled into the region and reside in a neighborhood with villas, buses carrying tourists to the hotels, taxis trying to make money as they have only six months, one will possibly find it hard to believe that just 20 kilometers away, the city has a substantially different section where the main source of income is/has been agriculture based on greenhouse cultivation.

To have a better grasp of the city, it is of importance to provide information about its history, location, climate, population and economy at large and situate Fethiye in neo-liberal restructuring. By doing this, I aim to point to the socio-structural transformation that the city has been undergoing since the second half of the 20th century, in particular since the 1980s. The main reference point of the thesis is the migratory moves to Fethiye motivated by the recent shifts in the political and economic realms. Secondly, within this context, the new social spaces in which everyday practices of the residents are created and shaped will be elaborated. The main purpose is to examine the ways financial, social and cultural changes are influencing the individuals. How these people are reacting and inventing new strategies to deal with the new conditions is problematized as well.

3.1 Fethiye in History

In this section, I aim to provide a brief historical overview of Fethiye without dwelling on too many details to be able to show how much attraction this district has drawn throughout the history.

Fethiye is a very old settlement area with a recorded history spanning around 5,000 years. Some archeological artifacts show definite proof about human settlement in and around Fethiye (Yılmaz, 1969, 133). Modern Fethiye sits on the site of the ancient city of Telmessos. It was the most important city of Lycia. Telmessos meaning 'the city of lights' remained independent for some time until it was occupied by Persians around 547 BC along with other city-states that were under Lycia. Then, it was respectively occupied by Alexander the Great, The Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire. Rock tombs on mountains, the Tomb of Amyntas being the most famous one, the Hellenistic theatre in the main quay, and ancient sites around the city such as Cadianda, Sidyma, Pydnai, Tlos, Xhantos, Levissi and Letoon bear witness to its history and serve as main touristic sightseeing spots[19].

In 1284 AD, Telmessos fell under dominance of the Anatolian beylik of Menteş until 1390 when the growing Ottoman Empire took hold of the region like the rest of Anatolia. In this period, the city was named 'Makri or Mekri', which means 'the distant city' in Greek. However, its name was changed as 'Meğri' by the Ottomans (Yılmaz, 1969). Venetians occupied Meğri in 1473, but after a short period of time, the Ottoman Empire overtook the region once again until its fall. Meğri was turned into a municipality in 1874 and Hacı Mehmet Aga from Rhodes became the first mayor.

The town showed a considerable growth in the 19th century, and had a relatively large Greek population at the time. Following the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923, the Greeks of Makri were sent to Greece where they founded the town of Nea Makri (New Makri) in Greece. Turks from Greece resettled the town, Kayakoy (Darke, 1986, 165). As part of the efforts to Turkify names of settlement areas in the early Republican era, the city was renamed 'Fethiye' in honor of Fethi Bey, one of the first pilots of the Ottoman Air Force. He was killed on an early mission in 1914[20]. Since the renaming became effective in 1934, Fethiye has been a district of Muğla by

[19] http://www.fetav.com/tr/fethiyetarihi.php
[20] Turizmin Yükselen Işığı Fethiye, p. 11

the same name.

In short, it is clear that Fethiye has been home to different civilizations for centuries and they left their imprints on the area. Presumably, it might have an impact on residents' perception of belonging to the city or how they view others coming there. Seeing historical artifacts, and ruins around the city might have an impact residents' perception of their place of settlement. Here is what Remzi, the informant in the third group said:

> "I'm really proud to be surrounded by historical places such as Tlos and Kayaköy since it is a source of pride to be able to maintain these places and see that a lot of people come here to visit what we have."

The above quote is significant in terms of showing his attachment to the place. It is also of importance for two underlying reasons: it shows the transformation of heritage into a global industry. It is clear that Fethiye draws a considerable number of visitors with its historical richness. According to Lowenthal (1996), one of the key authors on heritage conservation, consumers' extensive desire for the retro and restored is gratified by the global industry. It achieves this by selling the past to promote tourism and development. However, what I would like to highlight is not only related to visitors' or consumers' satisfaction in this process. This heritage industry also satisfies the needs of the local residents as well, giving them pride and pleasure with their historical sites and memories that come along with them.

3.2 Fethiye, a City with 3S: the Geography and the Climate

Agriculture and tourism are two safeguards of the economy in Fethiye. They also play a great role on a national level. For this reason, understanding the determinant factors behind these activities is crucial: its geography and climate. The definition of tourism inherently embodies spatial mobility, which turns tourism to a geographical phenomenon. Thus, there is a fundamental unity between tourism and geographical features. Agricultural practices are also highly influenced by climate and geography. They determine the type, quality and variety of crops and labor power required in the production phase. The tripartite existence of sun-sea-sand in Fethiye forms the basis of both economical activities. To this end, a brief explanation on these issues is necessary.

3.2.1 Geographical Features

The district of Fethiye is located on the southwestern coast of Turkey on the skirts of Mount Mendos. It is surrounded by Eşen stream flowing into Mediterranean Sea and district of Kaş in the south, and peninsula of Kapidag as well as district of Dalaman in the west (Figure 2). Districts of Antalya (Korkuteli and Elmalı) are situated in the east while the districts of the city of Denizli (Gölhisar and Çameli) are in the north[21]. The city stands as a junction point, which separates Aegean and Mediterranean regions. It belongs to the latter in geographical distribution even though it belongs to Muğla, which is in Aegean region, in official administrative organization of Turkey[22].

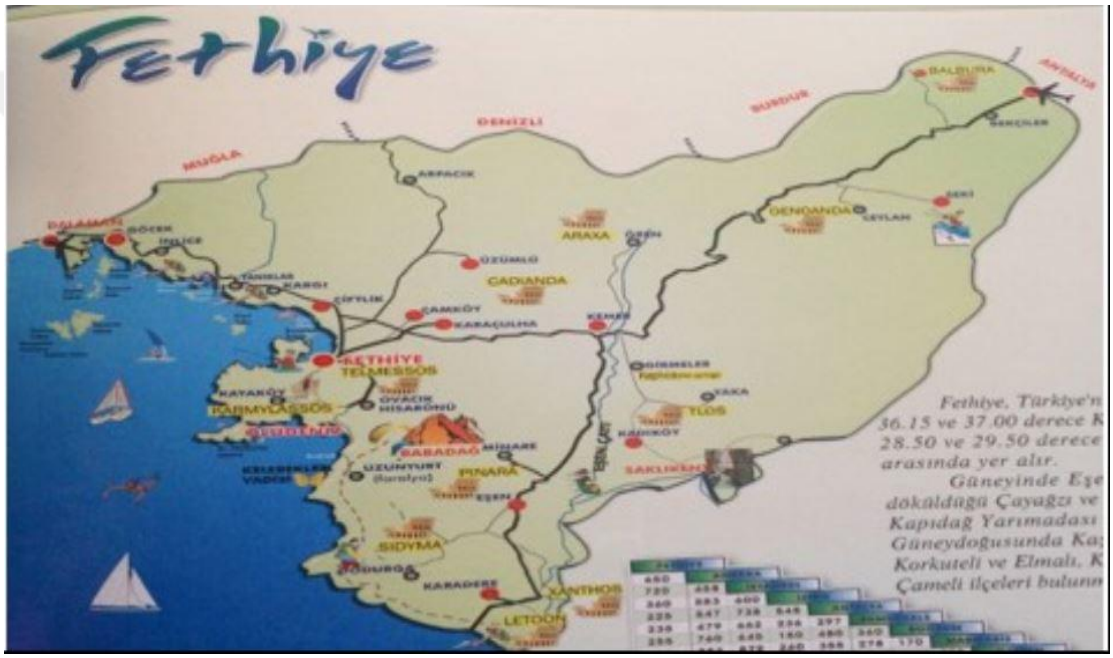


Figure 2. Geographical Image of Fethiye

Fethiye Belediyesi Yayınları. 2007. **Turizmin Yükselen Işığı Fethiye**. Fethiye.

Of all the 13 districts of Muğla, it is Fethiye that covers the largest area with 2,973 square kilometers. The length of total coastline is 167 kilometers within city limits. There are 18 islands such as the Knight Island, Katranci, Gemile, and Ayanikola as well as bays with differing sizes (Figure 2). In addition to big-scale streams -Eşen and Kargı-, Fethiye has two lowlands namely Eşen and Fethiye where people are primarily engaged in agriculture. Places with low altitudes are rich in lime soil, which allows for productive farming. The city center is mostly flat despite having high mountains

[21] http://www.fethiye.gov.tr - İlçemiz Genel Bilgiler
[22] www.fethiye.gov.tr. - Fethiye Genel Coğrafya ve Yeryüzü Şekilleri.

around such as Babadağ (1950 m.), Akdağ, and Mendos (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013, 24).

Another aspect of Fethiye's geography is that it is close to Greek islands such as Rhodes and Crete. Since a tourist can visit these islands on a daily boat trip, tourists with long holiday plans are attracted more. Besides, the topography provides advantages in that mountains run vertically to the seaside. It creates several coves, bays, and gulfs, which makes Fethiye and the surrounding locations ideal itineraries for cruises or yachts.

3.2.2 The Climate

Typical Mediterranean climatic conditions are dominant in the area: it enjoys milder climates with very hot, long and moderately dry summers with an average of 34°C in the daytime. On the other hand, there are rainy and cool winters with a daytime average of 16°C. The number of days with precipitation is only 79 days per year. It hardly ever snows in Fethiye and it goes below 0°C only for a day or two a year on the coastline[23]. The vegetation bears the hallmarks of Mediterranean region. Considering appropriate climatic features can enable one to see how convenient it is for people to do farming and grow citrus. The mountains run parallel to the coasts, which allows for farming in lowlands by keeping strong winds away. Forests surrounding Fethiye reach the height of 2000 meters at times. Thanks to the favorable climate, olive trees are abundant in the area just like other cities in the region. Olive and olive oil productions are one of the incomes in Fethiye.

As can be seen, vegetation and very mild climate potentially offer residents of Fethiye to be engaged in agriculture and tourism. However, despite such optimum environment and climate, 40 years ago or so, its economy used to depend on neither tourism nor agriculture to such an extent that we could see today. Factors that has given rise to agriculture, especially greenhouse production and tourism, will be presented in the upcoming sections.

[23] http://www.mgm.gov.tr/veridegerlendirme/il-ve-ilceler-istatistik.aspx?m=MUGLA

3.2.3 Geography and Climate on the Making of Fethiye

The aforementioned geographical and natural factors should be taken into consideration in studying socio-structural transformation of the city. They have laid the foundations of an economic activity on a large scale in Fethiye: tourism. Tourism and geography are closely interrelated, as the former is a spatial process. A physical geography is both the prerequisite and the source of input for the operation of tourism production. In other words, natural attractions like bays, seas, islands, mountains and the climate are essential to tourism and they are exploited by tourism (Akdağ & Öter, 2011).

Geography determines the organization of tourism mainly in two ways: firstly precipitation, time zones of the location, and landscapes have an impact on the way other inputs are organized. For instance, contents and timing of the packaging tours, location of hotels and airports are mapped out in line with geographic features. Geography also plays a role in tourists' preferences and demands. People try to seek and see the things their geography lacks. Thus, they try to visit different geographies (Akdağ & Öter, 2011). In this regard, geographies with distinct features come to the fore in tourism market. It points to the following result in the case of Fethiye: The city embodying the historical sites in addition to the tripartite essential resources, sun-sea-sand, has gained a privileged position in the promotion of tourism, leading to what Storper (1997) calls 'territorialisation'. He argues that when the economic essence of an activity is grounded in assets (including practices and relations) that are unavailable in many other places and it is impossible to create or imitate them easily or rapidly in places that lack them, that specific activity is fully territorialized. Storper (1997, 29), however, adds that his discussion of territorialization has little value in the case of other productive activities necessitating labor and technology as crucial resources.

Another phenomenon related to 'territorialization' is appropriation of nature to promote mass tourism. In addition to the available natural resources such as Ölüdeniz, 12 bays, Babadağ, Saklıkent, some parts of the district have been appropriated for tourism purposes. For instance, Göcek, a part of Fethiye is now a well-known marina where there used to be Göcek Chrome Mining Enterprises, which was shut down in 1993. Investments worth millions of dollars by a private company turned this location into Yacht Marina and Tourism Complex. It harbors about 400 yachts and offers a

variety of activities in modern facilities now[24]. To quote one of the informants, Nezahat, on appropriation of nature:

> "Back then there was a field right on seafront in Çalış. There was nothing but bushes around. I told my husband to start something, but he rejected the idea. The state gave it to some other people. People from Fethiye don't have vision."

In fact, here she provides a historical fraction of the transformation in Fethiye. It is about the transformation of a predominantly rural location into a tourism spot over the years thanks to the investments. She points to the beginning stages when Fethiye with its unique nature started to be heard gradually. The above quote also underlines the role of the state in the appropriation of nature and privatization of touristic locations.

However, while discussing territorialization and appropriation of nature, there are a few crucial points to bear in mind. Firstly, one should avoid geographic determinism, and realize that elements of physical geography such as climate, distance and nature are not the sole reasons behind the boost in tourist arrivals and revenues. One should also note that promotion of such features in different parts of the world through developments in communication technologies has contributed to the magnitude of tourism in Fethiye. It helped such an economic activity to be introduced as a local asset to the outside world. However, it does not necessarily mean that it was opening up to the outside world with its own initiative. It brings us to the next point: One should also consider prevalent and game-changing neoliberal restructuring at work at the time. Thus, I view this locally territorialized process as an extension and/or result of neoliberal policies followed by the state. I will engage in a discussion of this in the section on economic transformation at depth.

3.3 'Deterritorialization of Proximity': not Distant Anymore

The existence of ports and airports is an issue frequently ignored in similar studies. However, Roberts (2004, 324) argues that substantial material changes in the landscape were vital for the realization of neoliberal insistence on liberalization. This led private and state sector to make investments in physical infrastructure to facilitate the opening markets. For instance, ports and airports are viewed in neoliberalism as appropriate investments. However, I pay particular attention to ports and airports in that they not only unleashed massive changes in the geographies of transportation at

[24] http://www.muglakulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,73790/fethiye.html

all scales, promoting the markets but also facilitated human mobility and opened doors literally and figuratively, leading to subsequent changes. On a final note, inspired by Storper's 'territorialization', I prefer to call this process 'deterritorialization of proximity', referring to the easy access to/from the city and disappearance of absolute borderlands.

The developments in transportation are also relevant to the discussion on Fethiye as a developing and urbanizing city. It owes its growth in part to its geographical features. Its transportation services have been improving in the same line, making it easily accessible. As stated by Suat, such developments concern mobility within the city as well:

> "(Talking about changes in the city)…It was a village back then when we first came to Fethiye 30 years ago. It was a place without proper vehicles. You even had to wait till the morning (referring to public transportation) if you wanted to go to Seki, a highland."

A narrative of progress is called forth in this quote. It offers insights into the developing infrastructure of the city, accessibility and availability of certain goods. It also points to the fact that today people from inner parts of the city like villages or highlands come and go easily on a daily basis. This observation is significant in that it contributes to the discussion about interactions among the residents because they make themselves visible in the city and encounter the new actors more.

There are basically two means of transportation to get to Fethiye: highway and airway. There are bus services to all the cities in Turkey. Gocek Tunnel that was opened in 2006 makes transportation more efficient on highway. The nearest airport is in Dalaman and it is 55 kilometers away, which has played an important role in the increasing number of visitors. There are also Antalya and Bodrum airports being 199 and 242 kilometers away, respectively. As for sea travel, Port of Fethiye is the home to a lot of yachts and boats during the year. It is also convenient to go to Rhodes Island by ferry services in summer (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013).

The tourism structure in a location is shaped through factors such as being distant or accessible. Being closely surrounded by popular tourism destinations such as Marmaris, Bodrum, and Antalya and having a well-functioning transportation system make Fethiye a conjunction point where people from different nations, religions and walks of life happen to have interaction. As a result, residents of Fethiye, both local people and immigrants, come into contact not only with each other but also with visitors at varying degrees through different lines of economic and social activities.

3.4 Demographic Features

The latest statistics of 2014 show that Fethiye is the second most populous district of Muğla with a population of 145,643, Bodrum being the number one with a marginal difference[25]. 73,360 men and 72,283 women comprise the population. The first official census goes back to 1927, which shows its then-population as 34,198. It was 41,656 in 1935, followed by 44,055 in 1940, and 54,117 in 1950, respectively (Gün, 2006). In 2013, of all the age groups, people aged 35-39 made up the biggest one (Figure 3).

İLÇE	YAŞ GRUBU	TOPLAM	ERKEK	KADIN	İLÇE	TOPLAM	ERKEK	KADIN
FETHİYE	'0-4'	9.436	4.804	4.632	SEYDİKEMER	3.782	1.948	1.834
	'5-9'	10.240	5.275	4.965		4.251	2.217	2.034
	'10-14'	9.992	5.174	4.818		4.592	2.316	2.276
	'15-19'	10.031	5.310	4.721		4.638	2.395	2.243
	'20-24'	8.291	4.090	4.201		3.584	1.776	1.808
	'25-29'	10.119	4.953	5.166		3.869	2.125	1.744
	'30-34'	11.998	5.908	6.090		4.037	2.164	1.873
	'35-39'	12.430	6.199	6.231		4.241	2.210	2.031
	'40-44'	11.766	6.030	5.736		4.500	2.362	2.138
	'45-49'	10.668	5.485	5.183		4.485	2.267	2.218
	'50-54'	9.373	4.783	4.590		3.994	2.012	1.982
	'55-59'	7.669	3.949	3.720		3.418	1.678	1.740
	'60-64'	5.932	2.937	2.995		2.757	1.315	1.442
	'65-69'	4.616	2.276	2.340		2.258	1.060	1.198
	'70-74'	3.390	1.674	1.716		2.069	982	1.087
	'75-79'	2.083	977	1.106		1.401	672	729
	'80-84'	1.571	680	891		1.183	539	644
	'85-89'	721	241	480		488	175	313
	'90+'	183	64	119		113	44	69
TOPLAM		140.509	70.809	69.700		59.660	30.257	29.403

Figure 3. Population by Gender and Age Group in Fethiye and Seydikemer in 2013

Fethiye Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası. 2013. **Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor**. Printer Ofis Matbaacılık, İzmir.

In Turkey the general trend is that the size of 0-14 age group has been decreasing and that of people over 65 has been increasing for the last 10 years. While the same trend is valid for Fethiye, its percentage of young population is comparatively lower and that of people over 65 is higher than Turkey average. It can be attributed to the immigration of retired people from metropolitan cities (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor 2013, 33). Another group of residents making up the population is foreign residents. There are

[25] http://www. tuik.gov.tr

4865 foreign residents registered by District Police Department of Passport[26].

The recent law passed on December 6th, 2012 has turned out to be a significant factor that changed demographic organization of Fethiye to a great extent[27]. According to this law, 13 cities including Muğla were entitled to be a metropolitan municipality. In line with the law, legal entities of villages and towns belonging to Fethiye within its administrative boundaries were annulled. Kemer, a town in Fethiye was turned into a separate municipality. It is called Seydikemer now. The new district stripped off about 25 % of the population of Fethiye (Figure 4).

İlçelere göre il/ilçe merkezi ve belde/köy nüfusu - 2014

	İl/İlçe merkezi			Toplam		
Muğla	Toplam	Erkek	Kadın	Toplam	Erkek	Kadın
Bodrum	152.440	77.445	74.995	152.440	77.445	74.995
Dalaman	35.958	18.566	17.392	35.958	18.566	17.392
Datça	20.156	10.309	9.847	20.156	10.309	9.847
Fethiye	145.643	73.360	72.283	145.643	73.360	72.283
Kavaklıdere	10.814	5.480	5.334	10.814	5.480	5.334
Köyceğiz	34.027	17.081	16.946	34.027	17.081	16.946
Marmaris	88.621	46.995	41.626	88.621	46.995	41.626
Menteşe	102.414	51.610	50.804	102.414	51.610	50.804
Milas	132.445	67.050	65.395	132.445	67.050	65.395
Ortaca	44.827	22.596	22.231	44.827	22.596	22.231
Seydikemer	58.771	29.793	28.978	58.771	29.793	28.978
Ula	23.610	11.845	11.765	23.610	11.845	11.765
Yatağan	44.783	22.512	22.271	44.783	22.512	22.271
Toplam	894.509	454.642	439.867	894.509	454.642	439.867

Figure 4. The Number of Population by Districts in Muğla, 2014

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. http://www.tuik.gov.tr. **İlçelere Göre Nüfus.** Last Accessed on: November 12, 2015.

After the new law, Fethiye with a population of 145, 643 makes up 16 % of Muğla metropolitan municipality (Figure 5). Had the law not been introduced, Fethiye could have been in a different position with a population close to 200,000 people.

In summary, Fethiye comprises an important part of the Muğla province with its relatively high population compared to other districts. There is a substantial amount of immigration to the city. Historically important events that have shaped the distribution of population will be examined in detail in the next chapter. Besides, the effect of the

[26] http://www.fethiyehaber.com/yerlesik-yabancilar-turkce-ogreniyor/
[27] https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k6360.html

aforementioned law on the way municipality functions and people relate to the new situation will be further explored in Chapter 4. The next section investigates the transformation of the city in terms of financial structures.

Muğla Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Toplam	Erkek	Kadın	Yüzde Oranı
Menteşe	99.911	50.209	49.702	12%
Bodrum	140.716	72.113	68.603	16%
Dalaman	35.362	18.303	17.059	4%
Datça	17.983	9.369	8.614	2%
Fethiye	140.509	70.809	69.700	16%
Kavaklıdere	10.878	5.514	5.364	1%
Köyceğiz	33.777	16.990	16.787	4%
Marmaris	85.801	45.744	40.057	10%
Milas	129.128	65.424	63.704	15%
Ortaca	44.227	22.241	21.986	5%
Seydikemer	59.660	30.257	29.403	7%
Ula	23.418	11.762	11.656	3%
Yatağan	45.295	22.796	22.499	5%
Toplam	866.665	441.531	425.134	100%

Figure 5. Distribution of the Population in Muğla Metropolitan Municipality by Districts

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. http://www.tuik.gov.tr. **İlçelere Göre Nüfus.** Last Accessed on: November 12, 2015.

3.5 The Economy

Two pillars of the economy in Fethiye are agriculture and tourism. To be able to provide a full account, firstly, the driving forces underlying the transformation in agriculture and tourism will be explained. Some statistics will follow that in order to illustrate the importance of these two domains. The transformations in both agriculture and tourism are seen as the most important factors, if not the only ones, in understanding intercultural interactions among the city residents. For this reason, some comments will be provided while discussing the trajectory of historical structural changes in Fethiye.

3.5.1 Agriculture and Changing Policies

In this section, the historical setting in which the current conditions in agriculture have been shaped will be examined in order to analyze the social relations established around the organization of greenhouse production. The idea behind this attempt is that the social reality can be grasped through its changing nature. The argumentation and the analysis of the growth of greenhouse production in Fethiye will touch upon four related topics: the changes in the realm of national and international politics, transformations in agriculture, the magnitude of the emerging markets, and agricultural households. In the meantime, the political and financial issues as well as the theoretical approaches to the agricultural change will be presented. Then, keeping the case of Fethiye in mind, the similarity to or divergence from these theories will be explored. The last part is spared for the discussion on the structure of agricultural households. This part is of great importance since it determines the kind of social reality on which relationships are built.

3.5.1.1 Agricultural Policies from 1950 to 1980

To begin with, Günaydın (2002) sees the developments in agriculture in this period as a result and/or an extension of Turkey's entry into OECD, IMF and World Bank in 1947 and becoming a member of Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1952. Günaydın argues that Turkey was integrated into the newly established international structure under the leadership of the US (2002).

Ecevit (1999), on the other hand, relates the root cause of the expansion and growing agricultural production in the 1960s to the Marshall Plan that had been put in place after the Second World War. In line with the plan, large foreign credits were provided for the mechanization of the agricultural production in Turkey. However, Tören (2007) objects to the traditional reading of the Marshall Plan. He claims that there is an overemphasis on Turkey's role as a producer of agricultural goods in the 1950s. The plan was implemented to aid the developments not only in agriculture but also in the industrial sector of Turkey. Nevertheless, he admits that the main objective of the plan was to increase Turkey's agricultural capacity.

A rapid mechanization of agricultural production and construction of new highways to facilitate the farm-market connection were the vital stages (Yıldırmaz, 2009, 74). To this end, foreign investments and more liberal credit policies proved effective.

Between 1948 and 1959, over 1.2 billion US dollars was given by the USA in direct and indirect loans and grants (Tören, 2007, 273). The Turkish state made huge investments in agriculture and industry. Along with these changes, the 1960s and 1970s witnessed a momentum in the expansion of greenhouses in agriculture and the economy at large. It was motivated by mechanisms of import substitution implemented by the state. Another driving force behind the reasonable growth of vegetable production in greenhouses was the opening up of tourism along coastal cities in the 1970s (Tekeli, 1993) even though the impact of tourism would be much greater starting in the 1990s. It will be explored further in the upcoming parts.

The small producers dominated the Turkish agriculture back in the 1960s and 1970s. In the case of greenhouses, they depended on the temperate climate and availability of family labor. The greenhouse production in these family-owned lands turned into a significant economic alternative for the following reasons: firstly, an input market emerged in line with the advances in technology. So, people could obtain the necessary goods like tractors to cultivate more their lands more efficiently. Secondly, an excess of labor in the rural settlements emerged on account of the introduction and spread of agricultural machinery, which led to new waves of rural-to-urban migration. The development of highways played a significant role in rural to urban migration from the early 1950s onwards (Gürel, 2012). Thus, increasing urbanization provided a market for off-season vegetable production because, in the words of Gürel (2012), the development of highways also helped the creation of an integrated domestic market, moving the commercialization of agriculture forward.

The 1970s, however, turned into a challenging period since the level of growth that had been achieved proved to be somewhat temporary since it was based on the foreign credits. Besides, dependence on the importation of technology continued despite the industrialization initiatives. Also, due to the collapse of the oil prices in 1972, the markets dependent on oil in the world economy had to face a period of general crisis. However, Günaydın (2002, 13-14) states that the short-lived governments were the primary accountable ones behind this. They were unwilling to implement the reforms and resorted to short-term policies, which temporarily postponed the destructive effects of the crisis. One reason why these governments did not feel the need to accelerate such efforts was the significant amount of flow of money sent by the workers abroad (Akşit, 1988, 192). It provided leverage for the worsening economy.

Despite the disappointment in expected growth, the Turkish agricultural structure maintained its dependence on petty commodity producers. It was predicted that mechanization of agriculture would lead to dispossession of the lands and consequently the dominance of capitalist farms that were to employ proletarianized workers (Akşit 1988). However, in most cases it did not take place as predicted. Akşit's studies on two villages in Antalya showed that small peasants even turned into commodity producing middle-farmers in two decades' time due to the development of irrigation by the state and the changes in the world market (1988, 182). Similarly, Tekeli's study points at the survival of the small peasantry in Muğla province (1993).

3.5.1.2 Agricultural Policies in the Neoliberal Restructuring

The major advances in both greenhouse expansion and the growth of food markets in Turkey started to take place after 1980. There are two major reasons for this amplification. The first one is related to globalizing commodity chains in agricultural production, which is defined as the new paradigm of food regimes by Buttel (2001). He indicates that the decline of the national economy was the major structural change that led to the project of globalizing finance and mobility. According to the new food regime, he continues, agriculture is globally organized by the demands of the transnational agro-food corporations. According to Llambi (1993), these developments led to the introduction of both increasingly differentiated and new products to cultivate. With the natural advantage, the farmers particularly in the Mediterranean and Aegean coastal cities have gained a position to meet both the national and international demands. Greenhouses have served as the appropriate structures for trial of new crops. So, depending on the climate and fertile lands together with the growing markets, the farmers have appropriated the land. The export market has intensified this appropriation and opened new doors to generate higher revenues as will be shown in this chapter.

Another aspect of the new liberalization of the economic organization is the supply of required inputs such as seeds, the technology (fertilizers, heating, ventilation, watering) from other countries like Holland and Israel (Sırtıoglu, 2005). The farmers could also build expertise on greenhouses through more scientific methods with the expansion of and easy access to such tools. So, it can be argued that the new organization of the agriculture promoting the entrance of transnational agricultural

companies into Turkish market has situated the small producers in an intensified flow of commodities at a global scale.

The second significant factor for the boost in greenhouse production is related to the national financial policies of the state, which were introduced in line with global neo-liberal policies. A drastic turning point took place in the 1980s in many aspects including agriculture production. On 24 January 1980, Turgut Özal declared a new economic program restructuring the national economy. According to this restructuration, the economic structure would be centered on export-oriented production and the international trade would be deregulated. The protectionist policies of the state prevalent from 1950 to 1980 would be loosened up. In other words, minimization of the state intervention in economy and the privatization of state-led large economic organizations were to be put in place in this neo-liberal regime (Günaydın, 2002). The new lines of economic activities also targeted to cater to the export markets rather than the home market needs, which would be the case around the majority of the world (McMichael, 2000)

In addition, the expansion of greenhouses coincided with the reduction in the list of subsidized crops by the state. The number of the types of subsidized crops drastically went down from 22 in the year 1980 to only 10 in 1990 in line with the stand-by treaties signed with the IMF (Yenal, 2001). The reduction of this list reflects the change in the way the state used to govern the agricultural production. Its regulatory power was reduced when it stopped setting base prices and being the wholesale buyer of many crops. However, the uncertainty felt by the farmers cultivating the field crops caused them to seek other ways. Greenhouse production turned out to be a profitable alternative for some of these people due to the decreasing net income from cotton and tobacco. In brief, changes in the global domain triggering subsequent alterations on a national level have paved the way for a boost in greenhouse cultivation.

3.5.1.3 The Introduction of Greenhouses

The first greenhouse production in Turkey began in Antalya in the 1940s. The very first greenhouses were made of glass. It spread among the small producers in the 1960s since it was easier to access to low-cost plastic to cover the land, chemical fertilizers, and seeds (Akpınar et. al., 1998). Besides, irrigation system was improved by the state. Even though there is no definite date for the introduction of greenhouses in Fethiye,

there is sufficient information showing the existence of greenhouses in the 1960s. Yılmaz (1969) mentions that production of early vegetables like tomato, pepper and aubergine in glass greenhouses met the needs of Fethiye residents all year long. He claims that greenhouse production was initially for domestic trade within Fethiye. However, since these vegetables had higher quality, they were shipped to cities like İzmir, İstanbul, Denizli and Balıkesir.

Doğan (2004) shows that greenhouses in Fethiye covered 3986 decares in 1990. The covered space went up to 7490 decares in 2001 with an increase of 88 %. It was higher than the national 79 % increase from 1994 to 2014 in Turkey[28]. The upward move in the amount of lands covered with greenhouses has continued even though the rate of increase was slower compared to the previous years. To exemplify the point, there were 24,255 decares covered with greenhouses in Fethiye in 2008 and it was 25760 decares in 2013 (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik rapor, 2013). However, it should be pointed out once again that the growth of greenhouse areas went hand in hand with the diminishing land use for other crops such as cotton and tobacco.

In these historically enlarging areas with greenhouses, tomato cultivation has always dominated other crops. Close to 90 % of greenhouses were intended for tomato in 1997. Out of 7490 decares of greenhouses in 2001, 6020 decares were spared for tomato cultivation. In just four years, cultivated area increased by 65 % while the expansion of production was 185 % (Doğan, 2004). Such an increase explains the fact that new structures of greenhouses were aimed at tomato production to a great extent. As will be shown in the next section, tomato makes up a high percentage in today's greenhouse production. Better quality seeds, improved ways to fight against insects as a result of technological advances and farmers' accumulated knowledge can be attributed to this sharp increase in production.

3.5.1.4 A General Outlook on Agriculture Today

There are 65,458 hectares of cultivated agricultural area in Fethiye. Of all these lands, 51 % of them are irrigable lands (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013). As a result of convenient climate and soil structure, the lands especially irrigable ones are quite

[28] http://antalya.tarim.gov.tr/Haber/295/Ortualti-Sektoru-1-Ulusal-Seracilik-Calistayinda-Masaya-Yatirildi

appropriate for polyculture. It refers to agriculture where multiple crops are cultivated in the same space (Doğan, 2004). According to the figures of 2013, of all the districts in Turkey, Fethiye ranks the fourth in terms of national agricultural production (Figure 6). It shows the vital role Fethiye plays on a national level in economic terms despite relatively smaller size of the city.

İLÇELER İÇİNDEKİ SIRALAMA	İL	İLÇE	ÜLKENİN TARIMSAL ÜRETİMİNDEKİ PAYI (%)
1	Adana	Büyükşehir	1,49545
2	Karaman	Merkez	1,24716
3	Niğde	Merkez	1,19477
4	**Muğla**	**Fethiye**	**1,16167**
5	Mersin	Merkez	1,15
6	Mersin	Tarsus	1,14587
7	Samsun	Çarşamba	1,01815
8	Antalya	Merkez	0,96791
9	Bursa	Karacabey	0,88648
10	Samsun	Bafra	0,76779

Figure 6. National Agricultural Production in Turkey and the Share of Fethiye

Fethiye Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası. 2013. **Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor**. Printer Ofis Matbaacılık, İzmir.

Agricultural production is done in many forms such as greenhouse cultivation, field crops, fruit growing, citrus, and animal husbandry. However, greater part of my analysis in the thesis is related to greenhouse cultivation for two reasons. The first reason is that greenhouse cultivation alone accounts for more than half of all gross proceeds from agriculture by 55 % (Figure 7). Besides, the amount of labor force required in this sector outweighs the others, which will help me more to discuss socio-demographics changes in Fethiye.

Before delving into the current state of greenhouse cultivation, other sectors within agriculture should be analyzed for comparison. To begin with, field crops having 11% of the total agricultural gross proceeds include mainly cotton and tobacco, followed by sugar beet, wheat, bean, potato, and sesame. However, gross proceeds especially from

cotton and tobacco cultivation have decreased because of less usage of the lands for these crops. There are several reasons for such a decrease: firstly, fields are sectional, which makes it inappropriate for mechanical agriculture with machinery. Secondly, the percentage of the population dependent on this income is too high. So, people are turning towards other means of income. Lastly, significantly less people engage in cultivating field crops due to ever-growing expenses, less purchase by the state, the quota application particularly on cotton and tobacco and the removal of tobacco from the list of subsidized crops in 2002 (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013, 96). As a result, people have shifted towards forage crops and fruit growing. It has led to the steady growth of the fruit and citrus market in Fethiye since people have started to invest in growing a variety of plants. For instance, there are considerable increases especially in the number of olive, and pomegranate plants followed by peach, apple, cherry, almond and citrus trees (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013).

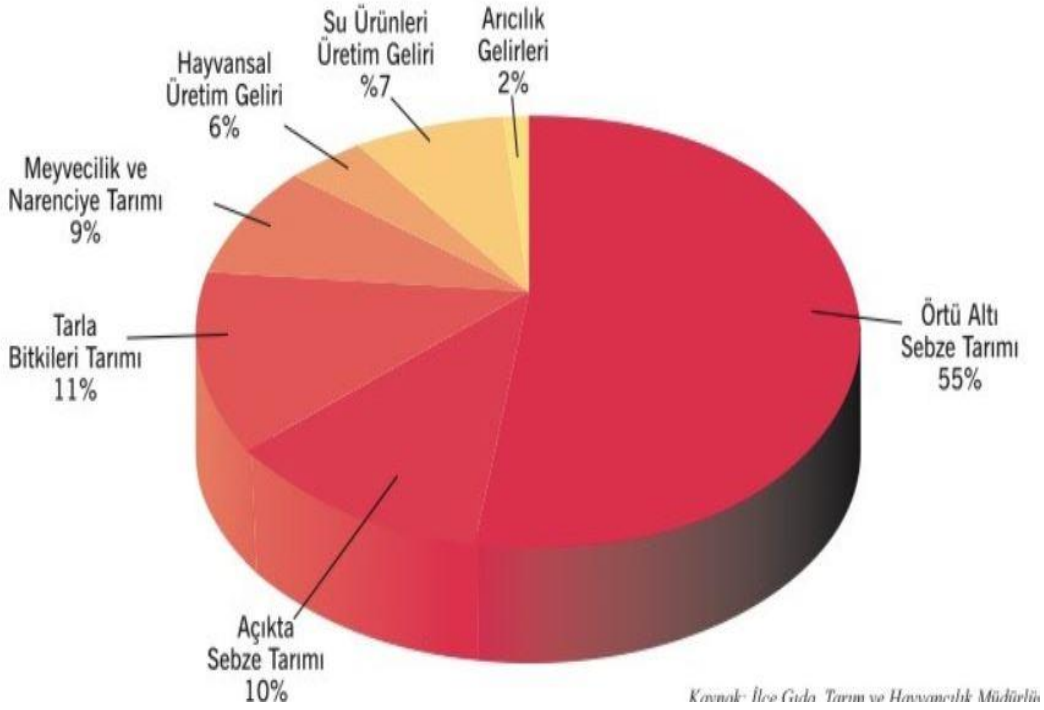


Figure 7. Agricultural Gross Proceeds

Fethiye Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası. 2013. **Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor**. Printer Ofis Matbaacılık, İzmir.

a) Fethiye: The Tomato Factory

In order to have a better grasp of greenhouse cultivation in Fethiye, one needs to understand the current national and global situation about production based on this

type of agriculture. As of 2014, Turkey has around 650 thousands of decares of greenhouses, which makes it the second country in Europe after Spain and the fourth in the world[29]. The number of greenhouse enterprises is increasing at a fast pace as a result of credits and subsidies provided by The Ministry of Food Agriculture and Livestock. The scale of an enterprise in greenhouse in Turkey has increased from two decares to four through state subsidies in the last 10 years[30].

When the distribution of greenhouses on a city basis is taken into account in Turkey, there are 51 cities where greenhouse production exists. Of all the cities, Antalya owns the majority of greenhouses by 38 %. Adana, Mersin and Muğla follow it, respectively (TUIK, 2011). The production of these four cities equals to 90 % of the total amount. In other words, greenhouse production is concentrated in Mediterranean region. In the light of developments in the last five years, the rate of growth in greenhouse production is about 15%. It is now clear that greenhouse cultivation in Turkey has recently gained a stronger ground in agriculture as a result of the state support, mechanical and technical advances.

As for the provincial statistics, by having 40 % of the greenhouses Fethiye outnumbers any other district of Muğla. As a result of the following factors, Fethiye has become one of the prominent locations in greenhouse cultivation[31]. First and foremost, farmers harvest two times a year at a level of 80 % efficiency. It is mainly because the heating and humidity levels can be controlled since modern greenhouse constructions are equipped with the technological mechanisms. In terms of exportation in fresh fruits and vegetables from greenhouse production, tomato dominated the market overwhelmingly by 97 % in 2013 and its gross proceeds accounted for 83 % of total 446,475,000 TL (Figure 8). When commercial fruit and vegetable export figures are considered, Russia is the number one buyer as 88 % of exported fruit and vegetable went there (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013). To summarize, cultivating tomato has become the major form in greenhouse production since its profit margin is considerably higher than other agricultural endeavors.

[29] http://antalya.tarim.gov.tr/Haber/295/Ortualti-Sektoru-1-Ulusal-Seracilik-Calistayinda-Masaya-Yatirildi

[30] http://www.tarim.gov.tr/Konular/Bitkisel-Uretim/Tarla-Ve-Bahce-Bitkileri/Ortu-Alti-Yetistiricilik

[31] http://mugla.tarim.gov.tr/Menu/25/Tarimsal-Yapi

ÜRÜN CİNSİ	2013 yılı Gayri Safi Hasıla
Domates	370.850.000,00TL
Hıyar	30.600.000,00 TL
Patlıcan	25.630.000 TL
Fasulye	10.360.000,00TL
Kabak Sakız	6.600.000 TL
Marul	1.260.000,00 TL
Salatalık	30.600.000,00TL
Kavun	320.000 TL
Karpuz	120.000 TL
Çilek	735.000 TL
TOPLAM	446.475.000,00TL

Figure 8. Gross Proceeds from Greenhouse Production in Fethiye in 2013

Fethiye Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası. 2013. **Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor**. Printer Ofis Matbaacılık, İzmir.

3.5.1.5 A Discussion on the Status of Agricultural Households

What has been explained so far points to a very important social reality: local financial and demographic dynamics are bound to change in certain directions due to external factors. They provide areas of exploration for a better understanding of the local socio-structural transformations in Fethiye: First, there is a huge and growing market. So, the roles taken on by those in the production chain such as farmers, workers, middlemen, and international companies need to be analyzed. Secondly, the expansion of greenhouses necessitates more labor power. So, the discussion of who constitutes the labor power gains importance. Exploration of these issues will be based on the position of family owned small-scale agricultural production since it has been one of the major discussion points of the rural context in the capitalized countries in the Marxist literature[32].

[32] According to the Marxist analysis, agricultural production would become increasingly effective at a fast pace and the introduction of competitive measures would increase the productivity due to the development of capitalist farming. Then, the accumulated wealth in agricultural activity would be transferred to a rapidly rising industrial sector. After being removed from the land, they would constitute an army of laborers without any property ready to work on. In other words, For Marx, petty agricultural production was a transitory form, which would soon differentiate between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The general tendency of the scholars in the first half of the 20thcentury was that the operation of the family-owned enterprise was authentic to the organization itself and formed a distinct basis of logic. Petty agricultural production was not transformed by the penetration of capitalist production and

When it comes to the literature on the nature of the system of agricultural production[33] in Turkey after the 1950s, Boratav (as cited in Aydın, 1986, 182-183) argues that small land-owning family production was the predominant form of organization of agricultural production. He also claims it lacked capitalist production and the surplus created by petty agricultural producers were appropriated by certain actors of exchange such as the usurers and traders in the local level. Boratav calls this a 'backward' form of capitalism (Aydın, 1986). Keyder also points to the predominance of petty-agricultural production in Anatolia (1983). Keyder proposes that there was an abundance of arable land. However, the scarceness of available labor in agricultural production prevented any form of big land ownership and concentration of lands in the hands of limited number of people.

Keyder's claims hold true in the case of agriculture in Fethiye since the 1960s. In his seminal piece on Muğla, Tekeli (1993) states the nature of field crops to be cultivated was the deterrent factor for big landowning in the districts of Muğla. For instance, crops such as cotton and tobacco required a large amount of labor force. However, the

considered as independent category. See Kautsky, Chayanov and Lenin for more information in Başaran (2008).

The anti-colonialist movements in lands controlled by Western powers and Maoist uprising of the small land-owning masses in China inspired a new interest in Marxist rhetoric in the 1960s. It was significantly divergent from the pure proletarian struggle. Investigations through the later capitalizing countries' agricultural structures within the organization of agricultural production were aimed at determining whether this model of modernization of the Western countries would hold true in all the other parts of the world. The coordinated efforts were categorized under the name of "peasant studies". The Journal of Peasant Studies started to be published in 1973. There were two approaches: The first general implicit assumption was that the small agricultural production unit held an autonomous quality to it; was not governed directly by the mechanisms of capitalism and consequently, could not be understood simply with the concepts that we use to understand capitalist mode of production. According to the second approach, the conditions of existence of the particular unit of organization of production are determined by capitalism, although the operating mechanisms and the logic of operation differ from that of a capitalist unit of production. It is different from a capitalist production because it is based on the family owned small-scale land and uses non-capitalist features such as unpaid family labor and the reproduction of the family labor. Since there is commodity production by the unit, they were called 'petty-commodity producers'.

Another dimension of the debates revolved around the position of later capitalized countries. According to the Modernization School, later capitalizing countries were perceived to be backward and called as the 3rd World Countries. This school of thought failed to accept the possibility of recreating the same process of urbanisation/industrialisation/modernisation successfully in these countries. Another vein, the Dependency School proposes that these countries have not taken the ideal path of Great Transformation yet. It intends to determine the real obstacles in front of the actual development of these countries. The first scholar to go beyond this dualistic approach was Wallerstein in the 1970s. Instead of dubbing a group of advanced countries as capitalist and regarding the other countries or specific characteristics within those countries as abnormalities to this system, he proposed that the social reality was shaped by a 'world system'. He coined the terms core, semi-periphery, and the periphery countries. For more information see: Başaran, K. E. (2008) Petty Agricultural Production and Contract Farming: a Case in Turkey. MA thesis. METU

[33] I will use the term 'petty agricultural producer' at times to refer to the family owned small-scale producers.

increasing number of alternative jobs in the city and integration with the other markets boosted the wages that had to be paid to labor force. Thus, family owned enterprises became more profitable compared to big scale enterprises. According to Tekeli (1993), there were other factors at play for the existence of petty commodity producers. Policies on credits after the 1950s benefited petty agricultural producers to a great extent. Those who used to rent lands from big landowners or who were engaged in sharecropping could now buy the lands to cultivate. Thus, the number of those owning big scale properties in Muğla in 1965 was very limited (Figure 9). Even those big scale lands turned into middle-sized and small-scale enterprises due to the increasing irrigation between 1966 and 1979, growing expenses in agriculture inputs, expanding crops production and inheritance of the lands among the household members (Tekeli, 1993, 203). The proof for the diminishing size of big land owning in the province is the comparison of numbers in 1965 and 1981. The average size of an enterprise per person was 23,4 da. in 1965 whereas it rose to 32,1 da. in 1981. It means there was a flattening out in the number of people owning and cultivating lands.

	1965		Toplam Arazi		1981		Toplam Arazi	
Dönüm	Aile Sayısı	%	(Dönüm)	%	Aile Sayısı	%	(Dönüm)	%
1-25	31945	71.9	338153	32.4	39266	62.2	523971	25.3
26-50	8128	18.3	295505	28.4	14977	23.8	556870	26.9
51-100	3227	7.3	224366	21.6	6197	9.9	492309	23.8
101-200	954	2.2	128453	12.3	2297	3.4	318952	15.4
201-500	155	0.3	55779	5.3	438	0.7	118745	5.7
501-100					30	0.04	20700	0.99
1001-+					2	0	2070	0
Toplam	44409	100	1042256	100	64400	100	2072220	98

Figure 9. Distribution of Agricultural Areas by Family Numbers and the Size of Enterprises in Muğla (1965-1981)

Tekeli, İlhan. 1993. **Tarih Içinde Muğla**, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, Ankara.

In summary, the role of the state in the survival of petty agricultural producers and the nature of agriculture need to be kept in mind in the discussion of agricultural transformation until the 1980s. This should be taken as counter argument against the Marxist predictions that the agricultural producers would be stripped off their land and turn into proletariat. On the contrary, the amount of lands each person in the rural held on average increased. Another point of consideration was related to the debates revolving around the proximity of agricultural production to the capitalist enterprises. The farmers' efforts to reduce the amount of labor and increasing lands for each household prior to 1980 highlight the fact that it is difficult to talk about capitalist nature of agricultural production at least in the Muğla district, if not all around Turkey.

As for the status of petty agricultural producers in the neo-liberal restructuring, today 55 % of the population are engaged in agriculture in Fethiye (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013) whereas the rate was close to 83 % in 1965 (Yılmaz, 1969). Even though there has been a visible decrease, a considerable percentage of the residents earn their income through agriculture. Today, 20,642 households make their living through agriculture. 18,942 of these farmer households own land while 1700 are without land. When the size of lands per household is considered, the number of households owning up to 50 da. equals to 85 % of the whole group. It points to the existence of small-scale family production. The lands have not been accumulated in the hands of limited number of people. One obvious reason for this is that most farmers in Fethiye have adopted new mechanisms of survival instead of selling their lands altogether to someone else. Still, some of them have cut off their engagement with the land to search for other means of income such as tourism.

This period resembles the 1960s in that petty agricultural producers have been provided with credits. As Bernstein (2001) points out the restructuration on the international level for the petty-agricultural producers at the beginning meant a wave of agricultural credit programs and reforms. They were put in place to force the production of cash crops that would be exported to international markets rather than the traditional crops produced for domestic consumption (Bernstein, 2001). In running small-scale greenhouse enterprises, families have relied on family members as labor force to a great extent. However, when the crops are brought to the market to be processed, we can predominantly encounter immigrant workers from other cities. In other words, hiring people in production phase in the greenhouse is not a common

practice in small-scale greenhouse production, but in the later stages.

Coming back to the discussion on petty agricultural producers, we can say that new forms of relationships have appeared to connect these people directly to the rest of production and consumption circuits. It is impossible to talk about the protectionist policies of the state in the greenhouse production. Exporter producers do not exist in the tomato production, either, due to the size of greenhouses. Since it is based on family farming, the average greenhouse is 3-4 da. of land. Thus, when farmers produce tomato, they take it to the wholesale market (*hal*) and sell their crops there. The commissioners in the market serve as the transferring actor since they sell these crops to transnational corporations (TNCs) or domestic retailer.

There is another recent practice that connects petty agricultural producers to transnational corporations: contractual farming. It is subject to a surge of attention in the literature (Singh, 2004; Kirsten and Sartorious, 2002; Prowse, 2012). It refers to a direct relationship created between the petty agricultural producers and TNCs. These corporations make an agreement with these producers and promise to buy a certain amount of that specific cultivation. They may even provide the brands of the seeds, fertilizers or technical 'know-how' and administer supervision to ensure the quality they need. Prowse (2012, 9) maintains that contract farming has various forms, and it grants the firm a degree of control not only over the product but also the production process. Having originated in the United States, this practice has spread into different sectors such as food and fiber especially in the US and some Latin American countries (Kirsten and Sartorius, 2002). According to Singh (2004), governments and development agencies are pushing for contract farming so that small farmers can be integrated into supply chains. The fact that 38 % of agricultural products in the US were covered by contract farming in 2008 clearly shows the heavily reliance on such practice (Macdonald and Korb, 2011). However, it is widely accepted that contractual farming, an extremely centralized practice of capitalist organization on the agriculture and food sector, is a threat to petty agricultural producers' autonomy. It may put producers at a disadvantage in the face of big corporations if production does not take place as planned.

Even though contractual farming is exercised in some other locations and crops, it is not practiced for fresh tomato production in Fethiye. It has two implications for the petty agricultural producers in the case of Fethiye: firstly, TNCs exercise less power

over the organization of agricultural production in the regional level. In other words, a macro-level phenomenon cannot totally penetrate into the traditional and local agricultural structure in greenhouse production in Fethiye. The second implication, however, is somewhat bleak on the producers' part. It breeds increasing uncertainties on farmers' side as to whether they can export their production or at what price they can sell it. Possible failures related to changes in agro-food markets pose a significant risk since international political and financial issues have a direct impact on the market. At times, it can even lead to severe problems. For instance, the fact that tomato export was halted by Russia in 2005[34] and 2016[35] caused drastic decreases in the prices. In short, small land-owning units and larger capitalist organizations have a complementary nature within the agriculture despite the susceptibilities at times.

To conclude, it has been shown that greenhouse production has interpenetrated into different areas of financial and social realms as well as family households. Historically, it has had the characteristic of a factor that has provided employment, and facilitated an increase in production from a unit area. Greenhouse production has advanced immensely as a result of the easy and fast connection to the big markets. Equally important, the insertion of transnational corporations into the local markets has led farmers to be a part of competitive and export-oriented neoliberal restructuring. Subsequently, it has turned agricultural engagement into a more profitable entity in the rural and thereby slowed down the rural-to-urban immigration to some extent. However, it should be noted that the continuing existence of these units is in part related to the weakly developed industrial sector of the city of Fethiye.

3.5.2 Tourism

3.5.2.1 Policies on Tourism from Past to Today

At this point, it is necessary to identify the key grand-political policies both on national and international levels to be able to situate the historical growth of tourism industry.

a) International Policies on Tourism

As European countries comprise the largest group of tourists, the starting point of the discussion will be tourism policies of European Union. Since Treaty of Rome, which

[34] http://ekonomi.haber7.com/ekonomi/haber/325276-rusya-ile-domates-krizi-delindi
[35] http://www.internethaber.com/rusya-krizi-domatesi-fena-vurdu-1570930h.htm

is the foundation of the union, there were attempts at determining a common tourism policy among the nation states. Tourism was initially part of the service sector to be improved in the Treaty (Yalçın, 2001). Tourism Commission under European Parliament initiated the legislation on common tourism policies and presented it to Council of Europe in 1982. It necessitated allocating funds to promote tourism. Following this, initiatives were taken to develop standards of accommodation, provide service training and facilitate people's mobility to other countries.

Action plans and policies to promote tourism were prevalent in the 1990s. To exemplify, the year 1990 was announced to be Europe Tourism Year and a variety of events were held and investments were made to alter the nature of tourism and revive European tourism. However, what interests us more is another development, the Green Report that was released in 1996. It emphasized not only the financial benefits of tourism but also its social role by facilitating the adoption and promotion of European identity (Yalçın, 2001). It did not only influence tourism within European borders but also led to the increasing rate of mobility to different countries and changed the existing modes of tourism.

Another shift in tourism was witnessed in terms of inputs. Tourism initially emerged as a sector primarily based on sea tourism. However, the increasing trend soon included other resources such as thermal springs, rural landscapes, lakes and rivers. As a result, international demand on classically acclaimed Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Italy and France somewhat started to shift towards alternative countries like Greece, Tunisia, Egypt, and Turkey (Küçükaltan, G. & D, 2002). The available cultural and natural inputs in these alternative Mediterranean countries and increasing investments followed by developing professionalism in tourism paved the way for this shift. Nevertheless, countries in the former group still maintain the top spots in terms of money that they make out of tourism.

b) National policies on tourism

When it comes to tourism policies in Turkey in particular, the neo-liberal restructuring in line with the international policies mentioned above played an essential part. Land allocation, loans, and exporter rights were introduced by the Tourism Encouragement Law in 1982 (Yararcan, 1998). The aim was to provide the necessary infrastructure that could encourage more tourists to come. The law also liberalized foreign exchange

system, and visa policy (Derviş et al., 2004). 4017 incentive certificates were issued to the tourism industry by the Treasury of Turkey between 1985 and 2003. 1367 of those were allocated for Aegean Region and 1193 were aimed at Mediterranean Region (Ataer et al. 2003). These mechanisms facilitated the expansion of tourism market in Turkey. They also led to increasing capacity and tourism revenues whose historical share will be shown below.

Tourism has been indirectly affected by policies on agriculture as well since the expansion of tourism market in Fethiye coincides with the development of greenhouse production like other cities in the south coast of Turkey such as Kaş, and Kemer. The construction of more greenhouses meant a growing need for more markets. The increasing number of foreign tourists created a higher demand for fresh vegetables and fruit and became a response to this need. So, in addition to domestic trade and international export, the local area including summerhouses, holiday resorts, camping sites and hotels near the greenhouses have constituted a reasonably big market. Big supermarkets like Tansaş, Migros, and Kipa where tourists and foreign residents tend to shop more have also promoted greenhouse production (Doğan, 2004).

3.5.2.2 Tourism in numbers: a worldwide phenomenon

From 1950 to 1999, the number of tourists escalated from 25 million to 664 million people with a 7 % annual increase rate (World Tourism Organization, 2000, 1). Of all travels, 43 % were via air travel, followed by road travel with 42 %. These figures prove the significance of technological advances in mobility. As for Turkey, it was in the 14th place in the world in terms of income from tourism. The number of foreign tourists coming to Turkey was 5.389.000 in 1990, which increased to 10.412.248[36] in 2000. Germany, Commonwealth of Independent States, England and the USA were the first four countries to send most tourists in 2000. Antalya (31 %), Istanbul (23 %) and Muğla (13 %) were the first three destinations in Turkey.

As for more recent numbers, more than 36 million foreign tourists visited Turkey in 2014. It was one of the top ten tourism destinations globally by revenues and arrivals. Currently, Istanbul hosts more tourists than any other cities in Turkey, followed by Antalya and Muğla. It is clear that tourism is rapidly growing worldwide nationally.

[36] http://www.tursab.org.tr/tr/istatistikler/milliyetlerine-gore-gelen-yabanci-ziyaretciler

When the income from tourism is considered, Turkey's share in European tourism was 2,4 % in 1995. It increased to 3,7 % in 2002. Income that Turkey gained increased by 5 % every five year between 1990 and 2000.[37] The share of tourism in gross national product stood at 0,6 % in 1980 and peaked at 5,4 % in 2002. It steadily dropped especially after 9/11 and 2003 and went down to 4,3 % in 2014[38]. However, this low percent can be misleading. On a closer inspection, we can see that both the number of tourists and amount of revenues have increased by more than 150 % since 2003[39]. It points to the growth of Turkish economy in general.

When the share of domestic and foreign tourists in all the tourism revenues is considered, there is a disproportionate distribution. 86,7 % of tourism revenues came from the foreign tourists[40]. However, there was a 14 % decrease in tourism income in the first half of the year 2015 compared to 2014. On the contrary, the number of outgoing Turkish citizens to other countries increased by 20 % compared to last year. In short, tourism in Turkey has been bringing substantially more income since the 1990s.

Regarding the numbers in tourism, the revolutionary development of Soviet Union in 1991 needs to be taken into account as well (Akdağ & Öter, 2011). Turkish tourism was much more dependent on OECD member countries and European markets until the year 2000. However, the list of countries sending tourists to Turkey expanded from Central Europe to Eastern Europe and Asia. It began to welcome tourists from Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova and Central Asian Turkic Republics. In fact, according to the statistics, Russia has become the second tourist market for Turkey after Germany[41]. Of all the nations, 5.2 million were from Germany, 4.5 million were from Russia and 2.6 million came from Britain.

Akdağ & Öter (2011) highlights certain changes that triggered the diversification of tourist markets compared to the year 2000: the ease of visa applications, entrance and exit procedures at customs, and the removal of visa procedures between Turkey and closer countries such as Iran, Bulgaria, Syria and Greece and so on. Besides, countries

[37] http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turizm-ve-kalkinma.tr.mfa

[38] http://www.tursab.org.tr/tr/istatistikler/turizmin-ekonomideki-yeri/gsmh-icindeki-payi-1963-_79.html

[39] http://www.tursab.org.tr/tr/istatistikler/turist-sayisi-ve-turizm-geliri/2003-gelirsayi-ve-ortalama-harcama_68.html

[40] http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=18667

[41] http://www.tursab.org.tr/tr/istatistikler/milliyetlerine-gore-gelen-yabanci-ziyaretciler

geographically within the reach of Turkey are also progressively turning into tourist generating markets for Turkey. The list includes Middle East countries like Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates. Increasing number of ads on TV channels in these countries, broadcasting services in Turkey in Arab language, and relative stability of Turkish economy in the last decade have led to a growth in the amount of investments from these countries in Turkey. Tourist numbers from the region have also risen thanks to the common cultural and historical heritage. Developments of new airports and roads have enabled tourists to discover non-traditional destinations in Turkey, too (Akdağ & Öter, 2011).

Fethiye has had its share form this worldwide phenomenon of increase in the magnitude and revenues of tourism. As it has been the case with agriculture, numbers substantially differ between two major periods of time: before and after 1980. Yılmaz (1969) states that inter-ministerial committee of tourism announced Fethiye, a city of sun-sea-history to be first-degree tourism site in the 1960s. In 1961, Fethiye Tourism Association was founded to promote tourism. According to their records of 1968, the number of foreign tourists was only 4700 while it was 7500 for domestic tourists. Yılmaz (1969) emphasizes the fact that even though the roads were rough, the number of incoming tourists was increasing. However, compared to the end of 1960s, the number of tourists has incredibly increased more than hundred times. According to the statistics of tourist information center, about 1.3 million tourists visited Fethiye in 2013. The number was 1.25 million in 2012 and 1.35 million in both 2011 and 2010 (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013, 129). The number of foreign tourists equals to 650,000 each year. That is to say, Fethiye attracts as many domestic tourists as foreign ones annually.

Border crossing figures show that the majority of tourists came to Fethiye by air after landing on Dalaman Airport while a small portion (26,667 people) preferred entrance by sea at Fethiye port. Comparing Fethiye to other districts of Muğla gives us different perspectives, too. In 2013, the province of Muğla hosted 3,297,785 people. As seen, a considerable rate of this goes for Fethiye alone since 1.3 million tourists visited Fethiye in the same year. The number peaked in 2014 with 3,302,688 tourists by an increase of 2 % for Muğla[42]. Approximately half of them (1,392,818) were British people followed by 269,585 Russian visitors. Coming back to Fethiye, there is an interesting

[42] http://www.milliyet.com.tr/mugla-tarihinin-turist-rekorunu-kirdi-mugla-yerelhaber-567050/

trend at hand: The number of British tourists coming to Fethiye has been steadily decreasing since 2010 although they still comprise the largest group.

To sum up, when the number of tourists coming from different countries is analyzed, one can see that its increasing trend started in the 1990s with people coming from the countries in the European Union. The range of out-sending countries has soon expanded, leading to more revenues in tourism. The extension of efforts in line with restructuring of the world economy has been the key in this process. The development of infrastructure such as highways and airports has been the crucial driving force behind the explosion in the number of tourists and shift to other countries.

3.5.3 Industry and other economic activities

The district economy predominantly depends on agriculture and tourism and one cannot find many large-scale and significant industrial enterprises. There are small-scale family owned and operated manufacturing companies in fields of farmed salmon production, olive oil, marble, cotton gin, concrete, dairy products, wheat, and thermal solar systems (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013, 122). When companies that are eligible for industrial registry certificate are taken into consideration, we observe an increase in the number over the years. It was 58 in 2008, followed by 83, 88, 98, 98, and 108 in consecutive years until 2013, respectively. Of all these companies, food and beverages accompanied by tobacco companies constituted 30 %.

According to Fethiye Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as of 2013 December there were 3,488 active members in Fethiye. Of all these, 1749 were limited liability companies, followed by 1276 private companies. The third type was 353 joint-stock companies, then come 101 cooperatives, and 6 collective companies. There is only one commandite company and there are two associations (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor: 2013, p.138).

Construction sector has a dynamic structure compared to the size of the city. Nevertheless, due to recent financial crisis foreigners stopped buying property, and those already having properties wanted to sell them, which caused a serious slowdown in the sector. A considerable number of construction companies and estate agencies faced losses. Housing Department of Fethiye Municipality reports drastic drops in the number of construction licenses since 2010 by almost 50 % decreases. Considering such a trend makes one think that job opportunities in this field are becoming limited.

In terms of animal husbandry, sizable investments have been made in Fethiye in the last five years. Farms with more than 100 animals were founded. As a result, both the number of animals and production have increased by 50 % (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013, 100).

To conclude, building blocks of the city such as geography, population, and economy have been explored in this chapter. Fethiye with its geography and climate economically relies on tourism and agriculture to a great extent. In fact, these two factors form and affect other components of life in Fethiye. However, the city is not resistant to change since global and national happenings can penetrate into local essence of the city either directly or indirectly. This takes place either in a short span of time or in the long run. It has been the aim to define and elaborate on this process.

CHAPTER IV THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFORMATION OF FETHIYE

In this section, a detailed historical sketch of the formation of the population will be provided. While doing this, some factors or events that have had an impact on the distribution of population will be discussed. At the end of this part, the fact that the population of Fethiye consists of people with a variety of motivations and backgrounds will have been laid out.

4.1 Who Constitutes the 'Locals'?

Although it might be considered a reductionist approach to draw clear lines between who is local or not, it is necessary to demonstrate the historical determinant factors in population. The first major event in the recent history of Fethiye is the population exchange at the end of Turkish War of Independence. According to the official records, the Greek population was relatively high at the end of 19th century. Most of them had migrated to Meğri (Fethiye was called so at the time) from Greek Islands at earlier times (Seyirci, 2004). In line with population exchange agreement of 1923 between Turkey and Greece, Greeks had to leave Kayakoy (Levissi) and moved to Greece. In return, Muslim Turks living in Greece were to resettle in the area abandoned by the Greeks. However, Muslim Turks did not prefer to maintain their life in Kayakoy since most of them were farmers and Kayaköy was basically established on hills, making it inappropriate for farming. So, they decided to move to lowlands (Yılmaz, 1969, p.196). No other group of people has lived there since then. As a result, the site is now unpopulated and serves an attraction point for tourists. The population exchange is significant in the following sense: it played an important role in socio-structural forms in that Greeks who left Fethiye were predominantly engaged in trade and other production fields while Muslim Turks were farmers. Therefore, they were incorporated into the dominant existing mode of income in the community: agriculture.

Another factor that altered demographic features of Fethiye was the earthquake on April 24th, 1957. The majority of the structures including official buildings as well as

residential houses collapsed due to the high magnitude. 19 people were reported to have died[43]. The earthquake influenced the population of the city in two ways: firstly, the whole city was reconstructed. A separate and new section of the city was planned as the construction site. It was named 'earthquake houses'. Thus, today's Fethiye was established together with other restorations in the city center. Since new sources of income appeared in the town, people from nearby towns and cities moved to Fethiye during this reconstruction process. Secondly, some residents decided to leave the city to be able to pursue lives in cities like İzmir or İstanbul. As a result, the demographic structure of the city was altered even though it is difficult to provide an exact number (Taban, 2006). The numbers indicate an increase in the population, though. To exemplify, the rate of urban population increase was about 1 % from 1923 to 1955, but it drastically rose to 6,3 % in five years' time (Yılmaz, 1969). According to the population census in 1965, Fethiye's population was 75190. 8375 people were in the urban area while 66815 were living in the rural part. The number of population was equal to 25,2 % of the population in Muğla. It gives an idea about the population density of Fethiye compared to other districts of Muğla.

The next event was the landslides that took place in two big-scale villages, Dere and Bağlıağaç, on March 9th, 1968. There were severe damages in villages, leading to uninhabitable houses. As a result, Ministry of Development and Housing built 164 houses in Patlangıç village, just close to the city center within the same year. The new neighborhood called 'Menteşeoğlu quarter' was constructed (Yılmaz, 1969). Patlangıç and Menteşeoğlu neighborhoods are among the most densely populated areas in Fethiye today[44].

Fourthly, another group of people started settling permanently in Fethiye lowlands: Yörüks. Yörük is a term applied to nomad Turks on Anatolia and Thrace. These people move to the highlands in April or May and return to lowlands at the end of summer to spend the winter. They are the people whose livestock is their life (Seyirci, 2000, p.197) During the Ottoman rule, Yörüks were made to settle down in newly conquered places with the aim of ensuring that these lands become a part of production unit. The empire also desired to liven up these places and keep these people under control in that way (Beşirli & Erdal, 2000). Erdal (2000) states that the areas they settled and

[43] https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_Fethiye_Depremi
[44] http://www.tuik.gov.tr

frequented included Mediterranean highlands like Adana, Antalya and some other cities like Muğla, Kayseri, Aksaray, Aydın, and Kütahya and so on.[45] However, their lifestyle underwent certain changes in the 20th century. The number of Yörüks maintaining their traditional way of life has gradually decreased since the 1930s. As their population decreased and pasturelands shrank, most Yörüks were forced to adopt a more settled lifestyle (Seyirci, 2000). Global financial fluctuations played a role in this as well, causing undesirable effects on their lives (Seyirci, 2003). For instance, they lost money due to inflation and other financial instabilities. Thus, the frequency of moving back and fro to highlands and lowlands decreased over the years. After a while, some of them stopped frequenting highlands since they started greenhouse cultivation in lowlands (Seyirci, 2003). However, greenhouse production did not turn out well for some of them, either. Costly-inputs, loans with high interests, and on top of that inconsistent pricing in greenhouse products left some groups with no choice but to look for other destinations. In the words of Seyirci (2003, 16), eventually the young people of Western Mediterranean Yörüks became acquainted with tourism and people of Europe due to globalization and diversified financial inputs. In highlands, there are still people who get by animal husbandry; however, the number of original Yörüks who used to do summer and winter shifts as part of their financial practices came to a halt. In short, global and national occurrences and changes, however slow these may be, have generated a series of changes in numerous areas such as economic activity, daily practices, and types of people the Yörüks interact with.

So far, it has been shown that Fethiye has been an attractive immigration destination for people in Turkey. At this point, I would like to provide a set of data to prove the immigration wave. Before the aforementioned law in 2012 was issued, there was an official distinction between rural and urban Fethiye in population census. When its population is examined with this distinction in mind, one can see that rural population remained the same from 2008 to 2012 with roughly 110,000 people. On the other hand, population in the urban center arose gradually with an increase of 5000 people each year (Figure 5). It was 68,285 in 2008 and 84,053 in 2012. Birth rates cannot account for such an increase because it is a high number in comparison with the population. So, it leaves immigration as the only factor behind this increase. What it also means is that immigrants are likely to settle in the city center. Thus, the center is the part of

[45] http://www.academia.edu/2521566/OsmanlidanCumhuriyeteYörüklerveTürkmenler

Fethiye that is affected most due to the need for housing and infrastructure. I will explore this chain of impacts further in the upcoming parts.

In summary, Fethiye is an essential part of Muğla province with its population close to 150,000 people. Its demographic texture has been formed through population exchange of 1923, the earthquake in 1957, landslides in 1968, transformation of Yörüks' life, in-state and transnational immigration and the recent law of 2012 on municipalities. Besides, one of the informants said more retired people came to Fethiye after the earthquake in Marmara region in 1999. As a result, the spatial structure of the city has been formed with different people residing in different parts of the city. They have also led to the formation of neighborhoods with specific features.

4.2 A City of Pensioners

Some people call Fethiye as the ideal place for pensioners and the factual data backs this view. Therefore, immigration wave particularly triggered by pensioners has had a substantial impact on the demographics of the city. There are two main groups of pensioners in the city: in-state immigrants and international immigrants. Since they make up an important part of the informants, a separate section is spared.

4.2.1 In-state Immigrants

The first group of immigrants is related to the domestic immigration practice. In order to have a better understanding of the scale of in-state immigration, dwelling on Muğla province is necessary since it can enable us to see where Fethiye stands compared to other districts.

Muğla is a popular destination for immigrants. Among 34 immigrant-receiving cities in Turkey, it ranks the 16th. From 2009 to 2013, around 35,000 people moved to Muğla. It reached its peak in 2014 when 48,000 people came to live in the city. When age group of these immigrants is considered, an interesting fact comes to the fore: the age group with the highest number is the elderly. The results of Address Based Population Registration System show that 6858 people over 65 year old migrated to Muğla in 2013-2014 period[46]. The second highest age group with 6753 immigrants is 20-24 year olds. There is no data set on age distribution of immigrants in Fethiye per se. However,

[46] http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1067 – Domestic Immigration

by looking at annual increases in the districts of Muğla and comparing its districts, one can conclude that Fethiye has the largest share of immigrants. It shows that newcomers prefer Fethiye more to any other Muğla districts. In addition, it is clear that two largest immigrant groups preferring Fethiye are pensioners and young adults. This observation will be of great value while discussing financial aspects such as the magnitude of economic growth and economic competition among the residents.

Another way to evaluate in-state immigration is to consider the population of Fethiye by place of registry. According to 2014 statistics, there are residents from all 81 cities in Fethiye at varying rates. Around 65 % of the population (94,845) is registered in Muğla. That is to say, the remaining 35 % came from other cities. The city drew the highest number of immigrants from Denizli and Istanbul with 2659 people, followed by Antalya with 1717. The list of out-sending cities continues as follows: İzmir, Burdur, Ankara, Konya, Van, Sivas, and Aydın. The least immigrants were from Hakkari with only 18 people. Iğdır, Bilecik and Bingöl follow it with just over 100 people (Fethiye Sosyoekonomik Rapor, 2013, 36). This wide range of immigrants from different cities exemplifies the diverse backgrounds of Fethiye's population.

4.2.2 International (Retirement) Immigration

Offered below is the macro-scale developments that have promoted international residency and the historical trajectory of international immigration.

4.2.2.1 The Increasing Cross-border Mobility after the 1950s

Immigration motivated by tourism intensified in Europe and the United States after the Second World War because post-war collaboration attempts gave an impetus to tourism activities. In this period, previously short-dated tourism turned into longer periods and tendencies to settle in these locations grew steadily. In the 1960s, people in Europe started to move to countries in the Southern parts upon experiencing warmer climates and distinct landscapes on their primary visits as tourists (Dirlik, 2009). Therefore, immigration from Northern Europe to countries with Mediterranean climate such as Italy, Spain, France and Portugal gained momentum. The main reasons were to escape the hustle of big cities and to benefit from mild climate. Immigration of this sort was not a matter of discussion in Turkey in the 1960s or the 1970s. Turkey was associated predominantly with emigration as an out-sending country to European countries.

In the last two decades, considerable differences have been observed in Europe in terms of demographics of immigrants. In this period, the majority of immigrants who resettled in a location through tourism consisted of predominantly pensioners (Avcı et al., 2008, 24-25). It has been a case contrary to the classical approach, which suggests that people at later stages of their lives maintain more sedentary lifestyles compared to the young. However, the retired elderly people from relatively wealthier Northern European countries are seen to move and pursue progressively more active lifestyles. The pensioners from the rich countries of the North prefer to spend the rest of their lives in the south due to the bad climate, higher expenses, and aloofness among people in their home countries. The south offers the Sun and sincere human relationships (Anderson, J., 2001).

Since the 1990s, motivations of immigration have been diversified around the world. Family-related issues, ambitions to have a better lifestyle and running businesses are added to the list. The immigration wave of the elderly stands in stark contrast to traditional immigration wave taken up by young labor power towards rich countries of the north. In other words, two types of immigration take place in opposite directions.

4.2.2.2 A Shift in Mobility to Turkey

Turkey plays a significant role in international migrations as it has a particular geographical location. Political structures of the neighboring countries increase its importance. Being the source of emigration is the most emphasized role of Turkey in literature on international migration. Therefore, majority of the migration studies on Turkey tackle it as an out-sending country in international migration. The biggest migration movements from Turkey to other countries were related to Turkish labor migration to West European countries between 1961 and 1974 (Özerim, 2008).

A shift in the type of migration in Turkey has been witnessed especially since the 1990s. At first, tourism-related immigration on a large scale took place in the form of pensioner immigration. It was possible due to the policies of international expansion in the 1980s. Similar to other south European countries, climate, relatively inexpensive way of life, relatively easier property ownership and untouched nature were the reasons for moving to Turkey. However, this type of immigration took place later in Turkey compared to European counterparts. Lagging behind in this respect is closely connected to the start of tourism activities in Turkey much later than these countries.

Tourism-based settlement of the foreigners took the form of a common practice in the 1990s and escalated in differing countries. It was in part due to national policies that were transformed by international politics. Two distinct factors are worth mentioning here. Firstly, in line with the EU accession process, change of laws on property ownership spurred tourism-based immigration during the 2000s. Secondly, as Turkey made efforts towards becoming an EU member, developments in the infrastructure system and the liberalizing of laws attracted more people.

There were major changes in three respects in the 2000s. Firstly, reasons for pensioner immigration have become diversified (Avcı et al., 2008). The elderly initially preferred Turkey to be able to maintain peaceful and natural lifestyles in Mediterranean countries. Then, it included financial, and familial reasons such as intercultural marriages as well as intentions to attain a higher level of wealth.

Secondly, there was a transformation in the scope of pensioner immigration in the 2000s as well. Unlike the previous period, the tourists who did not retire yet, but whose retirement was drawing near also started to move to Turkey in larger numbers. These people who were preparing for retirement first lived in their prospective residential areas before moving altogether (Avcı et al., 2008). Thirdly, a new phenomenon different from the European experience emerged in the southwest of Turkey towards the end of the first decade of the new millennium. Young people especially from Eastern Europe and Russia started moving to cities in the south in considerable numbers (Deniz, 2012). That's why, most of the initial studies in the literature does not mention this changing nature of international immigration since it is a new phenomenon.

International retirement immigration has become more prevalent in the west and south of Turkey[47]. Alanya, Didim and Fethiye became main attractive destinations (Avcı et al., 2008, 26). Südaş and Mutluer (2008) state that these foreigners mainly including

[47] These people are often studied under "international retirement migration" in literature. Still, international retirement immigration and tourism-related immigration are sometimes used interchangeably particularly in cases of central and northern European countries. It is because European pensioners make up the majority who are engaged in mobility in tourism towards the South. However, the validity of this is obsolete to some extent considering the flow young generation immigrants to Turkey.

European retirees have settled in tourism centers on the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts such as Çeşme, Kuşadası, Didim, Bodrum, Marmaris, Kemer, Fethiye, Antalya, Manavgat, and Alanya. They tended to buy properties rather than renting a flat or a house. Of all these cities, Fethiye and Didim are the two major locations that British people choose to settle in most.

4.2.2.3 The British Influx to Fethiye

The estimates on the number of permanent foreign residents in Fethiye varies due to the general lack of coherent and reliable statistical data on foreign residents in Turkey. To give an example, the number of British residents in Turkey was shown to be over 7,940 by Turkish legal institutions. However, according to the results of a research project co-funded by TÜBİTAK in 2008, over 30,000 British residents were reported to live as residents in Turkey (Bahar et al., 2008, 26). The report depends on the numbers given by insurance companies. However, actual numbers are thought to be much higher. Property records alone prove this point. For example, according to the same report, there are 8,500 properties registered on foreigners' name in Didim alone. Therefore, multiplying the number of properties and people would give us a much higher number than 30,000. One fact remains constant in all studies, though: Muğla and Aydın are the two most favorite locations by a large margin (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Cities Where The British People Predominantly Live

Bahar, Halil İbrahim, Aydemir Nermin, Bal İhsan, Laçiner Sedat, Laçiner Vedat, Özcan Mehmet. 2008. **Türkiye'deki Yerleşik Yabancıların Türk Toplumuna Entegrasyonu: Sorunlar ve Fırsatlar**. Ankara: USAK Yayını.

Pensioner immigration to Fethiye began at the beginning of the 1990s. The number of new residents was very low and they were mostly retired people. However, it was at the beginning of the 2000s when a sharp increase was witnessed due to a variety of factors (Avcı et al., 2008). The financial growth coupled with the process of nationwide neo-liberal opening up especially in the 1990s led to investments in tourism. Thanks to improvements in service sector, and better promotion, more tourists preferred Fethiye. Then, a rising number of tourists turned towards property purchases or rentals in the city.

According to the District Police Department of Passport, 4865 foreign residents are registered. Only 39 of them reside in Fethiye for business purposes. The most populous group is the British with 3193 residents, followed by German and Russian residents with counts of 303 and 212 respectively[48]. However, their actual number is estimated to be much higher: The mayor of Ölüdeniz in an interview with a newspaper reported the number of British families alone as high as 8000 in 2001[49]. He further claimed that their number could equal to 20000. They live in different parts of Fethiye such as Ölüdeniz, Çalış, Göcek and Çiftlik. There is a particular section of Ölüdeniz called Ovacık where the British buy villas or big houses to maintain their lives. Çalış is another location they are concentrated in.

a) Socio-demographic Characteristics

Whilst there exists neither official data nor a statistically valid study on the new residents of the town, the recent studies offer some initial findings on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrants in Fethiye.

Out of 15 informants, 5 of them were male and 10 were female. There were four people over 70 years old, 3 informants were over 60, 3 were over 50, 4 people were over 40 years old. Lastly, there were 2 informants over 35 years old. 8 of them have a university degree and others either went to secondary school or left the school early. The average period of residency is 9.6 years. The shortest has been 3 years and the informant to live the longest has been in Fethiye for 21 years. The tendency is that non-pensioner female residents have lived much longer than the rest of the group.

2 middle-aged female informants (from Germany and Britain) were married to Turkish

[48] http://www.fethiyehaber.com/yerlesik-yabancilar-turkce-ogreniyor/
[49] http://www.sabah.com.tr/turizm/2011/03/28/ingilizlerin_ikinci_vatani_fethiye_oldu

men, but they have been divorced. However, children live with their mothers and they go to school in Fethiye. Three of female foreign residents are still married to Turkish men and have children going to school in Fethiye, too. One couple sends their two kids to an Imam Hatip School in Fethiye. One of the female informants reported to have a Turkish male partner.

b) Pension/work Status

The state pension age in the UK is 65 for males and 60 for females. The effective retirement age at which half the population has retired is around 62.5 for men and 60.5 years for women. Early retirement is another option. However, it happens at around the age of 55 and especially with those, who are members of the service class that have had an uninterrupted employment (Hardill et al., 2004)

9 informants in the study were retired, but they are entitled to different retirement plans. Four of them are on 'state pension', and the other four are on 'private pension'. One of them had to have an early retirement due to illness. Two of the private pensioners relied primarily on the capital they accumulated through business and chose to come to Fethiye at a relatively younger age.

As for the working group, three female residents who are married to Turkish men are involved in tourism. They either run a bar, restaurant or work as a tour guide. Two divorcees work as freelancer or work from home in craft business. The last informant runs a bar with his British partner.

According to the laws in Turkey, the foreign residents at present are no longer given a work permit. Jessica (77), one of the informants pointed at the regulations becoming stricter lately:

> "I worked for 15 years until I was 66 when I got my old age pension. I was working with English companies most of the time, which was allowed then. They weren't as strict and severe as now. They deport people if they find them working. You can't get permission, I believe."

So, one can argue that not much option is left for foreigners to reside in Fethiye other than living after retirement since chances to work are limited by law.

c) Legal Status

There have been changes in residency permits regarding foreigners in Turkey. This is of great importance since it is one of the subjects brought up by the informants quite often. According to Law no. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection, one has

to have resided in Turkey uninterruptedly for at least 8 years in order to have a permanent residencc permit[50]. However, it was different before. The previous Law no: 5683 Related to Residence and Travels of Foreigners allowed foreigners to obtain a 5-year residence permit at one go, but the new law requires them to get residency every year[51].

9 residents have a temporary residency, so they have to renew it every year. Only two people have permanent residency. One of them is the German informant and she cannot apply for Turkish citizenship, as Germany does not allow it. The remaining four female foreign residents hold Turkish citizenship as they are/used to be married to Turkish men.

The new regulations concerning residency generated unrest among the majority of foreign residents and it was made an issue of topic in interviews by almost all members of the retired group. They complained about the change of law. To illustrate, as a response to the question on problems they have faced, Halley (55) said:

> "I didn't face any problem, but they seem to be making it harder for people to get residency. The general opinion and my opinion is that they let the foreigners come in for holiday benefits; they don't seem to be keen on them actually living here."

Samuel (55) even implied that foreign residents are being intentionally targeted through the laws:

> "The last 3 years we've been living here, it's becoming more difficult to live here. I don't know because I think if you live and you contribute to the local economy and you are nice to Turkish people then I ask 'What's the problem with us being here?' They are making it so difficult that in the end we'll move away. It's easier to move somewhere where it's not so difficult. We have friends who went to Spain, Bulgaria because every year it seems it's more difficult to get your residency. Now you have to have health insurance. I understand if the government doesn't want us here, why don't they just say all English should go away within the next 6 months rather than making it more difficult? If you're under 65, you have to get health insurance. It's forcing us to buy something we don't necessarily need. We're quite happy if anything happens to us. We can go to hospital and pay for what we need. Insurance isn't cheap."

This perceived uneasiness could be attributed to the fact that some people want to maintain easy and cheap way of living and are disturbed by the changes. Even though some informants subtly referred to their disapproving approach to Turkish politics, no other informant made a comment as sharp as the above on the issue.

d) Property Ownership

Property ownership used to be based on the Deed Law that was enacted in 1934 and

[50] https://www.expatguideturkey.com/residence-permits/
[51] http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr – Yabancilar ve Uluslararasi Koruma Kanunu

amended in 2003. Property purchases by foreign natural and legal persons were to be determined legally by two key principles: reciprocity principle and legally binding issues. The former principle dictates that the source country of immigrant is to allow Turkish citizens to purchase property in that country. Turkey has legal agreement with 88 countries on reciprocity principle. According to the latter law, immovable property ownership is forbidden in military zones, strategic safety zones and villages. Also, foreigners cannot legally buy properties exceeding 30 hectares[52]. Foreign legal persons have to get the government approval for larger areas.

The issue of property ownership in Fethiye has been investigated in a project by Avcı et al. (2008). Asking real estate agents and analyzing documents, they found out that property sale to the foreigners started very early in the 1990s in Fethiye. Due to the long process of purchasing, some rented houses in touristic locations such as Çalış. However, the way purchases were done changed in the following decade. The owners of properties such as lands were slowly excluded from this process. It means that lands owned by the locals were purchased by contractors or other middlemen. Locals' direct contact with the business was cut off. Subsequently, real estate agents, and companies working in real estate-construction became the main actors since the market grew sharply. Connection to real estate offices abroad also introduced new ways of property sales.

However, in line with EU harmonization process, there was an amendment of the law on July 19th, 2003. The article 35 in Law no. 2644 under the Deed Law was amended[53].These legal regulations played a crucial role in the augmentation of the momentum in property ownership. Accordingly, as long as two principles were followed, not only foreign legal persons and but also companies were entitled to buy estates. The bans on immovable property ownership within village borders were abolished and reciprocity principle was annulled in cases of property attainment by inheritance. Nevertheless, the law regarding military and safety zones was kept the same.

According to Avcı et al. (2008), property sales to foreigners particularly the British witnessed a momentum from 2000 to 2005. Its effect on the district economy was predominantly felt in construction and real estate sectors. In almost two years from

[52] https://www.tkgm.gov.tr/tr/icerik/yabancilarin-tasinmaz-edinim-rehberi
[53] http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2003/07/20030719.htm

March 2003 to March in 2005, the number of foreigners reached up to 52,818 and purchased area equaled to 272.511.493 m^2. It was the equivalent of eight in thousandth of all property areas. The law turned into a decisive factor in terms of the share in properties. To give an idea, England whose share in total purchase was 19 % prior to the law extended its share dramatically up to 47 %. However, Greece and Germany were at the decreasing end of the new situation (Südaş, 2005). Still, by 2007 Germany, England and Greece were the top three countries in property purchase index. Again in 2007, nation-wide property purchases including land and field by foreign legal persons were 18.800. Other than lands and fields, 5393 estates were sold in the same year. Villa-type housing projects are included in this group. Antalya, Istanbul (the majority being the Turkish-descent Greeks) and Muğla are the cities where foreigners did the most buying. Fethiye ranks the number one in Muğla in terms of property purchases (Avcı et al., 2008).

Purchases of estates by foreigners raised widespread concerns in public. It was a subject of concern in the newspapers. Following the outspoken concerns, the constitutional court decision on March 14th, 2005 to abolish the law allowing property sale to foreigners was an important event. The law was to be effective as of July 27, 2005[54]. The last amendment regarding property ownership was finalized on December 29, 2005. The final amendment reduced the size of lands that could be legally purchased from 30 hectares to 2,5 hectares. Besides, foreign legal persons were allowed to purchase immovable property only in places with zoning plan with housing and place of business within the premises (Avcı et. al).

However, since property purchasing did not depend on strategic planning and a systematic analysis and the relevant law limited the size of properties, there have been significant decreases in foreigner's property ownership since 2006. Following this downward trend, investors in construction and real estate found themselves in an uncertainty.

When it comes to 15 foreign informants in the study, only three residents live on rented property. All the others own either a flat, or a house. Contrary to the common tendency, the majority lives in a neighborhood predominantly inhabited by the local people. Two informants, Joanne and Nicholas, said they specifically chose to live with the local

[54] http://arsiv.ntv.com.tr/news/334483.asp

people. However, how much interaction takes place among the residents despite living in the same neighborhood is an area of interest to be covered in the next chapter.

4.3 Informants' Accounts on Immigration

Even though this is not a study of immigration, it is beneficial to consider the residents' ideas on the process. They were asked about reasons for immigration from their own perspectives. Such undertaking is important since how groups of people perceive and treat each other plays a part in their feelings towards the place. In-state immigrants and local residents were asked to comment on environmental and physical impacts of immigration as well.

Before dwelling on specific groups, providing a general outlook might be useful. Of all 24 participants in two groups, foreign residents and in-state immigrants, seven of them mentioned climate as the first reason for choosing Fethiye whereas six informants preferred Fethiye for its nature.

The foreigners tended to attach more importance to nature and climate than the in-state immigrants. However, about the same number of people in these two groups placed tranquility and peaceful environment, which they equated with Fethiye, on top of their list. The implication is that the appeal of the city cannot be solely confined to favorable nature and climatic conditions. In other words, an approach exclusively based on environmental determinism might be misleading and conceal certain local structures. In addition, it is implied that Fethiye did not embody hustle and bustle closely linked with urbanized/ing cities at the time of their decision and it should be considered as a powerful pull factor. To put the point more clearly, even though nature and climate matter for people's preference to live mostly after retirement, social aspects of the city merit some degree of attention, too.

4.3.1 Foreign Residents' Choice of Fethiye: Place for an Easy Way of Life

The foreign residents mentioned the favorable climatic conditions and easy way of life as their primary reasons. 'Easy way of life' was utilized to refer to quite a range of aspects including tranquility, cheaper life conditions, availability of certain goods and services, and the way they are treated by the community. The likelihood of becoming a part of the local community and residents' general attitudes also seem to play a role in their decision. For instance, Weronika (61) summarized a shared perception:

> "It's a more relaxed way of life. Climate is nice. And I like the people here. I just like the way of life. I like Fethiye. It is a real place. You've got the tourist bit in the summer that you can choose to use, but all year round it's a proper town. So, real things happen: You've got real shops, you have real life… You can be part of the community."

As for the financial issue, some people stated that they had not thought about economic aspects before moving to Turkey. However, today they are quite content with exchange rates since their currency has almost doubled in value in the last ten years. As the majority of the residents are pensioners and receive their pensions in pound, living in Turkey is a kind of investment as well as benefiting from better life standards. As Weronika added, higher interest rates were given as another advantageous side of living here:

> "For English people if you have money in Turkey, if you bringing money into Turkey, you are doing a lot better than you do in England. Interest rates are much higher, so you are earning more money than… If you had money invested in UK, you would be getting 1.5 % if you were lucky. So it's a lot better for us to be here."

Family relationships were also found to have influenced residency choices even though the majority pointed out that no specific person played a role in their decision to move to Fethiye. To illustrate, two female informants decided to settle in since they got married to Turkish men from Fethiye. Fionna (37) and Hillary (36) used to live in the UK. They each met their husband-to-be Turkish boyfriends there and got married. Besides, the German informant, Becky (51) used to live in Kalkan, but she decided to move to Fethiye for her child's education.

However, none of the foreign residents decided to live in Fethiye without getting acquainted with the city. First-hand experiences might have been effective for some people as exemplified by Samuel (55):

> "Because my father lived here for the last 10 years of his life and I visited him on holiday and I thought it is a lovely country with lovely people and I could live here cheaper than I could live in the UK."

4.3.2 In-state Immigrants' Accounts

4.3.2.1 On the Reasons for Immigration: Spot for New Beginnings

It has been previously explained that immigrants place climate, nature and tranquility on the top of the list in general. However, the aim of this section is to find out whether there are other substantially different reasons that could motivate them to Fethiye.

The related question was not "Why did you move here?" since it might be value-laden and put the informants on a defensive position. The focus is the place itself, Fethiye.

Therefore, they were asked, "What are some of the reasons for living here?" which also relates to their place-making process. Except for one, all the in-state immigrants provided input. However, one informant seemed a bit concerned and unwilling to answer questions about herself. She preferred talking about foreigners' lifestyle.

6 people referred to reasons related only to Fethiye, not external factors. Nature and climate were mentioned only by two people who argued that it is the perfect spot for pensioners. People in this group emphasized other factors more. To exemplify, the informants Suat and Abdullah who moved to Fethiye from İzmir and Ankara about 25 years ago, respectively, stated that they ran away from distress, crowd and problems of metropolitan cities to find shelter in nature.

Financial easiness created by natural factors was also mentioned. He created a connection between climate and financial aspects of the lifestyle and reflected the prevalent ideas among pensioners. He compared the lives left behind and the life pensioners would dream of having:

> "For those coming from places like Istanbul, it is cheap to live here. Take heating as an example. You can get done with 50 liras here per month whereas you would pay 300 liras. Places you can go around are close, no transportation expense. Incomers are mostly retired people. The number of people coming to work is very low."

Perceptions regarding the social environment might also play a role in decision-making as exemplified by Aydın (48), a primary school teacher:

> "One of the reasons for coming to live here was the social liberal structure that was present here. I thought Fethiye was a place without social and neighborhood pressure, a place where I could live according to my philosophy of life."

It shows that the social aspects should also be included among the primary local financial assets needed for potential growth. It is because people not only look for places to run business, but also places to pursue a life to their liking. Spirally, social aspects feed into financial aspects, too. Once people come to live in Fethiye either for post-retirement settlement or business purposes, they are incorporated into economic circles in the locality.

There are other more grave problems that were cited among reasons. They are related to hometown, not Fethiye directly. Sabri (40), who is in construction and marble business, left Mardin for Manisa first. Not being able to make a place for himself there, he moved to Fethiye. He stated that terrorism in the East drove the villagers out.

Familial relationships comprise another category. Giray (31) moved from Diyarbakır

as he got married to a person from Fethiye. He explicitly referred to the local socio-political situation as a pull factor by saying "In Fethiye, there is no approach like being Kurdish or Turkish. It is a peaceful place. Everybody is minding his own business." This issue of ethnicity and nationalistic concerns that he voiced will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

The remaining informants talked about the following: relatively less expenses, the natural beauty and job opportunities. So, compared to foreign immigrants, in state immigrants give less priority to nature and climate. Instead, the perceived easy, cheap and comfortable lifestyle that partially owes it to nature seems to be the main reasons for in-state pensioners. The following external factors were also given: unemployment in villages in nearby cities, the abolishment of the ban on zone development, earthquake of 1999 leading to immigration from major cities, easy transportation, and job opportunities all year long.

Abdullah (60) emphasized that the year 1999 was the turning point for in-state immigration to Fethiye as retired people started flocking from big cities. He added that the number of people coming from Eastern Turkey used to be low. However, an increase in their number has been witnessed in the last five years. However, not everybody had the same idea about the rate of immigration. Two informants argued that there has been deceleration in immigration particularly in international immigration. Aydın (48) encapsulated the common assumptions, and added an international phenomenon to the list of reasons:

> "Following the mortgage issue in England, quite many houses were sold. Prices were really high back then. But, financial crisis in England caused foreigners that just moved to return at considerable rates because they couldn't pay back their loans. Thus, they had to sell their houses and go back. It was in 2008. If it had not been the crisis, we could be seeing much more foreigners now. Though it is not many, people still come. Especially those above middle age. As for in-state immigration, pensioners and those seeking jobs come here. It is possible to work in Fethiye all year long. You can't work in central Anatolia, Eastern and South-eastern regions of Turkey, but Fethiye is different. In a sense, it is the place where money is circulated. Looking at the number of banks, you can get it. You only find one or two banks whereas each bank has two or three branch offices here in Fethiye."

In short, in-state immigrants generally decided to live in Fethiye for the easy way of life, relatively lower costs, job opportunities, and peaceful environment. The financial aspect in their accounts holds importance and it will be discussed in relation to their views on other constituents of the city in the upcoming sections.

4.3.2.2 On the Environmental and Physical Effects of Immigration

The most striking observation different from the locals is in-state immigrants' perception that Fethiye is struggling with the problems of urbanization. Having experienced these troubles previously in metropolitan cities and tried to escape from them, they seem to undergoing once again. To quote how an informant, Suat, (60) who moved from Izmir about 30 years ago feels:

> "Fethiye was an untouched region when we came here. However, it has assumed characteristics of a city over time. What has been affected most is the fields of agriculture. They are being opened to zone development. Construction sites… We suffered from this distress in Izmir. There will come a day when we will miss these spots."

Longing for the past, nostalgia is quite visible in his accounts. Another informant who is bothered about the way of urbanization is Abdullah (60), who moved from Ankara about 25 years ago. He frequently drew on generally accepted social constructions of Fethiye as a small city. He referred to gradual changes in day-to-day practices:

> "The city has grown into more cosmopolitan nature. Everybody knows it now. People, predominantly pensioners, come from Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. It is not like Alanya, Kuşadası, Marmaris or Bodrum; so tranquility here attracts the retired group. Of course, there are some effects… If urbanization was to take place without city culture… Take garbage, parking or giving way to cyclists. Fethiye is experiencing this. It has grown at a high-speed. You could sleep in your car doors open in the past, now you have to protect it with electronic devices. There didn't use to be vehicle thefts. This side of big cities has come here."

As opposed to the idea of fast growing Fethiye, Aydın argued "There are a lot of changes Fethiye is undergoing. It is changing from a simple district to the level of a city. However, investments are not along the same lines." He pointed out the steadiness of change as Fethiye is stuck between agriculture and tourism, a shared perception among many informants.

The informant who owns a grocery store at the intersection of recently built luxurious residents and older houses complained about rehabilitation works conducted by municipality. She is upset about the reduction in green areas in the neighborhood. This is the area in the heart of Çalış where residency of foreigners and Turkish people of economically higher classes live. One can see gated communities being built more and more.

Other in-state immigrants repeated the line of urbanization problems such as traffic, and construction of roads. What is interesting for the purposes of the thesis is their perception of other incomers' effects on the city structure. As they are related to cultural interactions, this will be dealt with in the following sections.

4.3.3 The Locals' Accounts

In the case of the third group, they were first asked the reasons for their residency in Fethiye. What is most noticeable among these people, who were born into the climate and nature on such demand, is their feeling of being blessed thanks to being born there. They showcase the comfort, safety and the bestowed belief that they can somehow get by in Fethiye. The second and third reasons were related to climate and nature. Three people pointed at their ancestors' residence in the city for centuries. They specifically referred to 'Yörüks'. Rather than this pre-given trait, what concerns me here are socio-spatial reflections of the city on its residents. Giving voice to two informants would benefit our understanding of this point. Bülent (53), the informant owning restaurants, and souvenir shops responded as follows:

> "Because I was born here. I have businesses. What else could I ask for? Should I go outside and seek adventure? This is a lovely place that gives happiness. Fethiye is one of the cheapest places. I can have any kind of vegetable or fruit. The weather is clean; there is no water problem and the nature is still untouched."

He highlighted the capacity of the city to provide materials, goods, and natural resources. He also defined Fethiye risk-free and financially favorable in terms of expenses.

4.3.3.1 On the Reasons for Receiving Immigration

In previous chapters, reasons for coming to live in Fethiye have been presented from immigrants' perspective. However, how the local residents perceive the phenomenon is equally important for the discussion of intercultural relationships.

Upon being asked about their observations on the immigration wave, without exception all the local informants mentioned both international and in-state immigrants. It means that the immigration is a familiar issue or reality in the locality and the residents are aware of the demand on the city. Some residents provided insights into general migration patterns as exemplified by Mesut (55, retired teacher and owner of a shop):

> "For the last couple of years there are people coming from metropolitan cities like Istanbul and Ankara…mostly retired people. Foreigners have been migrating for quite a long time…basically the British, rarely the German people, but they used to settle more. People from the East come when there is construction work. You can't see them in agriculture; everybody produces on their own."

Only two informants made note of the existence of Syrian immigrants in Fethiye, which is a quite recent phenomenon. Hasan (30), a construction worker, presented

insights into the residential differentiation in the city:

> "…they come from the southeast region…in winter. It is for the construction work. They work in winter and go back in summer. Some of them continue to work in tourism in summer. The working class resides outside the city in small towns. Those with higher income live in the centre. As for the foreigners, as a result of Syrian conflict they work in greenhouses as partners in Kınık, Kumluova (famous for tomato production). You can't see Syrians in the center. They live in farmers' shanties…living and working."

As Hasan stated, initial seasonal immigration can turn into a yearlong residence over time, which is a common practice. Local residents hold other common assumptions about the characteristics of the immigrants. They think that there is a differentiation among visitors in terms of social class. To give an example, Bülent said:

> "There used to be a flow of foreign immigration until 5 years ago. There is a standstill period now. Domestic immigrants come here too, but those with money didn't come a lot. Mostly middle-class retired people came mostly. Wealthy ones went to spots like Alaçatı or Bodrum. This is the same case with foreigners; only the middle class foreigners come here."

This recurrent comparison of Fethiye to neighboring locations is associated with means of livelihood in Fethiye. Ahmet, a yacht tour operator, provided an account of pull factors:

> "My father moved here from Rhodes during population exchange. People from all over the world and Turkey come here. Any kind of person can survive in Fethiye. They come to live as civil servants and never go back. They come to work as construction worker and don't go back. Would you return? Sea, the weather, fruit…no snow, no cold weather, but only those with money can make it in places like Marmaris or Bodrum."

As it is clear, the local residents are well aware that Fethiye, to a great extent, attracts old retired people from metropolitan cities and wealthy North-European countries and young in-state immigrants from the East. They also acknowledge the natural and climatic conditions in others' decision-making.

Although the motivations behind moving to Fethiye from the local residents' perspective coincide with those given by the immigrants themselves, an interesting observation should be shared: The perception that incomers are comparatively less wealthy is overemphasized by the locals. From business point of view, it might not offer a bright picture for the city economy and the local residents seem to be aware of it. This issue will be explored in more detail under the section on economic impacts of immigration.

4.3.3.2 On the Environmental and Physical Effects of Immigration

The participant local residents were asked to comment on the changes taking place in the city following the immigration wave. The question did not deliberately include

words like environmental or structural changes to be able to see whether they would talk about only physical effects or would mention any lifestyle issues. The aim is to comprehend how they perceive these changes.

Half of the local informants reported both positive and negative views. Besides, answers were not limited to environmental and physical effects. On the other hand, the remaining informants reported negative effects only. What is more interesting is the tendency of the locals to talk about financial and particularly cultural impacts of the immigration. This observation matters greatly since the local residents approach the issue of immigration from cultural and financial perspectives rather than environmental one. The fact that informants reported environmental degradation of green areas, forests or natural spots only on few occasions has another relevant implication: They might assume that nature and the environment have not been under the impact of urbanization and immigration to such lengths. They are not as discontent as they are towards cultural and financial aspects.

The most prevalent idea among local residents is related to the gradual urbanization process triggered by immigration waves. For them, Fethiye used to be a self-sufficient small town prior to immigration waves. Considering the effects of this process, almost everybody pointed to the degree of urbanization: ongoing construction and building sites. Murat (42) summed up the problematic sides by mentioning the root causes:

> "It used to be self-sufficient, but its population has increased considerably in the last 20-25 years and become a metropolitan city in its own entirety. But it is an unplanned growth. Due to unregulated urbanization and problems with institutions that organize specially protected environment areas, settlements are taking place on the lowlands of Fethiye. For this reason, traffic and infrastructure problems couldn't be overcome."

Murat's argument about the changes is an indicator of the basic discontent or concern felt by the local residents. The way urbanization has been taking place in terms of geographical balance seems to be the underlying reason. Rıza (54) along three informants criticized the choice of lowlands where agriculture is practiced as areas for construction and suggested mountain slopes or hills for construction, instead:

> "Agricultural fields are being wiped out. The only independent area is agriculture. If we destroy these fields to promote tourism, then we will be slaves. When you look at the plains, you can see houses built on lowlands. The state should intervene. If houses are to be built somehow, they should build them on mountain slopes."

As seen, the local residents reflect upon contestations over areas between agriculture and construction fuelled by growing tourism. It shows how regional economy is impacted by macro-level affairs and these two are interrelated. The regional economy

cannot exclude the other; thus, this situation has certain implications. Related to this argument, İsmet (53) highlighted the importance of the legal regulations by giving a historical example:

> "Infrastructure problems. Yacht tourism causes the pollution of the gulf. What municipality of Fethiye does with its own means is not enough. Areas that are zoned for construction…Take Kayaköy as an example. In the past, settlements took place in areas that were not good for farming, on skirts of mountains. Personally, I don't find it okay to zone level areas that can be used for agriculture totally for construction."

From the quote above, one can also see that national state laws and regulations contribute to the appropriation of certain areas for tourism, eventually causing changes in the local perception and practice. It is an example of how global and national agendas impact the local realities and understandings. Nevertheless, İsmet draws attention to the resistance on local municipality's part. He implied that municipality tried to reduce the effects of this process despite the grand political implementations:

> "Urbanization process has not turned into urban sprawl or unguided urbanization as much as expected. Being sensitive to the issue and being conscious of zone development have played a role in this and have led the urbanization in Fethiye to be more decent and smooth."

Bülent shares the same positive attitude towards the municipality. He says that the city has developed and thanks to the mayor its naturalness is still kept; the locations have become more attractive. Another positive look related to the immigration effects concerns service quality. Arif argues that cleaning services provided by the municipality have become better with the arrival of foreigners. He added that the areas where foreigners inhabit and frequent are kept cleaner than before.

What has been mentioned so far cannot be found in the literature on international pensioner immigration in coastal cities. For instance, contestations over space in agriculture and tourism due to the historical density in a city have not been explored. Dominance of agriculture, the degree of residents' resistance against construction, and residents' attitudes towards the local municipality are some other areas not explored from the local residents' perspectives.

On the other hand, some accounts include shared concerns caused by urbanization process as in other studies. Fethiye residents place on top of the list of complaints increasing traffic jam, the insufficiency of the infrastructure and the deterioration of peaceful, and silent life in the city. The increasing population density in the city is another factor that people reported among the physical effects. Rıza related problems of this sort to the lack of planning in municipal services:

> "There are schools, or community health centers that are built for the number of residents at the time. When many people come and go to one of these places, it becomes overcrowded. Then, they have to serve twice the number of original plan. As a result, education, roads or water fall short. Administrative budget is determined depending on the population of the city. However, in summer Fethiye hosts as many as its population. Then what happens? Services like cleaning services are not fulfilled."

Considering the huge gap between summer (around 300,000 people) and winter (140,000 people) seasons show that Rıza is right[55]. Another issue that informants raised is that the local municipality is not allowed to make necessary investments for the betterment of the city. The common perception that infrastructure and municipal services are problematic seems to be related to the new municipality law of 2012 mentioned in previous chapters. This view is quite common among all Fethiye residents, not only the informants. Informants maintained that Muğla's being a metropolitan municipality has disabled municipal services of Fethiye to a great extent. The mayor himself admitted the troubles in providing services (ibid). He claimed that locations that used to be villages prior to the law and now are considered neighborhood would benefit timely and sufficient service if Fethiye became an independent municipality. Another gain would be the ability to put into practice big-scale investments that could have direct financial effects on the city.

None of the local residents referred to the foreigners' acquisition of property and its effects on physical space. This is even more intriguing because a considerable amount of areas previously used for agriculture now serve as locations for gated communities or residential apartments instead. They did not report any negative feelings towards any specific group in relation to their potential role in spatial changes. They tended to use 'passive structures' while referring to changes in the city. Two significant implications arise as a result of this: Firstly, the local residents are problematizing immigration, in particular tourism-based international migration coupled with urbanization in terms of culture and finance rather than environment. Secondly, the local residents are happy and content with the growth of the city at large due to having access to a source of income despite giving voice to some problems at times. They are not that disturbed by this trade-off. Besides, it is not their first experience with urbanization. The city has already been under transformation from a rural village to an urbanized tourism area for quite a long time. Thus, their reactions are not very outspoken when it comes to the changes in the environment. Even though nostalgia is

[55] http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1068444-fethiye-il-olsun-mu

a common theme in similar studies, interviews in this study do not include elements of nostalgia or yearning for the past. This also supports the assumption that people are not greatly bothered by physical changes.

To conclude this section on environmental and physical effects of immigration, there was a consensus among in-state immigrants and the locals over the observation that Fethiye is suffering from well-known urbanization symptoms such as traffic, spread of construction sites, and competing claims on fields between agriculture and tourism. On the other hand, a considerable number of residents agreed that this process has been taking place steadily and it has not impacted the physical space profoundly.

CHAPTER V BETWEEN THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL: BELONGING AND PLACE-MAKING

The aim of this study is not to focus on a specific group only but to dwell on the place itself because 'place' matters in the formation of identity and in human interaction (Gieryn, 2000). In other words, the aim is to explore people's relation *to a place*, not of a group of people *in a place*. Such an undertaking entails the investigation of the concept of space.

5.1 Differing Views on the Concept of Space

Henri Lefebvre is the most prominent scholar that laid the foundations for theories of space in social sciences. Lefebvre (1991) starts with the assertion that the question of the production of space is the foremost and preliminary quest to reach authentic knowledge of space. In such an undertaking, social relations in specific societies and eras attain the primary importance since at the center of his analysis is the focus on nature, the city, the urban, and everyday life (Zieleniec, 2007). By applying Marx's concept of production to space, Lefebvre tracks the historical development of space. Lefebvre sees the city as the focal point where the birth and extension of capitalism as a mode of production took place. Zieleniec (2007) argues that for Lefebvre, space itself came to be seen as a scarce resource with an exchange value to be traded, like any other commodity on the market. Lefebvre concludes that production of space is a political endeavor since ideological, financial and political forces have the power over space by regulating and controlling it for political purposes.

Lefebvre (1991) proposes a triad of intertwined elements (spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation) that are necessary to understand the production of space. To begin with, spatial practices denote the physical and material flows (of individuals, groups or commodities), circulations, and interactions that occur in and across space. In other words, organization or structuring of social relations requires specific places and spatial compositions or arrangements to make sure that social life is produced and reproduced. It means the use of particular types of

buildings or urban landscape such as sites for housing, industry, commerce, shopping or, leisure and recreation. The second element, representations of space is the dominant space in society and is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to 'frontal' relations" (Lefebvre, 1991, 33). It is the "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers, and of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived (1991, 38–9). In other words, those who control how space is represented control how it is produced, organized and used since, according to Lefebvre, planning is ideological. Finally, spaces of representations are spaces "as directly lived through its associations, images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe." In the words of Zieleniec (2007), spaces of representation, then, are the spaces of everyday life where a complex of dichotomous factors, mental and social interact. For example, they can be access/denial, fear/ desire, familiarity/unfamiliarity, and public/private.

Like Lefebvre, David Harvey's concern is to develop a theory of the production of space that highlights the role of space in capitalism (Zieleniec, 2007). An account of space and time is placed at the center of his analysis. It regards material processes and social relations vital to the question of urbanization. He (1977, 237) suggests, "Ideas about environment, population, and resources are not neutral. They are political in origin and have political effects". Thus, in the words of Zieleniec (2007, 101), Harvey's concern is to "investigate the production and use of the physical and social landscape of the city that is shaped and formed within the urbanizing process of capital accumulation."

Harvey supplements Lefebvre's thesis concerning the production of space. It is particularly visible in the latter's necessary element of 'spatial practice'. However, as Zieleniec (2007) suggests the two basically differ in their analysis of how the city functions. For Lefebvre, urbanization is the means by which capitalism survives through the production of new and increasingly dominant urban spatial forms. On the other hand, Harvey claims that the investment priorities and demands of industrial capital determine the creation of space. Zieleniec (2007, 101) argues that for Harvey, capital accumulation demands urban forms that facilitate the more effective extraction

of surplus value by organizing the spatial form of the urban as a production center, as a location for consumption, as facilitating the circulation of capital and for the reproduction of labor.

Often adopting a neo-Marxist perspective as well, Mitchell (2003) sees the evolution of particular types of landscape as the manifestation of developing struggles between different agents in financial and political realms within capitalism. He argues that landscape cannot be considered only as an object or image. Rather, it should be treated as a process. Therefore, exploring landscape practices particularly in relation to everyday life and their demonstration through embodied performances would help one to see how the political realm overlaps with the cultural one.

5.2 The City: Global or Local?

Saskia Sassen is one of the prominent scholars whose expertise is cities. Sassen famously argues that the traditional assumption about the nation-state as the container of social process no longer holds true in the face of globalization (2007, 4). A process or an entity cannot be necessarily considered national just because it is set in the territory of a sovereign state.

The idea that nation-state is no longer a closed unit derives from her conceptual framework on 'globalization'. Sassen's theory of globalization consists of two specific sets of dynamics (2007). The establishment of institutions and processes that have an obvious global nature is the first dynamic. It includes institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), and global economic markets. In spite of being executed at the national scale, such practices and organizational forms are novel and self-evident to a great extent (2007, 5). However, Sassen argues that the second set of dynamics is not readily recognized, which involves the processes taking place in territories and institutional realms whose formation was nationally determined. Despite being localized in national or subnational areas, they are considered a part of globalization mainly because a variety of local or national actors or processes are combined through networks and institutions that go beyond national borders. The acts of human rights and environmental organizations can be given as examples. Sassen warns that it is often the first type of processes and institutions that is understood in relation to globalization, not the second type of dynamic.

In her theory of 'the global city', Sassen (2004) argues that processes such as opening up of national economies to the global accompanied by deregulation and privatization have led to certain changes in the nature of cities. Where these processes are territorialized came to determine the role of the cities in this system. This territorialization takes place on regional, national and global levels. Cities such as Tokyo, New York or London among many others host the headquarters of multi-national corporations that manage regional branches.

Sassen presents seven hypotheses that helped her theorize the global city model. To name a few, the first one is about the geographic dispersal economic activities centrally operated by corporates simultaneously across different countries. Central functions such as the task of managing, coordinating, servicing and financing operations become more complex and strategic as the rate of dispersal expands. The second one is about outsourcing such services from specialized service firms due to too much complexity. The remaining ones provide details about how headquarters function in the system.

Certain scholars are against the clear-cut descriptive distinctions between terms as complex as 'global' and 'local'. They advocate the existence of a blurred area especially from cultural point of view. Massey (1991) argues that the marriage of these two terms results in certain confusions regarding the concrete and abstract. She maintains that it is a flawed approach to equate the local with solely the empirical and concrete and the global with the abstract or theoretical.

According to Massey (1995 as cited in Morley, 2000, 10), it is almost impossible to identify an entity entirely as 'local':

> "few people's…daily lives can be described as simply local. Even the most "local"…people…have their lives touched by wider events, are linked into a broader geographical field…[N]obody in the First World these days lives their daily lives completely locally, entirely untouched by events elsewhere."

Borrowing from this framework, Morley (2000) claims that there is a necessity to reexamine our sense of place with the idea in mind that forces of economic globalization and global media industries construct transformations and destabilizations.

Some scholars adopt a different approach with respect to global and local. Regarding locality and identity, Marcus (as cited in Morley, 2000) argues that conventional notions of community and identity cannot be situated on locality. Thus, the argument that the production of identity primarily depends on a specific locale is not valid.

Instead, he advocates that identity is constructed concurrently in a variety of locales. In the words of Marcus (as cited in Morley, 2000, 10), "one's identity where one lives…is only one social context and perhaps not the most important one in which it is shaped". It means that production of identity cannot be constrained and bounded in a place only. Rather, it takes place in multiple spatialities. The implication for the current study is when one considers 'belonging' in a particular locale such as Fethiye, the essence of the matter is not the construction of identity, but just a segment in the process.

5.3 Unpacking the Theories on Belonging

Literature abounds of concepts constructed to explain the essential human need to belong to an entity. Thus, a variety of concepts have been proposed. For instance, the concepts of identity, sense of belonging, and feeling "at home" are sometimes used interchangeably to convey the same subjective sense of being part of a social group or a place (Black, 2002). However, Black argues, the concept of identity is more complex, grounded and it cannot be taken as synonyms for the concepts of belonging and feeling at home (2002).

Identity is considered to encapsulate the concept of belonging. To illustrate, Lerner et al. (2007) suggest that previous identities or cultural affinity with the country of origin are used by immigrants as interpretive tools to construct their individual or collective identities in the new society. Thus, it is not the case that immigrants just leave their identities behind. Some scholars view the sense of belonging as the process of deliberate actions. For instance, Hannerz (1990) claims that the sense of belonging needs to be considered as the eagerness to become involved with the other, and the concern with developing competency in cultures.

It has been made clear that the concepts of identity and belonging are not held synonyms in this thesis. I take the view proposed by Fortier (2000), who situates belonging in the construction of identity. She argues that identity has a transitory nature in that it always produces itself through mutual processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong. Thus, belonging will be investigated in two main aspects: getting involved with the other people and attachment to a place.

5.3.1 Belonging, Performativity and Place-making

The first aspect of discussion on the need to belong concerns ‘groups’. Durkheim’s work can be given as an example, among the earliest, that reveals the bonds between the individual and the community. Durkheim (1964) differentiates between traditional and modern societies and argues that living in the same place, sometimes over generations produces ‘collective consciousness’ (as cited in Abbott-Chapman et al., 2014, 298). According to Durkheim, there are three types of bonds between the individual and the community, namely, the moral, social and economic bonds. These bonds may be experienced both in the traditional or modern society. Nevertheless, he postulates that whereas moral and social bonds prevail in the ‘traditional’ or rural society, it is more likely to witness economic bonds in the ‘modern’ or urban society. However, he warns that drawing such clear-cut lines may be problematic due to complex reality of the broader socio-political economy (Durkheim, 1964 as cited in Abbott-Chapman, 2014, 299).

Borrowing from Durkheim’s theory of ‘collective consciousness’, Bourdieu (1985) introduces the concept of ‘social capital’, which has drawn an extensive amount of attention since then. In the words of Bourdieu (1985, 248), it refers to "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition". It implies that individuals are not inherently granted with social networks and thereby, they need to make investments in that social surrounding. Through active engagement in social groups and acquisition of social resources, people are able to gain certain financial benefits. However, Bourdieu’s instrumental approach has received criticism from some scholars. For instance, Portes (2000) argues that distinctive dynamics are at play in social and cultural capital and they cannot be readily reduced to financial one due to their relative opaque nature.

The second aspect of discussion on the need to belong is associated with ‘place’. People’s attachments to their place of residence are commonly covered in the term ‘belonging’ in recent literature (Cohen, 1982; Savage et al., 2005). According to Savage et al. (2005), incomers to an area can claim belonging since they choose to live in the area that is functionally and symbolically significant for them. It is proposed that it eventually enables them to claim moral ownership over the place that they reside in, which is referred to as ‘elective belonging’. However, Benson & Jackson (2012, 797)

stress that the evolution of their residential practices relating to a sense of belonging cannot merely be explained by choice. Such conceptualizations of belonging fail to encompass both the dynamics and variations of people's relationships to place as well as the dynamic nature of place (ibid). Other determinant factors such as predominant representations of place have to be negotiated by residents. Benson & Jackson (2012) argue that, to be able to explore such factors and gain a better grasp of the practices in a place, theories on neighborhood belonging and class (Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009) and theories of space (De Certeau, 1988; Lefebvre, 1991) need to be combined.

Benson & Jackson's framework demonstrates that belonging has the dynamic sense of being a part of a group, which is consistently found in many definitions. Such dynamism casts an active role for the subjects. For this reason, the concept of performativity (Butler, J., 1993) should be incorporated into the discussion of belonging since such discussions could showcase the numerous ways in which people construct neighborhood and claim moral ownership over their place of residence (Watt, 2009). In Butler's (1993, 2) words, performativity is not understood as 'the act by which a subject brings into being what she/he names, but, rather, as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains'. In this case, it means that space is remade through the practice in everyday life and place is re-inscribed on the individual (Butler, J., 1993). Hence, her emphasis on repetition of acts suggests that there is more to cultural identity than being a mere social construct. Exploring these acts in practice, which are informed by the discourse, and the underlying motivations can help us to see how people reinvent or remake the given social constructs.

In addition to performativity, another concept has to be explored in relation to belonging: the concept of place-making as a set of discursive practices. Both imaginings and practice in ongoing processes shape 'doing' neighborhoods. Place-making generates subjectivities in this realization since repeated actions aimed at making place simultaneously reconstruct designated identities (Benson & Jackson, 2012). To put it differently, the residents adopt active roles in the making of the city and there is a constant bilateral relationship both among the residents and the place and the residents. In short, place is not just adopted by the residents but actively made and maintained. Even though both concepts of performativity and place-making underscore the subjectivity of individuals, there is a nuanced difference in the way they

work. Performativity incorporates the binding power of discourses while place-making is more about the end-result of daily practices.

As to the question where and how these place-making and maintenance take place, Lefebvre's three categories of spatial production (spatial practice, representations of space and representational space) provide the basis (Benson and Jackson, 2012). Especially the second category (the representations of space) contributes to the argument by concealing physical space and showing how people's spatial practices are connected to circulating images and representations of specific places (Lefebvre, 1991).

So far, performativity and processes of place-making have been related to the discussion on residents' belonging. Relying on the theoretical frameworks above, the residents' relationship to Fethiye needs to be considered as performative (Butler, J., 1990) and dynamic (Lefebvre, 1991). Utilizing this framework, I will analyze how a Fethiye resident situates himself/herself and in what ways this consideration is reflected on day-to-day practice.

5.3.2 Belonging, Home and the Politics of Belonging

The second line of theoretical attempts on belonging include interpretations of 'home' and various ways in which belonging is constructed. Hannerz (2002) argues that home embodies a fundamental contrast with the notion of being away from home.

The notion of home is actualized in two basic forms (Hannerz, 2002). Firstly, a sense of rootedness in a socio-geographic site makes people feel 'at home'. However, for Parkin (1998), it raises the question of whether belonging is necessarily and definitely embedded in a territory or not. The attention paid to the common sentiments and habits should be called into question in such rootedness. Another form is related to a distant locality with which people establish a deep affiliation, by which self-realization can take place. According to Parkin (1998), it amounts to the conclusion that people are likely to transport their cultural assumptions to new settlements. Parkin considers the territorial attachment and persistent moveable ideas as counterparts and thereby, suggests that both dimensions have to be included in discussions on 'home'. Exactly for this reason, while exploring the local residents' belonging, other constituents in any particular territory should be taken into consideration as well.

While Hannerz (2002) and Parkin (1998) differentiate feelings of 'home' into two

counterparts, Yuval-Davis (2011) avoids bilateral categorization. She states that belonging refers to emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'. In the words of Yuval-Davis (2011, 5), people can 'belong' to many different objects of attachments in various ways. It can be a person, the humanity or a place, in a concrete way or an abstract way. However, regardless of the way or the object, belonging is always a dynamic process, which resembles the argumentation put forward by Benson and Jackson (2012).

Belonging is constructed on three main analytical levels. The first one is about social locations while the second one concerns people's identifications and emotional attachments to different collectivities and groups. The last level is connected to ethical and political value systems (Yuval-Davis, 2011). These three levels are sometimes interrelated, but reducing one to another is not possible. In this respect, it is similar to Lefebvre's three categories of space that cannot be reduced to each other.

According to Yuval-Davis (2006), social and economic locations are significant in sense of belonging: categories such as a working-class or middle-class, a man or a woman belonging to a race, class, group or a profession need to be considered as these locations lead to certain implications of power in society. Thus, the categories have a particular positionality along an axis of power, higher or lower than other categories (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 199). Nevertheless, in practice such fixity of social locations *does* hardly exist even in their most stable format. There are cases in which they do not necessarily outweigh others; they just mark divergent locations. Besides, depending on the historical contexts and practices, the degree of a certain category varies. In other words, it is not fixed and rigid. To give an example, some social divisions such as gender, ethnicity, or class tend to have a bigger impact on the construction of individuals' positioning while such divisions as membership in a particular status or being in a refugee group have less effects (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

The second analytical level is about identities and emotional attachments. While constructing belonging, people make emotional investment and show desire for attachments (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Yuval-Davis (2011), however, adds that belongings might appeal to people at different rates and ways. Emotions display a variety, depending on situations and experiences, leading to different levels of reflection. So, we understand that emotions are not the only way to explore belonging. Therefore, judging others' belonging may lead to wrong conclusions at times.

The final analytical level related to belonging is examined through ethical and ideological levels. What social locations and constructions of individual as well as collective identities and attachments have provided so far do not fully explain the concept of 'belonging'. How practices on these two levels are valued and judged by others holds importance as well (Yuval-Davis, 2006). To put it simply, it is about where the boundaries of categories are drawn and who 'out-claims' others in belonging to a place. It also concerns whether a resident adopts inclusionary or exclusionary strategies towards other residents in this process. Colloquially, it means how people judge their own and others' belonging/s. As Morley (2002) maintains, it is also about the vital issue of defining not only who (or what) 'belongs' but also who (or what) is to be excluded as 'out of place' in the construction of identity. Such an attempt calls into question the differentiation between belonging and the politics of belonging.

The easiest way to understand the difference between belonging and the politics of belonging is to consider the symbolic separation of a community as 'us' and 'them'. Such separation does not necessarily concern the physical space alone. Borrowing from Benedict Anderson (1991)'s 'imagined communities', Yuval-Davis (2006) explores the boundaries of belonging. She argues that belonging often denotes day-to-day and naturalized practices; however, it becomes politicized only when it is threatened in some way. Thus, what one talks about in such cases is the politics of belonging. It includes efforts aimed at determining what is involved in belonging, and in being a member of such a community (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 3). Certain social locations and identity narratives play a role in this attempt. The politics of belonging includes debates on the participatory dimension of citizenship, the status and entitlements.

To conclude this section, two necessary building blocks of theoretical frameworks surrounding the concept of 'belonging' have been provided. Basically, belonging can be discussed on three main analytical levels: social locations, identities and emotional attachments and lastly ethical and political value systems. There are no clear-cut boundaries between these levels and practices. When it comes to how belonging process works, it has been shown to be a dynamic and performative one. Through performative acts, people are engaged in place-making, and place maintenance. These two can be executed by different groups or by the same people at different times.

5.3.3 Social integration

Another relevant concept that concerns the groups of people who are challenged to adjust to a new social environment is social integration. According to Beresnevièiûtë (2003), social integration, a prevailing element of social sciences, indicates the boundedness of individuals (actors or agents) to each other in the social space. The way social rules are considered by the agents can be studied with reference to social integration. On the whole, social integration is often regarded as a subcategory of integration (Guest & Stamm, 1993). The other two categories include residential and personal integration.

In the words of Beresnevièiûtë (2003, 99), social integration is connected to an individual's position in the social topography and an individual's capabilities and opportunities to apply those capabilities. However, Beresnevièiûtë adds that integration encompasses both conflict and order (2003, 97).

Social integration has been viewed as being composed of different levels. According to Beresnevièiûtë (2003), there are three main theoretical points of social integration: social participation, social inclusion/exclusion and social capital. If a group or an individual adapts and integrates well into the social space, this outcome is regarded as social participation. What interests here is the second dimension of social participation proposed by Kamali (1999): Having a sense of belonging and satisfaction and applying them indicate the existence of social participation. Taking part in social life enables individuals to engage in social relations that provide the platform. It is this platform where agents utilize strategies. This act cannot be considered independent of other actors. In fact, Beresnevièiûtë (2003) highlights the importance of dialectical self-realization. Participating socially involves the ability to notice social reality; however, being recognized by members of other community groups is also an integral part of social participation. This dimension takes us to the idea of political participation such as voting, issuing petitions and so on.

When it comes to social exclusion, Beresnevièiûtë (2003, 102) claims that it refers to the outcomes of processes that characterize particular groups as being not a constituent part of 'normal' society. However, the most agreed upon definition refers to the state of an individual who cannot take part in financial, social, political, and cultural life efficiently due to the lack of abilities and insufficient material and social properties

(Klasen, 1998). If civic, political and social rights of citizenship of a person are not realized and he/she is denied such rights, it still refers to social exclusion. Nevertheless, Beresnevièiûtë (2003) concludes that queries about whose perspective this term addresses will linger: who are those excluded or who excludes.

The final concept related to social integration is social capital. Beresnevièiûtë accepts that social capital has been the subject of many theoretical discussions, saying that scholars such as P. Bourdieu, J. Coleman, R. Putnam, F. Fukayama and others have interpreted it in different ways. Her own definition, however, is simple but to the point: it is the outcome of participation in the social context. In the words of Beresnevièiûtë, it is defined as interrelations of social agents that depend on trust, interaction, and activities, which establish the grounds for material or symbolic exchanges (2003, 104).

According to Lesser (2000), two principal perspectives are embodied in the structural facets of relationships in the literature of social capital. The way an individual actor interacts with another individual comprises the first perspective. The second one depends on the relative standing that a person occupies in a given network rather than his/her direct contact with members of that network (Lesser, 2000). One can say that the latter perspective concerns hierarchical positioning of an agent in collective bodies such as organisations, communities or nations. For this reason, residents' belonging or social integration entails the exploration of skills or resources derived from not only one-to-one interactions but also individuals' status in their immediate groups.

Social capital is also examined in terms of its functions. As mentioned before, Bourdieu, as the first scholar to offer an analytical discussion of social capital, sees social capital as instrumentally oriented (1985). He notes that individuals' taking part in the social realm are deliberate attempts to gain certain benefits and access to economic resources. Bourdieu insists that social capital and cultural capital serve as means to economic capital. This reductionist approach is defied by Portes who advocates the idea that distinctive dynamics are at play in these two other forms (2000, 4). He goes on to claim that they are considered less transparent and more opaque compared to economic capital. Inspired by this, to what extent these forms hold true in the case of Fethiye will be explored through informants' narratives.

Portes elaborates on his treatment of social capital by identifying its functions, origins, and negative outcomes. He (2000, 9) identifies three basic functions of social capital

as follows: a source of social control, family support and a source of social network. Social capital does not necessarily results in positive outcomes. That is, the same strong bonds that grant benefits to an individual in a particular group might become counterproductive for individuals. Subsequently, he categorizes four negative consequences of social capital: exclusion of outsiders, limitations on individual freedoms, excess claims on group members, and downward norms that apply to group members (2000, 15).

To conclude, pivotal theoretical frameworks on the need to belong to a place or a group have been analyzed through different concepts, namely belonging, performativity, place-making, the politics of belonging, home, and social integration. Social integration consists of social participation, exclusion/inclusion and social capital. Even though these concepts might overlap at times or are deemed valid for certain groups, the indispensable human need to be a part of a certain social environment prevails.

To see how the aforementioned theories apply to the practice in Fethiye, residents' views will now be investigated. First, their preliminary views on their belonging are inquired. This binding and intrinsic feeling will be further explored in terms of economic, cultural, social and political domains. The foreign residents' perceptions will be presented first and then as a response to what they say, the immigrants' and locals' ideas on similar topics will be provided. In other words, it will proceed in a dialogical fashion. Instead of exploring a certain theme across groups and then moving on to the next theme, the discussion will zero in on each group in its own entirety. Therefore, the plethora of experiences each group has been undergoing can be explored through differing thematic levels more systematically.

5.4 Foreign Residents' Belonging

5.4.1 Emotional Attachment Based on Place: This is my Home

Without exception, all of the foreign residents stated that they felt at home in Fethiye and they belonged there. Reasons that are closely associated with the city itself will be provided in this section. In general, the feeling caused by being away from Fethiye temporarily, the length of residence and the issue of safety were found to be the main factors that impacted their bonding to Fethiye.

Firstly, foreign residents' perceptions of the concept 'feeling at home' or 'belonging'

need to be explored. They provided valuable insights into how they consider their belonging. Interestingly, more than half of them had the same reasoning behind their answers: the feeling of coming home after a temporary leave from the city. The way they considered their belonging is similar to the argument offered by Hannerz (2002): feeling at home is accentuated in cases when an individual is away from home. They reported that kind of feeling through statements like 'I miss it when I am not there'. Samuel (55) with 3 years of residency in Fethiye said:

> "This is my home. When I go back to England occasionally to work or anywhere else that is going away. Turkey is where I live; Turkey is my home. So, this is our home."

Some residents indicated how they turned this feeling into a concrete, substantial and verbal act as exemplified in the extract below by Joanne. Her account also helps one conclude that determination to live in a particular place is another indicator of belonging:

> "Yes, this is my home. When we went up to Istanbul, people were asking 'where are you from?' I was saying I am from Fethiye because this is where I choose to live. This is where I want to spend the rest of my life."

The length of residence also plays in role in how residents view their belonging. Elisabeth (42) stated that she felt at home because she spent half of her life in Fethiye. She did not provide any specific reason and she spoke as if living in a place for a long time would be enough to feel at home. In the literature, there is no reference to the length of time that deals with belonging. However, what she said accentuates a pattern among the long-term and short-term residents. Those who have been living for relatively shorter periods seemed to be more articulate about their experiences. On the other hand, those with longer residency provided a more compact version as if there was no need to answer such a question. They reacted just by saying "of course, definitely I belong here". To these people, simply the length of residency is self-expressive of the practice itself.

Another reasoning is related to affinity with the place. Fethiye is perceived as the space in which they can practice their daily routines. For instance, Becky (51) considered belonging as the ease by which she could pursue her usual lifestyle. She said she felt at home because she could ride her bike to everywhere and it was easy for her to access to the town center. In this case, geographical features seem to play a role in belonging. In addition, Valeria (44) made a comment about relating to the place in an 'overall sense' by saying, "Because I do not feel out of place anywhere. If I feel I do not belong

here, I should not be here." In fact, this short quote implies that the sense of belonging is a prerequisite if one is to keep living in a place.

For some informants such as Toby (74), Nicholas (47) and Joanne (60) emotional attachment is reflected not only in the feeling of closeness but also in the feeling of being safe as suggested by Ignatieff (2001). Joanne emphasized it as a much more favorable aspect of the city compared to big metropolitan cities:

> "I admit that I lived in a small village in England out in the middle of nowhere. If I ever went to local town particularly at night, my son would say to me 'don't walk back to the car on your own.' In Fethiye, I don't feel unsafe at all. I feel happy and safe walking back home late at night and will be safe. To me, that means an awful lot. Perhaps I wouldn't feel that safe if I lived in a big city like Istanbul, Ankara or…here I lived here on my own for three years."

Compared to other factors, the significance of safety in belonging comes to the fore with the following interview result: Everybody in the first group indicated that they 'definitely' belonged to Fethiye except for Weronika (61), who said 'very much so'. It became clear later in the interview that she had some problems with her neighbor up to a point where the police was involved. So, it stands out as a great example showing the weight of feeling safe when we analyze belonging.

So far, answers to the questions on belonging have been provided. However, the foreign informants have provided insights into their belonging in other questions as well. Now those answers will be analyzed.

This part is predominantly related to residential choices. There is no apparent and clear differentiation in their choice of residential areas. Obviously, younger female residents reside in a location in which people from various backgrounds live. They emphasized the importance of integrating with the local community. In fact, the same idea was communicated by most of the informants. They underlined the value of living in a diverse neighborhood. For instance, Halley (55) said that she personally preferred living in Günlükbaşı, a residential area close to Çalış. She said wherever she goes they all know her by name and speak to her. Besides, Joanne mentioned her decision to move to a more heterogeneous and central area:

> "All of my neighbors are Turkish. I didn't want to live in Çalış or Ovacık, which is full of English people because we live here and we want to be part of Turkish community. I rather live with Turkish people than English people. My neighbors in the apartment really like me because I do gardening and it looks good. They even gave me money to buy more plants."

On the other hand, some foreign residents prefer to live in places where other foreigners often live. Butler and Robson (2003) associate such situations with the choice for 'people like us'. For example, Fionna said, "I settled in very quickly as there

are lots of British people living here. I wanted to live in a tourist resort."

In brief, the foreign residents make their place in various ways, which leads them to feel emotionally attached. It can sometimes be related to their cultural backgrounds. For example, the British get together in bars and restaurants to watch football matches in big groups. The fact that such places are equipped with British flags and other cultural ornaments give the impression that it is 'the little Britain'. So, it is a way of sustaining their vision of British identity in the city of Fethiye.

5.4.2 The Cultural Domain

5.4.2.1 On the Local Culture: Family-orientated Nature

The foreign residents were asked about cultural similarities and differences between their home country and Fethiye in order to see whether they transport any ideas to the new residency area. It is hoped that this can help us to understand whether disparities or resemblances have any impact in their place-making process.

Being family orientated is perceived to be the most distinctive positive feature of the Turkish culture. There are two broad and relatively opposing aspects related to the assumption that Turkish culture is family orientated. Firstly, among the old pensioners, a consensus exists over the positive implications of the close-knit family relationships. For instance, Joanne contrasted two cultures with a focus on the lamentable lack of that quality in her own culture. We can see yearning for the lives left behind in her accounts, showing that collectivity in her new social space is a missing feature in her home country. So, through experiencing something that existed in her imagination, she feels an affinity with the existing culture:

> "The thing I like about Turkey is that it's family orientated. They help each other. In England I was brought up in such an environment, but over the years, it has changed and it has gone to individuals more than family and I do like the family-helping-each-other sort of life."

In some cases, some residents used this well-recognized image of Turkish culture to shape their place of residence through place-making activities. Performatively, Weronika (61) kept 'Turkey-in-the-mind' which she actualized in the local community through repeated practices in daily life:

> "I think people are more sociable here and certainly, with a Turkish family, so I know they are, I think, more family orientated and so if you get to know somebody Turkish well, they will take you in as part of your family and accept you as you are. I think in England we are more reserved. You may get to meet people, but they won't necessarily introduce you to their family and invite you to family gatherings. I've been to Turkish weddings, Bayram feast and things like that. I

think that's what makes the difference."

She was content with being invited into the locals' social space on various occasions. The process is inclusionary of foreign residents rather than exclusionary and practice seems to have added back to the imagery of the dominant resident group. However, such processes of feeling that they count for the local community do not always take place over a long period of time. Instead, some residents reach this level through sudden moments of realization. For instance, Nicholas (47), who runs a bar and lives in a Turkish neighborhood in the city centre, mentioned how he was taken aback when his middle-aged neighbor came to his house to inform about his father's death and invited him to the funeral. He said he realized he was seen as a part of the community there.

Similar to the inclusionary acts by the local people, other residents' particular attention to foreign residents in case of familial relationships also facilitates personal attachment to the place. For example, Hillary (36) who considered the society to be close-knit suggested that people respect a person if he/she is related to someone Turkish they know. She referred to times when she was called '*yenge*' (brother's wife). While we were walking down the street after the interview, some residents and Hillary had little chitchats in Turkish. It seemed they regarded her highly, making her place-making process follow a different route than others. In other words, her being related to someone, namely her husband exemplifies one of the functions of social capital as suggested by Portes (2000). He argues that social capital serves a source of social network, providing easiness for Hillary in this case.

The second aspect champions somewhat a different and contradictory version to the family-orientated nature of Turkish culture. The middle-aged female foreign residents who were/have been involved with Turkish families during their current or past marriage provided interesting observations. They said that family members' being tightly related to each other brings some problems in the future. Valeria (44) provided more details about internal anxieties:

> "Families look tightened on the outside. On close inspection, there are so many arguments within families over ridiculous things. They are quite volatile. English families have ups and downs, too, but here it's all dramas, explosions."

Another informant Fionna (37) argued that Turkish people care about formalities too much whereas the British people do not have such worries so much. She added that the Turkish often worry about 'what the family would think'. These informants

commented on frictions they faced in their marriage, in particular with their Turkish father and mother-in-laws. One can assume that discrepancies between cultures as such are likely to have an impact on their practices in the social space.

Regarding family, certain negative outcomes of social capital in the sense distinguished by Portes (2000) were mentioned in relation to views on the opposite culture as well. The informant Becky (51) pointed at the pressure or excess claims put on an individual with a comparison to her own culture:

> "Family structures in Turkey are a bit complicated. Even if people are married you need to support other family members like sister, brother. Therefore, I can't imagine a person not working and thereby being helped by someone else. In Germany, you are expected to work. Here women are dependent on men; and they don't work. I have even seen women who don't order food at a restaurant but let her husband do it."

The quote above introduces another salient perception that some foreigners have: women's place in social life. They think that women in Turkey are not independent and subordinated to man in the family and society at large. It was a recurrent issue put forward by foreign informants.

In addition to being family orientated, there are other frequent and positively regarded traits that foreign residents attribute to the local culture. They include being more respectful to other people particularly the elderly, helping others, sincerity and friendliness. This perception is shared by both middle-aged female informants and the pensioners. For example, Elisabeth (42) connected her place-making process to a similarity between two cultures. This seems to have translated into her actions in the long term, as she became a permanent resident. The extract below is significant in another sense: she utilized cultural affinity with her country of origin to reconstruct her identity in the new space, an argument that Lerner et al. (2007) suggest.

> "Both British and Turkish people are quite polite people. They are worried about hurting others. The difference is if you make them angry (laughing…), they want to kill you whereas English people are a bit slower to go off. But there is definitely that respect thing more in Turkey. People are more respectful to elders, you know, more respectful about insulting people, but English people are also like that. But if you look at other nations, there is not so much of that. I can relate to Turkish culture more. Otherwise, I wouldn't still be here after 21 years (laughing…)"

Some residents gave examples about to what lengths being helpful and sincerity went in some cases. The informant Joanne (60) mentioned how amazed she was by the attention of a doctor to her illness. She narrated that the doctor personally wandered around in his car to get the medicine and he shared cigarettes with her outside the office. For her, it was a scene that could and would never take place in Britain.

On the other hand, there are certain perceived discrepancies between two cultures,

which has negative implications. They might prove challenging for foreigners to feel an affinity with the culture if these disparities are too obvious and quite different. Problems with punctuality, lack of planning, being disorganized and quick-tempered were expressed as areas where the most visible discrepancies lie. For instance, Alfred (47) exemplified the way such differences are accentuated in daily life. He indicated how the same cultural feature could influence him both negatively and positively:

> "The lifestyle is relaxed and most English people would like England to be as relaxed as Turkey. However, this is exactly what creates problems. When we want something done, from a businessman point of view, we want it done straight away whereas in Turkey everything is "*yavaş yavaş*", which is very difficult for us as expats to relate to. If you want some work done on a property, which happens quite regularly, then you call somebody. They say 'I will come in the morning.' But they don't tell you which morning. This is very frustrating for us."

It is clear that the frequency of such encounters is at a level that bothers him. The use of colloquial words such as *yavaş yavaş* (slowly slowly) serves as an indicator of the dissatisfaction level of his involvement. It might be a way of saying how distant such a practice is for him.

5.4.2.2 Attempts at Preserving and Remanufacturing the Culture

For some people, the possibility of having the means in the local community to create the same lifestyle that they used to have at home is a determinant factor in the belonging process. Samuel (55) said their lifestyle was very similar to what they would have in England. He also pointed at the availability of culturally meaningful products:

> "We don't follow a religion so there is no problem on that side of it and there's nothing that we do in the UK that we can't do here. We do what expats do here, which is if we want pork products or bacon something like that we go to a pork shop to buy that but that doesn't impinge on you."

The narration above is open to a variety of interpretations. Firstly, although their social location changes from being an employee to a pensioner, habitual practices in the new space can be maintained. Thus, the prospect of maintaining a similar lifestyle arises, reducing the amount of distress. In this way, they are likely to carry along their culture-specific practices. Secondly, foreign residents' relatively easy access to goods that would normally be unavailable in a faraway country highlights the significance of globalization of trade and circulation of commodities. The final one is about the images and imaginings that they have constructed on their mind. They have the notion of 'activities expats do' and they turn this into practice in daily life through different performances. In this case, it is related to eating habits. Coming together in bars through charity work was reported to be another activity. Similarly, the frequent use of the term, 'expats' in their narrative carry the idea that they still hold on to that part

of their identity. It might indicate a way of constructing collectivity. However, some residents have different ways of seeing 'activities expats do'. The image of a group of foreign residents sitting in a bar, drinking beer and having loud conversations is interpreted differently by the local residents, which will be mentioned later on.

In reply to question on cultural maintenance, another informant, Joanne (60) touched upon religion as part of identity. However, we can see that she was mentally prepared for the new place, which seems to have made the process easier for her:

> "When I came here, I knew it was a Muslim country. I accept that; I would never complain or try and inflict my beliefs. I found out about the Muslim culture and different things that happen. It's nice to be part of that. I have not experienced any problems. I was raised by Church of England. I don't go now, but that doesn't bother me. If you need to go to church you can still communicate with God in your head or…"

In this case, dissimilarity between two cultures facilitated the feeling of affiliation with the existing culture in Fethiye. However, being able to practice the religious rituals is still a facet of place-making for some residents. The informant Weronika (61) referred to the availability of such opportunity in the city:

> "I don't have any religious feelings at all not for myself and…and I'm quite respectful that. Here is a different religion to what I have been brought up in, but that's fine. I know people who do, friends of mine, go to an English Church in Fethiye. They have a meeting hall."

Nevertheless, converting a room into a religious sanctuary as stated by Weronika might not be enough for some foreign residents in other districts of Muğla. For example, the foreign residents in Muğla who were not content with renting a room in basements or a hotel room for religious purposes drew attention in the media. Some non-governmental organizations conveyed their desire to make an official application to this end.[56]

The issue of practicing religion does not always concern individuals on an individual basis. At times, it is related to familial relationships, leading to uneasiness in a person's affinity with the place. Valeria pointed at a changing situation in her relation to the place:

> "Since I am not a religious person, it didn't really affect me until I had children. I didn't want to raise my children as Muslims; I wanted them to grow up and decide for themselves. However, I find it difficult because I think it's forced upon them. Comments like 'Your mother will go to hell because she isn't a Muslim' are made to my kids and I am not happy about it."

Keeping the quote above, it is more than a mere coincidence that the only negative comment on maintaining customs belongs to Valeria. Besides, her accounts clearly

[56] http://www.haberler.com/yerlesik-yabancilar-ibadethane-istiyor-7966284-haberi/ Received on: December 14th, 2015

accentuate, once again, the difference between the way pensioners and a resident married with children relate to the city and the wider society.

While maintaining customs, foreign residents seemed to affect others as well. It means adopting from other cultures does not always happen in one direction contrary to what some locals such as Murat suggested. The resident Elisabeth stated that the local community adopted a tradition that is normally associated with Christians:

> "Now loads of Turkish people don't celebrate Christmas as birth of Jesus, but they do put up trees. You can see that all over because they have just adopted things from British people living here. Not that it is celebrating Christmas, they say 'oh, we got *yeni yıl ağaç* (new year tree)…But when I first came here, there was no Christmas tree anywhere because you couldn't get one. It is the same kind of thing, some of the things they have adopted that British people do…and kind of giving gifts. There was none of that 21 years ago. They don't go and have British breakfast, but they pick up some things."

The two accounts above can be given as an example for what Rosaldo (1995, as cited in Morley, 2002, 6) calls 'hybridity'. It refers to the indispensable condition of all human cultures that are devoid of zones of purity, due to continuous processes of transculturation, a term which denotes two way borrowing and lending between cultures. That is to say, the idea of purity does not adequately encompass the process. Instead, it is embodied in the notion of hybridity. Besides, we see that citizens' awareness of cultural forms of which their own culture are principally devoid is sharpened as a result of co-habitation.

5.4.3 The Economic Domain: We Keep it Alive

The majority of the informants are retired, so they are not actively engaged in any money-gathering activity. They consider themselves as the actors that contribute to the local economy considerably. Thus, according to some foreign residents, their communication with non-foreign residents is financially motivated. They argued that that locals' seeing foreigners financially non-threating is the underlying factor behind locals' welcoming attitude. To exemplify ideas along these lines, Samuel claimed that their residency is important for local employment all year long. He also hinted at residency policies after comparing immigration policies of both countries:

> "If Turkey had the same attitude as England, probably will have soon, we couldn't have moved here because they would say 'fair enough. You want to move from the UK to Turkey, What skills can you give us?' You would say 'no, you know what we want to do is move here because it's financially good for us, but what the UK wants now…if you want to move here, are you a doctor, have you got skills to bring us? And if you can't, we aren't interested. So, the only thing we bring to your economy is a little more money than Turks that live here. But what we do by having that money is provide employment for every bar, restaurant. If we weren't here, would they still be around, be open? Maybe during the season, they would, but in the wintertime no because we

> still come to this bar in the wintertime. We still put money into the economy. I don't know what happens to some restaurants here in November, January."

One might argue that the extract above is a sign of having a patronizing outlook toward locals establishing power relations since the welcoming attitude is attributed to financial concerns only. However, Samuel prioritized positive attitudes due to the existence of a mutual understanding based on finance. It derives from his empathy with the local residents:

> "I think it also sounds selfish. We have a good life here because we live in a country where we've owned enough money to be able to retire here. I can always understand how certain Turkish people who don't have that lifestyle or money must think 'what are these bloody *yabancı* doing over here?' Seriously, because I would think exactly the same thing in my country. But, most people we've come in contact with say 'we live here; you live here. Let's get on!' If you can provide something and we can afford, it is great or vice versa."

Two other residents such as Fionna (37) associated locals' positive attitudes partially to their relation with money. In doing this, she highlighted the yearning for the past and the dilemma experienced by the local people:

> "In general, it's not a bad attitude. They accept us; they accept that most of their money in Fethiye is made from tourism. One side, they miss the old life; on the other side, they make money with tourism."

Another aspect of finance is about legal issues related to work permit. In reply to the question about the ways to make their stay more pleasant, Elisabeth noted:

> "People coming here to live also want to do something. Nobody wants to sit around all the time and not do anything. But there is the idea that if you come and live here, you can't work. I think that's put some people off, not because they want to make money; but because they don't want to get bored. Giving them a work permit… I don't know how you get around it because I can understand you don't wanna take away from Turkish workforce because that's not fair, but it does put people off."

Regarding the work issue, Halley also reported her demand on being allowed to work. Hers was not desire for financial gain just like what Elisabeth suggested:

> "I mean…from boredom point of view. I can't use my skills in hypnotherapy and counseling. Feeling wasted. Charities got so many volunteers anyway. I don't want to stand in a shop and sell things. I did it in the past. I want to start using what I learnt. This is why I am doing the languages because it is something I can think about."

The issue above has not been raised in the literature: benefiting from intellectual aspect of foreigners. Creating such circumstances are likely to promote both social blending on society's part and personal involvement on foreigners' part.

5.4.4 Social Interactions

5.4.4.1 'Because we are accepted'

When asked about the factors that lead to the feeling of belonging, the foreign residents predominantly pointed at the attitudes of the locals. Most informants linked and ascribed their attachment to the city based on their relationship to other residents. They claimed that they were welcomed and they did not feel negative feelings toward themselves.

Firstly, there was a shared understanding among all foreign interviewees to confirm powerful and positive associations with the local attitude[57]. The following words were utilized the most: welcoming, positive, kind, and helpful. Some of them provided examples to support their idea. For instance, Alfred, a resident in Üzümlü (a location that is relatively outside the city) and Nicholas living in the city center said their neighbors bring and share fresh fruit and vegetable which they harvest in their fields or gardens.

The most common view is the idea of acceptance as exemplified by Halley (55), who feels that she belongs to Fethiye: "The acceptance by the locals. If you are ignored wherever you go, you know you aren't accepted." However, for some, mere acceptance falls short in providing such a feeling. Hillary (36) implied that a more personal involvement rests upon a more active role. She said, "It is a small community and when you are very active in the community, you end up feeling at home."

Relevant to the quote above, the case of informant, Joanne demonstrates how certain practices of foreign residents can invoke positive feelings in other people. Such acts, in turn, feed back to that person's emotional attachment. In this case, Joanne understood that what she did is appreciated and accepted in the community:

> "We went up to Ankara, and the hotel was very helpful. I wanted to go and see Atatürk's Anıtkabir and we asked the hotel if they could organize a taxi and they were so pleased that we wanted to go and see it. And I was in tears when I visited it because it was so moving. They asked us when we came back. I said I was overwhelmed by it. They were very pleased that British people wanted to make the effort to go and see part of their history. And Atatürk did have a big part in Turkish history."

In some cases, acceptance and feeling of safety complement each other like in Nicholas' case. He even switched to Turkish to make his point about feeling at home:

[57] 'Local' does not necessarily refer to the local people. It denotes all the other residents except for expats.

> "I feel safer here than I do back in London. It's the people that make me feel at home. Our neighbors look out for us as they know when we leave, come home etc. I also look out for them. This is my home. I want to be buried here. *İngilizdim şimdi Fethiyeliyim* (I used to be British; now I am from Fethiye.)."

One important aspect that does not exist in the literature in relation to belonging is present in his accounts: knowing that you are looked after by others. So, the presence of a caring community can enhance the likelihood to feel at home. In fact, he is the same informant who felt very emotional when his Turkish neighbor informed him about the death of his father.

5.4.4.2 Interactions, but in Which Language?

There is a differentiation between pensioners and the younger female group in terms of the way each sub-group interacts with other residents. The majority of pensioners admitted speaking limited Turkish. Nevertheless, they added that they have survival level of Turkish to run chores in daily life such as going to the bazaar or calling a mechanic. Still, as Joanne stated, the lack of language reflects into their interactions:

> "I took private lessons in Turkish. Due to spending more time than expected in the UK, I lost much of it. We don't tend to go out with Turkish friends because of the language problem, which is our fault. I have a lot to do with English people like charity."

There is a visibly higher tendency among female residents to pay more attention to language issue compared to male residents. This was confirmed by Samuel (55). He made it clear that he did not learn Turkish since he depended on a person and he was not in a situation forcing him to learn Turkish:

> "I find language difficult and I am not learning, but my wife is. The thing is so many young Turks speak and want to speak English. I get lazy and I think to myself 'why should I bother learning their language when they are trying to learn mine?' This is a terrible thing; I understand it. But my wife's been going to Turkish lessons for the last 2 years. So, this has made me even lazier because if my wife understands, I don't have to. Terrible thing, but that's the way it is."

Some residents anticipate the formation of positive attitudes with language competence in Turkish. Thus, some utilized this idea to manage their chores or businesses in their social interactions. Becky exemplified how using the local language could help a resident to make his/her place without problems.

> "People are always friendly to me. I have never had problems even when I go to like *belediye* (municipality) or to public places. I think as long as you speak the language, I never experienced any problem."

Language is not the sole factor affecting interactions. Different social locations such as being a pensioner or a full-time employee determine the way interactions take place as shown by Weronika's comment:

> "If I'm talking socially, it's probably English people mostly, but probably because during the day particularly the English people are not working. They are available to socialize whereas most of the Turkish that I know during the day are working and in the summer, of course, it's Turkish people that I know working all the time because they are seasonal workers. You have to go and see them at their work. So, it's about the availability issue."

On the other hand, those that currently hold jobs are much more competent in language and can interact on a wider range of topics. For example, Hillary said she could appeal to people from different walks of life due to working in tourism during the summer and being involved in charity work in winter:

> "I make contact with all people including hotelier, operators at the airport, drivers, cleaners, tourists and so on. I am very respectful to the culture. I call all my drivers my *abi*'s (older brother) and my *abla*'s (older sister). So, I feel very at home in that way, very settled because I can communicate with them. I think it is very much status thing in tourism. Cleaners and drivers are seen at the bottom. English tourists and Turkish people have a status thing in tourism. I talk to everyone the same way."

Her accounts clearly show that she has a high command in Turkish and she is aware of subtleties of Turkish culture and local particularities. She uses colloquial vocative words like *'abi'* or *'abla'* to show proximity to her interlocutors.

Another aspect of interactions is about the intercultural marriages. Although the issue of 'unconventional' intercultural marriages in touristic locations[58] made the news before and became the subject to some studies (Nudralı, 2007; Dirlik, 2009), it has not been much underlined by the participants of this study. Only a few residents have mentioned it. For example, Weronika's accounts illuminate distinctive cultural differences in interaction patterns and specify reasons for possible problems in these mixed marriages:

> "There are quite a few. It doesn't always work very well. The marriages I know about… There are problems. English girls come out on holiday and they meet the young Turkish men. And they like the English girls because they are fun, outgoing. That's what they like. When they get married, they want those English girls to change into Turkish wives. They are not going to. So, that's when the strain starts. They either find a way or split apart. I think that's the main issue. Lots of English people don't understand the Turkish family ethic where you support your family first whereas an English wife would expect to be first, not her husband's family. Yes, in England you support your family, but more emotionally than monetarily. I think that's the difference."

5.4.4.3 Involvement in Charities as a Strategy

Charity work is the most dominant and defining practice of their interactions not only with other residents but also foreign community. It is the most acknowledged way foreign residents *do* get involved in the city and make themselves visible. Both the locals and in-state immigrants emphasized the fact that the foreigners are ready to take

[58] http://www.gundem.be/tr/turkiye/turkiye-de-ithal-gelinlerin-sayisi-dustu

part in such events particularly about animals, children with health problems and students from poor neighborhoods. In other words, foreigners intervene in re-making 'Fethiye' in various ways by initiating or getting involved in local campaigns. However, just like the language issue, it is the female foreign residents rather than male ones that charities are predominantly run by.

Charity work is also a way of building a social network, particularly among the pensioners. Joanne said that when she first moved, she wanted to meet more people. Thus, she joined FIG (Fethiye International Group) and then 3C's (Çalış Children's Charity). Joanne explained the working system of charities:

> "No financial transaction is involved between the needy people and the charity volunteers. Any charity has to work under FETAV by Turkish law. To run a charity, you have to be under FETAV. People who have children in need of help go to FETAV and then FETAV informs charities about certain groups or problems and encourage them for a solution. There is no actual financial transaction between families."

Charities help orphans, and university students or organize events to take care of stray dogs. So, their concerns with the wider social environment reassure a more active practice and involvement with the local community. Thus, they both reconstruct the space and their emotional attachment to the place.

One can conclude that social interactions had a significant influence on foreign residents' sense of emotional attachment. It heavily depends on welcoming attitudes of the local community, their acceptance, and command of the language. An active life in the community is another factor for emotional attachment. It can take place through organizations such as charities.

5.4.5 The Political Domain and the Politics of Belonging

Political domain regarding belonging will be covered under certain subheadings: judging others' belonging, legal issues like citizenship, rights to residency or to vote, and viewpoints on political issues. As seen, this section is built upon the theory by Yuval-Davis (2011).

5.4.5.1 'That's not who we are!'

Unlike the majority of other studies on foreign residents (Koylu, 2007; Dirlik, 2009; Deniz, 2012; Nudralı 2007), there was a duality within the foreign residents in this study. Narrations of some foreigners provided noticeable and valuable accounts on how they see "the old crowd" in Çalış. These are the middle-aged female British and

German residents that are now married to a Turkish man or got divorced from one. There is a contrast in how respondents refer to their own integration into the community and that of old British pensioners. It is exemplified by Fionna (37), among many others:

> "Most of the British people want to integrate with Turkish people, Turkey because they like the Turkish people. But there are some people that live in certain areas like Çalış because it's a cheaper way of life. They want to keep all the English together in a community. They come to bars, restaurants. People living in Hisarönü, Ovacık integrate well with Turkish people, in the winter mostly."

The above quote is an example of how a resident distances herself from the people who are perceived similarly from the outside by the local residents. More importantly, it demonstrates nicely how being a Fethiye resident is not just a state of mind but actualized in place through everyday performances. As Massey (2006, 154) claims, constituent identities are also shaped constantly while neighborhoods are created and maintained.

The following quote by Valeria can also be understood as processes whereby a foreign resident disaffiliates herself from allegedly more stigmatized people of the same nationality. She claimed that interactions lead to locals' acceptance of foreign residents. Such an acceptance depended on the proof that the local community is respected and maintained:

> "After 15 years, there was a big influx of lots of foreigners here. A lot of them are older and there are retired and all they do is drink. It gives a poor impression of what expats people are. If the younger lot that have children, work, do normal things, they (residents) are much more tolerant of us. Some of the expats are awful; I can't stand them myself. So, I don't blame them for thinking like that. At first, they are intolerant of new foreigners because I think there are pretty rough foreigners living here now. But once they get to know the people that have lived here for longer and appreciate the laws, regulations and the culture that goes on here they accept. But at first, they think 'oh, just another foreigner'."

The above quote is heavily loaded with associations and 'representations of space' (Lefebvre, 1991). She positioned herself in a confirmatory tone against the prevailing image of the foreign residents. Besides, she regarded, albeit unconsciously, the local residents in a position which grants them the right to pass judgments about others' residence such as tolerance. In other words, she assigned the moral ownership of the place in the hands of the local residents.

Speaking the local language was exclusively considered to be the most vital factor for social integration by most foreign residents. Consequently, those who distanced themselves and passed judgement on others' belonging had language competency as their reference point. Becky (51) narrated very similar viewpoints on the pensioners.

The acclaimed power of English in this context over the locality should be underlined as well:

> "When they don't have children, I don't think they are integrated. Language plays the biggest role in integration because English is such a multinational language that most of the… other nationalities don't really bother to learn Turkish and they expect everybody else to speak English. They should learn Turkish. Retired British people sit and drink all day long."

Some foreigners consider Turkish competency as a tool to create grounds for collective identity. For instance, Nicholas (47) said he prefers speaking Turkish in his daily life as, in his perception, the locals respect him more. Running a pub frequented by British pensioners, he attributed certain behaviors to national traits:

> "The Çalış community think it should be a little England. Why be here? You aren't in England. I can get now why the Turks are angry. You choose to live in a country. Sometimes I see these people have no respect for people and culture. They hate food and Turkish people, and it annoys me. It's your choice and you get people who moan like the beer is 8 lira. Why should Turkey be cheaper? There is no written thing that says so. I told them 'Why don't you go back to Scotland because you hate the country? I'm telling you the Çalış or Ovacık people you have interviewed aren't socially integrated. It's all about the prices. They always moan about it. Sadly, it is a British thing: they like to moan. You know get over it, live your life."

It is worth sticking to this quotation in order to understand inter-group dynamics. By making harsher remarks, he challenged Çalış residents' claim that they belong to and are integrated into Fethiye. He claimed that just the opposite was in practice for them. He pointed, on the contrary, at his choice to live in the city center to mingle with the local community. His choice shows that personal judgment on a group can be reflected in residential choices that deeply affect and get affected by place-making process. Just like Nicholas, 74-year-old British resident, Toby also living in a flat in the city centre stated that he decided not to live in Çalış because of its British-dominated population. However, his case becomes more interesting considering the fact that he does not interact with Turkish residents, either.

It has been shown that being a speaker of a language acts as a leveling tool and provides its speaker a different route to follow in place-making. However, Hillary (36), the youngest foreign informant who is intensely involved in charity work gave some pensioners their due for their attempts:

> "As an expat, if you come and you got a normal working life or children at school, you generally mix in the community. If you come and don't have anything to do, you are bored. You need to keep active; you need to be a part of social group or hobby or something. Otherwise, I think you could have difficulties…boredom or loneliness more than anything else. If you don't interact, you end up in boredom. Isolated, I would think. Expats have their own little groups that they stick to. But, they are always up for fund-raising because they are generally bored. It's something for them to do."

5.4.5.2 The Politics of Belonging

This section is aimed at exploring how foreign residents perceive other residents. Then, it aims to understand what they think of the recent political affairs and their effects on Fethiye with their residency in mind. Finally, some political and legal issues related to their belonging are discussed.

When their views and feelings about other expats and immigrants were asked, there was a widespread tendency to think that there is not much communication between different groups of foreign residents. They were reported to stick to their own small groups. They, however, join charities in order to make expat friends. Elisabeth (42) who considered herself better integrated than pensioners provided a rationale for foreigners sticking together:

> "Expats here stick to their own small groups. There are 4 or 5 of us that regularly meet, but I think you need that because, although I've got lots of Turkish friends, there is something nice about being able to share things with people that definitely are from you own country and definitely have a different perspective."

Shared identities and culturally similar viewpoints are given as the reason for the need to gather as foreign residents. In fact, the quote above can be seen at an attempt to maintain the connection to the roots. Cohen (1982) considers this as dualities of place attachment. According to Cohen, it is about place attachment and belonging that can and do co-exist within places, since the identity of the migrant is maintained and remembered in both 'places'.

Secondly, there are two distinct patterns in foreign residents' views on the influence of current political affairs in Turkey. On the one hand, there is a great consensus among pensioners over the perception that the government does not want foreign residents and thereby, it is legally being made increasingly difficult for them to keep living. Such a perception is directly related to their belonging because unrest could lead to weakening emotional attachment. On the other hand, the rest of the group, that is middle-aged female residents, stated their concerns over the path Turkey is currently taking, financial results of tensions and conflicts in the region on tourism and economy at large. In brief, unlike the pensioners, younger group of foreigners did not speak of any practice related to their own residency per se.

The pensioners attributed their negative perception to the changes in law on foreign residency. The catch phrase 'the government does not want us here' was accompanied with their complaints about residency laws. Their complaints encompassed

occurrences in the last 4-5 years. The extract below by Weronika reflects pensioners' general perception. Feeling of uncertainty about the future triggered by change of laws was apparent in what follows:

> "In the last couple of years I felt a little more unsettled because I'm not sure about the government's feeling about having expatriates living here. I think I get the impression that they quite like the income but… we don't know how it's going to change."

They maintained that they have to renew their residency every year and they are required to be part of the national health system. The legal obligation seems to be the problem since they are actually quite satisfied with the health service provided in Turkey. For instance, Samuel said they are happy since they do not have to wait for treatment or getting results. Although he seemed satisfied with service, he is unwilling to register in the health system.

Another aspect of this situation is that it sometimes does not go beyond hearsay. One respondent, Joanne encapsulated this sentiment:

> "We are a little concerned that if things change in Turkey, we don't know what to do. Going back to UK isn't certainly among our plans. There was talk sometime ago that perhaps the Turkish government don't really want us here, in which case if they don't want us here... I don't feel targeted, but it was something in the papers."

Both pensioners and middle-aged informants highlighted the fact that some of the people they know have left Turkey in the last two years. They were reported to move to Bulgaria, Cyprus or Spain mainly to avoid paper work. However, middle-aged residents provided multiple and more comprehensive reasons for leaving Turkey; not necessarily political reasons for this trend. For instance, Elisabeth running a restaurant with her husband underlined increasing life expenses:

> "There was a huge of influx of British people, but now it's tailed off and they are going back. People who are thinking of moving here are being careful because it's no that cheap now. For those leaving…mostly financial reasons and also health. Lots of people getting older say they don't want to be in a health system. However rubbish they might think British health system is, it is still free. Current political environment might have an impact on people coming here for holiday, but I am sure about the impact on the leaving ones."

As it has been mentioned above, unlike the pensioners, middle-aged foreign residents focused on the direction the country is currently taking instead of talking about residency issues. In fact, it is quite understandable because they have Turkish citizenship entitled to them through marriage. Elisabeth expressed her concerns over the grand policies[59]:

[59] It should be noted that interviews took place after the elections of June 2015 when there were conflicts

> "Unrest and uncertainty is bad for any country. I think the whole world is at an unstable point. That's why Turkey needs to be specific about the direction they are going politically. Turkey is quite uncertain about where it's going. Turkey used to be very sure they wanted to be westernized, now it doesn't seem that they want to be quite westernized. It's not only bad for the tourists but also for the population in general, as people like to have an idea of 'look this is what we're doing as a country'."

Valeria specified how this unrest could affect Turkey and particularly Fethiye. She claimed that current political situation has affected tourism and it will impact more in the long run:

> "Hisarönü, places like that, still have all the cheap tourists; I think rich tourists that that have the boats and everything… are still going to Kalkan. Then you have the cheap tourists that come to Ovacık, Hisarönü… caring about how much the beer is. Then you have the middle, nice families. They are the ones that stopped coming. That's gonna have quite a big impact on Fethiye."

The effects of current international political affairs on local dynamics were also mentioned by residents such as Valeria and Halley. They maintained that attack on British holidaymakers in Tunisia[60] had a negative impact on tourism in Turkey. Both residents drew attention more to the people than the events themselves as shown by Halley:

> "It has a big effect on the British people. The British tour operators are actually advising people not to come to Turkey. I don't think they really realize the size of Turkey. It is equally as dangerous as living in England with IRA."

According to Valeria, the effect of attacks on tourists in Tunisia was coupled with the ignorance of some people:

> "Events in Tunisia played a role in this decrease because people are quite ignorant of where Turkey is on the map. When they have no idea of the size of Turkey, they think things that happen in the East affect us. In fact, they don't."

Hillary was the most optimistic person about the whole situation. She touched upon the system rather than any specific event:

> "From an expat's point of view, people are asking too much. They expect Turkey to be like the UK. The UK has many years of system settling whereas Turkey has changed its system rapidly, but people can't change as quick as that. When you see how long I have lived here, how much Turkey has improved is amazing."

The last point related to belonging concerns legal rights and citizenship issues. The only resident who did not make any comment about political affairs was Halley. What she said brought up the issue of rights:

> "I try not to follow it too much because I'm quite insolent. I never followed the politics in England because, wrongly or rightly, unless it affects my personal space, I can't influence it. I can't influence anything here in Turkey because we are not allowed to vote. If I were in a position to vote and have an influence on it, then I would follow. It just frustrates me if I can't change anything so, I rather not think about it at all."

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and political unrest.

[60] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33287978

Her ideas give rise to thought that residents, despite pursuing relatively more comfortable lives, might demand legal rights. It seems quite significant especially if the desire is to ensure their feeling of belonging to the country and the city. Otherwise, they sense that their residency is just for financial aspects. Thus, political engagement might be an issue to be discussed in the future.

Learning about ideas about the future is another way to explore foreign residents' belonging. Despite some complaints and unrest, none of the foreign residents expressed any desire to move out of the country or Fethiye. Such a sentiment is encapsulated in Halley's accounts:

> "At the moment, no. If things went drastically wrong here, I'd have no choice. If things stay as exactly as they are in politics and everything else, then no. My family spread all over England and I'd probably see more of them on Skype than I'd see in England."

Alfred (47) referred to the social investment they put into Fethiye and reminded that Turkey was their primary choice:

> "Obviously, we want to stay. Otherwise, we wouldn't have come in the first place because as expats and British people, we have options all over the world, but we love Turkey. The only thing that will ever make me want to leave Turkey is if the problems, whether be political or terroristic, causes me to leave. Otherwise, we love it here."

It was very clear that regardless of a being pensioner or middle-aged foreign resident, all of them expressed that they belonged to the city and they were determined to maintain their lives despite deterrent problems like residency or health insurance.

5.5 Belonging among the In-state Immigrants

5.5.1 Emotionally Attached: Long Enough to Belong

Except for Hayri, the hairdresser, all in-state immigrants reported to have a feeling of belonging to the city. Even though there is a variation in what they relate their belonging to, the common narrative was 'We have lived long enough to belong to Fethiye'. This feeling is accentuated when they move outside the locality, at least temporarily. For instance, Şahin said, "I love Fethiye, I miss here when I stay in Istanbul in winter time. I got used to the place."

The social wellbeing of the city was indicated as another reason for feelings of belonging which is pronounced in the sense of neighborliness, values of respect, and independence. Yavuz, the pensioner (60) claimed, "People are sincere, tolerant and respectful. And they give us the feeling." The perceived absence of neighborhood

pressure and likelihood of living freely are the reasons for Aydın (48). He could picture himself living in Fethiye in the future as well: "I really love it here. It is the reason why I have been here for 21 years. I wouldn't go beyond Bekciler village (a high altitude village close to Antalya border)." His drawing a territorial border and differentiating belonging within this space should also be noted.

The immigrants from the East who are more sensitive to political tensions tended to refer to identity issue more often than other residents. For instance, Giray highlighted a narrative of progress in attitudes that led to intensified feelings of belonging:

> "Yes, I started seeing myself a person from here within 3-5 years after migrating. I got used to its water, climate, everything…When I go back to my hometown, I can't live there. If you ask me, I say 'I am from Fethiye.' Discriminatory look has decreased down to 10-20 % compared to the year 2000. This is what is told us at houses we frequent: 'We are brothers; we fought the same battles. We are under one flag.' This is a really good progress. And this is what keeps us here most."

Clearly, the feeling of being accepted by the people who are thought to have the moral ownership of a place plays a great role in place-making. Sabri, another informant from the East indicated his deep establishment in the city as a sign of belonging. He indicated the prospects of a comfortable and peaceful future as a significant part of his belonging:

> "Anyway, we belong here, children have grown up here. If we return to hometown now, we are in no position to make it work there. What shall we do there? We don't have the chance to disturb our establishments here and go there. 20 years…I didn't even live in Mardin for 20 years. Ours is a fight for bread. I wish the same comfort had been in Mardin."

5.5.2 The Cultural Domain: Slippery slope

In the words of Yuval-Davis (2006), differences such as gender, class, ability and ethnicity can be determinant factors on the construction of people's concrete social location even though people can identify themselves with one category of identity. However, in the case of Fethiye, views on cultural traits and social locations that are attributed to certain groups were very fluid and blurry.

Residents often presented very general ideas about other people when they were asked to comment on cultural similarities or differences. To exemplify, pensioners were considered to be inherently harmless by Giray:

> "Fethiye has culturally turned into a district for pensioners. There are pensioners from Istanbul, Ankara or İzmir. Well, it is something good. Fethiye maintains its tranquility. Incidents like snatching and thefts don't take place."

His response also emphasized the physical and social wellbeing of the locality, expressed in the sense of lack of disturbances. Moreover, he is content with his safe

environment. This should be noted since Ignatieff (2001) argues that considering home as 'safe' is an important part of belonging.

Nevertheless, the assumption that social locations are constructed on a slippery slope was manifested through residents' accounts on different occasions. As a response to the question about the changes in the city, Hayri (28) passed judgments about another immigrant group, whose members identified themselves as immigrants as well:

> "The city is changing. Problems might occur when Doğulular* (people from the East) come. For instance, some friends damage parks and such forth. I witnessed it. I can't see much change in terms of social life (*author's choice). Cases of theft have increased. I feel uncomfortable."

As seen, in his perception, incomers alter how he relates to his neighborhood. Since he lives close to an area ethnically populated by the Kurdish people, he holds negative associations. So, ethnicity is an overriding categorization of social locations in his accounts. However, the accounts of Sabri bring another dimension to the discussion. He also emphasized the increasing crime rate, but linked it with another group:

> "As far as I see, intricacies are bound to happen everywhere when another nation enters into that place. Positively and negatively…Let me put it simply. There is a flow of Syrians in the last couple of years. 80 % of the incomers… the problems stem from them. Someone comes out, there are thefts and so on. We haven't seen much from (implying problems) the British."

Within the same social category of immigrant, there is a variety of differentiation in residents' perceptions, which alters their positionality in their mind. That is, there is an ordering of people from nearby cities, the Eastern cities and Syria, with each group reflecting negative images on one another. Each resident seems to reconstruct their belonging to the city in relation to others. The state of being from the East[61] is used to strengthen his own belonging by a resident from a nearby city, Denizli, which grants him an allegedly higher positionality. It is as if he belongs to that neighborhood more than others and assigns himself a role to protect it from others. Likewise, someone from the East who has been living in Fethiye for about 20 years exhibits the same performativity by situating himself in relation to a group of people in an ambiguous 'social location' due to the war-struck Syria. It is also related to his higher financial status compared to Syrians in the city. The accounts show that the line between place-making and place-maintenance seems to blur for these people. In fact, it can be said that they perform two strategies simultaneously.

[61] How people used to be seen will be shown more explicitly in the section on identities.

5.5.3 The Economic Domain: Everybody Minding his own Business

The in-state immigrants do not perceive a certain group as a threat to the other groups. Except for two informants, they basically argued that immigration-based changes do not pose a threat to the local people. As explained in detail in Chapter 3, local people and immigrants have historically been involved in different lines of money-making activities. So, the argument for existing negative attitudes derived from financial issues does not hold ground in the case of Fethiye. Even if it does, its level is not substantially high.

To exemplify the point, Giray claimed that he did not feel any negative attitudes on locals' part towards their being a financial threat because of the aforementioned differentiation in jobs. Although he ignores the existence of local people in tourism, particularly manifold service sectors, he presents valuable insights into how they define their line of business:

> "The local people don't see us as an economical threat. Anyway, it is the peoples of the East that keep construction and tourism alive. Peoples of Fethiye are generally engaged in greenhouse production. Construction burden of Fethiye is taken on by the peoples of the East while half of tourism is done by the Eastern people and other half is done by immigrants from metropolitan cities."

The existence of immigrants was regarded as a contribution to the city rather than a threat to the locals by members of this group such as Suat (60) and Abdullah (60). The former explained the reasons why some locals might feel otherwise:

> "I don't think so because peoples of Fethiye sell their properties as if they would never end. It is because properties are inherited from their grandparents. Well, of course people coming outside buy these. For this reason, it is wrong to interpret it that way. However, there are local people who add value to what is left from their parents and run their own business. Why don't they find themselves in the same situation? It is not buyers' fault, but the sellers. Then, he says they have taken my property away. No, nobody buys something by force."

That workers in construction and tourism sectors pose a threat to the locals was reported only by two informants. They argued that it is because they work for less money. However, one of these informants, Aydın (48) did not consider newcomers as financial threats in every aspect. Clearly, he was also informed about the resentment, which some locals feel due to selling their properties to outsiders and working in their workplace:

> "(…) In other aspects, those with the money strive to set up his own business. The locals sold their properties to these people and they started doing business here. Most of Fethiye locals started working in these businesses. Problems of this sort are experienced. Let me not say problems…In fact, it is good for development of Fethiye. In a sense, there is investment made. We should take it this way. On the positive side, it contributes to development; on the negative side, peoples of Fethiye become workers in their own places."

Finally, there is a perception among in-state immigrants that foreign residents inhibit the local economy by renting their residential areas. The *bakkal* lady pointed at the lack of inspection:

> "Some foreign residents, in particular those living in apart residents, use them as hostels. They rent them to people from their countries and go to other countries to travel. They think the money paid to the house would pay off in 3-4 years by doing this. They see it as an investment. The worst part of it…Municipality or Tax office does nothing about it. If we didn't pay the tax, they would come to our door right away. But they turn a blind eye to them."

When it comes to the individual place-making process, initial jobs that in-state immigrants had at the beginning were kept only for a short period of time. As time passed, they developed expertise in one area and now they identify themselves with this profession. For instance, Hayri (28), the hairdresser, asserted that his family went through a gradual change of jobs to establish their own business in the local community:

> "There was unemployment in our village. At first, my parents came to Fethiye; I continued living with my grandparents in Denizli. After a while, all family members migrated here. When we first came, we were engaged in greenhouse production. Then, we were in construction for some time. Now we work in tourism."

For some residents like Şahin (54), social capital proved useful at the beginning stages of immigration. He decided to come down to Fethiye upon his friend's suggestion. He received some help to settle in and get used to the city:

> "I thought my friend could help me settle in. We once visited Fethiye about 15 years ago. After I retired from textile sector in Istanbul, I wanted to pursue a calmer and cheaper lifestyle. Now I work at a bar waiting tables. I am happy."

Abdullah claimed that relationships with money led to certain changes in people's lifestyle. He underscored the existence of financially regulated place-making on residents' part and interactions among two groups:

> "He learns English for a better job, or marries a rich person. But there is always bilateral cultural exchange. Sometimes, it is not conscious. However, all this exchange has something underneath: financial concerns."

The above quote resembles those put forward by some foreign informants. Similarly, they stated that underlying reason for affinity with the foreigners is financially driven.

To conclude this section, in-state immigrants employ different place-making strategies to fit into the local community. They claim that they do not sense the existence of negative feelings triggered by economic competition since there is a clear differentiation in professions each group of residents hold.

5.5.4 Social Interactions: Road to Progressive Social Integration

Concerning interaction patterns with other residents of the city, in-state immigrants indicated the existence of positive relationships on the whole. Firstly, given below, are the accounts of informants who commented on interaction between the locals and in-state immigrants. Next, the perceptions on foreign residents will be analyzed.

To begin with, the general perception is that locals and in-state immigrants get along well. For instance, Hayri mentioned daily interactions involving the locals and in-state immigrants:

> "We spend time together. People coming from village like it here. For example, there are friends from the East. Even they do not want to go back. It is more sincere compared to many places. We come into interaction with the people from the East."

He also pointed at a marked difference in place-making process of immigrants from different cities. He noted, "People from neighboring cities can adapt faster than those coming from the East. The reason is PKK attacks, martyrs in the city…It is not looked upon well." It means national incidents or occurrences can sometimes have an impact on individual place-making and place-maintenance processes at varying rates.

In relation to the above topic, it can be said that Fethiye carries associations with nationalistic tendencies as exemplified on various occasions by news agencies. Media coverage of the area includes stories about how the residents organized protests, like many other cities in Turkey, against terrorist attacks that were undertaken by PKK in the Eastern cities of Turkey. As a reaction, people took down the shutters of their shops, which made the headlines.[62] The narrations of the informants from the Eastern part of Turkey draw on these events on the whole. Two informants emphasized the gradual change in the local discourse. Sabri (40) claimed that upon encountering and interacting with them in daily life, local people were astonished by the discrepancy between the imagined community and the practice:

> "When we first came, it was troublesome; we hardly got the house. People were surprised to see us praying in the mosques. I was the eldest, so I wore myself out. Thanks God, we made it and now we got our shops and all. Back then, people who talked to us got really surprised. You know what we suffered...that we suffered more than what they experienced. Still, there are little problems but not with many people. They are right in a way. We should give them credit, actually. They don't know because they haven't experienced. We can say the negative attitudes are down to 10 %. It is the same for us, too. Let me tell you a story. A few years ago, I went back to my hometown to see my parents. Because my plate number is 48 (belongs to Muğla), it was difficult to get around. I wasn't feeling easy. Things like this shouldn't happen. It is a pity for the people of this country."

[62] http://www.sabah.com.tr/magazin/2015/09/09/eglence-mekanlari-kepenk-kapatti

Sabri referred to his place-making process, and the different stages he went through. However, we can understand that frictions exist on both sides.

There are obvious changes in attitudes toward the immigrants from the East during the time period that passed from Sabri's immigration to that of Giray's. Giray underlined how he took part in other people's place-making process as well:

> "I have got really good connections. I help the newcomers or those who have difficulty in adaptation. I tell them 'you will like it a lot.' It does not matter whether they are from the West or the East. We say the same thing."

Abdullah, who had been living in Fethiye for about 20 years, addressed historical improvements in the attitude towards Kurdish immigrants:

> "Peoples of the East face some troubles. There is a serious discrimination in terms of ethnicity in this country. This sensitiveness is intense here. However, there has been improvement in this respect over the years. In 1992, there were more serious problems. But this time, it's just in the form of protests and parades. Everything is changing. Until recently, positive developments took place."

Secondly, there are contradictory views on interactions involving the foreign residents. Some of them talked about the indirect impacts on the community. To exemplify, Sabri explained how they tried to change the image of the city on foreigners' mind through mundane practices:

> "Of course, they contribute to something. Our people borrow some ideas by looking at them. There is bilateral interaction. To look more attractive to them, we keep the environment cleaner. If someone comes up with a project, we will support it."

On the other hand, Şahin working at a restaurant-bar[63] famously known for being the meeting venue of foreign residents proposed that there is a feeling of scorn among the British residents for other residents:

> "Some of them learn Turkish. It is my country here. Just because I don't speak English, they scorn me. What can go through my mind after 54 years of age? If you live here, if you have bought a house, you are to learn Turkish. It is the same as they make the language compulsory when I go to England…Some of them develop an interest or respect and learn Turkish. There are those who somehow make themselves understood."

He narrated how the sense of reproducing the foreign community takes place through action in the same restaurant. 'Britishness' is expressed through daily performances and identities are inflected upon the space.

> "They hold quiz shows among themselves. There are no Turks because questions are in English, too. The majority of customers are British. French people occasionally come, though. Almost all of them are pensioners."

The restaurant owner and the optician also made remarks about the issue of language

[63] A British resident runs the very same bar. His comments on foreign residents will be given in the section on politics of belonging.

learning. They recited the discourse of 'if we went abroad'. The latter even spoke of its effect on their business:

> "The fact that foreigners have been living here for 15-20 years and do not learn Turkish causes us trouble. If a Turkish citizen went to Germany, England or France, they would at least learn a few basics to maintain their life. We feel troubled in one-to-one shopping. We try to fix this issue with the help of our employees."

Şahin added another dimension to discussion on foreigners' lives when he was asked about whether the foreign residents are happy or not:

> "They try to help the community here. For example, charity collection…In Soma tragedy, they collected one truck of donation stuff as well as a huge amount of money. The foreigners initiated it. Turkish people brought items and left them here for donation. Everybody bought something from the market and put it here in this part (pointing at the back of the bar). Foreigners took all of them to Soma on their own and distributed. They also helped kids in Society for the Protection of Children. You know some foreigners are buried in Foça cemetery."

In a way, his accounts act as a response to criticisms against the foreign residents: "They just sit and spend time at bars. They need to actually take part in the community." The above extract shows how the idea of participation has translated into everyday engagements with not only the community but also with national cases. Besides, involvement in local charities exemplifies how they work towards creating a communal space at the same time.

Finally, Aydın, the teacher delineated a comprehensive look on all parties in the community and claimed the existence of harmony in one way or the other:

> "Big irritations have not taken place. There has never been the case of exclusion directed at foreign residents. As a matter of fact, protecting the foreigner, appreciating them and sympathizing their life have been the common feelings here since our childhood. On the contrary, we have faced problems based on behaviors of the other side. There are samples like arguments for parking spots or the case of windshield wipers' being broken. Even these have been tolerated. Somehow, harmony has been established. There is not much difference when it comes to in-state immigration. For this reason, whoever comes here minds his own business. People are in a struggle for life. As long as someone is honest, there is no room for problems."

On the whole, the making of the local with the participation of residents from different backgrounds is thought to end up with harmony. However, it should be noted that this process might reproduce class and ethnic distinctions at times.

5.5.5 Belonging at the Political Level: "We are TC citizens, too."

Responses to the question about the impacts of political affairs on Fethiye concentrated on the military conflicts between the state and PKK. Thus, three residents avoided commenting on the issue. Other informants gave moderate and appeasing accounts. The events such as protests against HDP office that took place prior to interviews

seemed to make people speak more cautiously. Besides, a couple of residents made references to being a citizen and the rights granted to them.

To start with, it was claimed that the overall situation had an impact on not only tourism but also foreign residency. According to the *bakkal* lady, there has been a change in the available image of the city and the country in foreigners' perception:

> "Some foreign residents are leaving and not coming back. They tell others not to come to Turkey, too. So, the number of foreign residents is decreasing because they used to manage their residency issue in one a day. One more thing, the city is expensive even for them. Another reason is that they are worried about the future of Turkey."

The popular attribution to being a TC citizen[64] was used frequently by three informants: Sabri, Giray and Şahin. Sabri, the informant from Mardin also highlighted the knock-on effects that conflicts could have all over the country:

> "If our people behave smart, nothing will happen. There were events here only for two days and the result is that tourism was heavily affected. Everybody is after his or her own bread winning. We are happy here. We are just disturbed by this political stuff. We have no issues with the local people. Some of them intentionally try to invoke people. I know these people. After all, our identity card has TC on it. Nobody can kick us out. No chance! We have the right to live in any part of Turkey. We have relatives all over the country. We are all mingled."

Şahin also attempted to justify his residence in the city by relating it to being a citizen. However, he seemed to have the idea that if he was to survive, he should conform to the society:

> "People are living happily and peacefully; there isn't a conflict situation here. There have been some unfavorable incidents or protests. There is nothing against me, anyway. If this place is a TC territory, I have the right to come and live here. I mean without disturbing others. I harmonize, anyway, and they often like me here."

Giray, the other Kurdish resident made use of the same discourse of being a citizen as well. However, he reversed the frequent narrative which is common among Turkish people. It is a common practice that a person says "I have got a lot of Kurdish friends. We do spend time" while talking about the Kurdish issue. Just like this, Giray used the opposite version of it to refer to his close social circuits:

> "The recent events did not worry me because I have 150 friends here. About 90 of them are '*ülkücü*'s' [65]. We don't have any issues with them, as they know us. We are under the same flag. Our origin is Kurdish, but the flag is our flag. Identity card…we carry Turkish identity card. Peoples of Fethiye know us by our personality; they accepted this steadily."

Aydın, the teacher conveyed all the tendencies, concerns, and also positive sides of the local community by comparing different practices:

[64] TC denoting Turkish Republic is often used in discussions to emphasize equality according to constitution.
[65] Someone commonly phrased as 'ülkücü' supports Nationalistic Movement Party (MHP in Turkish).

> "Despite having a liberal social community, Fethiye still has a traditional structure. It is difficult to break it down. They show reactions. However, it is not in a radical or physical way. Have there been times when it was harsh? Yes, for example the recent events. This was an outburst that Fethiye has never witnessed so far. A lot of people took lessons from it. The martyr from the East affected the city deeply. There is another side: The mayor of Fethiye was affiliated with MHP in three consecutive election periods. The mayor opted for another party. He won again. It means people appreciate when good things are done. The voters are more conscious."

5.6 Belonging among Local Residents

5.6.1 'Of course, we do belong!'

The first part of this section depends on answers given to the question about whether they feel at home and belong to Fethiye. Another line of discussion is related to what gives them such feeling.

5.6.1.1 A Call for Equal Treatment

8 local residents out of 10 reported that they feel they belong to Fethiye. There were even reactions like saying 'Is that even a question? Of course, I am from Fethiye'. One of the two people who said otherwise is the housewife Nezahat (70). Her problematic relationship with neighbors in her social space seemed to be the reason that directly affected the way she situated herself in relation to the city. She argued that the locals do not look after each other. On the contrary, they embrace outsiders more.

Quite interestingly, Mesut complemented Nezahat's ideas about the existence of good attitudes towards the rest of locals rather than the locals themselves:

> "No, I feel like I'm the second-class citizen here. The first class citizens are the British. Go to a market or a small place. If a tourist comes in, they keep you waiting by telling you 'a minute'. They try to get done with his business first. Well, it is nice to help them, but after a while, this situation causes the feeling of being outcasted. You feel inferior. The tourist is not to blame; that esnaf (shopkeeper) doesn't get it."

Although he did not demand to be favored just because of being a local resident, he seemed to be troubled by the idea of being overridden by another available person in the social space. This quote makes contestations between two groups in the social space clearer. So, any behavior or practice that somewhat prioritizes non-locals might impair the feeling of belonging on locals' part. On a side note, his choice of word to call foreign residents still 'the tourist' implies that in some people's mind they will still be tourists. Another way through which we can analyze this quote is his emphasis on some local residents who favor foreigners in shopping practice. If there is any conclusion to be drawn, it is the locals' call to be treated equally since they consider themselves residents on equal terms.

Although this part is about the locals' emotional attachment, it would be beneficial to consider the above quote in tandem with the accounts of a foreign resident, Samuel (55). While talking about access to health services in Fethiye, he basically contradicted Mesut's claim above and emphasized the historical change in attitudes:

> "Compared to my father's time, health costs more money now. My father used to tell me a story: When he went to hospital where there was a queue, the doctors would ask him to come to the front of the queue. However, my dad used to hate this situation. I think such things are now gone, which is a good thing in my opinion. When such things happen, other people waiting object to this."

What Samuel narrated also implies that unequal treatment could lead to unfavorable feelings and attitudes in the locals, eventually having an impact on the way they regard the foreigners. In this sense, the foreign residents might not want to find themselves in such situations since it is detrimental to foreign residents' day-to-day relationships.

5.6.1.2 Social Capital at Work

The follow-up questions related to the feeling of belonging were an inquiry into the things or structures that cultivate that sort of feeling. 5 informants pointed out the obvious: being born and raised in Fethiye. Responses include remarks on their ancestors' burial in Fethiye, and the properties inherited from their parents. The second frequent response was related to social capital in which they have invested so far. Two quotes are illuminating on the belonging process. Arif referred to the stable social dynamics in the face of urbanization:

> "(…) because Fethiye is really nice. Things go on the right track in all aspects. If someone goes astray, some people come out and warn them. There is togetherness. Consider the increasing population. Had not been unity or togetherness, peace and tranquility would be disrupted."

As seen, the social capital can serve as a force to keep the members under scrutiny. This function of social capital is another dimension Portes (2000) coins as the source of social control. In his perception, there is a working social system which is activated to sustain the existing system if need be. It might sometimes be steered towards preventing undesirable change. This process' being on a collective level rather than an individual one depicts aspirations to cling onto the traditional social structures. The way these practices feed back into identities eventually should also be noted. One can also have an idea about what kind of a path a simultaneous place-making by the new residents might follow due to local residents' attempts at place-maintaining.

In relation to social bonds and culture of the city, Hasan replied the question through imagining an unfavorable opposite scenario. He reported belonging to Fethiye because

for him, he can hardly establish a place in another society. It can be deduced that unlikelihood of a feasible territorial change process can also empower people in their current place-maintenance struggles.

The final aspect of belonging is related to the experience in residential areas. What differentiates this from other local informants' belonging is that they spoke about the city or a part of a city in general without specifying any building or structure. Nevertheless, Nezahat put forward her father's works as a primary factor for her belonging:

> "Since my father was a building contractor, his works are here. He built this very same house. It is one of the reasons why I couldn't drift away from here. It is my ancestors' reminiscence. My relatives are here. I raised my children here."

On the whole, it is about the preservation of life experiences, on the mind, that are spatially associated with certain people and the past. However, when analyzed closely, this is a very good example of how performativity (the idea of preserving the moments in her mind such as raising children and spending time with the family) is actualized in space through place-maintenance strategies (still residing in the same house). However, considering the fact that it is the same woman who argued above that she doesn't feel she belongs to Fethiye, lines between belonging, place-making and place-maintenance blur. Her practice in space does not reflect on her identity, which normally includes feeling of belonging. That is, not only people who are forced out of their hometown and end up living in a place to which they don't feel belonging but also people that keep living in their hometown may feel their belonging disrupted due to problems in that social space.

5.6.2 Cultural Interactions and Maintaining the Culture

There is one fundamental leaning towards the socio-cultural dynamics on the local residents' part in Fethiye: maintaining the culture in the sense popularized by Benson and Jackson (2012). Instead of providing views on other cultures, most local informants focused on the local culture. Nevertheless, different perspectives regarding cultural disparities and similarities are hidden in their accounts. The discourses of culture can be tied to two phenomenon on the whole: increasing immigration and purchase of properties by non-locals. However, feelings related to property sales will be covered in economic domain since it is not culturally relevant.

5.6.2.1 Contestations over the Local Culture

To begin with, the informants tended to identify themselves as a society that undertakes the maintenance of general manners and customs. Quite often, the foreign residents and tourists were brought into question in matters of cultural degeneration. Since foreign residents from North European countries have traditionally been considered more developed and modern, the perception is that the local culture is, in contradiction, natural, sincere and morally superior. Thus, it should be protected in the face of European culture. For example, Remzi (27) said, "Despite positive effects of migration, our young generation taking European youth as an example might experience moral corruption."

İsmail (M, 47, security guard) specified this perceived corruption and narrated a very common area of moral degeneration, clothing:

> "Our people accommodate themselves to them. We comply with them. Our daughters wear clothes in line with their style when they see them. I feel ashamed to see Turkish girls like that on the street. We are not good at this. They don't set good examples."

This is the harshest critique of the impact of foreigners' culture. Others are much milder. To exemplify, another informant, Yeliz (27) adopted the same degeneration idea, but she did not solely attribute it to immigration by highlighting the impact of media technologies:

> "We used to be a city tied to its customs, but it has been spoilt with the immigration. Our youth is spoilt. Actually, it is not directly related to immigration. Such degeneration is taking place due to technology."

The Yörük representative informant considered the situation as contestations over maintaining particular cultures. He argues that it ends up with both sides' losing what they used to have. He also exhibited contrasting qualities of three different cultures and opted for keeping each culture intact:

> "Our folks can't preserve the culture; they can't transfer theirs here. All becomes like soup. There is interaction taking place, but it brings degeneration. For instance, folk dance music gets spoilt. One more thing… European thing. Not only people from other cities but also foreign residents spoil the structure here. Their culture is quite different, selfish. There is cooperation in our culture, you lift someone up when he falls down. On the other hand, when a child is 18 in Europe, he says 'who are you?' But we don't have that."

Above, he did not address the foreigners' impact only; he problematizes the urbanization process and its effects on the customs. Different than other informants, he also made references to the lifestyle in the village and yearned for the 'past-in-the-mind' through nationalistic concerns:

> "With metropolitan laws, the village culture has disappeared. Its disappearance means disappearance of Turkishness. And this means loss of values… music, cooperation, relatives, and all other values disappearing…In the past, villagers used to hold events and come together. They would bond. Now this happens much less; they do nothing but watch TV."

As a person who makes an effort to preserve the Yörük culture in different ways such as preparing TV programs, he was asked to comment on the Yörük's situation today:

> "There has been pressure on the Yörüks for a long time. People governing the state want Yörüks to be shepherd on mountains, farmer in the field, worker in the factory and soldier in the army. The perception is that the villagers should feed the city-dwellers and fight battles if there is a war. They have banned our goats to graze in the mountain. The number of shepherds has decreased. Do you know what ends when the goat or sheep ends? Ballads die down because they are sung for mountains. Music disappears, independence goes away and rug weaving dies down. Every single rock, or animal has various names. So, the language is impaired. Our ballads and dance music tell stories about the lifestyle, customs. Wedding practices changed. Now they use keyboards playing pop music. Anatolian music is gone now. We have such losses with the urbanization."

Secondly, according to the local informants, the immigrants perform in such a way that it reflects their conscious efforts to adopt the existing culture. Such performances of place-making are visible to the locals. They perceive these acts as reflections of a desire to live together.

Rıza addressed the need to be accepted on newcomers' part in reply to the question on intercultural interactions in daily life. The extract below includes attributions to being a citizen, others' place-making practices and togetherness of all three participant groups in the study:

> "If we are neighbors, we mingle with each other inevitably since neighborhood here is something coming from the past. My grandparents' tenant is from Mersin; we get along real fine. Just behind their house are the British villas. They have been living there for 15 years. We get along well and they came to my wedding. They do everything together with us. My grandparents' tenants are the same. They try to keep pace with us… try to live together closely. As I said, because psychologically you feel the need to keep step with the place you moved to, you do what that society does to make yourself accepted in that society. It is not an obligation, but you feel the need. They maintain their particular customs anyway. That means living in the Republic of Turkey…that everybody can be free. We don't have problems in business, either. Everyone is in dialogue."

Some locals take it for granted that the newcomers are the people to borrow from other cultures. They do not see cultural interaction going both ways. As mentioned earlier, the informant Murat claimed that the foreign residents have been influenced by the culture in Fethiye. Foreign residents' wish to be buried in Fethiye has been given as one of these impact points. Resembling such wish to that of his ancestor's, he reckons it as a way of appropriating the place or adapting to the local culture. This should be considered valuable because foreigners' place-making does not inhibit place-

maintenance of the locals.[66] On the contrary, it serves as a contributing factor to the whole process of belonging and ensures that both processes can go hand in hand.

The third common understanding suggests that cultural degeneration is not as severe as the one experienced in nearby cities which also go through urbanization and depend on tourism. It is related to the same perception that it is the newcomers to adopt the local culture:

> "Cultural denegeration has not reached the same levels as in Marmaris, Kuşadası, Alanya, Bodrum or Didim. In this respect, we consider ourselves lucky since people moving to Fethiye try to integrate into local manners and customs. They couldn't crack down the structure here. Although it has received a great amount of immigration, it is more like…they tend to be a Fethiye person (Fethiyelileşme[67])."

İsmet related the perceived success of preserving the culture to higher rates of co-existence of tourism and agriculture. Besides, the sense of 'preservation' of traditional values seems to produce a strong sense of local pride:

> "Compared to Marmaris and Bodrum, peoples of Fethiye are on a different level in terms of holding onto their own customs and traditions. Our people have not lost this value. Fethiye is neither agricultural nor touristic city. It is in-between."

The idea of immigrants' being like a local of Fethiye and integrating into the local culture is mirrored in the use of language according to Arif. He lives just near the house of the late Dutch man. He narrated the daily interactions with him:

> "There are those who adore the place and never leave. There are the one who become like a Fethiye person (Fethiyeli). Some tourists try to speak like us. He used to say 'voyn'[68] when he saw me. And I would say 'thank you'. You know he got used to our language, speaking like a Yörük."

Even though linguistic competence of both parties in the dialogue is limited, it says so much about the daily practices that earn residents significant attributions.

5.6.2.2 Acculturation Process

As opposed to the first and second perceptions noted above, the final prevailing perception is that certain qualities of residents' identities are transferred into the other sides' practices. There is a positively regarded acculturation process in which all parties borrow something from each other. Rosaldo (1995, as cited in Morley, 2002, 6) theorizes this process as 'hybridity'. It is actualized either by taking example or

[66] On a side note, it should be noted that literature review has not yielded any reference to burial choices regarding belonging or emotional attachment.
[67] He turns Fethiye from a place into an entity that a person can transform into.
[68] 'Voyn' is a vocative colloquial expression similar to 'Hey'. However, it is peculiar to Muğla and Antalya, differentiating people from other cities. It also illustrates the closeness of people.

interacting on a daily basis. On the whole, interviewees living close to the immigrants or having contact in business life often contradicted negative associations. On the contrary, they have high opinions of interactions. For instance, Bülent (53) argued that the foreign residents set example for other residents:

> "The foreign residents are cleaner and more organized compared to other residents. They come together and clean our bays. Picnic-goers pollute the environment and the sea."

In addition to awareness about the environment, the foreign residents are thought to have a positive influence on the locality with their manners. Remzi, the taxi driver and Arif, the farmer claim that local people behave kindlier towards each other and try to follow the rules more, like queuing in a line. Yeliz working in tourism claimed that the foreigners are more respectful towards people. They are environmentally more conscious, keeping the environment clean and protecting the animals. She said that the local residents are adopting such manners steadily.

Another impact point is about foreigners' caring attitude towards the needy people. Arif stated that the Dutch man used to support the poor financially in the neighborhood and bought groceries for them. Murat, the owner of a computer repair store praised their efforts in diverse fields to integrate. He explicitly expressed his appreciation despite glimpses of ambivalent feelings:

> "They are very sensitive to school charities, and help poor people. They organize a second-hand bazaar to donate for the poor. They sometimes have the idea of sticking together as foreigners like going to the same pub. However, I have witnessed their sincerity and eagerness to contribute to the society…(in reply to criticisms against their not learning Turkish)… Some of them go to language courses, and try to speak Turkish. We see their desires to belong here. They bring laptops here…trying to ask in Turkish. Peoples of Fethiye need to speak English for integration; if such thing does not exist, they motivate themselves."

İsmet, the teacher laughed off the assumptions that there would be cultural degeneration. Instead, he pointed at the bilateral acculturation and assigned the locals with a more active role:

> "Foreign residents developed interest in our culture and have been influenced by our culture. Some of them got married with the Turkish and some left after marriage. And there has been no cultural degeneration. Quite many people thought it would take place. There has been a cultural exchange; it was like any other immigration in other countries. However, this British immigration can't be considered as a financial one. It is cultural because people felt the need to learn this language. The number of young generation and shopkeepers speaking it has increased. They too – language arises due to the needs- have adapted to our language and learnt Turkish. Instead of cultural conflict, cultural amalgamation has taken place. We can say foreigners are socially integrated. They have even established families."

He also provided a narrative of change in attitudes towards the foreign residents. He argued that some shopkeepers used to cheat foreigners in shopping and now such practices do not exist. The final extract focusing on the structurally efficient interaction

belonged to the *bakkal* guy who addressed all the groups. As for the language issue, he said the foreigners gain the necessary linguistic competence to survive. He was happy with the present situation:

> "The only thing that tourism has given us is the existence of a very good dialogue among the people. Regardless of being British, coming from metropolitan cities or the local residents, they maintain good dialogues. The local residents are happy to sell what they produce to them and gain financial benefits. Others are happy to benefit the natural life. If all parties are happy, then there is no problem."

Not everybody presented very straightforward ideas about the interactions, though. What Ahmet narrated is illustrative of the indecisiveness that some interviewees had while defining what has been taking place. He concurrently contradicted some conservative concerns:

> "There are positive and negative changes. People used to regard some practices like American hairstyle, wearing earrings or tights odd. People coming from outside have changed this. The local residents got rid of this. Narrow mindedness has collapsed. Yet, it shouldn't mean this is very good. Whether it is always positive is debatable. Manners and customs are dying out like respect. They drink alcohol in the presence of their fathers. Of course, TV has an impact, too."

5.6.3 The Economy: The Locals of Fethiye at the Crossroads

Financial shifts in the city have brought about certain changes in the way residents identify themselves. In reply to different questions, peoples of Fethiye addressed the issue of co-existence of agriculture and tourism. Regarding the financial aspect, the incorporation of immigrants into the society, and the way they are regarded will be covered in this part. The main inquiry will be about their perception whether this surge of population presents any direct threat to them.

5.6.3.1 Agriculture or Tourism?

The majority of the informants can be considered the middle-class. Thus, how they define their social location within the categories, such as, as a farmer, a shopkeeper, a civil servant, a mother, father or just a resident will be noted. The discourse on economy involves three major lines of thoughts about the balance between agriculture and tourism. Firstly, some local residents reflected their concerns over the space traditionally associated with agriculture. However, they did not point at a certain agency. Instead, they used passive structures and a 'they' language. Mesut (55), the *bakkal*, made negative predictions about the future of the city:

> "I don't like what they call 'development'. Opening agricultural fields into construction sites is good in the short term. However, there is no agricultural field left. (…) I predict really bad troubles will occur in the next 5 years even though it satisfies people now. Tourism won't be an

> enough supply. Everybody has linked themselves to tourism. Events in the East[69] have affected tourism by 15-20 %. If their potential spreads towards western parts of Turkey, all will come to an end. Houses sold to tourists will be empty. Unless it is solved, there will be profound effects on tourism."

Secondly, some residents' perception of the current situation is not very pessimistic. İsmet (53) considered the co-existence of both resources of economy as a positive trait:

> "Fethiye is a city of neither agriculture nor tourism. It is stuck in the middle. Both tourism and agriculture go on. In fact, it is good news for both *esnaf* (shopkeepers) of Fethiye and the residents since the risk is spread out. If investment had been made into one sector only, crisis in only one sector would have profound impacts. Spreading risk into different business lines…it is a plus value."

According to the last line of perception, tourism is implied to be preferred to agriculture. What is interesting is Murat's perception of agriculture as a power holding tourism back:

> "Tourism is not done professionally in Fethiye. There is no comprehensive approach that encompasses all sectors. Tourism is not like what it is in Bodrum or Marmaris. Agriculture plays a role in this. There is a public profile that couldn't pull away from agriculture, which is practiced more professionally. We got familiar with tourism was in the 1990s… very late. Since we cannot break away from agriculture, it takes time."

Although the loss of agricultural fields to tourism and thereby construction seems to bother some residents, it is not only because they are closely attached to these fields. Underlying reason is the retreat or withdrawal of local people from such areas that are close to the seaside and geographically better located. It is also related to how they define their financial status. In the words of Bülent, land and house property prices have skyrocketed to such an extent that the local residents are in no position to purchase them. He indicates real estate agents' desire for excessive profit and foreigners' (implying both foreigners and Turkish citizens) high purchase power as some of the reasons. Accounts of some of the locals in Foca neighborhood are in line with this. They stated that 70 % of luxurious residential areas are bought by foreigners and the rest belongs to Turkish citizens from metropolitan cities.

The overall reactions of the local residents imply that not being able to reside in the space over which they claim historical ownership leads to negative feelings in the local residents such as resentment. They redefine their spatial boundaries. It is not considered as place maintenance in spatial terms, but remaking their place in the city.

[69] There were conflicts and clashes between Turkish armed forces and the PKK at the time. It was August 2015.

5.6.3.2 Do they Perceive a Threat?

The related question was about whether or not immigration wave poses any economic or social threat to these informants in their perception. Again the co-existence of agriculture and tourism and more importantly historical predominance of agriculture prove very beneficial for understanding the local dynamics among constituents of the city. To begin with the financial side of it, it is more useful to look at the issue in two broad aspects: the local residents' perception on in-state immigrants and foreigners.

Firstly, there is no dominance of one particular point of view related to in-state immigrants. Whatever the view is, there is a consensus on the local differentiation in business lines. For instance, Murat said that the local residents are engaged in agriculture and tourism while incomers are involved in tourism and trade, giving Fethiye a peaceful cosmopolitan nature. The quote below is a good example of the perception on the differentiation in occupations among groups. According to Rıza (27), a taxi driver, different job preferences and general differentiation has led to an eventless local structure:

> "Friends[70] of Eastern origin have nothing against us. They show us that they are here to work. Everybody is minding his own business. Since friends coming from the East tend to work for less money, business owners opt for them. They damage the residents in this respect. However, I don't think it is not much damage as the locals generally try to hold a 12-month job anyway and these immigrants want to work in tourism. There are those who stay here all year long and work in construction or car wash. We can usually see people of East origin in tourism and agriculture. I see predominantly women from the East in wholesale market hall in agriculture."

Hasan (30) seemed to be the person in contact with Kurdish workers in work environment most. He pointed at the decreasing wages:

> "Since their number increases, the level of jobs decreases too. Because they work for less money, the local people have to do the same. We have good communication with Kurdish citizens in the construction site. When it comes to job hunting, we become in bad terms. Since they come with their relatives, they still make money. They rent a house and live there with 7-8 people and in summer they turn a construction room into a residential place. They leave Fethiye in summer. They continue construction work back in their hometown in summer. We see each other every year; they come because they have created a market for themselves. They sit and chat together."

This informant also provided insights into seasonal workers' daily practices and group dynamics. One can see that interactions are not always negative. He empathized with these people. He stated, "I can understand these people since they don't have anything to do back in their hometown. They have a family to look after."

[70] The use of word 'friend' without any possessive adjective might indicate distancing someone in some cases. However, in this case, it might have been preferred since the majority of people from the East are young adults like the informant himself.

The question of in-state immigrants' being a threat or not is highly important for studying 'belonging'. On the whole, these people are not / cannot be considered as a threat to the local residents in practice. This is so due to three main reasons. Firstly, we cannot mention the formation of a large-scale working-class in Fethiye that has been undergoing urbanization. It is not that urbanized, so there is not enough space for the working-class to appear. Statistics on the size and number of industrial enterprises have already shown that industrialization as a common characteristic of urbanization, is not the case in Fethiye. Instead, family-owned and small-scale companies prevail in Fethiye, leading not much space for economic competition. All it means is that the locals are not formed into a working class, so they are not in a position to compete with immigrants for rare jobs. Thereby, they are not likely to get into conflicts with other groups and suffer from financial loss.

The second underlying reason why constituent groups are not in a fierce financial competition is to do with differentiation in the financial realm. In the previous chapter, it has been clearly shown that 55 % of the people in Fethiye are still engaged in agriculture and the labor power is made of predominantly family members. The type of agricultural production plays a role in this: greenhouse production. Petty agricultural producers do not opt for hiring people with daily wages. It has been mentioned by the informants from both groups that Kurdish immigrants are involved in tourism and construction business while the locals are engaged in agriculture to a great extent and tourism. Nevertheless, we can see some Kurdish immigrants work in the whole-sale market and in packaging part of agriculture. Some of them are even seasonal workers, meaning they are out of the financial competition anyway.

The third reason is related to the historical boundedness of the locals to agriculture. Even though what they do for a living has changed over the years, they depend on agriculture to meet some needs. It, in turn, eliminates the likelihood of in-state immigrants' being a threat. Such an argumentation relies upon a couple of scholars' theories: Kautsky (1988 as cited in Gürel, 2011, 199) maintains that it is in line with the interests of the capitalist class to ensure a partial dispossession of the peasantry rather than its full dispossession. Full dispossession would lead to such rural-to-urban migration that it cannot be kept under control. In this case, a huge reserve army that the existing industries cannot absorb would pose diverse social and political risks. Besides, the cost of labour would increase greatly in the agrarian sector. Nevertheless,

the prediction has not come true since one cannot talk about total dispossession of the lands. In the words of Kautsky (1988), the costs of reproduction of labor power are partially compensated with the remaining access to farmland. So, the ones working in service sector could risk working for lower wages. Although his theorization deals with another period and country, it bears similarities to the case in Fethiye.

Other studies on the Turkish case are more illuminating. For example, Keyder (1987) dwells on immigration to big cities prior to the 1980s. He notes that, by having a claim to some land in his village, migrants received supplies in different forms such as rent or other materials by leaving it to a family member (1987). Otherwise, it would be a totally different scenario if the migrant came to the urbanized area as a landless person (1987, 159). He provides this argument to support his claim that the option of remaining in the countryside caused wages in the city to increase. This study differs from the Fethiye case: Fethiye is still not as urbanized and industrialized as the cities mentioned in Keyder's study. Yet, by drawing an analogy, it can be proposed that Fethiye is like the big cities, such as Istanbul in the 1970s in some respects, although historically and geographically it has a different feature. So, it is concluded that the locals' access to land as means of subsistence prevented major financial conflicts with the immigrants to Fethiye. It is true that some people sold their lands and became wage laborer in service sector such as tourism. Nevertheless, they supply some of their needs from agriculture. For instance, they meet needs for their vegetable or fruit through their relatives or friends, which reduces their daily expenses. Most local people have a village house or a small size of land that they cultivate for individual needs. Living in a close and cheaper neighborhood also provides them with a lifestyle under more plausible financial conditions because they cannot afford houses in the city centre as shown before. In fact, most local residents seem content with the easy way of life in Fethiye for reasons such as access to fresh vegetable and fruits.

The argument noted above explains why Hasan could still work for less money than he would do, and still gets by. In line with the same argument, the common perception among most informants was that in-state immigrants did not pose a financial threat. For instance, Nezahat (70) said, "There is money to everybody who works. Everybody can get by here."

Another significant result, which supports the argument that there is not much financial threat, is related to business ownership. They contrasted Fethiye with neighboring

cities like Bodrum, and Marmaris. Two informants' perception is that people from other cities came to these other cities and now own most of the businesses contrary to the case of Fethiye. Though Bülent was proud with this, he underlined the prospective danger Fethiye might face:

> "People from Bodrum are crying as they sold off their properties. My business manager friends are telling me this. They laid the ground for such a situation. They rented their properties to whoever gave the money. Now they both make the money and get the beating (referring to mafia-type groups). They tell us not to sell off our properties. It is not like Bodrum here. The reason is there is not much renting. The majority of business managers are Fethiye people. Their ancestor is from Denizli; but he was born and raised here. We can't call him *Denizlili* (a person from Denizli); he has become the local."

This protective approach towards the city is present in other informants as well. About half of them showed their concern on this issue by claiming that more than half of shop owners are from other cities. They reflect an internalized sorrow and distress due to this perception. However, they seem to be relieved, proud and more content with relatively pleasing status of business ownership in Fethiye. This is actualized through comparing other cities in perceptibly worse situations than Fethiye.

However, it should be noted that even if there is a clash of interest, it is, on the whole, only in tourism sector where service jobs are created. As one of the local residents pointed out earlier, the local people prefer having a permanent job, which is difficult to get in tourism sector in winter. That's why holiday villages and resorts providing all year long employment are on the top of preference list of the locals. The following quote by İsmet (53) provides a snapshot of discussion on in-state immigrants:

> "Fethiye is a place that draws immigration by and large. Construction sector is like a catalyst in economy. People that come from Eastern regions work in construction, greenhouses and tourism. There are those who settled in. Most of them now have a job while they used to sleep in construction sites. There are our people of Eastern origin[71] among even hotel owners. It has never turned into a conflict. That must be good news."

As for the implications in relation to belonging, the local people's belonging is not disturbed greatly. They categorize themselves in their usual way, as their financial situation is not threatened by the existence of in-state immigrants. It is more about maintaining their place in the city as a farmer, a show owner, or some jobholder in the service sector.

The second group of immigrants whose financial effects on the locals' perception will be discussed is the foreign residents. There is a widespread consensus on the financial

[71] It is important to note his saying our people of Eastern origin (Doğu kökenli insanlarımız) to show inclusionary act.

benefits of the foreign residents such as foreign currency inflow into the city, increasing rates of employment and contribution to the local economy through consumption. Remzi (27) emphasized that unemployment rate decreases dramatically during the summer and it is good that they come as they make money from tourism. However, the locals articulated the perception that foreign residents rather than in-state immigrants pose a threat to the locals more substantially and frequently. They often linked their ideas with 'but' clauses after reciting positive effects of tourism and foreigners' residency.

Local informants lamented two main practices. The first one is about the indirect effects: increasing prices in the city. They result from the market itself, not necessarily the foreign residents. For instance, the same goods are priced higher in markets where these people frequent. The second and more marked practice is that foreign residents allegedly rent their villas or apartments to people from their country. The general accusation is that they invite their friends over for a week or more, accommodate them and earn money in return. They are criticized for owning a house, holidaying and earning money illegally at the same time. Thus, tourism economy is allegedly affected badly. Murat (42), who seemed to have positive attitudes towards foreign residents' lifestyle in many aspects, such as social integration, adopted a critical approach towards this practice. After providing a comprehensive look at the economy, he complained about the lack of inspection into the issue:

> "Changes do pose a threat. Fethiye's biggest problem is supply-demand gap. 90 % of immigrants come for supply. The number of those who demand is limited. The number of *esnaf* has multiplied in the last two decades, but there is not much demand. We happen to see pensioners more and you know their spending limit… Commerce is weak. Tourists making money through villas is a serious problem and there is no state inspection. These people's contribution to economy is just until they come to airports. There is an unemployment problem. If they stay at a hotel, there would be jobs for gardeners, waiters etc…there is no monetary input in terms of accommodation. They just buy the amount they need in the bazaar. Due to the lack of state inspection, financial input drops down to 40 %, creating 60 % gap. They impede tourism, employment, and circulation of money."

We can see the same sense of hopelessness in Rıza's (54, Yörük representative) accounts. Yet, he voiced criticisms against the local residents as well:

> "Our folks (Fethiye residents) have sold their lands. What does a tourist do now? He brings tourists from England and Germany. If somebody else turned his house into a hostel, internal revenue office would issue taxes immediately. But it is okay when it is the British. Our folks supposed that selling house to the foreigner would be profitable. But they don't go to the local restaurant, or green grocer; they go to shopping centers or eat at home. All we get is their rubbish and excrement. Tourists used to come and leave money to any kind of shopkeepers; money used to be circulated. Like from bakkal to tailor, from tailor to green grocer… these shopping centers also damaged the society's structure. One mall takes on 50 shopkeepers' job away. All-inclusive

> hotels have made the greatest damage to the locals. What is more, revenues go to the headquarters of the big-scale corporations. Money is sucked out off the local circulation. Public have got poorer."

He claimed that the decline in the number of active tourist customers has affected the local community, reducing demand for accommodation and other services. Besides, expansion of shopping malls and all-inclusive hotels contribute to this cycle, leading to closure of small businesses, and shops in the locality. However, he seems to ignore the fact that shopping malls create diverse employment opportunities as well.

Compared to similar studies (Avcı et al., 2008; Südaş 2005; Nudralı 2007) where the above issue is occasionally mentioned, the local informants in this study addressed the problem much more explicitly and markedly. The noticeable escalation in voicing such concerns is a reflection of gradual transformation in the way the foreign residents act. Some foreign residents, who once used to be concerned with post-retirement period only, are perceived to allegedly engage in financial gains in ways legally not approved.

By giving voice to such distress, the local residents challenge dominant practices that could endanger their place in the city. In other words, the locals attempt to maintain their place in the face of changing dynamics. Since making it the subject of their conversations and sharing their concerns, the local residents also promote a sense of unity through such performances.

5.6.3.3 Displaced (?) Locals Facing Resentment

Another financially fundamental phenomenon that has an impact on residents' feeling is the practice of property sales. Among the local informants exists a general agreement about the perception that most of the lands traditionally associated with the locals are sold to people coming from other cities or countries. Noticeable changes in spatial distribution of Fethiye seem to make it more visible to the eyes of the local residents: transformation of agricultural lands into construction sites for luxurious villas and apartments following legal changes in zone development and property purchases.

It should be noted that the number of properties or shops owned or managed by outsiders[72] cannot go beyond hearsay. For instance, Suat, in-state immigrant reported that the local residents own 50 % of the shops while Ahmet, the local resident claimed that outsiders manage 90 % of the shops.

[72] It tentatively refers to people who call themselves non-locals.

The most prominent manifestation of the above perception concerning the state of properties in the city is resentment. However, it does not necessarily mean that people are unhappy with urban development since quite many residents believe that changes have brought dynamism, enabling them to have higher life standards.

The feeling of resentment is primarily based on the 'imagined' representation of the locals. In response to the question about immigration being a threat, İsmet (53) stated that the locals are in a historically undesirable situation:

> "There is no threat to the local people because everybody has already established his business. However, this is the situation: People owning real estate have sold their properties to big capital owners instead of turning it into an investment for themselves. Now they work as workers in their own places of business. Things like this are saddening. There are those who set up a business and run it by themselves, but the other side (referring to those who sold real estate) consists of a considerable number."

However, the above quote embodies very significant implications. As seen, the penetration of corporations (representing the globalizing world) into the locality in different forms seems to cause displeasure among the local people. Displacement of traditional and local property owners by the growing forces of neo-liberal structures influences the way some residents feel about the place. The question of being a threat goes beyond individual level since some local people consider corporations as the real menace facing them.

As an extension to the displacement above, people lose direct touch with the traditionally acclaimed parts of the city. It seems to be the cause of discontent. Besides, the perception that the locals were not the ones to invest is another cause for resentment as Nezahat stated:

> "(…) There didn't used to be facilities like hotels or beaches in my young age. Now foreigners (meaning outsiders) come and open new enterprises. There are really nice spots. Actually, it would have been much better if the locals of Fethiye had done them…in terms of increase in financial and moral quality of life. Now (smiling…) we can only enter into these spots by paying our own money."

Not having a direct and free access to these spots today causes negative feelings. It can be claimed that the privatization of bays, beaches or other geographical landscapes may detach certain groups of people from what they claim ownership of. In other words, changes in tourism seem to have caused differentiation in the way people relate to the space.

Some locals' resentment partially depends on the way the distribution of landscape and properties takes place. The state is thought to share some responsibility in this process of detachment and feeling of resentment. The following extract by The Yörük

person explains it well:

> "Europeans' currency has higher value. When they come to Turkey, they purchase the nicest spots of Fethiye or Bodrum. People of this country are poor. Due to not getting education, they couldn't get white-collar jobs. What happens then? While we live in poverty, they reside in the best spots. (As a response to how to fix the locals' situation)…The state needs to protect the local people. Bidding in Fethiye should be won the locals. People from Adana should win the local bidding in Adana. In this way, people in the locality get wealthy. If you tendered the beach here for a contract in Ankara, nobody would know about it. No transparency."

When it comes to the reasons for this transaction of lands from locals to outsiders, the growing consumption rates are shown as the reasons. Increasing consumption is triggered again by expanding powers of corporations. Arif stressed the expansion of mass consumption due to the growing markets:

> "Us… We want to have access to some stuff. In cases when there is no money in our pockets, we go for buying by selling what's in our hands. For instance, when Tofaş, Doğan cars were released, whoever sold their lands bought these and started to show off. At the time, people sold their lands to outsiders; now some became gatekeepers to them. I would never ever sell my lands. They don't have the love of agriculture; they have the love of trade. They never thought they would end up like this. Except for one Yörük…He became the number one man of Ovacık. He erected buildings and rented them."

It is clear that he also resents the people who took part in this process due to their lack foresight. However, what is more striking is how Arif has resisted this perceived prevailing practice. The desire for place maintenance is quite evident in his passionate claims for the preservation of the rural and against changing the character of the city. His case is more intriguing for the following reason: His agricultural fields are located just near the luxurious villas and serve as the borderline territory where the scope of zone development covers.

5.6.3.4 Adapting to the Changing Economy

Local residents have employed different strategies to survive in the face of changing means of living. Regarding intercultural interactions, Mesut, the shopkeeper (55), provided an anecdote and highlighted the alterations in the way locals struggle to maintain their place. It is about his experience in the same place in two different periods of time:

> "Many years ago…in 1995 we went to Ölüdeniz by car. The local people used to turn their back on us and cover their faces when they saw a car. That means, they did not want to introduce or show themselves to foreigners (foreign here it refers to people they don't know). They felt like privacy. When I went to Ölüdeniz and Saklıkent (one needs to pass through villages) a few years ago, I saw the very same people who tried not to show themselves say 'there is gözleme (pancake) and flan'. Money changes everything. But why money? It is because opening up to the world starts as needs arise. People that were shy about talking attempt to draw you to their place today. This is true everywhere. The warmth of money changes everything. But it doesn't mean that they are not sincere. As a person tastes comfort, he wants more comfort. Then, he has to make sacrifices."

Despite some possible exaggerations, the quote exemplifies how local people reconstructed themselves, their identity and the way they used to relate to the city and to other people in the face of financial changes. To be able to maintain their place, they redefined new social locations. In fact, it is as much about maintaining as remaking the place under tourism phenomenon. They stay spatially fixed, but their social location is transformed. Once categorized as a villager only, now they are villagers who sell their labor of reproduction to the outside world. The very same quote also pinpoints changes in the 'representation of space' in the informant's mind: Both the image of the space and the people are reconstructed. For him, the village represented a place whose residents were shy and closed to the world outside. In contrast, today it is the place with residents with different ambitions, tastes and identities.

5.6.4 Belonging and the Political Realm

This section is about how each group judges others' belonging. The reflections on socio-political affairs and insights for the future make up the bulk of the discussions in this context.

5.6.4.1 'Let's keep it this way'

The local residents reported an agreement over the criteria of belonging to Fethiye: One should perform in such a way that the perceived tranquility, and peaceful environment where each resident is able to behave according to his wish is maintained. Ahmet, the yacht operator equated it to the workings of a boat:

> "Take the boat as an example. There is a captain and a rule of the boat. As long as the rule is followed, everybody can work regardless of the fact that it is sailor, customer or employee. It does not matter where one comes from… the East or anywhere else. I do not label people as Eastern or Kurdish. We could have been born there. But if people enjoy a nice life, you need to keep up with it. It is perfectly fine for me as long as you do not try to change this place as if you would do in your hometown. They can come only if they adapt. As long as they don't bother anyone, there is no problem."

The local residents agreed that in-state immigrants in general adapt to the life in Fethiye. They also stated that there is mutual understanding and a situation in which immigrants try to tower over others does not exist. Very interestingly, there is a hint at the effect of relatively small number of in-state immigrants in this adaptation process, argued by Arif:

> "Imagine you are from Istanbul. In the first year, you learn the local customs. Then, presumably following the customs. I guess it is the only way to get by in a place. Look at you, picking out weeds from the field (When I approached him, he was working in the field). You were standing. As we talked, we took a liking to each other and felt close. This is exactly what happens. They

> become alike after a while. The Laz person or any other one first tries to speak in his own accent…tries one more time. Seeing that nobody speaks like him, he adapts to the situation."

Arif approaches the phenomenon from the perspective of daily practices and differentiation. In fact, what he said harbors quite valuable implications on belonging in Fethiye. The fact that there are not large numbers of in-state immigrants particularly from Eastern Turkey gives way for more integration opportunities. In other words, there is relatively much less ghettoization due to the small number of immigrants. So, they are perceived to mingle with the local culture more. However, this perceived harmony is said to be endangered under certain circumstances. Bülent, the businessman presented comments on what could put the harmony in jeopardy:

> "Everybody tries to hold onto their own culture. For instance, foreigners go to pubs that are run by foreigners, if a person from regions like Black Sea or Southeast opens a shop, people from these cities go there; but it is not valid for peoples of Fethiye. There is no economic unity in this sense. However, once they sense a trouble in ethnic terms, they immediately unite."

In the words of Yuval-Davis (2011, 5), if people feel threatened or less secure, the emotional components of people's construction of themselves and identities become more central. The above extract exemplifies the performances of taking action to ensure that their social space is maintained. In such cases, narrative of their identities and attachments are revived. As Fethiye is considered vital in their attachments to the city, all these actions are directed at keeping it the same. The same extract exemplifies the way Caldwell and Boyd (2009) approach the sense of belonging. They argue that it acts as an adaptive community resource and helps develop resilience and social cohesion, especially in times of hardship and disaster.

Political affairs taking place on a national level seem to play a role in the impairment of relationships mentioned above. Grand political occurrences raise the issue of the politics of belonging as put across well by Arif:

> "They are our brothers. I have employed Syrians in the field. I have also given jobs to the ones from the East. As a Muslim, we are to share one bite and eat together. There are separatists[73]; they are motivated by other countries. I do not have negative thoughts. One of them wore a PKK uniform and said it is a privilege to wear this. How can you do this while my heart is in pain? You are my brother. If they live here, they can't come out here and exhibit something that is enemy to us. However, there was wrongdoing in HDP office incident. They can legally open it. But if they swear, it is no good. Come and live peacefully, but do not support those who pull out a gun at our children."

As seen, Arif made references to the discourse of brotherhood, which was very common during the interviews. Another discourse that is used by both the locals and the Kurdish immigrants is the attribution to being a citizen of the Republic of Turkey.

[73] A common signifier used for terrorist actions.

Remzi reflected his views on the immigrants from the East in the extract below:

> "The thing is our Eastern-origin friends both live permanently as a resident and come here in summer to work seasonally. They make a living. We definitely have nothing against them. There is nothing like Eastern or Western. In the end, we are all citizens of Turkish Republic. All we protest against is the terrorist organization and terrorist attacks. It would be wrong to claim there are only Kurds in that organization. Since HDP is seen by some as the extension of this organization, this reaction is just because of that. Otherwise, I do not assume our people would turn against any political figure or party."

Hasan, the construction worker, who sometimes works with the Kurdish immigrants, judged their belonging from a humanistic perspective:

> "In fact, these people here are innocent. They already escaped from the problems there. I know people like that. They made a place here and established a social network. It means they get by and live here. If they go back there, they will be in a worse situation. It is challenging to reestablish or put something in order after establishing something here. The incidents here were not right."

On the whole, some local residents are disturbed by the negative recognition that was received in the news at the time. In their perception, the representation of space on the media does not reflect the local practice. Such feelings are understandable if the performativity including the way they relate to other people and the space itself is considered.

5.6.4.2 Segregated Living: Necessarily against Belonging?

By the same token, some local residents consider foreign residents, in particular pensioners, not fully integrated by looking at their place of residence. The reason behind is related to the attitudes that locals attribute to foreigners. According to Rodriguez (2001), territorial structure of the city undergoes a change with the urbanized zones and segregated residential areas that are built exclusively for foreign retirees. There are five elements in his definition of residential tourists: a concrete human group (retirees, the elderly); a variety of mobile behavior (permanent migration, temporary migration or simply mobility); showing a tourist motivation with an individual basis (satisfaction in enjoying free time), with economic dimensions (in terms of consumption, real estate markets and services) and creating territorial effects. The local residents in Fethiye made references to all five elements regarding the foreign residents.

In addition to residential choices, foreign residents' having problems with the language makes some locals feel that they want to maintain separate lives. However, on the whole the majority of the local interviewees do not have very low opinions of their belonging and place-making. Instead, they indicated that most foreign residents try to

be a part of the local community despite experiencing language problems. Some locals made a differentiation between the elderly and the younger generation and presented two different ideas. They claimed that the ones who established families with the locals have mingled with the local culture. Their close-knit connection with the local residents was underlined as positive attitudes. On the other hand, some pensioners are associated with their desire to maintain their lives in segregated parts of the city and spend time through events like quiz shows or karaoke nights at bars or restaurants exclusively frequented by the pensioners. For instance, most residents who were asked about foreigners' life in the community came up with the same names like Kismet Bar, and Nil Restaurant. These places symbolize the foreign residency from their point of view.

Despite being associated with tendencies for segregated lives, the elderly pensioners are also known for their otherwise performances. A couple of local residents stated that the foreign pensioners do not demonstrate single, monolithic tendencies but different lifestyles, preferences and levels of visibility patterns. The image of the resident is distinguished from that of a tourist in the narratives of Ali, the farmer. He stated that people *do* live with their own material and moral concerns as well as worries over the locality: "They sell second-hand materials that belong to the foreign residents who left the city. You can see everybody in that market. They treat me as if we have been close friends for a long time. That is because they love us. They donate the profit to schoolchildren, too."

To sum up, among the local residents there is a clear agenda to preserve the representations of space as a peaceful and calm local area. It is combined with both desires to keep the local customs the way they are and aspirations that require newcomers to adapt to the perceived close-knit community in which they can also behave as they wish without disturbing the overall satisfaction of other residents. A strong sense of belonging tends to characterize the local community and turns into a source of social solidarity and resilience, especially at times of nation-wide political occurrences. The local residents also 'reinscribe' national sensibilities to the city by demarcating acts of freedom from threatening performances and intervening in the social space through protests in times of perceived threat.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

> *Home, in the literal sense Heim, chez moi, is essentially private…[and] belongs to me and mine and nobody else. Home in the wider sense, Heimat is essentially public…Heimat is by definition collective. It cannot belong to us as individuals* (Eric Hobsbawm as cited in Morley, 2000, 4).

The objective of this thesis has been to explore the concept of 'belonging' and what it means to 'make a place for oneself' in the case of Fethiye through a plethora of perspectives. Various dynamics and driving forces constructing this feeling or the state of being that embodies, as Eric Hobsbawm puts well, not only personal but also collective nature, have been analyzed. In doing this, where Fethiye is best situated in regard to conventional dichotomies namely, the national and the local or the global and the national has always been kept at the core of the discussion. This is one of the aspects that render this thesis different from those analyses that seek answers through either the lenses of macro or micro levels. In this regard, this thesis displays the historical transition from the macro to the micro and eventual conflated existence of both layers in this specific space. It is in this very space that belonging has been examined.

In the second chapter, it has been shown that Fethiye is a special case for exploration with its distinct line of political tendency compared to neighboring cities. Exploring how Fethiye residents with these political tendencies and migrants from other parts of Turkey and Europe interact with each other in the social space has been the fundamental aim. It also makes the current thesis distinct. That is, the common tendency in studies on residency of foreigners in social sciences has been to dwell on a specific group without sparing space for other actors in the city (i.e. Koylu, 2007; Dirlik, 2009; Demirkaya and Artvinli, 2011; Deniz, 2012).

In order to avoid reductionist interpretations, a variety of concepts from a range of theoretical frameworks have been reviewed. Among many others, the thesis has explored theories on space (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1979, 1990, 2006), frameworks

surrounding globalization and locality (Sassen, 2004, 2010; Massey, 1991, 1995; Marcus as cited in Morley, 2000, 10), the works to dwell on local practices (Lowenthal, 1996). In addition, literature on international retirement migration (Casado-Diaz, 1999; O'Reilly, 2000 among others), rural studies (Keyder, 1987; Boratav, 1986) and neo-liberal restructuring (Bernstein, 2001 etc.) has been investigated. I have eventually demonstrated that socio-structural and socio-demographic transformations since the 1980s can be seen as an outcome of neoliberal restructuring that has swept over most of the world. Pillars of economy in the form of tourism and agricultural greenhouse production have given way to differentiations in cultural and social realms. However, I have also highlighted the fact that the penetration of these global forces into the locality has a certain financial and cultural essence distinctive to the city of Fethiye.

Chapter three has primarily provided an analysis of socio-structural changes. To this end, two pedestals of the economy in Fethiye from a historical perspective have been discussed. I have concluded that with the rise and augmentation of neoliberal policies, Fethiye has heavily depended on its natural assets such as geography and climate. In examining this, I have adopted the concept of territorialization (Storper, 1997), which refers to the cases in which the basis of an economic activity is predominantly determined by assets that cannot be found in most other places. Territorialization has been accompanied by appropriation of nature in the promotion of economic activities. In addition to the opening markets in neoliberalism, another relevant practice has been the investments in ports and airports as Roberts (2004) puts well. She argues that the neoliberal system requires fundamental material changes in the landscape for its realization. I have dubbed this as 'deterritorialization of proximity' to refer to the removal of distances. These processes have led mass tourism to be a counterpart to greenhouse production as the primary means of income. It has also constituted the initial stages of international foreign residency, particularly by pensioners and those who married Turkish men. Changes in laws related to property sales to foreigners have been shown to have dramatic effects on this.

My inquiries in chapter three have also allowed me to exhibit the path that people who were traditionally engaged in agriculture have historically followed. In doing this, I have contrasted the period before 1980 and the era after 1980, characterized by the implementation of neoliberal policies nationally and globally (Onis & Senses, 2009). Firstly, some farmers found themselves in uncertainty due to deregulations on certain

crops and the abolishment of guaranteed purchases of some crops by the state (Yenal, 2001). For this reason, some have turned to other crops. This shift coincided with the expansion of greenhouse production. Increased availability of materials such as seeds and fertilizers thanks to the international trade was another reason behind this growth. The majority of greenhouse production has been allocated to tomato for its high profit margins since heighted national and international demands for fresh vegetables have expanded the market (Bernstein, 2001). Thus, motivations to earn more revenue in the growing market have driven people to lean towards greenhouse production. This was the time when these locally-defined people came into contact with global neoliberal forces, embodied by transnational food corporations, TNCs (Singh, 2004; Kirsten and Sartorious, 2002). This practice is in line with the first set of dynamics embodied in the idea of global cities (Sassen, 2010): integration of global economic markets into the local.

Nevertheless, the encounter between local people and global forces has been to a much lesser degree for tomato producers. This is a contrary practice to the production of other crops such as tobacco where they directly face these corporations in the form of contract farming (Prowse, 2012). Finally, some residents turned to tourism to adapt to the economic transitions. There were three main reasons behind: the increasing expenses needed for the input in greenhouse production reached at an unsustainable point. Some farmers were not content with the ambivalent situation due to not knowing whether or not they would sell their crop. Also, tourism seemed an easier way of income, in part, due to its promising and disproportionate growth.

Overall, we can identify two fundamental observations. Firstly, agriculture in Fethiye, particularly greenhouse production, still depends on petty agricultural producers to a large extent as suggested by Boratav (as cited in Aydın, 1986, 182-183) in accounting for agricultural production. In a similar manner to Keyder's (1987) analysis of migration to big cities, mechanization of agriculture has not led to dispossession of the lands and consequent dominance of capitalist farms. In other words, even though a considerable amount of people have recently engaged in tourism, the number of farmers has not decreased to a large extent. As for the issue of withdrawal of the state, farmers are neither directly involved with TNCs nor benefit certain assurances. They do not still have the control of the chain from the production to marketing: In the state-regulated period, there was no need for middlemen due to guaranteed purchases.

Nevertheless, in the neoliberal age we started seeing middlemen between the producer and transnational corporations in the case of greenhouse production in Fethiye. This recent condition has presented certain advantages and drawbacks on farmers' part. On the one hand, the farmers play a decisive role in the organization of production since they are free of TNCs' hegemony. They maintain and defend the existing family farms. On the other hand, the state's removal poses a great threat to their livelihoods in the face of liberalization. They were left in a susceptible and fragile state due to TNCs having the upper hand. If international financial and political problems, which are out of state's reach to fix, occur, their livelihood comes under great risk. Political and financial frictions between Turkey and Russia in 2005[74] and 2016[75], which have had dire financial impacts on agriculture, can be seen as manifestations of this fragility. Besides, they are still excluded in the upper decision-making mechanisms since they are in no position to resist certain policies.

Presenting historical socio-demographic transformation in the fourth chapter, I have identified the factors that explain the formation of the population in Fethiye. As for the local people, natural disasters such as the earthquakes of 1957 and 1999, landslides in 1968, and the Yörük people's changing lifestyle have determined the structure of the population. The new-comers consist primarily of pensioners: in-state immigrants and foreign residents. It led the city to be called 'the city of pensioners'. Tranquility, a peaceful environment and a quality social life were reported to be as equally important as nature, and climate when they were asked about the reasons for immigration. A relatively cheap lifestyle was another factor. Changes in people's satisfaction level were found to be primarily related to these reasons: Not only did some locals but also other constituents of the city reported discontents associated with increasing expenses, urban transformation and perceived deterioration in tranquility.

Chapter 5 addresses the paramount aim of the current study: exploration of what it is meant by the concept of 'belonging' in the context of Fethiye. There is an agreement in the literature that 'belonging' refers to emotional attachment (Yuval-Davis, 2011, 5). However, there is a vast array of entities to which one can feel attached (i.e. a place, humanity, a community, an institution, or a profession) and the way they develop this feeling (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In this thesis, the concept of belonging has been

[74] http://ekonomi.haber7.com/ekonomi/haber/325276-rusya-ile-domates-krizi-delindi
[75] http://www.internethaber.com/rusya-krizi-domatesi-fena-vurdu-1570930h.htm

essentially analyzed in terms of individual emotional attachment to a place, Fethiye. Relevant discussions have also provided insights into the belonging to the wider society.

A variety of concepts have been addressed, each of which has different implications for the examination of belonging in the sense distinguished above: performativity (Butler, 1993), representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991), place-making and place maintenance (Benson & Jackson, 2012), the idea of 'home' (Hannerz, 2002), Yuval-Davis' theory of emotional attachment and the politics of belonging (2011; Morley, 2002). Beresneviėiûtė's (2003) theoretical points on social integration such as social participation, social inclusion/exclusion and social capital (Bourdieu, 1985) were useful in explaining residents' interactional mechanisms as well. In addition, informants' narrations seemed to be exemplars of basic functions of social capital as well as negative outcomes proposed by Portes (2000).

In the fifth chapter, it has been basically argued that multiple forms of identity and spatiality have emerged in the locality, whose interaction with the global has necessitated a variety of mechanisms to be used in belonging and place-making. Accordingly, a dynamic notion of belonging that gets internalized over time due to extended residency and the growing inter-group interactions has been offered. The interview results indicate a contrast between the locals and the other two groups in terms of dimensions of belonging. While the foreign residents and some in-state immigrants were often found to invest in processes of place-making (Benson & Jackson, 2012), the locals showed obvious tendencies towards both maintaining and re-making the space whose moral ownership they already 'out-claimed'. However, these processes are not mutually exclusive in that all the residents can concurrently construct their cultural and historical belongings.

To be more specific, the destabilized ideas of belonging as a result of increased mobility and migration have been examined under different headings in each group. Their answers about belonging to Fethiye have been scrutinized under the subheading of emotional attachment. Then come their opinions regarding cultural differences and similarities. In this section, how each group sees their "culture" and multiple cultures in the locality is explored. Inspired by Benson & Jackson's theory of place maintenance and maintaining cultures (2012), their efforts to preserve certain cultural traits are also discussed. Views on economic domain have revealed the way a certain

group of people is considered by others: a plus value or a financial threat to other groups. Social interactions and their effects on their perceptions follow the part on finance. Lastly, the way residents regard other groups' integration or belonging was analyzed.

When it comes to details of analysis of belonging, except for three informants (one in-state immigrant and two local residents), all the informants stated that they felt at home although the reasons differed. The length of residence was the common cause leading to the emotional attachment to Fethiye among the three groups. Regarding the in-state immigrants and foreign residents, the feelings that they have when they are away from Fethiye remind them of their belonging to this city. In this case, as Hannerz (2002) argues, the concept of home expresses a fundamental contrast with the notion of being away from home. Perceived safety was another contributing factor to feelings of attachment in the case of foreign residents and in-state immigrants. In line with the argument that considering a place safe plays a significant role in belonging (Ignatieff, 2001), quite many informants see Fethiye as the place where they can maintain their habits with ease. The third aspect related to their attachment to the city is to do with residential choices. Some British residents in Fethiye expressed their choice to live in places populated by the British. They were motivated by the mentality of what Butler and Robson (2003) call 'people like us'. That is, residential parts of the city like Çalış and Ovacık are perceived by foreigners as communal spaces where 'Britishness' is inscribed. On the other hand, in-state immigrants did not report preferences along this line. However, some areas in Fethiye were referred, by the locals, as the spots predominantly populated by Kurdish people.

As for the local informants, they mainly reported that they belonged to Fethiye, saying that "Of course, we belong to Fethiye because we were born here." The case of local residents exemplifies the first form of the notion of feeling at home (Hannerz, 2002): a sense of rootedness in a socio-geographic site. When it comes to society-related reasons, the existing social network (Portes, 2000) ad financial investments were given as other reasons. Besides, the recent promotion of heritage conservation as a global industry, proposed by Lowenthal (1996), evoked feelings of satisfaction and pride among local residents. Lowenthal (1975) is important in another sense: certain practices are related to how they make sense of past lives. Collective memories are formed through particular experiences and that space is associated with such

experiences in people's minds. For instance, a couple of informants reported that they belonged to Fethiye because they grew up there, spent time with friends, raised their children, or developed the feelings of being a family. On the other hand, some informants' attachment was observed to be disturbed by allegedly unfair treatment of local people in the social domain. They claimed that they are treated equally because foreigners receive more attention from other Turkish people. They argued, for instance, that foreigners were prioritized in a queue even though it was the locals' turn. Instead, the locals were allegedly kept waiting.

As for the cultural domain, on the whole, the foreign residents had high opinions of the local culture and often used the words to describe: family-orientated, respectful to the elderly, sincere, friendly and helpful. Some discrepancies with which they were not happy included the lack of planning, being disorganized and quick-tempered. Being family-orientated was mentioned most; however, foreign residents expressed two distinct perspectives on Turkish culture: pensioner foreign residents praised the perceived family-orientated nature of the local culture whereas middle-aged female foreigners, who were/are married to Turkish men, highlighted the underlying conflicts in families due to tight relationships among family members. The latter group indicated that family members might have excess claims on other members of the family, which might create distress. Such a view is an example of what Portes (2000) sees as a negative outcome of social capital. Some residents seemed to pay attention to 'Turkey-in-the-mind' and perform accordingly. For instance, because they know family and friends are important in Turkish culture, they reported their efforts to mingle with the local people in the same way, an example of performative action (Butler, 1990). Besides, foreign residents were found to make efforts to preserve their culture. They were content with the idea of transporting their lifestyle to the location. They mentioned easy access to certain goods, which is an extension of global markets, and habits such as spending time casually with fellow foreigners in bars or restaurants. Maintaining cultural traits as such lends itself to a couple of interpretations: Parkin (1998) argues that belonging is not necessarily and definitely embedded in a single territory. People cultivate territorial attachment through common sentiments and habits. To this end, they transport their cultural assumptions to the new space. It is in this space that they reestablish their identity such as sitting at bars and drinking beer as a manifestation of the notion of 'activities expats do' that they have. Secondly, their

need to gather as the British people can be seen as an attempt to preserve their connection with the roots. According to Cohen (1982), place attachment exhibits dualities and the identity of the migrant is maintained and remembered in both 'places'.

Secondly, a couple of in-state immigrants argued that Fethiye is still a closed community, despite the admittance that people have become more understanding of differences due to the growing frequency of encounters. Two informants who moved to the city from metropolitan cities argued that local residents tend to be lazy. As for the cultural differences and similarities, they said the local culture and their own culture are not that different. Accounts of some in-state immigrants also showed that socially defined locations can be ambivalent as suggested by (Yuval-Davis, 2006). For instance, each individual within the group attributed certain negative incidents to the existence of other groups.

As for the local residents' views on cultural domain, the informants addressed the preservation of the local culture quite more frequently than financial concerns. Four broad conclusions can be drawn from the interviews with the local residents: Firstly, cultural degeneration is a common perception among the local residents who feel that hallmarks of the culture in Fethiye in particular are impaired. Underlining the disparities and considering foreigners' culture as selfish, they emphasized their efforts to maintain the local customs. Nevertheless, they seemed to be happy to interact with the new-comers and enjoy certain financial benefits. Secondly, the locals situate the newcomers in a position in which it is the newcomers who should try to adjust their customs into the existing practices, not vice versa. The locals accounted for daily practices they were content with. To name a few, they mentioned charity involvement, speaking to them in Turkish, frequenting local bazaars, and attending social events such as weddings. According to the locals, such practices accentuate newcomers' attempts to be part of the local culture. Thirdly, according to some, Fethiye managed to preserve the traditional customs more when compared to neighboring cities with similar characteristics such as Marmaris, Bodrum and Kuşadası. They feel proud to preserve it more than any other city around. Finally, I have adopted the concept of 'hybridity' as stated by Rosaldo (1995, as cited in Morley, 2002, 6) in discussing acculturation to explain the most common perception that there are bilateral cultural exchanges and borrowings between groups. Many locals reported that the foreign residents have left their imprints in the local culture in certain positive ways. They

claimed that foreigners' sensitivity towards environment, and animals as well as emphasis on some values such as politeness have affected the locals in a good way.

When it comes to the interaction among in-state immigrants and local people, some informants asserted that they learn each other's cultures and they get by quite happily. However, cultural disparities can sometimes cause frustrations. For instance, Ismail, a subject interviewed, stated that he was not happy with Kurdish music being played all night long in weddings. He was, however, the only one to report a negative aspect such as this.

In terms of social interactions, I have concluded that the foreign residents attempt to make a place for themselves in the city in various ways such as residential choices or social participation (Beresnevièiûtë, 2003) in the local charities. As argued by Guest & Stamm (1993) in emphasizing the importance of the presence of children in residential integration, middle-aged female residents' place-making lay in having a family with kids. Substantially better integration of these people compared to pensioners is seemingly related to the fact that the local culture has, in the words of Guest & Stamm (1993), a 'familistic' nature. The majority of foreign residents made it clear that they belonged to the city since they were accepted as an integral part of the local society. The caring attitude of local people also contributed to this feeling. For instance, one informant said that his neighbors look out for him and share their vegetables or fruit with him or inform him about events such as a funeral. The second aspect of social interaction is about the use of Turkish. The lack of competence in Turkish language seemed to be a barrier in social interactions. The inadequate level of Turkish was condemned by some foreigners as well. The local people and some in-state immigrants shared this perception about them not learning Turkish. Another relevant practice is that some foreign residents were found to use strategies to create affinity with the locals. The strategic use of words like *abi* (brother), *abla* (sister), and *voyn*[76] in social interactions to show sincerity can be shown as an example. However, these usages are not financially driven exclusively, in contrast to what Bourdieu (1985) argues: the ultimate aim of social and cultural capital is economic gain. The final dimension concerns the charity work. It is a common idea that charities serve as the basic means of participation in social life for foreign residents, which was noticed and

[76] A vocative, used colloquially in Fethiye to get some attention in interactions. It is similar to 'hey man' in English.

appreciated by the other two groups. Foreigners join charities also because they want to meet other foreigners. Organizing events such as quiz shows or karaoke nights was given as another way to socialize with other foreigners. However, a couple of in-state immigrants complained that such activities are held in English, which excludes other participants. On a side note, it should be noted that there is a wide discrepancy between male and female residents in terms of attending Turkish language courses and charities. These practices turned out to be overwhelmingly dominated by female residents.

Next, most in-state immigrants feel that they are socially integrated into the local life. They seem to enjoy an 'easy way of life' characterized by tranquility, and favorable climatic and natural conditions. They argued that they established their residency by minding their own business and participating socially and culturally (Beresnevièiûtë, 2003). The attachment to the city for the residents with ethnically different backgrounds was reported to be largely unaffected. One underlying reasons might be related to the residential choices of these people. According to some informants, even though some areas are largely populated by Kurdish people, they tend to disperse around the city. So, it is the presence of such a residential distribution that might explain relative integration of new-comers into the local society. This fits well in with Duman's (2013) claim that if there is a mass immigration of ethnically similar people to a certain part of the city, 'ethnic claves' (neighborhoods dominated by a certain group of people) are constituted. However, such residential segregation threatens social integration, leading to a variety of problems. As mentioned, the formation of ethnic enclaves is not the case for Fethiye regarding in-state immigrants. On the other hand, some in-state immigrants see some foreigners' residential choices as desires to stick to their own groups. Such segregation is not ethnically driven, but culturally and financially as these foreigners can afford to buy properties much more easily compared to other residents.

With the aim of exploring to what extent financial situation affects belonging and perceptions on others, I inquired informants' views about whether newcomers pose a threat to the livelihood of a certain group. There was a consensus among foreigners that their presence is a big contribution to the local economy in terms of providing yearlong employment in many sectors. That's why, they said, they found it hard to

comprehend the rationale behind changes in national policies[77] on property and residency. The new law requires foreign residents with temporary residency to renew it every year while they could do it every 5 years according to the previous law. Besides, they are legally required to register with the health system. Thus, they claimed that they are being targeted, creating frustration on their part. However, these policies are nationwide, not specific to settlers in the south west of Turkey. Different from other studies which presented experiences of foreign residents in Turkey (Koylu, 2007; Dirlik, 2009; Deniz, 2012) and British pensioners' residential tourism practices in countries like Spain (Rodriguez et al., 1998; Casado-Diaz, 1999; Hardill et al., 2004; Huber & O'Reilly, 2004) or Italy (King and Patterson, 1998), some informants reported their desires to be entitled to work permits since they wanted to benefit from their competence in their profession after retirement. They claimed such a desire is not financially motivated. Instead, they suggested it as a solution to their problem of boredom. I would then claim that integrating them into the workforce can also increase the level of participation and community cohesion in the locality.

A significant implication of these arguments on the financial threat is associated with the emerging new agencies in the economic realm. The first aspect is related to in-state immigrants. It has been shown that they were not considered as a financial threat to a large extent by the locals. Two local particularities have been provided for this claim. Firstly, in-state immigrants and local people are engaged in different lines of business. Locals' historical dependence on agriculture and the type of households relying on family labor were given as explanatory factors. Similarly, despite working in the service sector, some locals maintained their connection to agriculture and its product. Also, in-state immigrants often work in tourism or construction, which is not practiced by the locals much. Even when these two groups are in competition for work, it is at negligible levels. Another issue is that a considerable number of in-state immigrants are pensioners. So, they are not in a position to pose a threat to the local workforce. Except for two informants, nobody argued for in-state immigrants' being a threat to the local economy. The aforementioned observation holds importance in another sense: It principally refutes any possible claim that ethnic tensions arise due to financial competition in the local space where people from the East migrate to. I borrow from Krauße's (2010) argument. He claims if a group believes that their loss

[77] https://www.expatguideturkey.com/residence-permits/

surpasses their gain as a result of co-living with others, ethnic conflicts might take place. I have presented this claim in order to comment on the previous incidents[78] and show that if there were to be ethnic tensions in Fethiye, economic competition would not be accountable. They might arise from external conditions such as political disputes and military conflicts as it has been shown in this study.

Secondly and more importantly, that some foreigners put the local economy in peril was one of the most voiced, if not the number one, complaints and criticisms among all the other issues. In line with the predictions that foreign residency might pose a threat to the local community (Tamer-Görer et al., 2006), some acts of some foreign residents were reported to be a menace for the local economy. This is another finding of this study that supports the related literature. Yet, this perception should not obscure the common agreement that tourism and foreign residency bring currency inflow and provide employment in the city. It was basically claimed that foreign residents adversely affect the economy in two distinct ways. Firstly, they provide accommodation for those coming from their own country for financial benefits. This alleged way of earning money was claimed to have negative impacts on occupancy rates in the hotels and sales in local markets. They also bemoaned the lack of legal inspection on taxation regarding such alleged acts. This issue was never brought up by the foreign residents. Secondly, a few informants claimed that foreign residency caused an increase in prices in the city. The latter complaint does not seem to hold ground since it is difficult to attribute higher prices to the foreign residency only. To conclude, there has been a considerable change in the last ten years in the way foreign residency is viewed. In the beginning stages of foreign residency in the 2000s, the literature abounds with high expectations of revenue and plans to increase foreign residency so that the local towns could yield more financial benefits. However, this study has exposed that the rosy scenario has been deformed due to the recent occurrences.

As for other issues in the domain of economics, I have demonstrated that some local people have the feeling of resentment. They claimed agricultural fields are sold and turned into construction sites primarily for touristic purposes, which seems to be the underlying reason for such resentment. According to some locals, people sell their

[78] http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/hdp-fethiye-ilce-baskanligi-acilisinda-gerginlik

lands because of the availability of and an elevated desire for consumption of a range of new products. Their feeling of indignation is also because of the following perception: a sizeable number of shops and businesses are controlled by corporate chains or outsiders and the very same people who used to own their spots are now displaced and work there as employees. It shows how the penetration of global forces into the locality can cause negative feelings among these people. It should, however, be noted that some locals' accounts display successful place-making strategies in the face of such economic transformations. The livelihoods of some villagers have been challenged in this period, but they are now attempting to be a part of a financial circuit in different ways.

Finally, the political domain has been shown to produce the most dissident and controversial perceptions compared to other domains. That is, in certain studies on socio-spatial effects of foreign residency in Antalya (Deniz, 2012), and financial effects on Didim (Karakaya & Turan, 2006; Nudralı, 2007) or in Fethiye (Dirlik, 2009; Koylu, 2007), there is a uniform narrative. So far, it has been the case that accounts about their residency included their social practices or opinions about the city. On the contrary, this study has shown that half of the foreign residents made negative comments on the lifestyle of the other half, old retirees. Middle-aged foreign residents tended to distance themselves from the pensioners, who –in their perception- give a wrong impression of what expats are. They claimed that 'the old crowd' was not socially integrated because they would live segregated lives and not speak Turkish. It was claimed that 'The old crowd' stuck to their own groups. The younger group accused these pensioners of their alleged demand for the same conditions in Britain to be provided here in Turkey. They differentiated themselves from the old retirees by highlighting these qualities they had: speaking Turkish, living among the local people, not in segregated residence areas, and having children, which requires them to participate socially.

Another aspect of the political domain is related to current political affairs and policies. There is again a differentiation among foreign residents. The pensioners were more concerned with their residency issues by focusing on recent political shifts. As mentioned above, the majority of foreign retirees claimed that their residency is being targeted by the political policies. These people also stated that they did not follow the current political news as they do not have any rights like voting. On the other hand,

the middle-aged group emphasized their concerns about the path being taken lately by the Turkish state because they believed that Turkey has shown great progress in the last decade. Despite these negative perceptions, none of the foreign participants stated that they would leave neither Fethiye nor Turkey unless very destructive and disastrous events took place. This should be taken as a sign of their belonging.

Local residents and in-state immigrants focused on military conflicts going on between PKK[79] and the state. They all accepted that it created tensions among people coming from the Eastern part of Turkey and the others. In interpreting this, a couple of in-state immigrants put an emphasis on their being TC citizen to argue that they have the right to have a proper life in Fethiye[80]. Some also claimed that they were well-recognized in the city and there was nothing to be held against them and thereby, they had nothing to worry about. They, however, condemned the people involved in political incidents in Fethiye for their ignorance. On the other hand, the local residents stressed the discourse of 'brotherhood'. They further emphasized that as long as nobody disrupts the local, peaceful order, and shows support for PKK, everybody should be able to live freely. Regarding the incidents, some admitted that it was a wrongdoing and everybody learnt the lesson. Besides, they seemed to be uneasy about the perception and the way it was reflected in the media. Nevertheless, some claimed that although the local residents in Fethiye were not in agreement economically, they would unite in the case of a potential problem that involves national or ethnic issues.

As for the locals' perceptions of foreign residents in relation to their belonging, on the whole the majority of the local interviewees provided positive ideas: First, the ones who established families with the locals were reported to have mingled with the local culture. Most foreign residents were thought to put effort into being a part of the community despite their language problems and being a financial threat to some extent. Asked about any possibility of leaving Fethiye, all the local residents reported their desire to permanently stay in the city.

To conclude, each group of people has been found to experience different attachment processes as a result of different factors. National political affairs seem to have a bigger impact on the relationships between local residents and in-state immigrants. Tensions

[79] PKK, a militant left-wing organization based in Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan, considered as a terrorist organization by Turkey, European Union, NATO, the USA among many others.
[80] I keep 'TC citizen' wording as it is commonly used in the discourse. 'TC' stands for Turkish Republic.

among them tend to result from broader destabilizations related to nationalistic and ethnic issues rather than financial competition in the locality. In the case of foreign residents, only state policies on residency seem to bother their livelihood. On the contrary, acts by foreign residents seem to cause financial tensions among other groups. Nevertheless, foreign residency is a plus value for the city with its contribution to the local economy in terms of providing employment and property sales as well as offering an excellent chance for cultural and social enrichment of societies.

This thesis has sought to provide an investigation of very complex subjects of belonging and place-making. I have demonstrated that the post-industrial era has brought about contexts that blur the lines between the global, the national and the local. Bringing together numerous perspectives from different disciplines such as the economy, geography, and cultural geography around the main theme, I have put forward that the global fused with the local and the national can and do penetrate into very private realms of our lives. Accordingly, I hope to have illustrated that motivations, behaviors, place-making mechanisms and inter-group dynamics are not only influenced by the occurrences within the boundaries of a locality but by the processes that take place in broader society. The current study has incorporated a wide scope of concepts, subjects and time periods with the aim of helping us to rethink our sense of place in the context of these transformations. It has provided broader perspectives related to the concept of belonging and expanded the analytical domain where it has been discussed so far. For further research, I can recommend dwelling on a specific group in a particular district of a city. I hope this framework would be a contribution to our understanding of belonging and place-making in the face of globalization and encourage us to seek answers to new questions.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Interview Questions for Foreign Residents

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Could you please tell me about yourself?
    a. Age
    b. Home country
    c. Period of residence
    d. Education
    e. Job
    f. Income
    g. Languages that you speak
    h. Family Members
    i. Legal status
2. Can you talk about the reasons why you decided to move to Fethiye?

PLACE-MAKING

3. What were some problems you faced while moving?
4. How about today? Please comment on accessing to services such as health and relevant problems if you have had any.
5. What kind of differences and similarities have you noticed about your home country and here, both cultural and economic?
6. What can you say about the problems or difficulties maintaining your customs here if you have had any so far?
7. Do you feel 'at home'? or "Do you feel you belong here?" If so, what makes you feel so?
8. How do you keep contact with your homeland?

INTERACTION

9. How often do you come into contact with local residents? What daily activities involving local people do you perform?
10. How would you define locals' attitudes toward you?
11. How do you feel about other immigrants? Do you think they are 'socially integrated' here?

SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES

12. How will the current political situation influence Fethiye, do you think?
13. Could you talk about your feelings and opinions about current political affairs in Turkey?
14. Are you more interested in the problems of your homeland or the area where you have been living?
15. What would some ways be to make your stay more pleasant here?
16. Do you consider going back to your home country?

Appendix 2: Interview Questions for In-state Immigrants and Local People

Siz buranın yerlisi misiniz? (Do you consider yourself a local?)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız? (Could you please tell me about yourself?)
    a. yaş
    b. eğitim
    c. iş
    d. gelir
    e. aile
    f. konuştuğunuz diller
2. Burada yaşama sebeplerinizden bahseder misiniz?

GÖÇ VE AİDİYET

3. Siz buraya ne zaman geldiniz? Daha önce başka yerlerde yaşadınız mı?
4. Buraya göç etmeden önce tanıdığınız, fikir aldığınız kişiler oldu mu?
5. Sizce buraya belirli bir göç akımı oluyor mu, ne zaman başladı?
6. İlk geldiğiniz dönemlerde ne gibi sıkıntılar yaşadınız? Uyum sürecinizle ilgili ne söylemek istersiniz?
7. Fethiye'ye gelen Doğu kökenli vatandaşlar, çoğunluğu İngiliz olan yabancılar, ve varsa Suriyeli göçleri sonrası şehirde ne tür değişiklikler gözlemlediniz?
8. Bu değişiklikler sizin yaşamınızı ne oranda etkiledi? Düşünce ve hislerinizden bahseder misiniz?
9. Sizin için değişiklikler ekonomik ve sosyal yaşam bakımından bir tehdit veya sorun teşkil ediyor mu?
10. Yaşam şekillerini düşündüğünüzde, buraya göçen insanlar (yerli ve yabancı olmak üzere) ve kendi yaşam tarzınızı nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
11. Kendinizi buraya ait hissediyor musunuz? Evet ise neden? Belirgin bir sebep veya olay var mı?
12. Fethiye'ye aidiyetinizi çağrıştıran veya o hissi veren bir şeyler, yapılar var mı?

ETKİLEŞİM

13. Fethiye'ye kalıcı olarak yerleşen yeni yerleşim yerlerindeki insanlarla hangi tür etkileşimlerde bulunuyorsunuz? Mahallede, işyerinde veya toplumsal alanda?
14. Onların uyum süreçlerinde diğer insanlarla ilişkisi hakkında ne söyleyebilirsiniz?

SOSYO-POLİTİK KONULAR

15. Sizce Türkiye'deki güncel politik gelişmeler Fethiye'yi nasıl etkileyecek?
16. Üye olduğunuz bir dernek var mı?
17. Fethiye'nin Türkiye'deki yerini nasıl görüyorsunuz?
18. Fethiye içinde başka bir yere göç etmeyi düşünür müsünüz? Peki buradan yani Fethiye'den ayrılmayı düşünür müsünüz? Hangi sebeplerden dolayı?