Creating Convergence in Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Tourism Development: Case Study of Bergama, Turkey

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how the concept of sustainability can be applied to tourism development at cultural heritage sites in Turkey. First, the international origins of sustainable tourism development are examined, before addressing the growth of Turkey's tourism industry as part of its economic development strategy. Interviews with practitioners in sustainable tourism development are used to show how sustainability objectives can be reconciled with ambitious plans to expand tourism in Turkey. These interviews are analyzed in order to understand how practitioners perceive and address cultural heritage. It is concluded that sustainable tourism practitioners would be interested in partnering with heritage managers on education and outreach projects to promote heritage awareness, and cultural tourism in Turkey is evolving into a high-end, niche market with specialized tour operators. These findings are taken into account in a case study of Bergama (ancient Pergamon). Recommendations are made for how to foster sustainable tourism development there, while building community stewardship of its archaeological and architectural assets. This study suggests that the first steps towards aligning tourism and heritage management at Bergama will require improving the visitor experience at the archaeological sites, investing in the local infrastructure and workforce for tourism, and broadening the role of community members in tourism development.

Keywords: sustainable tourism development; heritage management; cultural tourism; Bergama; Pergamon

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, sürdürülebilirlik kavramının Türkiye'deki kültürel miras alanlarında turizmin gelişimine nasıl uygulanabileceğini araştırmaktadır. İlk olarak, sürdürülebilir turizm gelişiminin uluslar arası kökenleri incelenmiş ve daha sonra Türkiye'de turizm endüstrisinin büyümesine odaklanılmıştır. Devlet ve özel sektördeki sürdürülebilir turizm gelişimi uygulayıcıları ile yapılan görüşmeler Türkiye'de turizm geliştirmeyi amaçlayan iddialı planlarla sürdürülebilirlik hedeflerinin nasıl birleşeceğini göstermek için kullanılır. Bu görüşmeler, uygulayıcıların kültürel mirası nasıl algıladıklarını anlamak için analiz edilmiştir. Buna göre, miras bilincini arttırmak için sürdürülebilir turizm uygulayıcılarının miras yöneticileri ile eğitim ve sosyal projeler üzerine işbirliği yapacağı ve Türkiye'deki turizmin, uzmanlaşmış tur operatörleri ile birlikte kaliteli bir pazara dönüşeceği sonucuna varılmıştır. Son olarak, bu bulgular Bergama (antik Pergamon) üzerine değerlendirilmektedir. Toplumun arkeolojik ve mimari yapılara gereken önemi vermesini sağlayarak sürdürülebilir turizmin gelişmesini teşvik etmek için öneriler yapılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Bergama'daki turizm ve miras yönetimi yolunda ilk adımların arkeolojik olarak ziyaretçinin deneyimini geliştirmek, yerel altyapı ve turizm için işgücüne yatırım yapmak ve turizmin planlanması ve geliştirilmesinde toplumun rolünün önemini göstermek olduğunu önermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: sürdürülebilir turizmin geliştirilmesi, miras yönetimi, kültürel turizm, Bergama, Pergamon

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ABBREVIATIONS

API	Abraham Path Initiative
FYDP	Five-year development plan
MCT	Ministry of Culture and Tourism
MOT	Ministry of Tourism
SPO	State Planning Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sustainable tourism development aspires to offset the negative impact of the tourism industry on the global and local scale, in part by capturing the benefits of tourism in the community where it occurs. Sustainability refers to the need to find a balance between economic, environmental, social and cultural agendas, and the industry's manner and scale of resource consumption.

This concept presents an opportunity for cultural heritage management in Turkey to alleviate pressures caused by tourism. Unchecked development of hotels, restaurants, and other infrastructure to serve tourist populations can encroach on archaeological sites or destroy the historic urban fabric. Tourism can also raise difficult visitor management issues. Managers must try to balance site preservation needs while providing access for large crowds and events, and to offer both accurate and scintillating interpretations of sites. Aligning cultural heritage management objectives with those of sustainable tourism development would benefit both fields by opening up mutual areas for improvement. This opportunity is of particular relevance in Turkey, given the country's wealth of cultural heritage and its leading position in the global tourism industry. In this thesis, sustainable tourism practitioners' attitudes toward cultural heritage in Turkey are examined, before recommendations are made for how the city of Bergama should foster more

sustainable tourism development based on its archaeological and historical assets.

Chapter 2 gives a brief account of how sustainability was incorporated into global tourism. This concern stemmed from the industry's rapid growth and development during the second half of the 20th century. 807 million tourists traveled internationally in 2005, and generated $683 billion in tourism receipts (World Tourism Organization website). Tourism is a significant part of the world economy. However, this growth has not been experienced equally by every country. At the end of the twenty-first century, 80% of international tourists came from only twenty countries in Europe and North America (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 48). A closer look at how the industry expanded highlights the need to incorporate sustainable practices that distribute the costs and benefits of tourism more equally. In the 1960s, tourism was considered a way for less-developed countries to diversify their export base. However, the quick growth of these industries brought about unintended consequences for the environment, economies and societies, such as pollution, unplanned urban development, and revenue leakages. Sustainable tourism development gained notice in the 1980s and especially the 1990s as a way to counteract and control for these effects.

In Chapter 3, Turkey's experience with tourism development is discussed. Although the country is one of the most popular destinations in the world today, the dramatic change it has experienced in only a few short decades has affected the sustainability of its industry. Beginning in the early 1990s the government began incorporating more sustainable policies into its planning due to a confluence of pressures from inside the country and the global industry at large. Turkey's five-year

development plans (FYDP) began to recommend reforms protecting natural and cultural values, and restructuring the state's economic support system for tourism development during this period. Other government reports dating to this period discussed similar themes, like carrying capacities for sites. Today, sustainability is central to the national tourism strategy.

Yet, cultural heritage management is still lacking in discussions of sustainable tourism development in Turkey. This is not for a lack of knowledge among heritage professionals, but rather a lack of necessary linkages with the tourism sector. In order to understand how leaders in sustainable tourism development in Turkey perceive and address cultural heritage management in their work, interviews with ten practitioners around Turkey were conducted. Analysis of these interviews is contained in Chapter 4. Based on their responses, practitioners consider tourism as a way to raise awareness of cultural heritage issues, which in turn might lead to more resources being allocated for preservation and heritage management. While the interview participants obviously understood the importance of heritage preservation, few people had specific opinions or comments about conservation, research, or site management policies. Two main conclusions were drawn from these interviews. Sustainable tourism practitioners would be interested in partnering with heritage managers on education and outreach projects to promote heritage awareness, and cultural tourism in Turkey is evolving into a high-end, niche market with specialized tour operators.

Chapter 5 takes these findings into account in a case study of Bergama, Turkey. Bergama is one of the most popular destinations for archaeological tourism

in the country. The Hellenistic settlement was concentrated on the City Hill site, but in the Roman and later periods, the settlement expanded onto the plain, where the city of Bergama is located today. While two of the three first-degree sites open for visitors are located outside the city, other monuments of archaeological and historical interest are interwoven into the urban fabric, along with examples of vernacular architecture from the late Ottoman period. The purpose of the study was to evaluate how sustainable tourism development could be used to improve cultural heritage management in the city.

In order to foster sustainable tourism development in the city, efforts at physical conservation must take into account social and cultural values of heritage. The municipal government has placed significance on conservation and restoration work in recent years, reinforced by popular interpretations in architectural theory that attribute "sense of place" to physical characteristics. A real commitment to sustainable tourism development in Bergama will require greater attention paid to how residents and visitors use heritage areas. How has the spatial relationship of these areas changed over time, and what influence has that had on the significance of heritage for the community? In short, heritage management and sustainable tourism development share an interest in strengthening community ties in addition to conservation and restoration work, suggesting a way forward for the fields to work together. A SWOT analysis of heritage tourism in Bergama, as well as recommendations for next steps, is included in the study. The final chapter expounds on how heritage managers can take advantage of opportunities for partnership in tourism development.

CHAPTER 2

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM: TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF A GLOBAL INDUSTRY ON LOCAL INTERESTS

The Subjectivity of Sustainability

When attempting to differentiate sustainable tourism development from similar concepts, it is critical to recognize the difficulty of distinguishing between such related terms as *responsible*, *alternative*, and *sustainable*. As the term *sustainable* is "not definable except in terms of the context, control and position of those who are defining it," its meaning varies widely when applied to tourism (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 105). Sustainable tourism development is premised on the idea that tourism can serve as an effective developmental tool to address the manner and scale of resource consumption by the industry. It aspires to capture the benefits of tourism in the community or region where it occurs, in addition to finding a balance between economic, environmental and social and cultural agendas, and the growth and development of the tourism industry.

Over the last three decades, research into sustainability and tourism development has raised more questions than it has answered. It is crucial for new information about evaluating planning, management, and evaluation methods to reach sustainable tourism development practitioners in order for proposed methods to be tested. Efforts to disseminate new research along with other critical information

like best practices in sustainable tourism development are indispensable. Criticisms that have emerged from disciplines aligned with tourism studies bear on this issue as well. A review of tourism studies in anthropology has concluded that the body of scholarship reflects a persistent conceptual divide, in which one half relies on theory to explain the motivations for and origins of tourism, while the other utilizes data to analyze the impacts of tourism after the fact. Generally, the former emphasizes the visitor experience, and the latter that of the hosts. By not evaluating visitor and host experiences as two sides of the same coin, the view of tourism depicted in anthropological scholarship is incomplete, thus giving the wrong impression to practitioners in the field (Stronza 2001, 262-63). Others complain of the field's lack of ingenuity, citing the number of tourism textbooks that merely repeat tired methods to tourism analysis, and the scarcity of conceptual frameworks that form the basis for all subsequent research in the field (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 88). At best, such criticisms describe a scholarship that is stagnant; while at worst they suggest that the field of tourism studies has lost its way. Without demonstrating more determination to find solutions that can be tried and tested in the field, most contemporary tourism studies that claim to address sustainability issues—often providing small, circumscribed windows into a much larger, more complex problem in tourism—will have little effect on the future of the industry (Wheeller 1991, 91).

Sustainable Development as an Inflection Point

Redoubled research efforts into the sustainability of tourism will be particularly crucial given the past and projected growth of international tourism.

Tourism has come under more scrutiny as more people around the world travel for recreation and leisure, although what constitutes tourism has varied over time by geographic region, as well as gender, race, and class (Stronza 2001, 265). 1950 saw the arrival of 25 million international tourists, whereas nearly 807 million tourists traveled internationally in 2005. International tourism receipts increased from $2.1 billion to almost $683 billion during the same period. In 2003, these receipts accounted for roughly 6% of total exports globally. That figure increases to 30% of all service exports, including travel and transportation (World Tourism Organization website). Supply and demand has obviously increased as previously far-off locales have become more accessible. At the turn of the 21st century, 80% of international tourists came from only twenty countries in Europe and North America (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 48). These visitors' interactions and behaviors have subsequently raised questions about the negative impacts of tourism in countries ranked below the highest level of human and economic development (Human Development Report, World Economic Outlook Update).

This willingness to question the benefits of tourism reflected a growing skepticism about tourism as a beneficial or even benign activity, signaling a reverse of policy. Starting in the late 1960s, developmental theorists began to shift their support to outward-oriented, export-based economic strategies (Brohman 1996, 49). Tourism was identified as a service sector that could help less-developed countries diversify their export base, and multilateral lending agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund responded with support for tourism development (Brohman 1996, 51). Due to the rapid development of the industry, by the end of

1970s criticisms were already being levied against tourism given some of its accompanying ill-effects on society and the physical environment. The debate over the relative advantages and disadvantages of tourism as a developmental strategy was fueled by research from various disciplines such as anthropology, tourism studies and economics, and helped to frame the debate in terms of a broader understanding of sustainability–economic, social and cultural, and environmental (Stronza 2001, 268-69).

Although tourism was not part of the earliest discussions about sustainable development, the World Tourism Organization's definition of sustainable tourism development on its website draws heavily on the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, which was convened by the United Nations in 1983. Against a backdrop of growing environmental awareness and political support for environmental protection, the concept of sustainable development put forth in this report gained currency over the next decade (Butler 1999, 14). Then in 1992, the UN convened the Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro to promote "sustainable and environmentally sound development" around the world (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 23).

The agenda for global action that resulted from the conference was called Agenda 21. Primarily addressed to governments and educators, it set out the priorities for sustainable development. It refers to tourism specifically as "offering sustainable development potential to certain communities, particularly in fragile environments". Tourism would also be impacted implicitly by the legal structure, policies, and management practices suggested as part of this operational framework.

Furthermore, the recommendations for tourism were premised on liberal economic theory, such as the externalization of environmental costs and trade liberalization (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 114). Thus, by offering communities in less-developed countries a clear developmental alternative for which technical and financial assistance was available, Agenda 21 set the stage in the 1990s for sustainable tourism development to emerge more widely. The state of sustainable tourism development today has been shaped by these earlier steps towards sustainability, demonstrating that the assumptions that informed the original action plan have not been lost. Researchers and practitioners working in this field would do well to recognize that "sustainability is considered a contested concept, a concept that is socially constructed and reflects the interests of those involved," rather than a neatly packaged concept (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 24).

Although sustainable tourism development is premised on a sense of shared responsibility for environmental issues, world heritage, and human development, the socioeconomic differences between developed nations with outbound tourism and less-developed nations with inbound tourism undoubtedly affect how it is practiced. These differences stem from dissimilar priorities. Namely, the emphasis placed by industrialized countries in the Northern Hemisphere on environmental conservation is incompatible with the stress placed by countries in the Southern Hemisphere on developmental objectives (Font and Sallows 2002, 26). Tourism may also be impacted by cultural understandings about heritage stewardship informed by social values, which can affect how heritage is presented and used by indigenous communities for tourism. Sustainable tourism development initiatives that involve

partnerships between foreign and local NGOs, governments, and businesses may encounter obstacles related to these issues. Yet, even a locally designed and operated tourism initiative that seeks to develop sustainability may run up against externally devised standards at some point – whether imposed by international tourists, experts offering technical assistance, or grant-making organizations. While these divides along cultural, political, and economic lines may be common knowledge for professionals and scholars working in sustainable development, the tourism industry has yet to internalize a sense of reflexivity or attempt to reconcile these differences.

Areas of Sustainability: Economic, Social and Cultural, and Environmental

Economic sustainability refers to all facets of the tourism economy, not just revenue generated. The most important factor in economic sustainability concerns the density of linkages in the local economy. The equitable distribution of the economic costs and benefits of tourism is possible only in an economy where tourism operations are closely-linked to the economy. Such links help create a multiplier effect, in which the money spent by tourists is recirculated to produce greater benefits in employment and income, and a greater impact on the local economy. Dispersed, smaller-scale, locally owned operations have been shown to have higher multipliers than those that are concentrated, large-scale, and foreign owned giving credence to calls for reforms in the industry and more room for local competitors (Brohman 1996, 56).

Decision-makers in tourism planning can foster links within a domestic economy. Information about how the tourism industry operates is crucial to

designing effective interventions to improve its sustainability. This may include information about public and private sources of fiscal or in-kind support for the industry, or the allocation of tourism revenue. This information can help decision-makers avoid aggregating wealth stratification in communities, or allowing revenue to "leak" out of the community through foreign tourism operations. Likewise, fostering higher rates of local employment in the industry is a critical part of creating a densely linked economy. Thus, sustainable tourism development maintains that tourism labor should utilize acceptable levels of local human capital; offer opportunities for employees to gain new skills, retain relevant knowledge and training, and move up into management positions; and work for fair wages in conditions up to international standards. Such planning should take into account certain economic characteristics of tourism that affect employment, such as the boom-bust economic cycle that tourism is especially susceptible to, as well as the uncertain nature of seasonal work in tourism, including the migratory movement of labor during the off-season (Stronza 2001, 269). New policies and programs affecting these areas can help disperse tourism earnings to different sectors of the economy.

Sustainable development has also been lauded as a way to alleviate the social and cultural ills of tourism. The behavior of international tourists is believed to threaten the social and cultural well-being of host communities, though it is unclear from scholarship whether the extent or the type of these interactions and activities are reason for concern. Globalization is one framework through which to examine this purported erosion of cultural and social identity, but there is no satisfactory

description of the full impact of globalization on international tourism (Liu 2003, 468). The idea that "tourism bastardises cultures, ripping them from their traditional roots and subsuming them into a global culture" is a blanket statement about cultural change that fails to account for how host communities in less-developed countries negotiate their positions in the tourism industry (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 33). Sustainable tourism development initiatives should strive to better understand the process of social and cultural change, and the specific ways in which influences are transmitted, before prescribing remedies in specific cases.

The economic restructuring and development that accompany the globalization of the tourism industry are closely related to the social deterioration identified by proponents of sustainable tourism development. The influx and changing pathways of income have transformative socioeconomic powers and, for example, can affect economic roles and the way they are gendered. Sustainable tourism development attempts to harness this momentum to achieve social progress. Education and local participation are considered hallmarks of sustainable tourism development, thought of as essential to any successful initiative. New opportunities to develop skills and knowledge, engage in significant civil roles and responsibilities, and participate in the decision-making process regarding tourism can lead to changes for the better in society (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 111-113). These aims may not seem objectionable, but they acquire an ideological dimension when viewed as another example of how actors in industrialized countries exercise control over the tourism industry in less-developed countries. This political element does not discount the sincerity or benefits of sustainable tourism development necessarily.

However, it does illustrate that any loss of control over local tourism resources to foreign actors can be associated with unsustainable growth. This demonstrates that sustainable tourism development should be led by representatives from the host destination, or in full accordance with the community's objectives.

When examining tourism as a catalyst of cultural erosion, the primary complaint is that tourism causes a revaluing of culture that leads to a loss of cultural identity. The industry is held responsible for creating a "conveyance of expectations" in which local cultures adapt in order to resemble visitor expectations, whether through unconscious processes or organized intervention by local or state elite (Stronza 2001, 270). This deterioration is multifaceted, affecting the types of food and lodgings found in a host community, traditional entertainment, and archeological and architectural heritage. As such, it becomes difficult to control the process by which culture is transformed. The significant task is to discern which transformations are undesirable. Although authenticity and tradition are greatly valued, progress and change are not necessarily detrimental to a culture. After all, there is great difficulty in pinpointing where host communities lose their agency in their own cultures as they introduce measures to attract tourism. Declaring that communities do not have the right to adapt their traditions freezes culture in time, or at least attempts to do this. As culture is always in the process of evolving (Lowenthal 2000, 20), sustainable tourism development should facilitate community goals to incorporate tourism into the economy, while seeking to balance them with the precautions needed to preserve their culture and heritage.

Despite the historic emphasis placed on environmental sustainability in tourism, there is still a considerable struggle between environmentalists, governments, and tourism professionals to shape policy and programs for environmental protection at tourist destinations. Since "[environmental] sustainability is contested within a continuum of viewpoints, ranging from reformism…to radicalism…," it follows that the environmental impact of these viewpoints differs greatly (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 42). Reformism refers to "light green strategies" based on weaker conceptions of sustainability that prioritize the economic growth of the tourism sector. Conservation is used to maintain natural resources on which the industry depends at acceptable levels for visitors. Radicalism or "dark green strategies" with stronger conceptions of sustainability advocate precautionary measures to guide tourism development. Thus the monitoring of natural resources plays a significant role, with environmental conservation becoming an end to itself (Hunter 2002, 10). As two ends of a spectrum, most environmental conservation strategies fall in between these polarizations.

Yet, it is easier to achieve consensus for the light green category of conservation, as it interferes to a lesser extent with the tourism industry. For this reason, along with the complicated process of enacting preventative planning for conservation, radical interventions to mitigate tourism's impact on the environment are less common. However, this preference for reform reflects on broader conceptualizations of environmental sustainability. The environmental impact of the tourism industry may be global, such as the pollution caused by air travel, but sustainability measures across the spectrum tend to focus on the impact at host

destinations, and those resources like beaches or hot springs of direct relevance to local tourism. Conservation policies and programs should recognize that environmental issues require a multifaceted approach to prevent or remedy problems, and consider the broad environmental impact of tourism (Hunter 2002, 17). Such thinking would open the door for more expansive solutions in sustainable development and create societal ties to address tourism issues while strengthening other aspects of society as well.

Sustainable Characteristics of Tourism Development

Underlying analyses of sustainable tourism development is an unresolved tension regarding its relationship to traditional or mass forms of tourism (Butler 1999, 17). Mass tourism often serves as the foil to sustainable tourism development. In especially unbalanced commentary, it becomes imbued with all the undesirable consequences associated with tourism, while sustainable tourism development is depicted as all good (Wheeller 1991, 91). Yet, the indiscriminate implementation of poorly planned "sustainable" tourism development initiatives could have detrimental effects. Inchoate efforts to certify and regulate sustainable tourism have already encountered obstacles to implementing top-down standards for the global industry (Font and Sallow 2002, 28). In reality, bringing about large-scale change in the way that tourism development is practiced will be slow and time-consuming. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that as tourism has become more aware, it "has burdened itself with conflicting incompatible objectives—small-scale sensitivity and limited numbers to be achieved in tandem with economic viability and significant income and employment impacts" (Wheeller 1991, 93). Examining the major issues

under debate in sustainable tourism development will underscore that fact that sustainability often involves trade-offs to reconcile these contrary aims.

Power Structures

Proponents of sustainable tourism development are often concerned with intragenerational equality, specifically the distribution of power between tourism stakeholders. The balance of power between foreign operators and domestic stakeholders should be considered, as should the power structures based on class, status and power within the society where tourism takes place (Liu 2003, 466). Strategies to increase participation and accessibility of local people to the tourism industry as both consumers and stakeholders can be used to address inequalities, while forums to foster communication between all stakeholders are crucial. However, as a starting point, any initiative should consider the distribution of costs and benefits—economic, ecological, social and cultural—that tourism generates. When no concessions are made for sustainability, tourism operators receive the majority of benefits, leaving host communities to bear the social, cultural, and environmental costs of tourism alone. By first acknowledging tourism as a double-edged sword for which sustainable development is by no means a panacea, stakeholders can identify opportunities to introduce new strategies that redistribute costs and benefits more equitably.

Scale of Initiatives and the Size of Impact

Skeptics question the merit of small-scale initiatives sustainable tourism development given their relatively minimal impact on large-scale tourism problems. It is difficult to refute claims that sustainable tourism development will never be

implemented on such a scale as to replace or offer a widespread alternative to traditional forms of tourism. Over the course of the first two decades of this century, international tourism is predicted to grow by one billion visitors (World Tourism Organization website). However, as sustainable tourism development initiatives grow in size and spread in number and locations, it may become difficult to maintain the same standards of sustainability as before. For the tourism industry to meet a growing demand and stay economically viable, these standards may prove flexible.

However, more immediate questions about the size and scale of interventions pertain to their measures of success. While it may not be responsible to promote sustainable tourism development as the only way forward for the tourism industry, it is important to use the resources dedicated to sustainable tourism development to determine how and where interventions can be most effective and have the largest impact. Without making new challenges for itself, models of sustainable tourism development industry will remain stagnant. As in any industry, nurturing creative thinking – some of which must address the need to grow small-scale initiatives and foster broader impacts – will help ensure sustainable tourism development's continued relevance.

Standardization and Measures of Performance

Scholars in the field have been preoccupied with how to operationalize the concept of sustainable tourism development (Butler 1999, 9). A certain sense of vagueness is attached to sustainable tourism development; although indefinable, it should be recognizable. Many scholars have argued that it is necessary to define and impose limits like carrying capacities for sites, and create performance indicators to

evaluate planning and management (Butler 1999, 15-16). Without a standard measure of sustainability in tourism development, there is no way to police the realm. However, there is no consensus on what these measures should be. Since sustainability is context specific, the objectives and benchmarks of a project are extremely subjective. The techniques used in one project cannot be readily applied to another (Wheeller 1991, 94). Therefore, a combination of top-down efforts (like certification programs) and bottom-up approaches to measure performance will likely be most effective in gauging the success of programs and policies aimed at sustainability. With an operation manual for sustainable tourism development lacking, developing expertise in the field at all levels – from local operators to international advocacy experts – is of paramount importance.

The Role of Supply and Demand

Although at the heart of sustainability concerns, supply and demand issues occupy an ambiguous position in the discourse on sustainable tourism development. The demand side of sustainable tourism, that is, why tourists make certain decisions about their travel plans, has been left largely unexamined. A better understanding about such factors is critical because sustainable tourism development must keep up with changing preferences by adapting products to stay competitive in the market (Liu 2003, 462). Such stark concessions to economic rationality are at odds with the idealism often subscribed to in sustainable tourism development. Indeed, the demand side of the tourism economy is seen as a problematic subject for sustainable tourism development. Raising awareness about sustainable tourism development raises demand for products as well, and debate about how much control can even be

had over tourism at this macro-level continues (Wheeller 1991, 95). However, unless sustainable tourism development practitioners start now by attempting to find a balance of supply and demand in terms of range, quality, quantity and prices for products and services, successful development in the long term will be impossible to achieve (Liu 2003, 463).

CHAPTER 3

TOURISM IN TURKEY: FROM SEA, SUN AND SAND TO COMMUNITY, COLLABORATION AND CONNECTION?

The growing pains of Turkey's tourism industry are symptomatic of structural issues in the international tourism system. While the previous chapter examined the weaknesses of this system on a global level, this chapter sheds light on the specific political and socioeconomic circumstances in Turkey that influenced the evolution of the tourism industry as it adjusted to meet the expectations of foreign visitors. In 2009, Turkey had the seventh highest number of international tourism arrivals of all countries, and ranked ninth in international tourism receipts (World Tourism Barometer Interim Update 2010). As the country's tourism industry continues to grow, understanding how it developed will be crucial to identifying opportunities to incorporate more sustainable practices. To protect its singular natural and culture heritage, Turkey can set an example for other countries by critically examining its own shortcomings in terms of sustainability, and seeking new directions for tourism.

A Historical View of Tourism Development in Turkey

The role of tourism in Turkey's developmental strategy has evolved to be almost unrecognizable from its beginnings, reflecting the changing context of Turkey in the global tourism industry. From 1923-50, planning related to tourism consisted

International Visitor Arrivals (in millions)

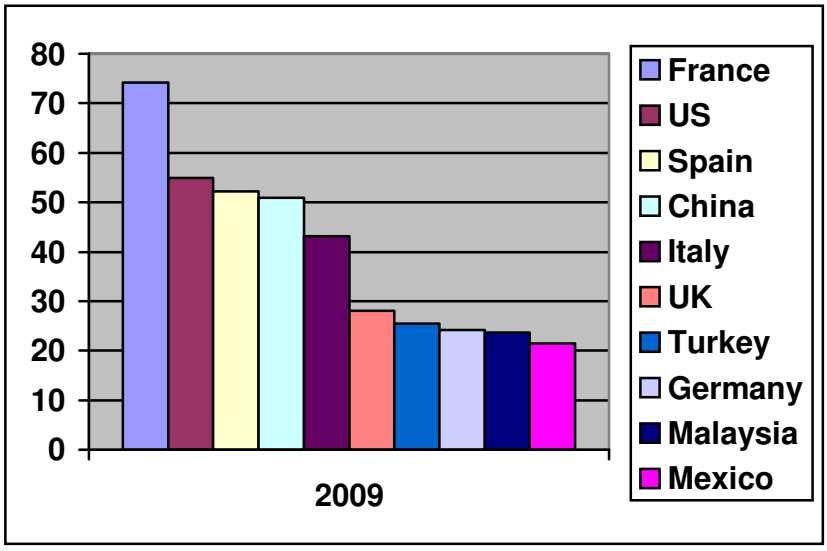

Figure 1. World Tourism Organization. World Tourism Barometer Interim Update, April 2010.

International Tourism Receipts (in US$ billions)

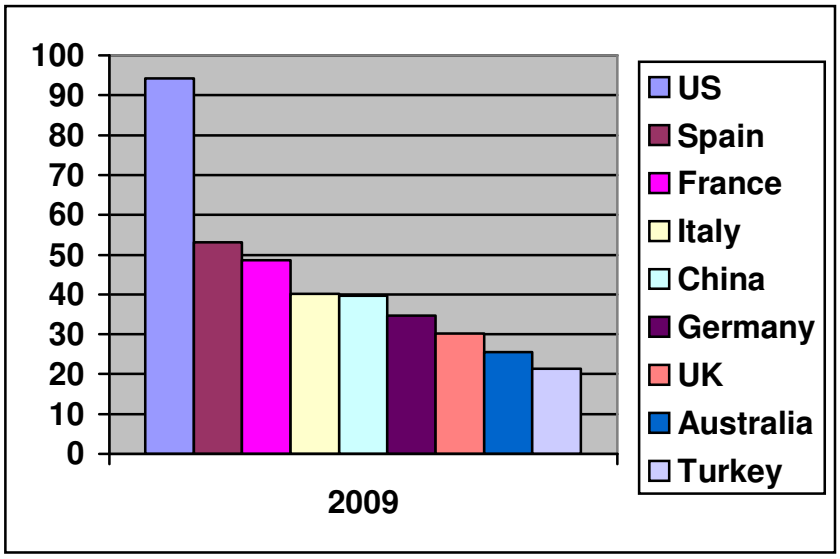

Figure 2. World Tourism Organization. World Tourism Barometer Interim Update, April 2010.

solely of physical and social infrastructure development, including the construction of the necessary facilities like hotels and airports. Events like the First Tourism Advisory Conference in 1949 began to formulate a national policy on tourism that also addressed the role of private enterprise in the sector (Var 2001, 94). With the advent of the Democratic Party in 1950, which advocated liberal economic policies, tourism infrastructure and planning began to take hold. The creation of the Tourism Bank to serve as a credit lender to state-owned tourism enterprises, the efforts of the city of Izmir to build a new seaside hotel, the development of a hotel in Istanbul by Conrad Hilton, and the construction of a road connecting ancient Ephesus to the city of Izmir in the years following this shift in political power exemplify tourism's raised profile. Despite these improvements, a concerted effort to promote the tourism sector was lacking, leading to only a 12% increase in annual foreign tourists over the decade (Var 2001, 95).

Following the military coup of 1960, the state created the State Planning Organization (SPO) against a backdrop of political reconstruction. The SPO was given responsibility to create a 15-year economic development plan, in five-year segments, that contained "objectives and targets for production, exports, income distribution, wages, capital formation, balance of payments and other key elements in the national economy" (Var 2001, 96). The first installment of the inaugural plan in 1963 mentioned tourism as part of a national strategy for development, although the sector received a scant four pages in the nearly five-hundred page document. The potential of international tourism to contribute to the state economy is clearly stated. Further investments were urged targeting publicity and promotion, provision of

services, the souvenir trade, and accommodations in order to increase length of stays and daily expenditures. By 1967, the plan projected that tourism revenue would grow from $20 million to $28 million (Var 2001, 97). To achieve these goals, the state relied on specific organizations and special projects (Göymen 2000, 1032). The founding of the Tourism Bank, the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) in 1965, and the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TÜRSAB) in 1972 were significant in this regard. Special projects such as the South Antalya Development Project allowed the government to partner with international organizations like the World Bank to realize their objectives for tourism and economic development in the region, while attracting international interest and accolade (Göymen 2000, 1033).

The 1980s marked a turning point in the formulation of a focused effort to promote tourism by the state. By the mid-1970s, the tourism sector was approaching $200 million in annual revenue, and attracting well over one million foreign visitors a year (Var 2001, 98). However, between 1975 and 1980 the sector faced significant setbacks as a result of political turmoil and ineffective governance. Upon taking control of the government at the end of this decade, the military enacted a number of reform laws in an effort to reorient the country's path, including the Tourism Encouragement Law of 1982, number 2634 (Var 2001, 100). Although a number of legislations passed by the Grand National Assembly contributed to the heyday of the tourism development that was to follow, this law was the most important (Var 2001, 100). The purpose of this law, credited with giving the MOT the wherewithal to pursue its agenda, was "to ensure that necessary arrangements are made and necessary measures are taken in order to regulate, develop and provide for a dynamic

structure and operation of the tourism sector" (Var 2001, 98-101) In doing so, it laid out the criteria to assess an area's potential to support tourism; provided regulatory frameworks such as certificate systems; and gave incentives such as land allocations, loans, exporter rights, and certain types of corporate tax write-offs (Var 2001, 102). Elected in 1983, the civilian government of Prime Minister Turgut Özal encouraged broader measures to foster a market economy, with limited state involvement in the private sector (Göymen 2000, 1032). The marked growth of this sector was therefore due to the liberalization of the economy that replaced import-substitution with export-promotion, thus prioritizing foreign investment and tourism in particular as a "growth sector" (Göymen 2000). These broad swathes of liberal reform succeeded in attracting large numbers of investors, which were directly responsible for a record of 2.1 million foreign arrivals in 1984, a 30% increase from the previous year (Var 2001, 104). This successful incentive scheme set the tone for tourism development for the rest of the decade. At the end of the 1984-1989 five-year development plan (FYDP), tourism receipts had generated over $9.3 billion, surpassing its target goal of nearly $3.4 billion by an astonishing 275% (Var 2001, 110). The effects of this maturation period of the tourism industry are felt to this day, directly influencing sustainable tourism development in Turkey.

Historically, tourism development in Turkey has lacked a sustainability component, as demonstrated by analysis of the SPO development plans. This thread of analysis is a recurring theme in Cevat Tosun's research. He notes five shortcomings that have characterized the strategies laid out for tourism development in Turkey in these plans, starting in 1963:

> a lack of flexibility and decentralization; some lack of comprehensiveness and integration; lack of community perspective; being driven by an industry dominated by international operators, multinational companies, major domestic business interests and central government and; lack of consistency, co-ordination and co-operation (Tosun 2001, 292).

Turkey's failure to broaden its narrow focus, and consider tourism in the round may be understood as a tepid response to changing international standards for the tourism industry, as well as the demands of tourists themselves. However, the government has taken certain steps in the past two decades to develop a more sustainable model of tourism planning based on "comprehensive, integrated and environmentally sensitive approaches" (Tosun 2001, 299).

Early in the 1990s state planning for tourism began to change course as it became evident that the priority zones for tourism had an oversupply of tourism facilities for the number of tourists (Tosun 2003, 145). International pressure by special interest groups and media coverage criticizing the Turkish brand of tourism may have contributed to this as well (Cooper 1992, 382). Reflecting this outlook, the sixth FYDP (1990-1994) contained main policies that gave priority to the protection of natural and cultural values in tourism destinations during the planning process, incentives for small business owners of accommodations, and emphasis on physical planning and infrastructure development as preconditions for gaining tourism-related operation licenses (Cooper 1992, 382). Building on these steps, the seventh FYDP addressed the inadequacy of current legislation to enforce measures meant to offset environmental threats. Stating, "It is required that the articles of the Constitution which are directly or indirectly concerned with environmental matters should be amended in line with the principles of a sustainable economic development," it

recommended that the Tourism Encouragement Law, among other legislation, be revised (Tosun 2001, 297). This course of action was informed by research undertaken by the government, including reports from the SPO special professional group of tourism in 1995, and the special professional group for the environment in 1994 (Tosun 2001, 297). Other studies urged widespread reform of tourism development, such as a 1998 study by the MOT discussing carrying capacities of sites. The objectives of the study addressed the need for more geographically diverse tourism as a measure of economic development, and "corrective measures" in established, unsustainable tourism destinations (Cooper 1992, 383).

These steps demonstrate the government's awareness of the need for reform to ensure the success and profitability of tourism. Successful policy measures included the designation of specially protected zones curtailing development, environmental conservation programs for specific areas, restructured lending programs of the Development Bank (which subsumed the Tourism Bank's responsibilities in 1988) and new legislation to better control tourism incentives for the private sector (Cooper 1992, 383). The momentum behind sustainable tourism development during this decade likely contributed to a spate of academic interest in the area. The research that resulted depicts an ongoing struggle over the last twenty years to infuse the Turkish tourism sector with a sense of responsibility for the people and places it relies on.

Evaluating the Industry's Progress toward Sustainability: Environmental, Socioeconomic and Governmental

In terms of environmental sustainability, detailed analysis of Turkey that describes how environmental problems affect the tourism industry, host communities, and natural and built environment is not available. For example, there are few studies on the relationship between rapid tourism growth and the decreasing quality of water sources in Turkey, although this problem has been documented elsewhere and the negative impact of water pollution on marine life and affected human populations is beyond a doubt (Tosun 2005, 253). Likewise, despite international concern over the carbon emissions of the transportation industry, and particularly commercial airlines, no studies on air pollution and tourism have been done in Turkey. However, studies undertaken on air pollution in other countries suggest a link with the use of fossil fuels to transport, accommodate, and entertain tourists (Tosun 2005, 253).

A 2001 study on the Pamukkale hydrothermal system provides an example of how environmental issues can be studied from the tourism perspective. Given the importance of Pamukkale, a World Heritage Site in Turkey known for its hot water springs, white travertine terraces, and archaeological site, the case study is a particularly relevant and significant inquiry into sustainability. A Preservation and Development Plan, based on a preceding international workshop, was published in 1992 by the local governorship, the Ministry of Culture, and UNESCO. The gradual implementation of parts of this plan over nearly the last two decades has succeeded in mitigating many of the environmental threats to the site. The channel system that

distributes thermal waters to the site, which had been circulating polluted water that caused microbial growth on and discoloration of the travertines, has been redone. Steps to limit or reassess access to the site were taken. The Italian Archaeological Mission at the site has engaged in planning new visitor interpretative routes in recent years. In 2001 the last on-site hotels were closed, and the former entryway made into a pedestrian route leading from the town. In 2007, the north-south vehicle road on the site was also closed to traffic, which had previously damaged the geological formations due to vibrations, high gas emission, and dust airlifting (Shoup 2008, 242-43; Dilsiz 2002, 778-781). The blend of scientific inquiry and study of social behavior used to identify and address problems at Pamukkale provides a concrete foundation for better site management and an important example for other environmental sustainability studies in tourism.

Another rare example of an environmental sustainability study focuses on the impact of tourism on deforestation in the Mediterranean through a case study of the Belek Tourism Center in Antalya, located on the coast within a pine forest. Belek represents an early step toward privatization of the tourism industry in Turkey. After being designated a Tourism Investment Area in 1986, both a private sector association of investors and a NGO became involved in its development (Yüksek 2005, 868-69). The former, Betuyab, assisted the state in funding, constructing, and managing the center, while the latter, Society for Nature Protection, was instrumental in creating a development plan that protected marine turtle nesting sites as well as addressed broader sustainability issues (Yüksek 2005, 876). Despite these interventions, a closer examination of governmental legislation and policies

regarding tourism encouragement and forest protection demonstrates that the ecological damage caused by deforestation was not considered in the developmental process. The article neatly points out the fallacy of allocating nearly 40%, as it determines, of this conservation forest area for tourism purposes by building accommodations and sports facilities (Kuvan 2005, 272).

Although environmental awareness in Turkey has doubtless improved since the 1980s along with the growth and development of civil society, this conscientiousness has not been reflected in the tourism sector to as great an extent. There are manifold reasons why the industry has not been able to bring about environmental reforms internally, or has not made the kinds of capitulations to environmental issues that other sectors have in Turkey. Turkey's dependence on foreign tour operators likely shaped its response to the greening of international tourism. Government statistics show that 60% of foreign tourists to Turkey made travel arrangements through tour operators in 1996 (Tosun 2001, 298-99). The economic significance of tourism receipts for the Turkish economy, coupled with the large amount of fixed investments already made in priority zones for tourism development, may have contributed to the Turkish industry's reluctance to demand or direct reforms for environmentalism (Tosun 2001, 301). Yet, changing global attitudes towards sustainability may be instrumental in coaxing Turkey to place limits on its consumption of natural resources for tourism in order to stay competitive in the market, as many countries that Turkey competes with have instituted measures to improve environmental quality (Göymen 2000, 1042).

The environmental sustainability of tourism development must be seen in the context of the state's broader stance on environmentalism. Not until the late 1980s did Turkey begin to address environmental and developmental issues in tangent by critically assessing projects for the environmental impact. As late as 2002, in a country report prepared for the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Turkey did not draw a link between its resource use for the production of goods and services, and trends in the global economy (Aydın 2005, 65). This kind of broad perspective would be needed in order to analyze and influence an industry like tourism. Therefore, addressing environmental issues requires not only better management and more resources allocated to the appropriate agencies, or curtailing obstacles such as clientelism and corruption, but becoming well-attuned to international efforts to reform the tourism industry. To do so requires participating in global action plans, implementing suggested reforms at home, monitoring progress, and enforcing sanctions when necessary to signal a state's interest in sustainable tourism development. Likewise, as the research cited here demonstrates, a coalition of experts from different fields must be part of this solution. Tourism development is a multidimensional phenomenon requiring multiple perspectives and thus high levels of cooperation between professionals and academics in different disciplines.

The impact of macro level policies on the socioeconomic sustainability of tourism in Turkey is also evident. An in-depth analysis of the tourism development in Ürgüp in the Cappadocia region gives insight into the process by which tourism fosters socioeconomic inequalities. The wide gaps in wealth that emerged there after mass tourism took hold in the region were caused by the state policies providing new

incentives for investment starting in the early 1980s (Tosun 1998, 600). These policies were biased in the sense that they prioritized short-term gain over long-term development concerns. The contribution made by foreign tourism receipts to the national economy was considered to be more important than the needs of the local people of Ürgüp, whose standards of living diverged widely from the comfort afforded by tourist accommodations. The discrimination of state policies that gave preference to foreign and large-scale tourism operators over the local tourism industry in Ürgüp was augmented by a pervasive clientelism that reinforced the uneven playing field for local entrepreneurs (Tosun 1998, 601). Local newspapers often reported on "rumors of corruption and gossip about the partnership between the bourgeoisie, the upper echelons of the party, and the favored businessmen" in the tourism industry, reflecting this perception and demonstrating the untenable relationship between the tourism industry and the local community (Tosun 1998, 602).

While biased economic development policies and clientelism still exist, certain measures have been taken to distribute the socioeconomic benefits of tourism more widely in Turkey. However, the success of new ventures that have applied these measures have not been widely analyzed. While worthwhile to highlight different models of economic development in tourism, more evaluation of these models is urgently needed. As difficult as it is to isolate the impact of tourism on economic development, it remains that sustainable tourism development will never be widely practiced as more than a so-called alternative method of tourism unless it can be proven that it provides clear economic benefits.

Although tourism has a multitude of socioeconomic dimensions, prior research has examined three aspects from a sustainability perspective: the effect of labor patterns in the tourism industry, the potential of the domestic tourism market, and the perception of tourism by the local community. The insights provided by these studies into the relationship between tourism and socioeconomic sustainability clearly indicate the direction that tourism development in Turkey should take in the future. For example, Aslıhan Aykaç's study of tourism labor takes into account the rapid growth of the industry and the movement of agricultural workers to tourism. This work reveals that the employment structure of the tourism industry varies widely based on the type and scale of the tourism facility (such as a family-owned restaurant or foreign-operated hotel chain), the perception and enforcement of worker rights, and social characteristics of the workers and their households. Her findings illustrate how complicated it is to deliver socioeconomic benefits to local workers through sustainable tourism development. Comparing three mass tourism destinations in Fethiye, Belek, and Kemer, Aykaç's research work challenges the perception that seasonal, service employment in tourism offers mobility. By documenting the exploitation of laborers employed in small and medium-scale family businesses, the double shifts pulled by women working in tourism facilities and at home, as well as women's lack of control over their earnings, she shows how increased, regular earnings through tourism may or may not affect workers' socioeconomic class. These conclusions imply that models of sustainable tourism development should be tailored to the community where they are implemented and

consider the potentially disruptive effect caused by the transition to tourism employment in a community.

Second, the potential for domestic tourism in Turkey has been evaluated based on the current structure of the tourism industry, and patterns of domestic travel. A 1999 Household Tourism Survey given by the MOT in urban areas creates a profile of demand. Although most Turkish tourists are concentrated in the same areas as foreign tourists, that is, in saturated areas along the coasts, several factors that indicate the potential to increase domestic tourism are identified. Most significantly, 97% of Turks chose to vacation within the country in 1997, indicating that more diverse tourism offerings would be welcome (Seckelmann 2002, 90). The demand for such products would likely increase along with improved tourism infrastructure and extensive marketing for these targeted destinations. The advantage of domestic tourism is that tourists could share many of the same facilities in terms of restaurants, shopping, and entertainment as locals, and language would not comprise a barrier between tourist operators and clients (Seckelmann 2002, 90-91).

The Turkish tourism sector's awareness of domestic tourism has grown in recent years, along with successful efforts to develop destinations that mostly serve Turkish tourists in regions like the Black Sea and Southeast. Yet, international tourism income far outweighs the economic significance of domestic tourism. In 2008 Turkey's total tourism income from foreigners as well as Turkish citizens residing abroad was nearly 22 billion dollars. In contrast, the domestic tourism expenditure for the year was 4.42 billion dollars. However, this number probably reflects expenditures for routine travel as well, such as visiting family members and

friends, rather than for vacation purposes. The fact that only 114.6 million dollars of this figure were spent on tour packages suggests that the economic impact of domestic tourism is still not comparable to income from international tourism (Turkish Statistical Institute Website).

Lastly, local perceptions of the tourism industry and attitudes towards tourism in general are influenced by methods of tourism planning, and particularly, community participation in planning. A participatory approach to tourism planning has many benefits, such as generating more local support for tourism policies and allowing the community to derive greater and more equal shares of tourism revenue. These positive effects can trigger a variety of other results, such as a heightened conservation ethos for natural and cultural resources, higher visitor satisfaction, and the strengthening of civil society – all of which should contribute to the vitality of the tourism industry (Tosun 2006, 493). Yet, defining exactly how the host community contributes to the formation and quality of sustainable tourism development is difficult. Even the role of the tourism employee is nuanced, for labor often comprises the "primary form of contact with the host culture" for international tourists. Despite the value of authenticity and tradition widely subscribed to in tourism, when providing services to the tourist, local employees may actually present a "hybrid" form of a product – such as a Turkish breakfast or *hamam* experience – that has been adjusted to meet foreign tastes and expectations (Aykaç 2007, 92). This reality underscores the staging inherent in tourism. For example, during an ethnographic study of tourism in Göreme, Cappadocia for a period of sixteen months over the course of three years, the researcher witnessed an American tour group

being introduced to a tourist-savvy cave-dweller's home by their guide. The guide treated the woman like "a long-lost friend" and proceeded to relate information about her rural lifestyle and the history of the house that the owner could not understand and did not corroborate. After the group left, the women called the guide "a liar" in annoyance (Tucker 2001, 872). When discussing issues like authenticity and tradition, both tourists and hosts are forced to negotiate these concepts in order to gain their desired outcomes. Although hosts may significantly benefit from tourism, studies in Turkey have found that host communities may express hostility and resentment towards tourism, especially if they perceive negative effects of the industry, like exposure to incompatible social values and behaviors, and various social ills like crime, gambling, drug addiction, vandalism (Göymen 2000, 1030-1031).

Yet, community participation is more commonly linked to economic planning issues. A review of previous work in this area reveals that many complaints involve multinational corporations investing in the region, foreign managers of tourism facilities, inflated prices, and cost of living (Göymen 2000, 1031). Two studies on tourism stakeholders further explore this dissatisfaction. The first broadly examines opinions about community participation by surveying the community, the local government, and key stakeholders in the state government and local businesses in Ürgüp. The second study differed in that it specifically solicited opinions from government officials, accommodation managers, nearby residents (who often worked as site vendors on the side) and other key organizations on the Pamukkale Preservation and Development Plan five years after it began to be implemented.

Despite different methods of sampling and survey, both studies had similar findings about community perceptions. Not surprisingly, given the centralized nature of tourism planning in Turkey, the local community demanded more local control over planning and involvement in the industry. Over 80% of residents of Ürgüp who were surveyed supported the idea that "they should take the leading role as entrepreneurs and workers at all levels" in tourism, and identified "encouraging local people to invest in and work for the tourism industry" as the preferred means of community participation. Moreover, they definitively supported the idea that locally-elected committees or government control tourism planning (Tosun 2006, 498). Similarly, amongst the criticisms of the Preservation and Development Plan for Pamukkale, local residents and accommodation managers expressed dissatisfaction with the level of consultation over the implementation of the plan, and the economic and social problems that had subsequently arisen. As a result, rumors regarding government appropriation of houses and land abounded showing that the government was perceived as unresponsive to local concerns. Many felt that the impact of diverting tourism traffic for environmental reasons and the banning of unlicensed site vendors was not considered (Yüksek 1999, 357). The tensions over the control of tourism resources and levels of participation in planning are evident from these studies. Since sustainable development relies on broad-based support, if not participation, by a range of local actors, then an escalation of these tensions could easily stymie this process. Yet, integrating community voices into the planning process has proved challenging. Especially in developing countries, control over the process may be appropriated by local elite, furthering existing inequalities in the power structure of

the community. Burgeoning civil society organs and public-private partnerships may lack the institutional strength to fully participate in state-led planning. Even if full integration into the planning process is achieved, it may create few lasting effects on civil society (Göymen 2000, 1028). These cautions demonstrate that efforts to open up the process of tourism planning should be highly flexible, adaptable, and based on the specific context of operation.

To understand the state of sustainability in Turkey and the tourism industry today, it is necessary to examine the existing confines of policy frameworks. Turkey has now placed sustainability at the forefront of its tourism development strategy in terms of rhetoric. In the document "Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023," it is asserted that the policies comply with the directive of the ninth FYDP (2007-2013) that "A Tourism Industry Master Plan shall be drafted down to ensure sustainable and healthy development of the tourism sector" (T.R. Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2007, 1). Likewise, its vision statement reads:

> With the adoption of sustainable tourism approach, tourism and travel industry will be brought to a leading position for leveraging rates of employment and regional development…it will be ensured that Turkey becomes a world brand in tourism and a major destination in the list of the top five countries receiving the highest number of tourist and highest tourism revenues by 2023 (T.R. Ministry 2007, 4).

Sustainability is mentioned several times in the list of actions to be taken to achieve this vision. While several actions have potential to serve as sustainable development models, ultimately the rhetoric is too general to be able to draw conclusions from it; essentially, these actions could be taken in a sustainable or unsustainable way. Moreover, the main challenge will be to actually implement these tourism measures on local and regional levels as the planning body had intended. Furthermore, the

vision statement acutely demonstrates that the tourism industry is still assessed according to the number of tourists and amount of tourism revenue, focusing on short-term returns. Sustainability may only be embraced to the extent that it furthers these goals; for 2023, the government expects to draw 63 million tourists and $86 billion in international tourism receipts, or about $1,350 per person (T.R. Ministry 2007, 4).

Certain proposals in the 2023 plan raise questions about the sustainability of its objectives, illustrating its ambiguous nature. First, the plan proposes a new Domestic Tourism Research and Steering Department at the Ministry for research, evaluation and policy making (T.R. Ministry 2007, 58), stating that the domestic market is as much a priority as the foreign market to the industry (T.R. Ministry 2007, 15). This viewpoint is markedly different from the course of growth and development pursued by the industry for many years, and has significant potential to reduce disparities in social and economic development since Turkish tourists would differ from international tourists in key ways, as discussed earlier. However, although specific reference is made to providing a range of affordable and quality products in order to reach different sections of society, including the disadvantaged and other target groups such as youth, the description of its goals is slightly convoluted. It states that it seeks to capture a new segment of the domestic market, specifically those Turks who had previously chosen to vacation abroad for lack of a variety of destination options at home (T.R. Ministry 2007, 16). However, according to the MOT survey discussed earlier, only a miniscule number of Turkish tourists (3%) chose to vacation outside of the country in 1997. In short, a research group will

be necessary to formulate a focused and effective policy to develop forms of domestic tourism that would incorporate socioeconomic sustainability into its agenda from the outset, instead of simply trying to grow the domestic market.

The 2023 plan also acknowledges funneling tourism resources into priority areas has resulted in mass tourism, mass concentration along the coastal areas, unwanted urban development, poor infrastructure, and environmental problems (T.R. Ministry 2007, 2). However, the policies it suggests for these areas around Antalya, Muğla, and Aydın only serve to improve and extend the delivery of tourism products, in hopes of increasing demand. The plan encourages the creation of additional tourist activities "for maximizing the receipts gained from travelers once they leave their hotels for daytime trips, ensuring the operation of existing facilities for 12 months uninterrupted…" (T.R. Ministry 2007, 44). No concession is made at all to the possible carrying capacities of the areas or the limits of acceptable change in the objectives laid out. The failure to adopt a sustainable outlook in this case casts doubt on the tourism industry's project to achieve a sustainable tourism approach. Rather, this example illustrates "the state's continued attitude to treat the environment as a resource to be exploited" (Aydın 2005, 64).

The 2023 plan does not overtly pursue decentralization in tourism development. Since the 1980s, the Ministry has gradually allowed more responsibilities and active roles to be taken by the private sector, whether professional associations or NGOs. This was largely due to the pressure applied by investors, local managers, newly founded associations like the Turkish Hotel Association and the Turkish Tourism Investors' Association, and organizations like

the Tourism Development and Education Foundation. Public-private cooperation and partnership on different levels gained a considerable amount of ground in areas like tourism promotion, infrastructure development, and training (Göymen 2000, 135-40). Likewise, as seen from studies on socioeconomic sustainability, communities perceive local control as preferable. Although this preference has no bearing on their actual capacity to take on such responsibility, the state's indifference to their position is not possible when pursuing a sustainable agenda for tourism.

Historically, the inability of the state to pursue a consistent tourism development strategy, due to the short terms that the top-level position at the MOT was held between 1963 and 1996, and the accompanying personnel turnover, supports the idea of empowering those most invested in tourism – entrepreneurs and community interest groups (Tosun 2001, 293). Yet, the proposal in the 2023 plan to create a hierarchical tourism council system to relay and filter information to the top echelons of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) does not support the development of decentralizing tendencies (T.R. Ministry 2007, 14). Although the proposed City Tourism Councils may be more responsive to community needs, they will likely do little in the way of local capacity building. However, this operational restructuring should perhaps be viewed in the context of the merger between the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism in 2003. At this still early stage of the merger, the relationship has proved problematic administratively. For example, archaeologists have been thrust into new roles as conservationists, site managers, and educators leading to allegations that the Ministry prioritizes tourism over archaeological research (Shoup 2008, 141). This may suggest that the merged

Ministry is still trying to resolve significant administrative challenges, drawing its attention away from issues like participatory frameworks for tourism development.

Sustainability as it relates to tourism development has been broadly incorporated into academic and political discourse in Turkey, based on this analysis. While discussions on sustainability involve a wide range of topics, it is still unclear how these principles are put into action through programs, projects, and policies. It is necessary to examine the concept of sustainability from the point of view of practitioners in Turkey to gain a more up-to-date understanding of the state of the tourism industry. The interviews in the following chapter give insight into the obstacles to implementing sustainable tourism development in Turkey, and what kinds of reforms would foster more systematic change at various levels of the national tourism industry.

CHAPTER 4

CHANGE-MAKING IN TURKEY: INTERVIEWS WITH SUSTAINABLE TOURISM PRACTITIONERS

As evident from the last chapter, cultural heritage management is still largely absent in discussions of sustainable tourism development in Turkey. Most likely, this is not for a lack of awareness among the heritage community, but rather a lack of linkages between these professionals and the tourism sector. Therefore, the interviews conducted for this research contribute to understanding how leaders in sustainable tourism development in Turkey perceive cultural heritage management issues, which is one step toward identifying opportunities to build stronger ties between the two fields.

Aims and Objectives of the Interviews

Practitioners' views offer another window into sustainable tourism development, helping to bridge any gaps between theory and practice. By conducting in-depth interviews with tourism stakeholders who are putting into practice the principles of sustainable tourism development, I gleaned further understanding of how the idea has been conceptualized in Turkey. All ten interviews were conducted for the purposes of this research project during March 2010.

Although these interviews touched upon many aspects of sustainability, this analysis of the material highlights issues that help to better understand how cultural

heritage is positioned in the sustainability debate. The interviews provide a valuable look at how these organizations, programs and projects operate according to sustainability principles. Focusing first on three contested areas that significantly shape sustainable tourism development in Turkey–the incorporation of domestic tourism, the role of foreign or international leadership on projects, and the lack of readily accessible resources–allowed me to then examine the position afforded cultural heritage management within sustainable tourism development.

Description of Participants, Methods and Limitations

Given the nebulous definition of sustainability, some thought was required about what type of candidates would be selected for interviews. Interviews were preferred with actors who had contributed in some way to capacity building for tourism. This could be accomplished through overt training programs, or simply by contributing funds that were then diverted towards such education and outreach efforts, for example. Candidates who managed projects that merely gave funding or some other donations, such as tree plantings, were not given priority. Also, all of those businesses interviewed were Turkish owned and operated. Interviewees were representatives of a range of organizations, programs and projects currently engaged in sustainable tourism development in Turkey.[1] These groups can be characterized as: NGOs, businesses, intergovernmental organizations, and governments. The participants fell into the categories of owner/director, project coordinator/manager, and staff member. These interviews represent a fairly diverse geographical range of

[1] The Guneydoğu Anadolu Tanıtım Projesi or Southeast Anatolia Promotion Project was implemented in 2006-2007.

initiatives. This is unsurprising given the penchant for using sustainable tourism development as a tool for economic development in areas that do not have extensive tourism activities. Many of the projects or programs took place over the course of two to five years. As they are in the middle of their implementation phases, results are not yet available. The budget for each project varies widely; financial data was not available from the private sector businesses.

Organization	**Organizational Type**	**Interview Participant**
Tourism Development in Eastern Anatolia	Partners: UNDP; MCT; Efes Pilsen	Coordinator/Manager
Southeast Anatolia Promotion Project	Partners: EU; Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce; MCT and GAP administration	Coordinator/Manager
Alliance for Cultural Tourism in Eastern Anatolia	Partners: UN Joint Programme; MCT	Coordinator/Manager
Abraham Path Initiative	NGO	Managing Director; Country coordinator
Ekologik TaTuTa (Buğday Association)	NGO	Staff member
TURMEPA	NGO	Coordinator/Manager
Gençtur	Business (former NGO)	Staff member
Titco Tour	Business	Owner/Director
Peten Travels	Business	Owner/Director
FEST Travel	Business	Owner/Director

Figure 3. Interview participants

Out of the ten interviews conducted, five were done in person in Istanbul, and five were conducted using Internet telephone services. The interviews were all conducted in English using a semi-structured format to allow tangents to be explored during the session. My questions were shared prior to the interview upon request, particularly if the participant was concerned about his or her ability to conduct the interview in English. Release waivers were collected from all participants, permitting me to record the conversation and use the recordings for my own educational purposes.

Although I had initially tried selecting participants through a snowball sampling method, time and logistical constraints did not permit this (Arksey and Knight 1999, 56-58). Instead the interview participants were selected through convenience sampling, based on internet research and referrals from personal connections. Other complications arose as well. I began the research process by conducting 15-minute preliminary interviews to make sure prospective interviewees were good candidates who would meet the basic criteria I had established. After several interviews, I stopped asking for preliminary interviews because prospective interviewees seemed reluctant; either they saw no reason for it, or did not want to spend the additional time. Since several organizations had declined to participate in my research, citing busy work schedules or lack of interest in the subject, I decided it was necessary to revise my methods. Additionally, setting up the interviews proved more time consuming then I had expected; some of my emails and phone calls were not returned or (as I later found out) had never been received. Concerned with

collecting enough material to analyze, I chose to forgo the preliminary steps in order to meet my working deadlines. By not conducting preliminary interviews, my research suffered to some degree. For example, one of the interviews is about a project that was completed in 2007, although I had thought it was ongoing when I set up the interview. Aside from my method of sampling, my lack of knowledge of Turkish was a limitation for me. Since all the interviews were conducted in English, some participants seemed to struggle at times to express themselves.

Exploring Differences in Rhetoric, Approaches and Goals

My analysis of the interview material makes clear that interview participants had two ways of thinking about sustainable tourism development: as a form or philosophy of tourism practiced for its own means, or as a tool to achieve other goals, such as economic development or ecological awareness. Tour operators see sustainability as necessary to ensure the growth and development of the tourism industry; NGOs and IOs are only invested in the industry to the extent that it helps them realize their own ecological, economic, or social objectives. Government actors seem to straddle both positions. Perhaps the difference in how sustainable tourism development issues are approached from the outset is a signifier of the state of sustainability in the industry today. Though tourism operators, policy makers, and project managers are inherently linked in this endeavor, how much do they really talk and listen to each other? Even participants' language to describe tourism reflects differing priorities, as exemplified in the quotes below. The first quote was given by Fatma Gelir, a United Nations project coordinator implementing a public-private tourist development program in northeast Turkey, while the second is from İffet

Özgönül, the owner and director of Peten Travels. Her business is a boutique tour company operating nationwide that offers English-speaking tours exclusively.

> People are really welcoming to foreigners. They're quite naïve but would really like to show what they have, their livelihoods and homes. They are respectful to their nature and their environment (Gelir 2010).

> Even if [our visitors] stay at the Four Seasons Hotel [in Istanbul], we make sure they use the public ferry, the tram, the metro…that is the way they will meet with the people. They will know how to use the jeton or akbil, and then get on the ferry, and go to Asia and throw a simit to the seagulls! (Özgönül 2010)

Both quotes express pride in the type of tourism they promote, but differ in focus. The host communities are the focus of the development coordinator's work, while the tour operator is concerned with the visitor experience. However, while tour operators also expressed concern about the economic, ecological, and social impact of tourism in the interviews, representatives of NGOs, IOs, and the government made almost no reference to how sustainable tourism development could improve a visitor's experience. Yet, surely the long-term success of their efforts necessitates they show an interest in the nuanced mechanics of tourism demand. Their discussion of sustainable tourism development seemed much more formulaic on the whole. This attitude may prove problematic since not just flexibility in implementing these models, but innovation and creativity in designing them, is crucial. It is no easy feat to create tourism products that reduce the unfortunate byproducts of the industry and are also palatable to the consumer, especially as the market for sustainable products becomes more competitive in Turkey.

In the interviews, the topic of foreign and domestic tourism persistently arose. Reflecting the MCT's own interest in exploring the potential of domestic tourism in Turkey through a research and policy center, several initiatives incorporated

domestic tourism into their tourism strategies. Three of the participants were involved in projects in the Eastern and Southeastern Regions that specifically sought increased domestic tourism: Tourism Development in Eastern Anatolia, Alliance for Cultural Tourism in Eastern Anatolia, and Southeast Anatolia Promotion Project. The former two are UN-led initiatives that involved an array of public and private partners, while the latter was initiated by the Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce, with significant assistance from state-level agencies and funding from the European Union. The project coordinator of this project in Gaziantep, Filiz Hösükoğlu, in an interview describes the tourism potential there:

> Do you think only foreign tourists are not aware of the value of this area? No, also Turkish people living in big cities. They didn't come, they said there is nothing in that area. There are no good hotels, no good restaurants, that is why it is a virgin area for tourism (Hösükoğlu 2010).

The coordinators of the other two projects had similar expectations that domestic tourism will continue to be dominant in these regions. Aside from the natural and cultural attractions in these areas, and the fact that these destinations offer an alternative for the many Turks who vacation inside the country, no other explanation for the appeal of these areas is given. No other explanation may be necessary, but the dearth of research on the topic of domestic tourism in Turkey can be a reason for concern if these destinations must compete for visitors in the future. Finding a specific niche in the domestic tourism market may help a destination develop its own distinctive product. This strategy has been implemented by the Tourism Development in Eastern Anatolia project, according to the project coordinator. She explained that roughly 30% of their promotion materials were in English, and 70% in Turkish in order to target their main consumer group. Furthermore, they have

identified specific interest groups who want to engage in rafting, trekking, cycling, and bird watching (Gelir 2010). However, the other projects did not market their programs to any particular group. Indeed, the coordinator of the project in Gaziantep, mused that in the future, the next steps would be to "diversify the tourism expectations" with a multitude of activities like "archaeological tourism, scuba diving, hiking and climbing" so that "everyone will benefit, or be satisfied" (Hösükoğlu 2010).

Learning more about how Turks have engaged in domestic tourism may reveal interesting patterns and lessons for sustainable tourism development. Two of the participants interviewed offer alternative holidays around Turkey. Gençtur is a private company that self-identifies as an educational organization, which offers work camps in Turkey as well as other services. A second organization with similar goals is Ekologik TaTuTa, an affiliate of the Buğday Association that organizes organic farm stays primarily as an additional form of income for the farmers who participate in the program. The parallel between these two programs is underscored by the fact that Gençtur has taken over reservations for TaTuTa's program on a volunteer basis (Şahin 2010). Notwithstanding the younger age of participants in these programs–for example, in 2009 116 out of 150 total participants in the TaTuTa program were 35 years old or younger–both organizations take especial care to ensure that visitors are well-suited and prepared for their programs through orientations and screenings (Taşkın 2010).

Though only a relatively small number of Turks took part in these programs, their experiences may be illuminating for sustainable tourism development since a

Turkish volunteer likely takes away a different significance from living in a Turkish village, than an international volunteer would. Similarly, a Buğday staff member suggested that Turkish volunteers on TaTuTa farms sometimes don't live up to their work commitments, perhaps because they are less familiar with the concept of volunteering than international participants (Şahin 2010). Thus the expectations, of both hosts and guests, in areas just opening up to tourism through the support of developmental organizations is called into question. Part of the inquiry into domestic tourism should ask what motivates Turks to visit a sustainable tourism destination. Does the quality of amenities, as compared to mass tourism destinations, affect their decisions about where to vacation? Do international tourists and Turkish tourists have the same motivations for picking a certain sustainable destination? Or does it rarely register with Turkish visitors that a destination is labeled as "sustainable"?

A related note concerns the role of foreign or international leadership in developing such forms of tourism. İffet Özgönül of Peten Travels declared that:

> We don't like [for] the foreign tour operators to give us instruction…They come to you with the program. We say no…because we must shape the tourism in Turkey, not the foreign tour operators.

As owner and director of her company, she is skeptical of partnering with foreign tourism entities. Since the economic leakages and other disadvantages associated with a lack of local control over tourism have been well-documented, her perspective is understandable. However, the fact remains that of the six initiatives interviewed for this research that were not-for-profit, at least four were primarily funded by foreign sources.

Joshua Weiss, the managing director of an American-based NGO called the Abraham Path Initiative (API) that coordinates a cultural route passing through Turkey and nine other countries in the Middle East, acknowledged that governments have generally been more receptive to their ideas, particularly for preservation efforts, when they can bring resources to the table. For the API, partnering with organizations that may already have established a working relationship with the central government can facilitate this process. Similarly, being housed and affiliated with a reputable and well-known institution such as Harvard has likely played a large role in establishing the API's credibility (Leary 2009, 12). This example is born out by the in-country coordinator's immediate desire to be identified with the prestigious US university upon being asked about partners of the project, "I am sure that we are working with Harvard University" (Hayırlı 2010). This example illustrates the political nature of coordinating with multiple, international partners on tourism initiatives.

Işıl Onan, project coordinator for a special initiative at the Turkish Marine Environment Protection Association (TURMEPA), offered a different view of navigating the working relationship. The project aims to promote sustainable boating in the Fethiye-Göcek area, and is realized through the support of Transat, a Canadian tour operator with a corporate social responsibility program. She pointed out that performing certain publicity efforts for Transat was part of the agreement. Although sustainable tourism development in Turkey could sorely use the resources brought to bear by external sources, they often come with stipulations as well as their own challenges in implementation.

The major challenge for projects that are implemented entirely from the top-down is local ownership. Furthermore, if projects are instigated by a foreign or international entity, they should make sure to develop national ownership as well at the highest levels of the state. As stated by Neşe Çakır, the Joint Program Manager for the Alliance for Cultural Tourism in Eastern Anatolia, located in Kars, "the public sector at the local level, they would like to see the public partner also, to believe [in] the program." In many of the interviews, participants mentioned that engaging the local community and preparing them to take leading roles and responsibilities has proven difficult. One tactic used by both UN-led initiatives in Kars and Erzincan's Çoruh Valley was to offer study tours (Jurgen 2009). The tour sponsored by the Tourism Development in Eastern Anatolia program simply visited destinations in Turkey, while the Kars initiative arranged for local elite from the municipal and district level of government, the university, and NGOs to be taken to see examples of tourism development in Spain, and meet with professionals with insight into sustainability issues caused by tourism (Jurgen 2009). Describing the effects of the tour, representatives of both initiatives commented positively:

> [The people on the tour] were very, very impressed…because they have seen that the people who are doing [tourism] and benefiting from this were people like them from the villages…they were just like them. They were also doing their own agricultural activities, they were wearing the exact same clothes, their beliefs were the same…When they came back they said, yes, we can do this (Gelir 2010).

> After this…study tour…they saw the best examples in Spain. You are trying to tell and expect them to understand, but when they see they can understand easily. It's a good way to show the results (Çakır 2010).

More sophisticated social marketing techniques to help disseminate messages to the community about environmental conservation, heritage preservation, or even civic responsibility could be used. Given the daunting task of creating local ownership,

for sustainable tourism development initiatives to succeed, they may need to devote a significant amount of their resources to laying this foundation of support.

In regards to project planning and implementation, the interviews highlighted the lack of resources available to support organizations seeking to implement sustainable tourism development. Uniformly, everyone participating in the interview expressed a concern for the unintended consequences of tourism. The disparate positions that participants advocated demonstrate the need for dialogue about these issues. For example, when considering the cultural erosion caused by tourism, İffet Özgönül, director of Peten Travels had a negative perception of village stays programs offered by other tour companies in Turkey:

> There are some companies…who take people to the village homes…I find that that is spoiling the villagers…Now when you travel around Turkey all the village women are doing gözleme, but we have got other food…I don't like that.

Her company has devised its own alternative to programs in which tourists are brought to villages for a certain period of time to participate in community life. Although all of the tours offered by her company incorporate visits to villages, this is not specifically advertised in the tour programs or included on the itineraries. When traveling, the tour guide will decide spontaneously which village to visit. The company tries not to repeatedly visit the same village in order to incorporate an element of surprise that facilitates a more authentic and enjoyable interaction for visitors and hosts alike, in her opinion.

Conversely, Gerard Hergelink, the co-owner of Titco Tours in Istanbul, which offers cultural and nature tourism programs around the country, offered a poignant view on the prospective benefits of village stays to communities. During the

interview, he explained that he was motivated to start a village bread baking program in order to help preserve a vanishing Anatolian tradition:

> Very close to Bursa, there is a beautiful village…When I went there first ten years ago, the women…were baking bread and I came there a second time some five years later and all the utensils that they used….were rotting in the garden…

This earlier experience spurred him to recently start a program for tourists to bake bread with women in a village on the Datça Peninsula, to try to revive this tradition and bring an alternative source of income to the community.

A diversity of tourism products would likely enhance the sustainable tourism development sector in Turkey, but the ability to access resources, expertise, and assistance is also necessary. What the tourism industry lacks is a permanent platform from which to share ideas and debate the merits of various approaches to sustainability. Rather than seeking consensus, the connections and knowledge gained from such an experience could lead to a stronger voice for actors involved in sustainable tourism development to advocate for their interests within the Turkish tourism industry.

Attitudes toward Heritage Management and Visions for Cultural Tourism

As sustainability principles are further integrated with tourism in Turkey, it will be crucial to understand how such principles could be used to promote cultural heritage management. In an effort to understand the opportunities and limitations perceived for fostering better conservation, research, and site management through tourism, the participants' references to cultural heritage management were examined. Except for the two ecologically-based initiatives, the rest of the participants demonstrated their acute awareness of the importance of archeological and

architectural heritage for cultural tourism. Most interviewees referred to the wealth of heritage resources, the historical significance of past civilizations in Anatolia, and the unique experience of visiting heritage sites and well-preserved natural settings in Turkey. Implicit in many of the interviews was the need to preserve heritage landscapes, yet few people had specific opinions or comments about conservation, research, or site management policies. Rather, by far the most popular link identified with cultural heritage management was the ability of tourism to raise awareness of cultural heritage in Turkey, thereby strengthening the hand of its advocates. Lastly, at least two different visions of the future of cultural tourism in Turkey emerged from the discussions. On the one hand, the initiatives that were developing tourism in the east and southeast would be largely dependent on domestic tourism in the near future. On the other hand, others implied that the sustainability of cultural tourism in Turkey would depend on transforming the industry into a high-end service that catered to discerning–whether wealthy, educated, or responsible–travelers. Although these two strands could certainly exist side by side, it will be interesting to note how visitor groups are targeted as the Turkish tourism industry develops in a sustainable manner.

In terms of interventions in the historic built environment, participants generally had very little information about current threats or recent preservation work in their area. While aware of the potential threat of physical deterioration posed by tourists to a heritage landscape, interviewees did not express a sense of responsibility toward mitigating these threats. Rather, the government, and any organizations it chose to partner with, was expected to take care of management of the sites.

Speaking about this issue in the Çoruh Valley where the UN Development Programme is based, the coordinator explained:

> The MCT is in charge of…registering these monuments and tracking their own situation and monitoring, so…[the UN Development Programme] shouldn't be doing this… The heritage has never been our primary goal…There are different agencies that should be doing [this] (Gelir 2010).

The relationship between tourism and preservation work is not straightforward. Although the work of preservation professionals and others responsible for site management, such as archaeologists, may be of interest to tourists, there are serious issues regarding accessibility. Even though elite tours may be able to gain more access than the average tour, the types of special services they receive would never be offered to general visitors. For example, the boutique tour operator interviewed offers visits to Ephesus that include access to areas usually off-limit, and the chance to hear from archaeologists and conservators working on the site (Özgönül 2010).

The most popular perception of participants was the expectation that tourism would raise awareness of cultural heritage as these initiatives evolved. Cultural tourism could therefore serve as a catalyst for development and better heritage management in a community, or even the larger region, simultaneously. Describing the example of Gaziantep, Filiz Hösükoğlu of the Southeast Anatolian Promotion Project recounted:

> After our project three big five-star hotels started construction. Next step is to start congress tourism. In a way our project triggered - did not fund, could not fund - but triggered other improvements.

To the extent that cultural tourism becomes linked with the economic well-being of a community in the minds of decision-makers and other elite, more resources will be

allocated for heritage management. The quote below expresses similar sentiments about creating awareness and interest in cultural heritage:

> I think one of the reasons people would restore these sites in disrepair is because people would be interested in visiting them. Some of the sites along the route that are in disrepair are typically in more rural areas, so unless they really believe that people will come and visit them they are not going to put time and effort toward the restoration, because they won't see the need for it on some level…Thus far one of the most important things that has happened around this project in the conversations related to the preservation efforts is actually just awareness, because people aren't going to be interested in preserving things or taking care of sites if they don't understand why (Weiss 2010).

Joshua Weiss, the managing director of the API, went on to describe how the organization sought partnerships with international, widely-respected experts in the field when it came to such issues. Although as yet the organization has had very little experience in preservation or site management projects, finding experienced partners to work with in the future was of critical importance in his view to establish credibility with governments. While the other tour operators interviewed perceived a minimal role for themselves in the process of lobbying the government for more resources, Faruk Pekin, owner and director of FEST Travel and TÜRSAB committee president on cultural tourism, did concur with the sentiments expressed by the API director. He described the committee's method of holding symposiums in prospective cities for cultural tourism as "trying to put stress on the Ministry" and the central government for better funding.

Tour operators and project managers may not advocate direct intervention in heritage management issues, but they support education and outreach efforts to help people understand the significance of cultural heritage. However, none of the participants identified specific strategies to do so. Representatives of the UN-led initiatives in Kars and the Çoruh Valley described their efforts in this area as limited

to part of other trainings given that assume the cultural, social, and economic significance of heritage. Furthermore, according to the, program manager in Kars:

> While you are preserving the cultural heritage at the same time, tourism will benefit from the cultural products. These cultural products will be used as promoting products from the tourism sector (Çakır 2010).

This quote describes a passive response, in which tourism development simply benefits from preservation and other heritage management, rather than actively promoting the value of cultural heritage itself. This philosophy implies that over time local or national stewardship for the cultural heritage in Kars and the Çoruh Valley will increase on its own accord along with the importance of the tourism sector.

The experience of the API, which has been operating in Turkey since 2007, has a more proactive approach to education and outreach. Statements from the managing director and in-country coordinator demonstrate their grasp on the situation, echoing similar themes about the level of economic development in the southeast:

> It's just that the reality of their daily lives is a subsistence and survival kind of thing, so why are they going to know that this site is something that people would be interested in and come see? (Weiss 2010)

> [Responding to interviewer's statement about reusing archaeological material] It is the best example of Harran. They take stones and they are making their own houses. They are using the stones. How can we tell them to stop? I don't know. For that education is so important. Maybe you can tell them many times, don't use these stones, here is an archaeological site. You can't, you shouldn't, you mustn't use this! But they don't understand. We have to find a solution for this (Hayirli 2010).

Going forward, the organization plans to address heritage management issues that arise through education and outreach. Again, the director mentioned that they will look to more experienced partners, such as the World Heritage Alliance, for

guidelines about how to engage the communities and travelers in these kinds of conversations.

Professionals involved in sustainable tourism development may need to ask whether emphasizing the economic value of heritage is sufficient for fostering local stewardship and support for heritage preservation. Empowering local communities with heritage resources to engage in the tourism industry is certainly one aspect of sustainability, but may prove a slippery slope. According to this logic, whatever way the local community chooses to package and sell their cultural heritage to tourists would still be a positive outcome. As stewards, communities must be taught that heritage has social, cultural, and historical values as well as economic that need to be considered when determining limits for the use of heritage resources. Resources for tourism development, along with education and outreach to promote the social values of cultural heritage, should go hand in hand to enable community stakeholders to critically evaluate proposed renovations, or new uses of heritage sites.

Particularly in the less-developed areas of Turkey, where tourism is relatively young and largely domestic, over-commodification of culture may not be of great concern to economic development projects. Furthermore, as groups like the API have experienced, tourism and economic development may be the only viable terms in which to couch their intentions. After a nonstarter in Şanlıurfa, the organization followed the advice of the local government to "emphasize the tourist angle" in order to "gain the people's trust and confidence" (Leary 2009, 22). Yet, tourism operators in Turkey focusing on cultural tourism are likely more familiar with the loss of authenticity and cultural erosion associated with mass tourism. In this quote, the

owner of Peten Travels disparaged the idea that tourism can bring benefits to everyone, everywhere in Turkey:

> Right now tourism does not truly promote cultural heritage. When you look at the advertisement campaigns…we have everything, and we offer this everything to everyone. We are really consuming our cultural heritage unconsciously and aggressively…yes, we know there is a big economical gap between the regions, they all need new projects. But tourism, everybody wants to do tourism! (Özgönül 2010)

Significantly, in response to this perception that Turkey's heritage will be consumed unless mechanisms are put in place to limit access and use by tourists, cultural tourism seems to be shifting towards a higher end of the market. If Peten Travels and FEST Travel are any indication, then companies specializing in cultural tourism may choose to offer higher-end services in the future. More planning and development for tourism, as well as heritage management, would accompany this transformation, in order to meet the expectations of a discerning clientele base seeking a sustainable travel experience.

Transforming Turkey's image as a low-cost destination for Europeans to a high-end vacation spot would require a significant amount of dedicated resources and a concerted strategy. Central to this strategy would be marketing and promotion. Peten Travels offers eighteen different tours organized by themes and historical period, hoping to garner repeat customers (Özgönül 2010). The company's approach underscores the need for savvy tourism products, not merely sustainable ones. Faruk Pekin, who began his tour company in 1985, insisted that innovation is necessary as a marketing strategy, especially in Turkey due to the competitive nature of the inbound and outbound market:

> We have to create interest. Sometimes people try to sell the same thing for a long time. But if you offer something special, [it is] something more… If you create some different type of framework then people have to wait for it.

Since tourism operators are exposed to the whims of a international market and face stiff competition for inbound and outbound customers in Turkey, they likely have a different perspective on sustainability than those initiatives with economic and community development objectives. For example, Faruk Pekin also identified a need for greater governmental regulation limiting the amount of tourism annually, in order to reduce its negative impact on heritage sites, among other reasons.

> There is not another Ephesus, Perge anywhere. There is no place like Troy, so [tourists] have to pay for it…You have to be very wise for protecting cultural values and sustainability…You have to protect, plus you have to sell. There must be balance.

However, community and economic development initiatives have very different agendas, particularly in the beginning phases of projects to create new tourist destinations. Though both tourism companies and economic development initiatives fall under the umbrella of sustainability, they have little reasons to present a united front to advocate for more ecologically, economically, or socially responsible tourism in Turkey on their own accord.

In order to develop a high-end tourism market in Turkey around cultural heritage, both tourism operators interviewed cited education and outreach efforts as very important. Faruk Pekin of FEST Travel is also the President of the Cultural Awareness Foundation, which he considers an outgrowth of his tourism company. Peten Travels advocates more cooperation between tour operators, and archaeologists and the local universities. For their tours, experts guide visitors on site and give presentations about their work for a fee or donation. İffet Özgönül, the director, characterizes the exchange as an enjoyable learning opportunity for both sides. Along the same lines, she describes the need for educational programs for local

people about the cultural heritage in their own region, since such cooperation "will raise the people's interest in this site, so they will participate, they will say this is my cultural heritage, I should protect it." The investment of tourism income in programs that foster the long-term interests of the industry is presented as critical to developing high-end tourism in Turkey by these professionals.

Lastly, the role of domestic tourism is a key part of any strategy to develop high-end tourism. The still inchoate tourism in the Eastern and Southeastern Regions will depend largely on domestic tourism at first, according to the project managers. These types of initiatives represent the testing ground for Turkey as it develops new models apart from the sea, sun and sand tourism on which it previously relied. Furthermore, although Turkey's tourism economy cannot afford to neglect foreign tourists, more attention is being paid to domestic tourism. It seems likely that tour operators in Turkey will keep expanding their domestic tourism business in the future. The very lack of a demand for a special infrastructure may allow the opportunity for tourism destinations, young and old, to reinvent themselves along more sustainable lines if domestic tourism becomes a more significant part of the tourism economy in Turkey. As it relates to cultural heritage, domestic tourism could provide an impetus for better protection and management of sites and monuments if Turkish visitors demand it, as well as an important economic contribution.

The somewhat estranged relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management presents an opportunity for tourism professionals and heritage managers alike, rather than simply another problem. To be sure, sustainable tourism

development in Turkey–whether related to cultural heritage or not–is constrained in many cases by a lack of extensive financial or technical resources, limited political capital, and the too brief time frames allotted for the projects. Therefore logistical reasons certainly contribute to the marginalized role of cultural heritage management in such tourism initiatives. Given that Turkey's tourism strategy in the future will likely be driven more by cultural heritage and concerns for sustainability, heritage managers may actually occupy a strategic position. As a common link among sustainable tourism development initiatives, cultural heritage may be able to bring together disparate parties that rarely meet on or think in the same terms, yet would benefit from dialogue, exchange, and stronger connections built between their professional communities.

CHAPTER 5

BERGAMA, TURKEY: DETERMINING A SUSTAINABLE AGENDA FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM

This chapter elucidates the difficulties of implementing strategies for sustainable tourism development in Turkey through a case study of Bergama, and makes recommendations for improvement. An in-depth look at this case is of interest to heritage managers in Turkey for several reasons. Bergama is an established tourism destination, and is among the most visited archaeological sites in Turkey. However, reform is greatly needed to increase the amount of revenue the community earns from tourism, and to disperse these benefits more evenly within it. The local authorities and other tourism stakeholders in the city are interested in enacting these changes in the tourism operations in Bergama. Moreover, the authorities will not be deterred from developing its tourism by other more pressing social and economic needs. According to the 1997 Human Development Index of Turkey, Izmir Province was ranked in the first quintile of overall development among provinces. The Aegean Region as a whole was ranked second, after the Marmara Region (United Nations Development Programme 2001, 21, 48). In short, Bergama is both a prime example of tourism in Turkey driven by interest in cultural heritage, and provides a realistic scenario in which sustainable tourism development could be enhanced.

As demonstrated by the interviews discussed in the previous chapter, a sustainable development framework has not yet been applied widely to cultural heritage tourism in Turkey. Since sustainable development requires programs and policies to be tailored to the specific needs of each community, the conclusions reached here are not necessarily transferable. The value of this case study for cultural heritage managers in general may lie in the process of evaluation rather than the recommendations themselves. A wide array of heritage professionals should be able to recognize and relate to the challenges posed by mass tourism in Bergama, and benefit from the discussion of how to manage conflicts of interest between the two fields.

A Sustainable Agenda for Cultural Heritage Tourism

Looking past the notion that sustainable development offers a panacea for all of the maladies of the tourism industry, cultural heritage in Turkey– from archaeological sites to historic buildings – would stand to benefit from utilizing such a framework. Heritage management issues would be automatically afforded more importance if tourism was committed to a bottom line that evaluated its environmental and social impacts, in addition to economic effects. It is impossible to effectively advocate for heritage resources using a sustainable development framework without having a thorough understanding of Turkey's tourism sector. Although Turkey is well-established as a sea-sun-sand destination, its archaeological heritage plays a huge role in differentiating it from similar Mediterranean destinations (Tosun 1997, 327). Cultural tourism, which includes tourism at

archaeological sites, will likely increase in the future due to greater promotion. Tourism represents different threats—and opportunities—for archaeological sites, than it does for an inhabited historic town. Heritage managers should recognize that visiting archaeological sites in Turkey is a casual tourist activity, usually consisting of one stop on a whirlwind tour, or a day-trip from the nearest coastal resort. As a result, archaeological tourism is seen as part and parcel of an overall cultural experience both by visitors, and by government representatives for whom the economic value of heritage has great import.

Bergama's tourism follows this model, as its industry has traditionally been driven by visits to its three archaeological sites designated as first-degree sites by the MCT. Yet, other monuments of both archaeological and historical interest are spread throughout the historic town as well. This evaluation of tourism development will examine how to manage the sites and historic urban fabric as a whole, but still address the specific issues relevant to different types of heritage resources. To form a comprehensive management strategy, community input and engagement should be central to the planning process as well as the day-to-day management of heritage resources. Recognizing the social value of heritage for the contemporary inhabitants of a (historical) cultural landscape – especially in the case of an urban setting like Bergama – will allow for heritage managers to find more strategic, instead of ad hoc, solutions to problems as they arise. This is particularly true if a site management plan has been prepared with the input of the local community, although engaging the community in the planning process may be just as important as the results produced. Sustainable tourism development offers the opportunity to improve local stewardship

of heritage resources, recognition of the work of archaeologists and allied disciplines, and numerous other benefits that will be defined in this case study.

History and Archaeology of Bergama

Situated on the edge of the *Bakırçay* plain, Bergama lies 30 km inland and 110 km north of Izmir in between two mountain ranges to its north and south. The *Bakırçay* runs directly through the town in an east-west direction towards the Aegean Sea. As in antiquity, the river flows through a double tunnel that was constructed under the courtyard of the Red Hall, a temple from the second century CE, where today a part of the historic town of Bergama is located (Cimok 1993, 73). This skilled construction aptly shows the sensitivity to the environment with which the Hellenistic and later settlements at Pergamon were planned. These geological and ecological features are typical of the Western Anatolian landscape (Mosler 2009a, 26-27). The excavations at Pergamon, begun in 1878, have made a valuable contribution toward understanding the development of the Aegean region by examining not only the urban form, but the relationship between the metropolis and neighboring communities in Hellenistic times that was shaped by this landscape (DAI website).

The Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamon was founded by the Attalid dynasty early in the third century BCE. The dynasty ruled over the wealthy kingdom for the next 150 years, until it passed into the hands of the Romans and became a

Figure 4. Western Turkey. Google Earth.

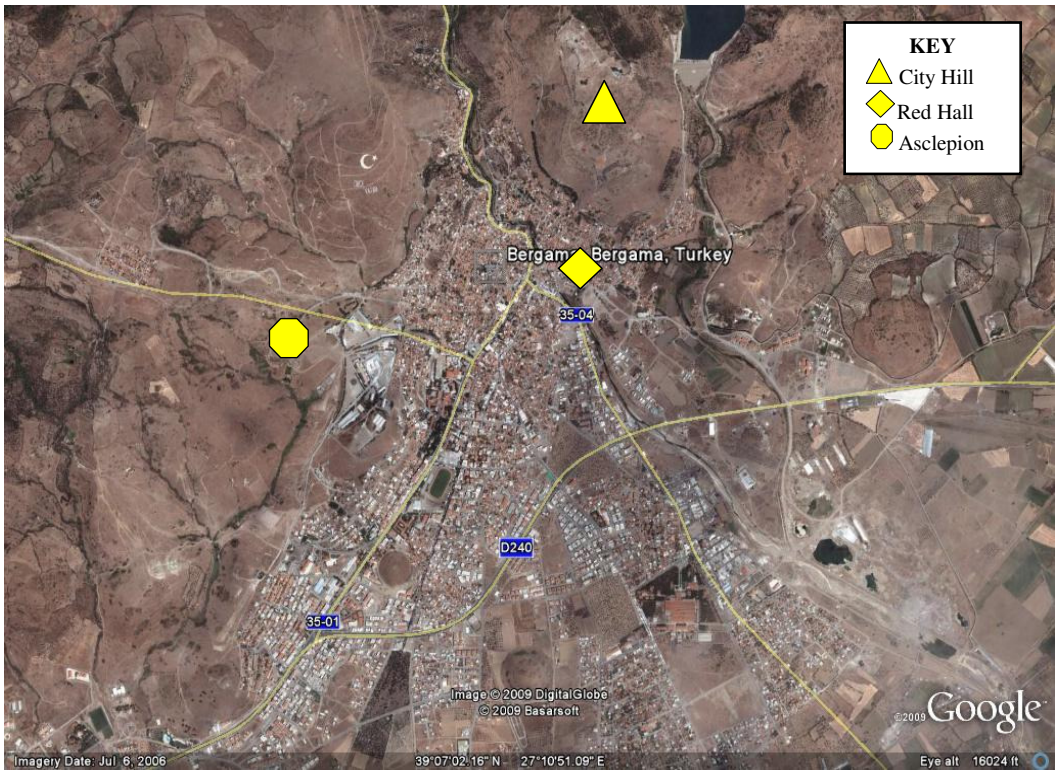

Figure 5. Archaeological sites in Bergama, Turkey. Google Maps.com.

Figure 6. The Hellenistic theater at Pergamon. 2009. Taken by the author.

Figure 7. The partially reconstructed Temple of Trajan. 2009. Taken by the author.

province of Asia. As a Hellenistic kingdom, the security and prosperity of the state was exemplified through embellishment of the acropolis with monumental architecture and sculpture, most notably between 197-195 BCE during the reign of Eumenes II. The kingdom, in possession of most of Western Anatolia at the time, undertook grand building projects, including the reorientation of the city grid, accompanied by great strides in cultural production and learning. The most famous example of Pergamene art is undoubtedly the Altar of Zeus, excavated in the late twentieth century when it was taken to Berlin with the permission of Ottoman authorities. Stability under Roman rule allowed the city to expand downwards toward the bottom of the hill for the first time, while the construction of imperial monuments like the Temple of Trajan on the acropolis, built during the same period as other major structures in the city during the second century CE, testified to the settlement's continued importance (Cimok 1993, 17).

The classical monuments in Bergama today include three first-degree sites open to visitors: the Hellenistic city on the hill (and also later settlements), which has extensive archaeological remains giving insight into the religious, social, and commercial facets of societies; and two sites with remains dating to the second century CE. The sanctuary of Asclepios and a temple dedicated to the Egyptian gods, known as the Red Hall, are interwoven into the urban fabric of Bergama's historic town. The Asclepion was located outside the Roman city, but its monumental gate is similarly integrated into the historic urban fabric of Bergama today. Together, these monuments and sites recreate a unique window into the classical world. Many other historic structures dating from the Seljuk, Byzantine,

and Ottoman periods are found throughout this district, and enrich the tapestry of Bergama's rich urban heritage.

While these examples of historical vernacular and monumental architecture still strongly invoke the city's past, Bergama also experienced rapid growth after 1950 that transformed the urban landscape. The main transportation arteries built in the 1980s plowed through the traditional urban fabric of the city, while creating new patterns of residential and commercial building. Likewise, new forms of construction emerged, like apartments built with reinforced-concrete that offered amenities like air-conditioning. These developments made traditional building techniques obsolete and altered the character of historic neighborhoods. In the Republican period the city was reformed according to a grid plan extending toward the south to direct the city's future growth (Örnek Özden, Yerliyurt and Seçkin 2006, 7-8).

Identifying Tensions over Tourism in the Community

The familiar problems of traditional forms of tourism are evident in Bergama. In an article from 2008, the travel writer Pat Yale puzzles over the unrealized potential of Bergama by beginning:

> What a strange little town Bergama is! Home to some of Turkey's finest Hellenic and Roman remains, it has still managed to miss the big-time boat as regards attracting independent travelers and has to make do instead with busloads of tourists who bus in, whip round the sites, snatch a quick lunch and then move on again. But the malaise seems to run a little deeper than that. Bergama is firmly in western Turkey and only a short way inland from the Aegean; yet walking the never-ending main street in the evening a visitor could be forgiven for thinking they had hopped on the wrong bus and ended up somewhere far further east, so complete is the absence of big-name stores or even halfway glitzy places in which to eat (Yale 2008).

Despite some improvement in Bergama since this time, her description is still applicable today. Bergama's tourism industry consists mainly of guided tours to Western Anatolia, which are bused into Bergama for a few short hours. This preference of the tour operators is due to a lack of cultural activities and accommodations offering adequate bed capacities in the city, as well as its inland location (Göker 2010, 35). Tourist activities are centered on the archaeological sites in Bergama. Based on prior research by the author included in appendix A, tours generally stay at the Hellenistic site on the City Hill for just one hour, most commonly visiting the citadel. These visitors do not stay at the small pensions in town, eat many meals at the local restaurants, or shop in the *arasta* or historic bazaar. Hence the financial benefits of tourism to the entrepreneurs and inhabitants of Bergama are negligible, which forms the basis of the problem facing the local tourism industry. For cultural heritage management, this represents a lost opportunity to build support for preservation and research through education and outreach activities related to tourism. Yet, this problem is not one dimensional. The tensions over tourism are best understood by examining related issues that have elicited different responses from the community. These tension areas depict a diverse stakeholder group for tourism with differing priorities and objectives.

Bergama is a small city of about 60,000 people in the Aegean region, with more than 40,000 additional people living in the villages in the surrounding countryside (Bergama Municipality). Increasing rates of rural to urban migration in the municipality in the past three decades, as well as increasing literacy since 2000 are promising indicators that the local tourism sector will have a ready supply of

workers in the future, as long as efforts are taken to promote training and education opportunities for the sector (Göker 2010, 11-12). In the article by Pat Yale quoted from above, the writer makes the realistic assessment that "What Bergama really needs is a burst of enterprise." This would allow the city to compete with nearby locales that have more diverse, higher quality tourism infrastructure, and improve marketing strategies to draw independent visitors, or perhaps entice tour groups to stay another day. New enterprise would have to benefit local entrepreneurs and workers in order to be sustainable, even if owned by some of the "big-name stores" whose absence in Bergama is noted by Yale. This process may not be as easy as it seems, as people affected by this shift in the local economy will have to adjust their expectations. For example, during a trip to Bergama in May 2010 the author was privy to a business transaction involving an empty storefront for lease in the *arasta*. The elderly, longtime current occupant, who sold wooden craft objects, was reluctant at first to lease to another local businessman who wanted to open a tourist-oriented café. After they came to an agreement, he explained his reluctance by saying that many people who rented stores in the *arasta* did not open legitimate businesses, instead papering over the windows and meeting with their friends to drink alcohol in private. Although investment is key to realizing Bergama's tourism potential in order to create the kind and quantity of hotels, restaurants, and activities that will attract tourists and tour operators, an effort to connect local people with these economic opportunities must be made in conjunction.

The recently completed cable car system at the City Hill archaeological site has been the most divisive issue regarding the local tourism industry in recent years.

The plan and location for the system to transport visitors to the citadel was reworked several times, perhaps fueling debate over the measure itself. While the cable cars may provide a better environmental alternative to tour buses for both the natural and cultural landscape, concerns about transportation safety, development and design issues, and insurance risks have been prevalent during the planning and construction process. As recently as May 2010, prior to the first summer in which the cable car system will presumably be in use, Bergama tourism stakeholders interviewed for this case study expressed divergent, critical opinions of the system. The lack of consensus reached on this issue may be indicative of a more general lack of communication between stakeholders and the ability to act collectively.

Perhaps not a tension itself, but certainly contributing to the larger malaise of the tourism industry in Bergama, is the lack of clear objectives for education and outreach for cultural heritage. Although education is considered important, the municipal government's planning for cultural heritage preservation is still being developed (Gönenç 2010). Any education programs in Bergama should demonstrate a high degree of cooperation with the DAI, since a trip to the archaeological sites would provide significant reinforcement for lessons given in a classroom, for example. Although this form of public engagement would doubtless increase local awareness about heritage stewardship, in reality, educational programs are increasingly prevalent at archaeological sites and thus impact on tourism. Foreign visitors to Bergama may expect to be able to access website content to learn about the site prior to their visit, or view exhibits onsite giving insight into daily life at a healing sanctuary, for example. Such education programs require highly coordinated

levels of planning to create appropriate materials for target audiences, again suggesting that it would be best accomplished with the support of a stakeholder coalition. However, the education project proposed by Koç University to create a school program for learning about Bergama's cultural heritage has not yet found the financial support necessary for further development. Interestingly, archaeologists at the excavation in Bergama expressed hesitancy about public archaeology in conversation with the author during the summer of 2009. Several people who had worked at Bergama for multiple seasons talked about the need to choose education projects carefully, citing a past effort to create a better interpretive display and panels. These were vandalized immediately. Taken together, this evidence points to a real discrepancy between the values placed on cultural heritage by the local elite for research, tourism, or other purposes, and the community at large.

Lastly, a more critical look at regional planning for tourism activities should be taken by Bergama. Research examining the patterns of tourism movement in the region, namely between the Greek island of Mytilene and Bergama, has determined new opportunities for the city to pursue in this respect (Göker 2010). More strategic partnerships, such as with the resort coastal city of Dikili, located 24 km away, are indispensable to increasing tourism numbers in Bergama. Better connections with Ayvalık, a regional epicenter for tourism, and Izmir to promote overnight trips to Bergama are worth exploring. Stronger ties on various levels, such as government, the business community, and transportation development, would make regional planning easier. Examples of intraregional planning for culture and tourism are not extensive, though the success of summer concert events in Bergama organized by the

Izmir International Festival in recent years has been a start. However, this kind of commitment would require tourism planning in Bergama to consider a geographically broader area of interest than normal. For example, the threatened site of Allianoi from the second century A.D., located just 18 km from Bergama and in the path of inundation that will result from the operation of the Yortanlı Dam, has historical cultural significance for the interpretation of Bergama's archaeological sites from the same period. As the case brought by a coalition of environmentalists continues to wind its way through the Turkish legal system and the European Court of Human Rights, officials in Bergama may be able to play a role in brokering a more satisfactory solution to the controversy thus raising their profile as a regional leader in developmental and tourism issues (Turkish environmentalists, 4 April 2010; Bozkurt 2010). Although this prospect could be an attractive option for Bergama leadership, it would require deeper engagement not only with private and public sector partners, but also with grassroots movements to understand different perspectives on development. The Eurogold gold mine in operation today that sparked the long-lasting controversy in Bergama during the 1990s is a case in point. The high level of community organization that characterized that community resistance movement demonstrates that any plans to develop rural tourism on the Kozak Plateau to the northwest of Bergama, would benefit from village partnerships from the beginning, and from policies that support the people's agricultural livelihoods there.

As these tensions demonstrate, planning for Bergama tourism cannot be done by a monolithic group that represents narrow interests. Stakeholder dynamics are

based on long-term relationships between individuals or groups with divergent economic, political, and social priorities in Bergama. The limitations of this study only allowed for a handful of tourism stakeholders in the city, all well-known actors, to be interviewed as part of this research. While their opinions are not homogeneous, tourism planning must be pluralistic in order to be sustainable. Without understanding the different dynamics between community members as they relate to tourism, efforts to development the tourism sector in Bergama will not be successful or sustainable.

Interview Participant	**Organization**
Mehmet Gönenç, Mayor	Bergama Municipality
Felix Pirson, Excavation Director	German Archaeological Institute
Sait Tez, Owner	Kozak Turizm
Mehmet Sağlam, Restaurant owner	Organizes tours for Grand Circle Tourism
Macit Gönlügür, Director	Bergama Tourism Association

Figure 4. Bergama interview participants

Heritage Management Issues at the Archaeological Sites and in the Historic Town

The German Archaeological Institute (DAI) has undertaken significant conservation work in recent years, including the construction of a protective shelter for the house mosaics in Building Z and most recently, a three-year project to restore a free-standing tower at the Red Hall as a exhibition space and storage

depot for archaeological finds. These conservation efforts have been linked to the need to encourage cultural tourism in the city, according to the website of the German Archaeological Institute. The reflections of the excavation director, Dr. Felix Pirson, on tourism further illustrate this view. In an unofficial capacity, excavation members with expertise in architectural restoration have examined historic houses in the town at the request of owners. These types of requests may relate to the visibility afforded by their official projects, according to him:

> Concerning our recent work at the Red Hall, this is very much appreciated by the municipality and by the local people. They really do see what we are doing and how we are doing it because it is in the city center (Pirson 2010).

Furthermore, this work in the historic town indirectly supports the conservation of Ottoman structures in the area, which have been identified and begun to be restored by the municipality. Noting that the Byzantine and Ottoman periods have generally been overlooked in Bergama in the past, the director suggests that through a combined strategy of conservation and tourism these monuments may be assigned more value. Though no conflicts of interest with tourism at the archaeological sites have arisen yet, he acknowledges that tourism can induce multiple perspectives about sites' social values that obscure its actual history (Pirson 2010). For example, the Red Hall holds certain social significance to the Greek Orthodox community today based on its use as a Byzantine church site (Aegean offers high potential for Orthodox faith tourism, 11 May 2010). It is difficult to anticipate conflicts of this kind before they develop, which emphasizes the need for a flexible site management framework to be able to address new and unforeseen issues strategically.

Figure 9. View of the Red Hall (with arrow). 2009. Taken by the author.

Figure 10. Greek Orthodox ceremony in the Red Hall on May 8, 2010. Taken by the author.

In terms of conservation and restoration, significant steps have been taken of late to preserve Bergama's built heritage. The municipality has a small Survey and Restoration office charged with studying and proposing plans for the historical built environment. Having completed two restoration projects in 2009, the adaptive reuses of a nineteenth century school as a boutique hotel/restaurant and another historic structure as a guesthouse for the municipality, at least seven multi-year projects have been proposed for 2010. These include similar projects for tourism purposes, such as the possible reuse of a Greek Orthodox building as a rentable meeting space for businesses and organizations, but also more straightforward conservation projects, like the stabilization of the foundation of the historic town library. In a conversation on May 7, 2010, Fatih Kurunaz, an architect at the restoration office estimated the cost of these projects as approximately 2,335,671 TL, to be allocated over the course of multiple years. Furthermore, the municipality has submitted an application to the Izmir Development Agency's Tourism and Environmental Financial Assistance Program for a separate project. The municipality envisions the development of a hotel and spa complex based on the thermal waters in the area. Though not a conservation project, the municipal government is adamantly promoting the historical nature of the springs. If approved by the Izmir Development Agency, the cost of funding would be 758,491 TL (Çarboğa 2010).

A political will to preserve Bergama's heritage resources may exist, but the kind of cultural tourism that Bergama wishes to cultivate would require the participation of stakeholders from a wide range of backgrounds in the planning process. In order to be considered sustainable, the views of people and places in the

Figure 11. Renovated shops in the *arasta*. 2010. Taken by the author.

Figure 12. Renovation of a school as a hotel/restaurant. 2009. Taken by the author.

community must be taken into account, since they are also part of the package being 'sold' to tourists. To support this "shift in tourism planning moving away from formal and rigid methods towards more flexible, iterative processes for creating and implementing strategies," many techniques have been identified as effective. These include: drop-in centers, nominal group technique sessions, citizen surveys, focus groups, citizen task forces, and consensus-building meetings. The objectives of these techniques is to produce a plan for tourism development that reflects the needs of the local people, which is often attained by offering opportunities to increase income, gain employment, or receive education and training related to tourism (Yiğitcanlar 2009, 6-7).

Although the Bergama municipality has not embraced community-based planning when it comes to tourism, it is not clear to what extent the kinds of techniques listed here have been applied in Bergama already. For example, a the philanthropic arm of a German tour operator, Studiosus Foundation, held a Community Forum in Bergama in 2008 to hear about the concerns of the local population (Studiosus 2008, 15). In 2009, the city of Alkmaar in the Netherlands carried out a project in Bergama with the support of the European Union. In the outreach project to occupants of historic houses, a brochure was distributed to owners about the significance of their homes, according to Mayor Mehmet Gönenç in an interview on May 7, 2010. The mayor confirmed that the municipality would continue with education and outreach to the local community in the future, which may spur more interest in tourism planning. For now, participatory decision-making is not the norm.

The Role of Technology in Forming Participatory Frameworks

Studying the technological aspects of the decision-support system related to cultural heritage management may shed further light on this matter. Specifically, technologies such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) have found new applications for the purposes of tourism planning by "making information more accurate, accessible, meaningful and usable" to all stakeholders. Web-based platforms for GIS facilitate this process, especially if the GIS is integrated with functions to allow users to collaborate, participate, negotiate, and build consensus (Yiğitcanlar 2009,11-14). However, this application of GIS would rest on the active, integrated use of the system by heritage managers in the municipality. While a GIS for heritage management has not been developed by the city, previous feasibility studies have suggested that the system would be useful in managing information related to the historical stratification of the city. Premised on the idea that historic towns in Turkey with multiple layers of settlements often make conservation decisions without complete information, one study found that GIS was more appropriate than those techniques that do not allow for the "utilization of huge amounts of data in various formats, details and scales," nor the dynamic nature of archaeological and historical research. The inherent flexibility of GIS would allow the creation of a "system continuously managed" rather than "a project once prepared" using a less flexible system consisting of "conventional techniques and tools" (Altınöz 2003, 5).

The most recent efforts to create a better data management and decision-support system in Bergama have been taken under the auspices of the Turkish

Cultural Inventory Project by the Turkish Academy of Science Cultural Department (TÜBA-TÜKSEK). Begun in 2001, the inventory was envisioned as a ten to fifteen-year nationwide project to document tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage using "innovative methods and facilities for managing, accessing, interpreting, preserving and visualization". The objective of this ambitious endeavor is to translate previously disparate, disjointed, and unknown sources into "active knowledge" available to all types of users everywhere. Interestingly, although the data management system used was Culture Book, the need for information technologies like GIS was acknowledged in order to "enhance competitiveness and sustainability for the economic development" (Binan and Binan 2005, 5-6).

The Bergama Urban Cultural Inventory Project, as part of this undertaking, was started in 2003. Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University served as the university partner in surveying the urban cultural properties of eleven historic quarters. In addition to descriptive information, scaled plans of traditional vernacular architecture as well photographic documentation were collected. Although at one point there was clearly an intention to collect geographical information data as well, in Bergama this did not seem to be achieved. Overall, out of the 1501 monuments documented by the inventory, 1081 were housing structures. The second largest group (263) contained business structures, such as workshops, stores, depots, factories, hotels, *hans*, and caravansaries. The rest were religious buildings, civil buildings, and water structures like fountains, cisterns, and bathhouses. 18 entries were comprised of historic trees, and 15 entries were categorized as Urban Elements, which included public squares and bridges. Given that only 499 cultural properties were registered in Bergama

prior to this inventory based on the findings of another cultural inventory performed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism between 1974 and 2003, the results of this inventory for the TÜBA-TÜKSEK project are quite striking and should have some bearing on the how the borders of the historic town are drawn (Binan and Binan 2005, 6).

Although the TÜBA-TÜKSEK project professed that the goal of the inventory was its widespread use, several aspects of the program are puzzling based on available results so far. Culture Book, the data management software chosen, does not allow people to access the information easily. Surely a web-based application or open source system would have been a better choice. Even though the data can be downloaded from the Culture Book system, without the system itself it is not easy to query the data in this form, in ways that would be of use for interested parties. Furthermore, although GIS may be implemented at some later phase of this ten to fifteen-year project, it would be onerous and likely costly in terms of human and financial resources to collect geographical information without already having a system in place. Perhaps this accounts for why geographical information was not collected in Bergama under the auspices of Mimar Sinan University's role in the project.

Whether the technology in question is the latest web-based application for data management or GIS technology, the fact remains that no program can be used to foster participatory decision-making for tourism planning unless tourism stakeholders are trained in these technologies. This places an even greater burden on the authorities to provide access to this technology and training to use it for the

community at large, not just for their own employees. There are myriad factors that would prevent a city like Bergama from realistically considering such a step, including bureaucratic obstructions from the centralized authorities, logistical impediments for socioeconomic reasons to developing a community of users, as well as the necessary funding and political support for such a measure that aims to promote broader participation when it comes to heritage management and indeed, tourism-related issues. When it comes to accessing information in order to form opinions about these issues, a democratic way for people in Bergama to do so is lacking. Based on the priorities of the current municipal government, incorporating multiple views into any decision-making process is not at the top of the agenda for heritage management. However, this lack of sustainability also bears on the broader difficulty of adhering to the same standards for sustainable tourism development in countries at different levels of development, and societies with different democratic traditions. Advocates of sustainable tourism development must realize that policy instruments used to foster the role of the community in heritage management and tourism should be feasible to implement, first and foremost. Programs and policies meant to increase participation will be ineffective if they are not sensitive to social values, ethics, and politics in the area (Bramwell 1998, 362). Therefore, despite the benefits of developing a technologically-advanced platform at the center of decision-making for heritage management in Bergama, it would not be the best method to increase community participation.

The Development of a Sustainable Vision for Urban Conservation and Tourism

While conservation of archaeological resources is central to the mission of heritage management, the concept of conservation has evolved over the years. In Bergama, attitudes towards conservation exemplify how governments and communities have struggled to best protect these and other heritage resources. For most of the twentieth century, the archaeological resources took precedence over the historic urban fabric. Beginning with a six-year excavation of the Red Hall area during the 1930s, about thirty houses and commercial buildings built along the walls of the site were removed. The 1943 urban plan made no mention of the traditional houses of Bergama save for the number: 4000. Likewise, the 1968 urban plan gave especial focus to the excavation and conservation of the urban districts built on top of the ancient city, including the area known as the Selçuk neighborhood where the Roman hippodrome was located. Conservation measures were also suggested in the report to build a parallel road to the Via Tecta which led out of the ancient city to the Asclepion sanctuaries, turning the ancient road into a pedestrian area. This historical plan also proposed demolition of houses in areas of potential excavation interest, including the Atmaça neighborhood and again, the Red Hall site (Binan and Binan 2005, 2).

These developments in Bergama demonstrate a historical tradition, perhaps not unusual for the period, of relocation and heavy-handed government intervention for the sake of conservation. It is feasible to conceive that the community's attitudes toward conservation today may be based on remembrance of or knowledge about these events. Although conservation now entails a more comprehensive, value-led

planned approach that acknowledges multiple users and uses of a site, it is likely that the community's perception of conservation has not evolved along with its actual practice in the absence of outreach activities to correct this discrepancy. The 1968 urban plan report restricts development in certain densely-populated and commercial areas of the historic town, in preparation for the eventual evacuation and subsequent excavation of the site. Instead of allowing the population to remain on unexcavated archaeological sites, it suggests that the city expansion take place outside of the areas of agricultural and archaeological significance (Binan and Binan 2005, 2). These proposals serve to demonstrate how conservation and archaeological excavations shape urban form. The examples discussed here are historical, but similar issues still arise in conjunction with the use of urban space. Although meant to protect archaeological resources and advance research agendas, conservation measures may stifle urban development by placing building or usage restrictions on certain spaces, while engineering new nodes of development in others (Nasser 2003, 471). Without support to help ease the transition for people affected by interventionist policies, those negatively affected by this process may be prone to blame conservation agendas for poor planning.

Legislation ensconced these protective measures in conservation policy. Yet, conservation may have been an uneasy, possibly contentious, process in Bergama. Being legally inscribed to a conservation list largely removes these buildings and areas from the "usual cycle of demolition and rebuilding" that corresponds to their changing functions and economic value over time (Nasser 2003, 470-71). The archaeological site of Bergama was first registered by the High Council of

Immovable Monuments and Antiquities in 1976. It was later registered in 1983 and re-assessed in 1984 as both an urban site and archaeological site which basically brought all construction and restoration work to a halt. It was not until 2001 that a significant portion of the historic town was declared as an Urban Archaeological Site, which lifted some of these restrictions. Other urban areas were named second and third-degree archaeological sites, which also introduced the possibility of new constructions and restoration work. Two first degree sites, the Red Hall and an unexcavated tumulus in the south, are within the urban fabric, but for the most part these are located outside of the city, the two largest areas being the Asclepion and the City Hill (Binan and Binan 2005, 3-4). From 1984 until 2001, the legislative protection afforded the historic town likely accounts for the number of traditional buildings that survive to this day, and which were documented this past decade in the TÜBA-TÜKSEK inventory. However, shifting borders of the protected area and the blanket of protection thrown over large swaths of commercial and residential areas probably impeded the normal course of urban redevelopment as well.

These changes in legislative status in the past decade have created a greater need for community stewardship, and education and outreach efforts. In this relatively short period, it may have been difficult for the authorities to accomplish real progress in this field, especially given that local leadership has not been consistent over the period; the local elections in 2009 resulted in a change in administration in Bergama, for example. As noted earlier, the municipality is zealously pursuing restoration in the city. Although several of these projects may serve as tourism facilities, other projects such as the Republic-era covered bazaar

could serve both tourists and locals, while others merely renovate historic buildings being used for civic functions. With proper management of and investment in these restoration projects, the kinds of adaptive reuses proposed seem quite feasible; that is, the buildings would be readily accessible for use, and costs would not be deterrent for doing so (Nasser 2003, 473). Designating a number of projects that serve tourists and local interests is key, as choices about what to restore should not be biased towards projects that would support the tourism economy. Through the process of implementing adaptive reuse projects from start to finish the municipality will gain experience in the challenges of managing such work. Adaptive reuse is not just a physical intervention, but part of a urban conservation agenda that includes spatial and social dimensions as well (Orbaşlı 2000; Nasser 2003, 469). The choice to restore the synagogue, for example, which has significantly deteriorated and has lost its original social value, demonstrates that the municipality is willing to take on more complicated projects that will require thought on how to reuse and present such heritage sites.

To enhance Bergama's viability as a tourism destination based on its cultural heritage, local people must figure prominently in any strategy. Routine interactions with local people are a significant part of foreign tourists' cultural experience, and prevent locals from merely becoming part of the drive-by scenery for tourists. Sharing urban spaces facilitates these interactions, while tourist enclaves that segregate hosts and visitors can contribute to misunderstanding and resentment. The case of the old town of Antalya is representative of the rapid expansion of coastal cities in Turkey during the 1980s. Although the existing plan had intended to keep

75% of the neighborhood residential, the inhabitants were eventually displaced by commercial structures that were rapidly and often poorly converted from historic houses. Instead of a lived-in urban landscape, "the entire neighborhood has been transformed into a tourist shopping 'experience'" and its historic fabric lost (Orbaşlı 2000, 124-27).

While the factors that allowed for this series of events to occur were connected with a specific period of tourism infrastructure development in Turkey that has passed, the surest way to prevent similar commercial pressures from developing in Bergama is to capitalize on tourism trends that foster appreciation for local people, places, and traditions. The way tourists experience cities is changing as "tourism and touristic behavior is coming to be seen as an integral part of daily life" (Maitland 2009, 6). Though historic towns do not offer the range of activities and cosmopolitan experiences as global cities, it is quite possible that visitors to Bergama similarly seek to participate in a form of daily life there. Actual integration into society for tourists will be superficial at best, but interactions with local people need not be, particularly if both sides are allowed to define their own roles as hosts and visitors (Tucker 2001, 887). Just as today's tourists prefer to shop at town markets instead of shopping centers, people in host communities prefer to meet tourists on their own terms, not as an itinerary item on a guided tour.

Bridging the Gap in Theory and Practice

This trend in tourism places increasing emphasis on the historic built environment. Cities like Bergama that closely associate their heritage with its economic value in terms of tourism are particularly susceptible to this bias. This way

of thinking has partly resulted from the Aegean region's dependence on the tourism economy, which has experienced huge influxes of foreign tourists for the last four decades (Smid and Loewendahl-Ertugal 2002, 5). While providing an alternative source of income and seasonal employment for the region, tourism concentrated along the coast resulted in drastic and rapid changes in land use and construction patterns. The hinterlands of coastal towns also felt these changes, as the area of historic olive grove landscapes has declined for example, replaced by vacation homes and rentals. There are also examples of inland tourism driven by interest in cultural heritage and traditional rural landscapes that have fueled conservation efforts, most notably the example of Pamukkale-Hierapolis (Mosler 2009a, 35-36). Bergama's cultivated image as a cultural heritage tourism destination should be understood in this regional context.

Furthermore, destinations with archaeological and architectural heritage assets are at an advantage due to transformations in the tourism industry during the last three decades. For tourists interested in the daily lives of town inhabitants, the attraction of shopping in a town market is not the novelty of the experience per se, but the opportunity to participate in the activity in a novel environment—a historic town in a foreign country and culture. Tourists' preference for this type of experience can be described as seeking "formal" rather than "functional" changes in their environments (Gospodini 2001, 927-28). Given these trends, it is not difficult to understand the emphasis placed by tourism on the role of conservation in maintaining the physical form of the city. For example, an architectural study of the

urban transformation of Bergama concluded that in the latter half of the twentieth century:

> The historic structure has lost its spirit and the identity of the historic city of Bergama…while walking through today's 'modern Bergama' you come across apartments, which make you forget in which geography you are and can be seen in any [part] of Turkey; this situation is completely contradictive to the essence of settlement (Örnek Özden, Yerliyurt and Seçkin 2006, 9).

This type of assessment assumes that spirit/identity/essence is embedded in form, particularly in the historic urban form, without making any capitulations to how the places in question are actually used.

The idea of 'sense of place,' derived from the term *genius loci*, has been applied in many different contexts over the last two centuries (Jiven and Larkham 2003, 168). The belief that a 'sense of place' is closely linked to physical characteristics in the urban environment, which invoke certain values and thus create place identities, has undoubtedly influenced conservation ethos worldwide. As heritage places have sought to create a unique 'sense of place' they have relied heavily on interventions in the physical form of the historic built environment, while ignoring the social fabric of community (Jiven and Larkham 2003, 78; Nasser 2003, 477; Mosler 2009b, 25-26). The assumption that a 'sense of place' can be created through appropriate design and planning measures has caused conservation work to privilege product over process. This understanding of the term runs contrary to the view that place identities "emerge from individual and community perception, values and experience" (Jiven and Larkham 2003, 74). Unless these social values are addressed, then there is a real risk that conservation work may prolong the life of a historic structure that has lost its social and cultural significance, by redefining its value solely in terms of its economic benefit through tourism. Thus intentions

behind conservation can influence the authenticity of a structure (Jiven and Larkham 2003, 76-77).

Recognition that the ways in which these resources are used by communities actually determine their heritage value would effect every phase of conservation, from the types of information collected during inventories to deciding what activities constitute appropriate use. Tourism planning would have to consider the relative importance of collective versus individual views about historic structures, and of their long-term use by residents versus temporary use by tourists (Jiven and Larkham 2003, 70). Conservation and restoration work in the town of Bergama has not matured to this point. Restoration projects seem driven by the need to stabilize structures that will otherwise deteriorate, while analysis of community perceptions, value and experience related to conservation are limited to socioeconomic arguments based on the need to create employment opportunities through tourism (Renewed Red Basilica awaits visitors, 24 September 2009). Authorities in Bergama rightly deserve accolade for planning a robust conservation agenda, but there are many ways to improve the sustainability of these projects while developing opportunities for tourism at the same time.

This focus on physical forms and architectural features in particular, has contributed to the marginalized role of (historical) cultural landscapes in heritage management as well. The long-term archaeological excavations in Bergama have greatly illuminated how people's activities have shaped the surrounding landscape. Highlighting continuities and changes in the form and uses of the landscape that have bearing on archaeological features would help make the setting of the site "vivid and

legible," not merely dramatic and impressionistic (Mosler 2009b, 25). By emphasizing the setting, heritage managers will be able to convey a better understanding of the significance of archaeological and architectural heritage, as well as lay the foundation for awareness of how the past continues to influence the present-day culture of Bergama. This objective would facilitate the kind of tourism discussed earlier, where hosts and visitors meet on equal terms to participate in everyday activities that shed light on local history and heritage in a meaningful way. Increasing appreciation of heritage settings would lead to the healthy growth and development of tourism and raised awareness of conservation needs, thus contributing to sustainability on the social, cultural, and economic levels (Mosler 2009b, 44).

Using a visual strategy as the basis for heritage management can help refocus planning for archaeological sites, and historic urban districts as well. Some of the anticipated benefits of seeing the site from the perspective of users themselves for site planning are: providing a better spatial and visual orientation in the site; more authentic staging for visitors that clearly presents archaeological value, more defined site boundaries, and added emphasis on selected areas of the site for presentation purposes (Mosler 2009a, 28). Moreover, taking the spatial relationships of an archaeological site into account call more attention to the connections between monuments in an ancient city and hence the activities of the city itself, which may provide new insights into how features of the site should be interpreted to visitors. Suggestions to frame the sacred street to the Asclepion with shrubs and vegetation, develop alternative site paths that offer different panoramic views of the City Hill

and modern town, and create pedestrian zones in parts of the historic district, aim to present the heritage of Bergama in contexts that enhance appreciation and understanding of them (Mosler 2009b, 37, 40-41). It is important to consider that archaeologists may not be able to conduct this type of visual analysis, either for lack of training or a lack of time during excavation season. For similar reasons, the author herself was asked to propose solutions for visitor circulation issues on the City Hill site in Bergama during an internship in 2009 with the German Archaeological Institute. The excavation director requested this study, citing the inability of archaeologists to see in the same way as a new visitor after having worked at the same site for a number of years.

Since the long-term sustainability of tourism in Bergama depends to a large extent on the city's heritage resources, planning for both fields should pursue joint objectives. These could include conservation and restoration training programs to develop a skilled workforce, a mobile exhibit of select sculptural fragments found at the Red Hall, or a volunteer docent program at the archaeological sites and city museum, to give just a few examples of initiatives that would benefit heritage management, tourism, and sustainable development. However, the gap between conservation work and the tourism industry in Bergama is indicative of a widespread disconnect between these two areas in general. According to Aylin Orbaşlı, "the two fields of expertise directing [urban conservation and urban tourism] rarely communicate, and it is not uncommon for tourism development policy to be contradictory to heritage conservation," thus further limiting the role that the community can play in either (Orbaşlı 2000, 3). Unless Bergama leaders in cultural

heritage management actively pursue more programs to promote awareness, stewardship, and outreach so that the community develops a better understanding of heritage issues, then there will be little chance of community advocates having a more active role in tourism planning.

Archaeologists, the default site managers in many parts of the world including Turkey, have sometimes experienced complications stepping into this role as heritage managers. In the future, site management will fuel the demand for new skills training, create new staff positions, and influence the curricula of educational programs (de la Torre and Mac Lean 1997, 13). The merger of Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism in 2003 was an example of an institutional shift that gave excavations new responsibilities for site management, especially Classical excavations, which comprise the majority of the most popular sites (Shoup 2008, 278-80). Archaeologists' attitudes towards tourism in Turkey demonstrate skepticism about the intentions of visitors with only casual interests in the sites, and uncertainty about the benefits of tourism, real and prospective, for the local community, which may directly relate to the group's relative inexperience with public outreach to tourists and residents (Shoup 2008, 280-288).

As archaeologists gain experience in handling these responsibilities, hopefully interest in improving tourism as part and parcel of site management will grow. Part of the problem is that none of the authorities are directly responsible for enhancing the visitor experience at sites. Nor does the average visitor have the necessary familiarity with archaeological tourism to even evaluate his or her visit in a constructive way. Considering just the physical environment, it is a true that "while

everyone prefers a beach with uncluttered space, clean sand, and clear water, many visitors appear not to mind a crowded, unmaintained, or erroneously reconstructed archaeological site" (de la Torre and Mac Lean 1997, 11). Conservation issues may have a bearing on visitor experience of a site, while physical design and planning can also affect visitor safety and accessibility.

As tourism accrues larger and more positive benefits for archaeology, archaeologists will become more invested in tourism. These benefits could include successful events like low-impact concerts in ancient theaters, and the contributions made by "friends groups" of sites through fundraising and volunteering. In particular, the development of high-end cultural tourism in Turkey may help bring about such a transition. In the previous chapter, a preference for high-end cultural tourism was identified amongst tour operators, and born out by the current national tourism strategy to diversify and distribute tourism products more broadly geographically. A 2002 report on the industry found that tourists are mostly low to middle-income with just 25% earning more than 2,500 dollars a month, 28% less than 2,500 dollars, 17% less than 1,000 dollars, and 30% less than 500 dollars (Smid and Loewendahl-Ertugal 2002, 20). Responding to this image of Turkey as a cheap holiday destination, it can be argued that tourists need to pay more for quality cultural experiences, given the resources needed to design tours that access hard-to-reach sites, provide an experiential learning experience, and also contribute to local economies and heritage preservation itself.

Heritage Tourism Analysis: Recommendations for Sustainability

Bergama's challenge is to reposition itself in a way that will allow the city to take advantage of the continued growth of Turkey's tourism industry, but in a sustainable manner that will benefit the community, and natural and historic built environment. Located in the western Aegean region, the city is within a regional hub for international arrivals. In 2004, Izmir's Adnan Menderes Airport had 634,586 foreign arrivals, which was the fifth highest after the Antalya, Istanbul, and Muğla airports, and Edirne border crossing. Based on the pattern of foreign arrivals at sea ports in the Northern Aegean, Bergama is within approximately 100 km of three ports–Izmir, Ayvalık, and Dikili–which in total received over 100,000 arrivals in 2004 (Hamamcıoğlu, Çekiç and Yenen 2006, 3). Bergama's proximity to these transport hubs indicates an opportunity to draw more visitors from these areas, or increase the length of visitors' stays. In a 2005 comparison of selected cities in Izmir Province, foreign and Turkish visitors to Bergama stayed the lowest average number of days – 1.2 in each case. The average length of stay for foreigners in the province as a whole was 3.5 days, and 1.9 days for Turkish visitors (Hamamcıoğlu, Çekiç and Yenen 2006, 4). As archaeological sites in the province received 21% of a total 8.5 million visitors nationwide that same year, it is reasonable to believe that Bergama has the necessary resources to develop its cultural tourism in the future, by offering an alternative to crowded, homogenous coastal towns (Shoup 2008, 275).

Bergama's share of the tourism sector represents an opportunity lost when compared with the number of visitors to archaeological sites in the city. According to one media source, Bergama was the eighth most visited archaeological destination

in Turkey in 2007, with 233,643 visitors (Shoup 2008, 140). Government records depict a similar situation, indicating that 211,563 tourists visited the archaeological site on the City Hill in 2005.

Only a small fraction of that number stopped at the city's archaeological museum and Red Hall, however (Hamamcıoğlu, Çekiç and Yenen 2006, 5). Compared to these statistics, the Bergama Chamber of Commerce indicates a higher annual number of visitors to the city of Bergama itself. However, this inconsistency may be accounted for by cultural events in part, such as the annual festival, held each summer. For example, although 371,995 tourists were reported for 2008, only 305,304 were international visitors (Bergama Ticaret Odası 2008, 8).

Structural issues in the tourism industry likely account for visitors' short stays, as it seems that the great majority of arrivals to Bergama are part of package tours with set itineraries. The fact that 52% of all visitors to the City Hill site in 2005 received a group discount implies this as well. The owner of the only TÜRSAB-approved travel agency in the city, Sait Tez, currently arranges programs in the city and surrounding area for Turkish tourists. Although his agency has not reached the capacity to host foreign tour groups yet, as it only opened five years ago, his ambition is to develop a range of tourism products for foreign visitors guided by sustainability principles. These would include nature walks on the Kozak Plateau, and visiting the villages for meals and shopping. He holds the widespread opinion that tourists on package tours, who stay in Bergama for only an afternoon to tour the acropolis of the City Hill without visiting any of the businesses in the city, make a negligible contribution to the economy (Tez 2010).

This discrepancy between Bergama's popularity and the lack of economic benefits received from tourism is also directly related to the city's inadequate tourism infrastructure. In 2008, Bergama had a total capacity of 680 beds, and only two types of accommodations–three-star hotels and pensions. In comparison, destinations in the surrounding region have capacities of 2,097 (Dikili), 3,540 (Foça) and 12,942 beds (Ayvalık) in 2006. As of last year, Dikili offered a wider range of accommodations at hotels, including a two and four-star hotel, a thermal hotel, pensions, and campgrounds (Bergama Ticaret Odası 2008, 18). In 2010, the governor of the provincial district of Bergama stressed the need for business investment to build high-quality accommodations in the city in order to foster tourism growth. (Bergama Kaymakamı, 15 April 2010). However, the mayor spoke with more enthusiasm about renovating historic buildings as boutique hotels, noting that large new hotels were unnecessary and should be built only on the outskirts of the city in any case (Gönenç 2010). Toward these goals, a defined strategy to improve accommodations should be formulated with the help of local business and community members. Doing so would help build a stronger presence for the tourism business community allowing it to better advocate for local interests. Enhancing tourism infrastructure in Bergama will certainly make tourism more efficacious. Yet, the process would require broad-based support and coordination with tourism stakeholders, including heritage managers.

Governmental efforts to incorporate strategies that will foster participation and cooperation are not easy to evaluate. The 2007-11 Strategic Plan for Bergama Municipality does address heritage protection and cultural development, including

tourism (T.C. Bergama Belediyesi 2006). Since the plan was prepared under the former administration of the opposing political party, the municipal government was redoing the plan in order to include additions like education and outreach activities for heritage, according to the mayor. Inclusion in the next national tourism planning strategy is one of the administration's objectives, although the mayor considers coordinated regional planning for tourism a better strategy (Gönenç 2010). If nothing else, when applying for financial or technical assistance from international sources, the national tourism strategy acts as corroboration for local planning strategies. Particularly in urban development planning that relies on culture as a catalyst for regeneration, it would be important to gain the support, at least, of the central government since success may depend in large part on how the city is marketed to outsiders through state mouthpieces (Gökçen Dündar 2009, 21).

The key to building a broad-based community coalition is generating more employment through tourism. Jobs are the simplest demonstrative link that can be drawn between tourism, heritage management, and sustainable development. After having lived with the problems of tourism for so many years, the community of Bergama may have to be persuaded that restructuring the industry will actually have tangible benefits for the city. In addition to the fact that much of the revenue from tourism in Bergama is pocketed by non-local operators and other businesses, national policy redirects entrance fee revenue from sites to general MCT funds (Shoup 2008, 286). Without having visible examples of the widespread benefits of tourism for the community, residents can hardly be expected to support the industry based solely on an appreciation for heritage itself. An evaluation of the nearby site of Allianoi,

which is scheduled to be flooded with the full operation of the Yortanlı dam, cited the lack of employment opportunities as part of the reason for local disinterest in its archaeological heritage. Rather, since agriculture was still the main industry, most people were eagerly awaiting the opening of the irrigation reservoir (Mosler 2009b, 37).

The mayor of Bergama has called tourism "the only way out" of unemployment and other economic problems (Renewed Red Basilica awaits visitors, 24 September 2009). Though agriculture is a significant sector in the rural areas of the district, 64% of total employment was in the service sector (of which the majority was in the public sector) in 2000 (Hamamcıoğlu, Çekiç and Yenen 2006, 4), with agriculture accounting for only approximately 11% (Günver 2007, 30). However, job creation is not easy in a volatile, seasonal industry like tourism. There will be a critical need to move past political rhetoric to actual create opportunities for employment, bolstered by training and education about a wide range of skills and issues. Although the hope is that raised income and more specialized jobs in tourism will offer socioeconomic mobility, the effects of wage work in tourism on the household structure varies to large degree, depending on household income, gender dynamics, and allocation of wages, to name just a few examples of factors (Aykaç 2007, 110-11). Policymakers and other authorities, such as the Bergama Tourism Association, which is involved in community and economic development related to tourism, need to think broadly about the skills needed tourism training and issues involved in transitioning from subsistence to wage work. Culturally-appropriate social services that may help ease the transition for workers in a newly expanded

tourism economy should be offered, like education about savings and banking, child care services, or small-business training.

Another significant factor is the authorities' coordination with the private sector in Bergama. These authorities include the municipality, the district, and the local representatives of the MCT – the culture and tourism management office. These entities should cooperate and coordinate with stakeholders in the private sector to bridge disparate urban conservation and urban tourism agendas as noted earlier. Given the lack of leverage afforded the local tourism industry, it is not surprising that local business owners like Sait Tez of Kozak Turizm, desire more support from the public sector to plan for and expand their tourism operations (Tez 2010). Entrepreneurs seem eager to open the kinds of tourism businesses available elsewhere in Turkey; namely, faith tourism, *yayla* tourism, thermal tourism, and tourism in the surrounding countryside based on sports and low-impact activities like camping and bird watching. Two civil society initiatives express different views toward government intervention. Macit Gönlügür, the director of the Bergama Tourism Association, which is an organization that has coordinated on tourism projects with the municipal and district of Bergama, has no complaints about the level of support received from the government. In the past, the association has offered a public relations certificate program, with assistance from the district governor (Gönlügür 2010). Another program run by Mehmet Sağlam, a local restaurateur who has been organizing visits to the surrounding villages on the Kozak Plateau, had a difficult start when the cultural and tourism management office withdrew its support for the project only a few days before the first visitors were

scheduled to arrive. In that case, the local military base was approached for help in cleaning and preparing the villages for the foreign guests. This program in the village has now been running for seven years, though the interviewee still expresses strong doubts about the effectiveness of the tourism management office to this day (Sağlam 2010).

In the perceived absence of leadership in the public sector, new partners have been identified and enlisted to support tourism development in Bergama. The village program coordinated by Mehmet Sağlam is operated by Grand Circle Tourism, an American tour operator that also has a philanthropic foundation for grant-making. The foundation had given philanthropic gifts to the villages in Kozak to benefit the community and particularly schools (Sağlam 2010). Bergama Tourism Association partners with the tourism department at Aegean University to study tourism issues in Bergama and nearby Dikili, and will continue to work with trade high schools in Bergama by offering vocational training programs in tourism (Gönlügür 2010). Furthermore, support for the DAI's conservation work at the Red Hall from 2006-2009 was given by the philanthropic foundation of the German sustainable tour operator, Studiosus. The combined knowledge and expertise of these actors, who already are involved in Bergama's tourism at some level, is a valuable resource. These stakeholders could be utilized in mapping a strategy to make tourism work better for the city, perhaps if enlisted in an advisory capacity by the authorities.

Having developed a sense of the tensions between cultural heritage and tourism, stakeholders, and the city's aspirations and political realities, the remainder of this chapter will turn to specific recommendations to improve sustainability of

policies, projects, and programs related to tourism and heritage. Since sustainability is as much about the process as the result, these suggestions will demonstrate how to approach dual issues in cultural heritage management and sustainable tourism development in order to posit a way forward for planning in Bergama. With further research and feedback from the community and the range of stakeholders involved, these recommendations would be likely to change, however.

The municipal government has begun the early stages of exploring the process of nominating Bergama as a UNESCO World Heritage site (Bergama hopes to be included on UNESCO list, 11 January 2010). A successful path to a nomination for Bergama will require local authorities to recognize the spatial organization of the city itself as historically significant, not just its history as a Hellenistic kingdom. Although the City Hill site is noteworthy in particular for its "genuine Hellenistic Pergamene acropolis, stripped of its Roman costume", the remaining structures at the Red Hall and Asclepion date to a later period in the second century CE (Cimok 1993, 9). While all periods of settlement in Pergamon are of interest to tourism, the later monuments are perhaps most notable as markers of the Classical city grid plan. Both the vast building of the Red Hall and the remains of the Asclepion's monumental gate add definition to the historic nature of the old town. Bergama's most unique value is not its Hellenistic heritage, but its layers of urban settlements and living cultural landscape. Any nomination to the country's tentative list will need to protect the boundaries of the historic grid, which are still defined by monuments standing today. The recent TÜBA-TÜKSEK

inventory of sites can provide the basis for this work to nominate the historic town of Bergama itself, as opposed to the archaeological sites.

Designing a site management plan for the town will require the involvement of a wide range of community stakeholders and the engagement of the entire community. It will also require outreach to tour operators working in Bergama in order to shift the focus of tourism from individual sites to the life of the city itself. To take advantage of the expected benefits of increased tourism resulting from inscription to the World Heritage List, avoiding conflicts between tourism and conservation will be necessary. While no specific prescriptions are available, research has downplayed the importance of formal partnerships, instead urging stakeholders to take on clearly defined roles and develop foundational understandings of heritage's tourism value and the importance of conservation work (Leask and Fyall 2006, 13). Management structures have also been examined, with experts concluding that government-managed sites often suffer from lack of funding allocated from a central authority. This has fostered new models of partnerships between the public and private sector to manage sites, with one of the perceived benefits being a bridging in tourism and conservation interests (Leask and Fyall 2006, 100-101). If Bergama is serious about its aspirations to the World Heritage List, it would benefit the government to adopt a far-sighted management strategy in the near future, to demonstrate its ability to adapt to visitor management and other issues brought on by increased tourism (Leask and Fyall 2006, 163).

As evident from this analysis, the Bergama Municipality's approach to sustainable tourism development has mainly consisted of interventions in the

physical environment, by improving through restoration several historic buildings, and even supporting the DAI's conservation efforts (Pirson 2010). Organizing cultural events and activities that emphasize the heritage of the city also has been central to the municipality's approach. Expanding this agenda for tourism development will be critical to increasing the benefits of tourism for the community. Certainly, the municipal government must take on leadership in creating a dialogue between tourism and heritage management fields in Bergama, and then incorporating these ideas into the concrete policies and programs it puts forth. Moreover, in a broader strategy for tourism development the municipality should focus on three areas: training and education opportunities for tourism jobs, delivery of social services to help ease the transition to an economy in which tourism has a larger role, and increased education and outreach about cultural heritage. The first two areas reiterate that the community will be most receptive to an ambitious tourism development agenda if they receive direct economic benefits from it. However, without education and outreach, the creation of well-paying jobs that advance socioeconomic mobility would not have the sustainable effects desired for heritage protection, or for the stability of the tourism industry.

The debate around sustainable tourism development has long recognized the integral role played by "information, education, and persuasion in changing behavior" (Bramwell 1998, 374). Cultural heritage management, as it broadens its focus to include a more proactive approach to tourism, will need to assign education and outreach the same leading role to increase stewardship heritage in Bergama. Despite its importance, outreach programs may not be as straightforward as they

seem. Even program models adopted from other cities or sites will need to be tailored to fit Bergama. Similar to the findings of Aslı Gür's research about visitors to the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, community outreach should take into account the fact that individuals respond differently to historical narrative based on their personal backgrounds and experiences (Gür 2007). It will be necessary to explore the question of how residents relate to the historical identity/identities of their city, and what significance this holds for their own personal identities and conceptions of traditional culture.

While the German Archaeological Institute need not take primary responsibility for a public outreach program, their involvement would be indispensable to lend credibility to the project and facilitate access to the sites, and perhaps even their experts, for educational groups. The DAI is one the most important stakeholders in Bergama's tourism despite their limited direct involvement in the industry. To engage the DAI in sustainable tourism development, in addition to their ongoing conservation work, three areas of focus are recommended: participation in community education and outreach about the archaeological sites; research into new trends in site presentation, and evaluation of physical planning at the sites, taking into consideration the individual characteristics of the settings on the City Hill, at the Red Hall, and the Asclepion; and lastly, further involvement in high-end cultural tourism at Bergama.

The last recommendation could be achieved through hosting groups of tourists for meals at the excavation house, giving tours of or presentations about the sites, or in a similar manner introducing tourists to the more-than-a-century old

legacy of the excavation itself. For these purposes, the DAI's connection with Studiosus tour operators could be valuable, but other opportunities to partner with Turkish and foreign operators exist. Granted, it would be difficult for the DAI to allocate further responsibilities for these activities to its hard-working excavation team during the relatively short season. However, participation in the high-end of cultural tourism would be comparatively easy for archaeologists, since this audience generally has genuine interests in excavation work, and the archaeology and history of the sites. Moreover, the excavation could possibly receive compensation for tourism activities in the form of fees or donations.

Perhaps most critically, since stellar leadership will be necessary in order to move tourism development towards a truly sustainable form, the city does face a considerable challenge in implementing these recommendations. The local government would have to assemble the financial resources from various public and private sources to fund these initiatives, and overcome resistance from the tourism community to sacrifice short-term losses in order to achieve long-term stability for the industry through this agenda. Furthermore, their success would depend on making long-lasting achievements in these areas that would survive any administrative turn-over in the local government. In reality, the effectiveness of strategies implemented at Bergama will depend on the authorities' willingness and ability to choose appropriate policy instruments for the community. These instruments fall broadly into the categories of government encouragement, financial incentives, expenditure, and regulations (Bramwell 1998, 364-65, 375). Seeking the right balance of different kinds of policy instruments is critical to the success of new

measures. For example, expenditures to clean and renovate the banks of the Bergama Çayı would not be wise without a large-scale effort to stop people from polluting the river, by encouraging environmental awareness.

Simply stated as recommendations for Bergama leadership to follow, the suggestions resulting from this case study are listed in appendix C. For Bergama, the most effective immediate steps to foster better cultural heritage management while developing and promoting sustainable tourism, fall into three main categories. First, a coalition of stakeholders from the private, public, and NGO sector should develop infrastructure and programming for heritage tourism. This should encompass physical planning at the archaeological sites to improve the visitor experience. A possible plan to renovate parts of the City Hill site is included in appendix A, although the cable car system completed this past year should be examined to understand how visitor circulation at the City Hill site has changed. New educational spaces, along with a program designed to teach about archaeology and history, could be introduced onsite. These spaces may be temporary at first, and limited to the peak visitor months. They could also be augmented by a mobile education program that literally brings archaeology into the community. Staffing these types of program with volunteers would significantly help create local ownership.

Secondly, increasing investment in Bergama's tourism in a way that brings benefits to the local economy is of utmost importance. This cannot simply consist of attracting corporations to the city, although opening at least one larger hotel aimed at foreign tourists would be beneficial. Tour operators will only considering staying in Bergama overnight if the facilities are of the same quality as those in other cities in

the region. Upgrading the accommodations, retail and dining options for tourists in Bergama will also help attract high-end tour operators. In addition, ticketing and transportation incentives may generate more interest in visiting the Red Hall, Asclepion, and city museum, thus reinventing Bergama as a multi-day destination. The city should also invest in human capital in the tourism industry through government-led programs to support small start-ups and businesses, training opportunities such as language classes, and social programs to help workers transition into salaried, seasonal work in the industry.

The last category consists of a multifaceted strategy to promote a collaborative community response to tourism. Efforts to bring about a World Heritage nomination for Bergama should be seen as an opportunity to create an informal network of community stakeholders that is inclusive. The purpose of the network would be to create a broad-based vision for cultural heritage management and tourism in Bergama. The existence of a non-hierarchical advocacy group of community leaders to help guide the nomination process, including those from outside the tourism industry, would promote cooperation to help achieve goals and ideally engage the community at large. Secondly, people should be enlisted to help build on the regional strategy for tourism which the Bergama Municipality has begun to formulate. As this strategy is comprised of using Bergama's (historical) cultural resources to attract more tourism from nearby Greek islands and coastal cities in Turkey, the municipality should include the people of Bergama in this venture. This could include a regional initiative to collect traditional music, recipes, oral histories, and other materials from residents to be used for promotion purposes, or a task force

to liaison with Greek counterparts interested in cultural ties. In either case the results produced would be just as significant as the connections fostered through such processes. For tourism in Bergama to develop in a sustainable way, community members must be more engaged in stewarding cultural heritage. These recommendations would require stakeholders from different parts of the community to work together and achieve the goals, gaining valuable experience in the process even while stimulating a healthy debate over visions for the future of their city.

As Bergama seeks to position itself as a destination for (historical) cultural tourism, lessons about culture-led urban regeneration should be heeded. Using long-term cultural projects and short-term cultural events to spur sustained growth has produced mixed results, especially in urban centers in less-developed countries (Gökçen Dündar 2010, 3). The city of Izmir's own experience in culture-led urban development can be used to evaluate what sorts of niche opportunities exist in the region for Bergama. Cultural heritage management in an urban context like Bergama can not be considered separately from urban regeneration. For heritage managers to advocate effectively for the conservation of resources, while incorporating sustainable practices into their work, they must have greater engagement in community and economic development.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Although there may not be specific incentives offered by the government or the tourism industry to encourage Bergama to adopt a sustainable tourism framework for development, this analysis has shown that it would be a savvy move in the long-term interest of the city's tourism economy. Mass tourism based on consuming Turkey's natural resources for low prices in tourist enclaves along the coasts cannot survive as is. Domestic tourism, high-end cultural tourism, and other tourism models, premised on the belief that the sector has the capacity to contribute to communities, will emerge based on consumer demand. Although Turkey's tourism sector has grown significantly this past decade, further reform is needed now to make sure it can continue to expand in the future. This reform would include developing a closer working relationship between cultural heritage management and the tourism industry.

Cultural heritage management is in a strategic position to facilitate planning for sustainable tourism development. Heritage professionals recognize that their work is rooted in community engagement and collaboration with people in many different fields. As tourism in Turkey comes to rely more on culture, heritage managers should be prepared to seek more experience working with private sector partners. Developing a better understanding of the economic value of heritage for

communities that are struggling to find viable economic alternatives would allow managers to advocate for heritage in tourism development more effectively. Since the state's brand of tourism development consisted solely of increasing international tourism revenue and visitor rates until almost the end of the twentieth century, heritage managers had limited ability to influence the direction of the Turkish tourism industry until fairly recently. Due to the incorporation of sustainability principles into the industry's objectives at that time, heritage managers now have the opportunity to create an ambitious joint agenda with tourism. Given the overall lack of industry expertise in implementing sustainable limits and developing cultural attractions, heritage managers should be able to bring valuable skills and experiences to any collaboration.

These skills and experiences reflect changes in allied disciplines with cultural heritage management, like archaeology, conservation, architecture and planning, that place new significance on community needs and values. In archaeology, recognition that excavation and research are guided by the specific experiences and values of archaeologists, otherwise known as positionality, has emerged. "Framenting and multiplying the archive" to "allow authorship to be considered" illuminates the construction of archaeological knowledge itself, and allows a more active role for audiences who are encouraged to evaluate the archaeological process instead of passively accepting its conclusions (Hodder 62). This reflexive method brings a human dimension to archaeological work that may help communities better collaborate with heritage professionals. In a field defined by international charters and programs that purportedly assess and assign value to heritage for communities,

the role of the local in this process has been unintentionally marginalized, perhaps (Hodder 63). Empowering communities to be part of this process of knowledge-making may help to remedy this, by affecting how information is presented and increasing community ownership of heritage. Awareness-raising, analogous to activism in some ways, lays the foundation for sustainable tourism development by fostering a participatory framework. Here a comparison with the well-publicized resistance to a proposed gold-mine in the villages near Bergama, which peaked during the late 1990s, is useful. In evaluating the factors that gave rise to a coordinated community response that achieved significant concessions from the Eurogold corporation in technological, management, and regulatory practices, the fact that gold-mining was viewed as a threat to the villagers' way of life is paramount (Arsel 2005, 274). The resistance viewed the environmental consequences of the mine as unacceptable, which moved them to "defend and sustain" their "interdependent relationship with the environment" (Çoban 2004, 454). Therefore, cultural heritage would benefit from aligning itself with sustainable tourism development in Bergama and Turkey in general, and being perceived as part of an overall economic strategy for development.

For cultural heritage managers already tasked with multiple responsibilities, asking professionals to build more bridges to the tourism industry is an onerous request. However, taking advantage of existing opportunities would ease this burden. Heritage professionals can take on more visible roles in economic development by volunteering for cultural event committees, sponsoring educational tours or lectures for important business investors, or advising municipal applications

for funding for tourism development projects. They may also carve out a niche for themselves by becoming more knowledgeable about public-private partnerships to preserve heritage. Excavation and exhibition sponsorships, corporate social responsibility programs, and other aspects of the privatization of heritage in Turkey have gained more prominence recently. However, Turkey still has limited experience in developing public-private organizations that would be charged with management of public resources like heritage sites. As this approach has proved successful in other countries, heritage managers should assess its applicability in Turkey. In short, an active and long-term engagement with public and private sector partners at different levels is necessary for cultural heritage professionals to gain a better foothold in tourism development.

These tactics, along with discussion in this thesis overall, have emphasized bottom-up actions that could be taken by citizen activists, businesses, and local governments to align tourism development and cultural heritage management more closely in a sustainable manner. In general, both small and large-scale initiatives with community-centered objectives are called for. These initiatives would have to work across political boundaries to protect heritage and develop regional tourism strategies. Therefore a large number of partners would be involved in planning efforts, and making sure these stakeholders have the ability to advocate for their interests is necessary. Notably, the role of the central government has not been discussed directly in this thesis, although any of the strategies listed here could be supported by government measures. For example, new legislation could be introduced that allowed the state to designate living cultural landscapes as nationally

important. Similar to the World Heritage program, this designation could serve to increase business investment in tourism development and tourism itself in the designated area. However, aside from maintaining strict standards for inscription that require communities to have viable management policies in place to protect national heritage, the government would have almost no role in the day-to-day operations of these areas, which would remain privately owned. This kind of government program, which serves to encourage and reward local initiatives for good heritage management, would be of significant interest to the tourism industry as well.

Along with Turkey's more prominent role in international tourism, comes greater responsibility to propose sustainable models of development. Initiatives in this area need funding and technical assistance, as evident from the interviews conducted for this thesis with practitioners working nationwide. While various forms of assistance are available both from within and outside of Turkey, the top levels of the government should set an example for the industry by allocating more support for the imperative cause of creating plans for sustainable tourism development.

Appendix A - Internship Report submitted to the German Archaeological Institute

Marisa Lau
Koç University
03/09/2009

Visitor Circulation at Pergamon

The recommendations made below for improvements to the visitor path at the archaeological site of Pergamon are based on observations about how visitors use the site, as well as general issues which impact the visitor experience. They are also based on the assumption that increased or improved visitor circulation at the site is desirable (meaning that the site has not reached its full capacity for visitors, at which the number of people using the site is damaging the archaeological resources there). However, impact of visitor use on the site must remain a concern. In making decisions that affect how visitors are routed through the site, it will be important to implement solutions that balance the dual needs to allow visitor access and to conserve the archaeological resources. Currently, the visitor path at Pergamon consists of blue dots that have been painted on blocks or walls to help visitors find their way, and interpretive signs located around the site. It is most sensible for visitors to follow the ancient main road through the city. Except for the need for a second exit/entrance at the end of the ancient main road in the Lower City, this system (once one understands that the blue dots are markers) sufficiently facilitates movement around the site; however, it does leave significant room for improvement.

The majority of visitors to the site are part of scheduled tour groups who arrive in their own private buses and are guided by their own tour operators. From observation, guided tours usually spend one hour at the site, and generally only visit

the citadel area. Many of these tourists are not properly outfitted for hiking around the site anyway, wearing sandals and shorts inappropriate for the steep terrain and spiny vegetation of much of the site. Although getting visitors to extend their stay at the site or make repeat visits will ultimately depend upon the tour operators' cooperation, certain changes to the site would enhance the visitor experience. For example, if a rest area was added within the site itself, visitors may choose to stay for longer and tour more of the site. Likewise, an expanded, integrated interpretive program that presented the site as a whole would encourage visitors to explore more of the area.

Two issues regarding security at the site should be considered by site managers. First, vandalism of both archaeological material and interpretive material is a threat. Second, uncontrolled grazing on the hill may be a threat to visitors' safety because of encounters with animals. Neither issue can be easily resolved in a short time. Given the large area of the site and the logistical difficulties involved, it seems impossible to have guards constantly on duty. Therefore, the situation will likely necessitate a coordinated solution in which the municipality partners with site managers both to inflict penalties for infractions and educate community members about the site to promote stewardship. In short, such a multi-faceted program would focus on prevention and promote compliance; it would not be primarily reactive nor rely on coercive measures.

THE UPPER CITY

The Upper City is the most popular part of the site since all visitors enter

from the carpark adjoining it. Compared to the middle and lower sections of the City Hill, the Upper City is better able to accommodate large tour groups. The various staircases added to this area have made it more accessible. The Temple of Trajan offers an open, level space for people to congregate and enjoy the views of the city below. Although there is a fairly legible path around the Upper City, monuments more removed from this path are most likely to be deleted from the tour itinerary, whether for the sake of time or a lack of interest. These include the storage magazines and substructures of the Temple of Trajan, as well as the Temple of Dionysus and Upper Agora.

To increase visitation to these monuments, physical improvements for accessibility would be important for safety reasons. For example, railings could be installed at the entrance to the storage magazines through a break in the fortification walls, since strong gusts of wind blow constantly in the north corner of the citadel. New interpretation emphasizing how these structures relate to the citadel as a whole – by discussing, for example, how the storage magazines and temple substructures demonstrate architectural responses to changing needs in the fortification system over time – could serve to further integrate them. In the lower area, where the Temple of Dionysus and the Upper Agora are located, visitor circulation may be increased by creating a new rest and interpretation area since it lacks the dense concentration of monuments of the upper area. The dilapidated *bekçi* house near the Upper Agora, next to the grave of Carl Humann, represents an opportunity to significantly reroute visitors. By creating a new seating area for visitors, it could serve as an attraction to draw people down from the upper area, as well as a rest area

before continuing on to the middle section of the City Hill. Although logistical considerations as well as archaeological concerns must be taken into account for adaptive reuse of the building, possibly it could sell food and drinks, include a picnic area, or children's play area. As a gateway to the rest of the City Hill, it also presents the opportunity to offer interpretive information about those areas to reorient the visitor, such as what monuments are located there (like the recently restored Bauhaus Z) and how the civic institutions that dominate those areas contrast with the elite complexes in the citadel. Additionally, the *bekçi* house and the Humann grave represent an opportunity to offer interpretive information about the DAI excavation's history as well - this history being one of the unique elements of the site.

MIDDLE CITY

The transition to the middle section of the City Hill is complicated by the physical layout of the site. As the ancient main road descends the hill, its poor condition may discourage the visitor from continuing to the lower part of the site. After a complex of Roman baths, no other archaeological remains are visible for some time. This section of the main road is less accessible because of loose stones and its uneven surface. Even a service road that loops back around to the carpark may cause the visitor momentary confusion. Although physical improvements would enhance the site, it would be more effective to communicate information to visitors about the middle and lower sections of the City Hill through wayfinding signs in an interpretive station at this transition point, as described above.

Near the restored small gymnasium with baths, an odeon and cult hall, the road again becomes paved with smooth, wide stones. The landscape of the lower area can be easily read, with the roof of the Bauhaus Z and other archaeological remains beyond it towards the northeast visible. Members of the excavation team have mentioned that the odeon and cult hall are sometimes targets of vandalism, with people throwing stones at the copies of statues and reliefs. Since the shade trees and wide ledges for sitting make it a natural gathering place, a short term solution to the problem may be achieved by planting bushes in front of the ledges or covering the floor with wood chips to discourage people from lingering in the area and becoming restless.

Bauhaus Z

While the restored house is a very successful project, it has created minor problems in visitor circulation. Visitors diverted off the main road to the house may not bother to regain the path. Along this section of the main road are the remains of residences, stores, workshops, public buildings and cult halls (Cimok 51). However, because of the deteriorated condition of these structures, without additional interpretation this section of the site will be unlikely to draw increased numbers of visitors. Another option would be to create a new attraction to draw more visitors here, such as interpretative station with information about the Byzantine walls on the eastern slope, which are visible from that area. Likewise, an interpretive station could also include information about the excavation work currently taking place on the east slope, which is visible from that area too.

The Bauhaus Z should be better connected to the lower area of the site. Upon

exiting the building, one can easily overlook the steps that branch off toward the Sanctuary of Demeter from the main staircase (following these stairs all the way down would lead one to the gymnasium). Since the sanctuary is out of view behind a hill, signage would be appropriate here. The path from the sanctuary to the gymnasium is somewhat overgrown, and more maintenance in this area is necessary to facilitate movement.

Gymnasium

The gymnasium, being such a large and unique complex, presents a challenge in visitor circulation. The view of the upper level from the road directly in front of the Sanctuary of Hera gives visitors a good opportunity to understand the building layout before entering it. Perhaps relocating the interpretive signage to this area can redirect people. Currently, the interpretive signage is located further below near the steps leading into the gymnasium. This entrance into the building is somewhat confusing: following the blue dots lead to a landing on the upper level around the corner from the large courtyard for sports. However, the visitor may continue down another set of steps marked by the blue dots to the "running track" accidentally, effectively missing the upper level of the building.

The other circulation issue is related to the large rubble heap blocking the original entrance at the east end of the lower level. Even though a new set of steps was constructed between the middle and upper levels of the gymnasium, the building still feels somewhat disconnected. For now the steps are sufficient for visitor movement, but the benefits to removing the rubble heap and restoring the gymnasium's eastern end should be revisited in the future. From the middle level,

there are two options to reach the lowers level on the street. One is the Hellenistic staircase - obviously a unique architectural feature of the site - and the other is a path, perhaps forged by visitors over time, towards the eastern end of the building. It would be a good idea to maintain at least two exits, to reduce the impact on the Hellenistic staircase by diverting some traffic.

Creating a new entrance to the site in the Lower City will increase the number of visitors to the gymnasium. If the gymnasium is to receive more visitors then improved interpretation will be necessary. The gymnasium offers a unique opportunity to interpret a significant aspect of civic life in the city. However, the diverse activities and architectural features of the gymnasium also make it a challenge to interpret. A well-thought out, interpretative plan is needed, in addition to some renovation work. Just as the citadel area can accommodate large groups and tourists unprepared for a day of hiking, so will the gymnasium also need renovations in order to do so.

LOWER CITY

Opening a new entrance to the archaeological site in the Lower City would improve visitor circulation. The entrance should be located near the ancient main road's intersection with the modern road; on the other side of the modern road is the Gate of Eumenes in the old town of Bergama. Guest amenities would need to be added, such as a bus drop-off area/carpark, pedestrian crossing across the road, bathrooms, etc. A new interpretative station should be installed to orient visitors to the site and give them some idea of the site's layout at the entrance. Currently, this

area is a rather inhospitable place for visitors to linger in during the summer months, with little shade or flat terrain. Installing some sort of roofed station or planting shade trees could improve the area, but another option may be to create an interpretive station on the other side of the modern road near the Gate of Eumenes. That area offers a more ideal location for visitors groups to purchase their tickets and gather before starting their tours. In addition, renovations and improved interpretation in the Lower City should be undertaken in conjunction with a new entrance. This could include adding interpretive signs to the Lower Agora, restoring the Attalos House's protective shelter and making it more visitor accessible, or even offering information about Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine building methods and materials at some point along the ancient main road, since the buildings layers are fairly visible in the fortification walls here. It would be most critical to renovate and improve interpretation along the stretch of the ancient main road between the Gate of Eumenes and the gymnasium. By dividing the visitor path into segments, the tedious climb up this section of the road can be alleviated. Interpretive stations offer convenient resting places, and maintain interest by drawing visitors along the path.

Given Pergamon's prominent place in history and the unique narrative of the site told by the remnants of its past, there is a great opportunity to enhance the visitor experience. There are a variety of improvements that could be made to attract more visitors and encourage longer visits. While some of the changes described above would be easier to enact than others, of paramount importance is the need to determine a proactive approach to develop the site in a way both sensitive to tourism, as well as conservation and research.

Visitor Path Project Phases

Location	Symbol
Upper City	U
Middle City	M
Lower City	L

Location	PHASE I
U	To better integrate certain areas of the citadel with the visitor path, such as the storage magazines and the substructures of the Temple of Trajan, accessibility in these areas should be improved by adding railings and other safety measures, wayfinding signs, and new interpretative material.
M	Creating barriers with landscaping and removing or rearranging the seating area by the restored odeon and cult hall will discourage vandalism.
M	More landscape maintenance and wayfinding signs are needed in the area of the Sanctuary of Demeter to facilitate movement around the site
M	Relocating the interpretive material and wayfinding signage for the gymnasium to the street in front of the Sanctuary of Hera Basiliea, which overlooks the gymnasium, will better familiarize visitors with the building's layout.
	PHASE II
M	To draw visitors to the section of the Middle City characterized by a mix of residential, business, and cult structures, a new interpretive station is needed towards the eastern end of the excavated area, near the eastern slope of the hill. The station may also include information about ongoing excavations on the eastern slope.
M	Renovations and a new interpretive plan for the gymnasium would improve the visitor experience. The removal of the rubble heap blocking the building's eastern end should be considered.
L	Renovations and improved interpretation along the ancient main road between the Lower Agora and the lower level of the gymnasium will improve accessibility and attract more visitors to this area.
	PHASE III
U	A new interpretation and rest area (with information about the history of the excavation, and interpretive material and wayfinding signs about the Middle and Lower City) will provide a place for visitors to relax before continuing their tours. It should be located near the Upper Agora to serve as a gateway from the Upper City to the lower areas of the site.
L	A new entrance to the archaeological site in the Lower City with guest amenities and interpretive material to orient the visitor would enhance visitor circulation at the site.

Appendix B

SWOT Analysis of Heritage Tourism in Bergama

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
• Prominent Classical archaeological site • Established tourist destination in Turkey • Strong cultural planning programs, like the annual *kermes* or festival • Working relationship between local government and the DAI • Cooperation with civil society and business sector to improve tourism • Recently completed heritage inventory • Attention paid to urban design issues	• Leadership may be accustomed to status quo levels of tourism • Insufficient tourism superstructure in terms of accommodations, activities, and cultural events • Need to develop a skilled workforce with foreign language abilities • Need to create more opportunities for tourism employment • Tourism revenue pocketed by non-local operators and companies • Weak consultation with community participants about tourism planning • No action plan to develop a large-scale education and outreach effort around local heritage resources and conservation issues • Discontinuities in municipal planning for tourism and heritage preservation due to a change in administrative leadership
Opportunities	**Threats**
• Interest in enhancing tourism from Greece • Create a regional tourism network with Dikili, Izmir, and Ayvalık • World Heritage nomination process • Develop high-end cultural tourism • Utilize resources in public and private sectors to create training and employment opportunities in tourism	• Unplanned rural tourism development • Missed opportunities to coordinate local agendas with national tourism strategies • Loss of ‘sense of place’ due to the deterioration of social and cultural value of heritage places • Over reliance on culture-led regeneration • Primarily attracting low-end tourism

Appendix C

Recommendations for Tourism Development in Bergama

Develop infrastructure and programming for heritage tourism
• Determine priorities with a stakeholder coalition • Address physical planning issues at the archaeological sites to improve the visitor experience • Focus on developing facilities and programming for heritage education and outreach
Increase investment in heritage tourism
• Incorporate foreign and corporate investment on a selective basis • Upgrade facilities and design promotions related to tourism in order to stay competitive with nearby destinations • Invest in the local workforce for tourism through new training and economic opportunities, while evaluating the need for selective social services
Promote community collaboration to increase social and cultural value of heritage
• Create a World Heritage advocacy committee to engage the community • Enhance regional tourism planning through a cultural liaison program with local “ambassadors”, or an initiative to collect traditional and cultural material

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