THE IMPACT OF POLICY-MAKING ON TOURISM DEVELOPMENT:

THE CASE OF UZUNGÖL
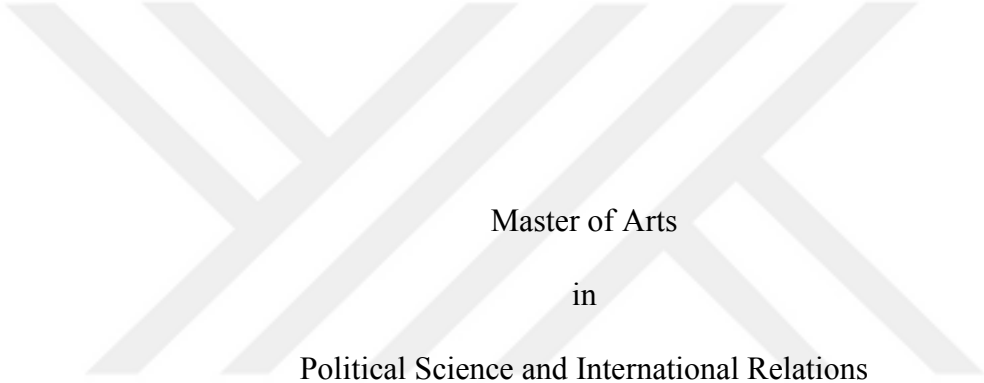
EBRAR ŞAHİKA KÜÇÜKAŞCI

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THE IMPACT OF POLICY-MAKING ON TOURISM DEVELOPMENT:

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Ebrar Şahika Küçükaşcı

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The Impact of Policy-Making on Tourism Development:

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The thesis of Ebrar Şahika Küçükaşcı

has been approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Kadirbeyoğlu
(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Begüm Özkaynak

Assoc. Prof. Hande Paker
(External Member)

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ebrar Şahika Küçükaşcı, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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ABSTRACT

The Impact of Policy-Making on Tourism Development:

The Case of Uzungöl

In 2007, the Justice and Development Party developed a tourism strategy as a part of its "Turkey's 2023 Vision" to be applied all throughout the country. The promising strategy is grounded on sustainable development, requiring environment-friendly and region-based policy-making. However, in the small district of Trabzon, Uzungöl, it failed. Over the past 30 years, Uzungöl acquired four "special statuses" due to its environmental qualifications and historical significance, consequently becoming a popular choice for a variety of state led plans and projects. However, despite these statuses, due to increasing tourism demand, today, the region is far from what was projected. The Justice and Development Party's sustainable tourism strategy was not effectively carried out in Uzungöl because state regulations met neither the region's needs nor the locals' expectations, ultimately resulting in the locals' damaging the environment through excessive use of resources in order to meet the region's tourism demand. Focusing on this dilemma between the projected and attained results of tourism policy-making in Uzungöl, this thesis aims to analyze the shortcomings of such policy-making in the region, and understand the how and why the state not being able to apply its objectives, through the examination of state documents and interviews conducted with locals, state bureaucrats, and civil society members.

ÖZET

Politika Üretmenin Turizmin Gelişmesine Etkisi:

Uzungöl Örneği

2017 yılında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi "Türkiye'nin 2023 Vizyonu"nun bir parçası olarak tüm Türkiye'de uygulanması planlanan turizm stratejisini açıklamıştır. Bu turizm stratejisi çevre dostu ve bölge temelli politika oluşturmayı gerektiren sürdürülebilir gelişmeye dayanmaktadır. Ancak, Trabzon'un küçük bir bölgesi olan Uzungöl'de bu strateji başarısız olmuştur. Uzungöl, son 30 yıl içinde çevresel özellikleri ve tarihi önemi nedeniyle dört özel statü almıştır ve buna bağlı olarak devletin yönettiği çeşitli plan ve projelere konu olmuştur. Ancak, bu statülere rağmen, artan turizm talebine bağlı olarak, bugün bölge hedeflenen görünümünden çok uzaktadır. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin sürdürülebilir turizm stratejisi, devlet düzenlemelerinin bölgenin ihtiyaçlarını ve yerel halkın beklentilerini karşılamaması sebebiyle Uzungöl'de uygulanamamış ve bunun sonucunda bölge halkının turizm talebini karşılamak adına bölgedeki kaynakların aşırı kullanımına başvurduğu görülmüştür. Bunlara bağlı olarak bu tez, Uzungöl bölgesinde turizm politikasının öngörülen ve elde edilen sonuçları arasındaki ikileme odaklanarak, bölgedeki turizm politikalarının eksikliklerini devlet dokümanlarını inceleyerek ve yerel halk, siyasetçiler ve sivil toplum üyeleri ile röportajlar yaparak analiz etmeye ve bu bölgede devletin sürdürülebilirlik hedeflerini nasıl ve neden uygulayamadığını incelemeyi hedefler.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA: *Anadolu Ajansı*, Anadolu Agency

BCCP: *Barlas İmar Planlama Müşavirlik Ltd. Şti*, Barlas Consulting for
Construction Planning Co. Ltd.

CTCs: *Şehir Turizm Konseyleri*, City Tourism Councils

DOKA: *Doğu Karadeniz Kalkınma Ajansı*, Eastern Black Sea Development Agency

DOKAP BKİ: *Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesel Kalkınma İdaresi*, Eastern Black Sea
Regional Development Administration

GAP: *Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi*, the Southeastern Anadolu Project

GNP: Gross National Product

İHA: *İhlas Haber Ajansı*, İhlas News Agency

JDP: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, Justice and Development Party

MAF: *Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı*, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

MCT: *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*, Ministry of Culture and Tourism

MEU: *Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı*, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization

MFWA: *Orman ve Su İşleri Bakanlığı*, Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs

MoD: *Kalkınma Bakanlığı*, Ministry of Development

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

NTCs: *Ulusal Turizm Konseyleri*, National Tourism Councils

RDAs: *Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları,* Regional Development Agencies

SPO: *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*, State Planning Organization

TEMA: *Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma
Vakfı*, The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation
and the Protection of Natural Habitats

TurkStat: *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu*, Turkish Statistical Institute

UNEP: United Nations Environment Programme

UNWTO: World Tourism Organization

WCED: World Commission on Environment and Development

WWF: World Wildlife Fund

WWF-Turkey: *Doğal Hayatı Koruma Vakfı*, World Wildlife Fund Turkey

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, the state has been giving 'special statuses' to distinguished and
environmentally significant regions since the 1950s in order to place them under
legal protection. The "national park" (*milli park)* status was first given in 1958 to
Yozgat Çamlığı in Yozgat and Karatepe – Aslantaş in Osmaniye. Currently, there are
43 national parks across Turkey (MAF, 2018a). Since 1983, 229 regions acquired the
status of "natural park" *(tabiat parkı)* (MAF, 2018b). There are also "protected
areas" *(sit alanları)* which are archeological, historical or natural landmarks, and
"specially protected environment area" *(özel çevre koruma bölgesi)* in Turkey
(MEU, 2018). Each status is given based on a variety of criteria. Ultimately, the state
aims to conserve environmentally significant regions by paying attention to their
special needs and implementing special rules and regulations to construction,
logging, landscaping, or water utilization.

In addition to the three special statuses of natural park, protected area, and
specially protected environment area, Uzungöl, a small district of Trabzon in the
Black Sea region of Turkey, also has a "tourism center" *(turizm merkezi)* status. Its
natural beauty has attracted the attention of both national and international tourists
for a long time. These state-given statuses are supposed to, in theory, conserve the
environment of the region by regulating tourism governance, environmental
protection and construction, and a variety of projects were developed for the region
with this purpose. However, despite such efforts, Uzungöl strikes attention as a case
where these regulations were unable to be completely applied, with some plans
completely scrapped before they could even be carried out. Meanwhile, in order to

accommodate for the aforementioned tourism demand, hotels in the region have increased significantly in number, and as a consequence, impacted the environmental sustainability of the region.

In the face of such damage, locals and politicians alike have expressed their worry about the current situation and for the future of Uzungöl. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, stated in 2017 that his administration is aware of the worsening situation in Uzungöl, and is ready to take action (AA & NTV, 2017). However, so far, initiatives have neither been sufficient nor efficient to change the situation in the region, and Uzungöl continues to be subject to news about illegal hotels and increasing tourism demand.

Despite various media coverage and politicians' statements, I was not aware of these problems in Uzungöl until I went to Trabzon in February 2018 and visited the region firsthand, witnessing just how drastically increasing tourism demand has affected the region. A travel agent, who lived in the region, accompanied me during my stay. After a quick tour of the city center, we set off for Uzungöl. The travel agent informed us that it was difficult to reach Uzungöl during the winter because heavy snowfall would block roads going through the mountains, but he also added this did not prevent tourists to come here even during the winter. The ninety-minute drive featured untouched nature, mountains, and rivers alongside the road. However, upon arriving to Uzungöl, the situation was different than the drive. There was a plethora of hotels and hostels and construction for more buildings, with no uniformity in outward appearance, making for an unpleasant view. Uzungöl which used to stand in the middle of a historically beautiful natural landscape was now surrounded by construction. Apart from destruction in its natural landscape, more importantly, the environmental problems have emerged in the region.

My background in social sciences, and personal interest in tourism and the environment led me to ask questions on how responsible bodies allow such constructions to take place, whether these buildings have construction permits, and whether there was a regulatory mechanism for such construction. The agent expressed that as a result of the increasing tourism demand, most of the locals in Uzungöl sought to maximize their profits, turning their houses into hotels or constructing new ones. Most of these hotels and hostels were ill-suited for the environment as well - two or three-storey buildings instead of environment-friendly buildings. However, he also mentioned that the state did not show any effort to prevent these. From my initial observations, they were haphazardly constructed without paying attention to environmental consequences. Eventually, the region has suffered many environmental problems such as excessive use of land's capacity, air and water pollution, and land degradation.

During my trip, I also had the chance to talk with some of the locals running a restaurant we visited and asked about their opinion on the development of the tourism sector and its environmental consequences. For them, the locals themselves revived the region through the tourism sector without getting any support from the state. The environmental consequences, in this process, were inevitable and involuntary they said. I carried out these conversations with locals, aware that there was also the politicians' perspective of how the situation came to be. After my trip, I continued to probe this issue. Desktop research showed that most of the hotels in the region did not have construction permits, yet have continued to accommodate tourists for years. In addition, Uzungöl's increasing tourism demand over the years has encouraged people to construct more hotels without regard for regulations or permits.

On the political front, my research yielded that Uzungöl had four different "special statuses" intended to control and regulate all constructions in the region: natural park, tourism center, protected area, and specially protected environment area. Theoretically, these statuses should bring with them strict rules and regulations to be applied to Uzungöl, made mandatory by law. However, in reality, the rulers were not observed in the region, and their inexistence has led to an increase in the practices that have dragged the region into environmental unsustainability.

In the rest of the chapter, I state why I specifically chose Uzungöl as a case study, what made it a distinctive case, the research methods I employed, the obstacles encountered during my field research and the contribution of my study to tourism governance literature. Lastly, I outline the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Uzungöl as a case study

According to Border Statistics[1] of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat), during the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, herein referred to as JDP) period, there was a noticeable increase in the number of Arab tourists traveling to Turkey, specifically between 2002 and 2017 (TurkStat, 2018). Interestingly enough, this statistic was also corroborated verbally through my interviews during my fieldwork, despite having not asked any questions referring to nationalities of incoming tourists. This increase has also attracted the attention of locals to such an extent that they constantly referred to Arab tourists when answering questions related to tourism, saying that Arab tourists prefer visiting Istanbul, Yalova, Bursa, and Trabzon.

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[1] The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) in collaboration with the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) has been publishing Border Statistics since 2001. In these, it is possible to see the number of incoming tourists to Turkey for each country.

Among these, Trabzon is a notable case, since it is geographically isolated from the other three and out-of-touch compared to these (See Figure 1). It is located in the Black Sea Region of Turkey and compared to the other three cities, it is harder to reach for international tourists. However, despite its distance, in the last two decades, Trabzon has become a popular destination for foreign tourists, especially those from the Gulf region (Starr, 2017). Eventually, some international airlines such as Turkish Airlines, Pegasus Airlines, Kuwait Airlines, Clickair, Air Arabia, Flynas Airlines and SunExpress Airlines have started direct flights to Trabzon from abroad (Wego, 2019). Along with important historical touristic destinations such as the Sümela Monastery, Hagia Sofia Museum or Atatürk Pavilion, Trabzon is known for its natural landmarks such as the Sultan Murat Plateau, Altındere Natural Park, and Uzungöl.

Fig. 1 The locations of the cities of Bursa, Istanbul, Trabzon and Yalova on a map of Turkey
Source: [Pixel Map Generator, 2019]

Among these destinations, Uzungöl, a small district within the boundaries of Çaykara District of Trabzon (see Figure 2), is an outlier because, with its hotels and

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tourism facilities, it has become a touristic hotspot for both domestic and international tourism. Although this touristic boom occurred after 2000, Uzungöl's tourism history dates back to 1974. While in the field, I had a chance to interview the person who set up the first tourism facility, İnan Kardeşler Restaurant, in Uzungöl in 1974 (Interviewee 14). Another hotel manager referred to the owner of İnan Kardeşler Restaurant as "the pioneer of tourism in Uzungöl, bringing Uzungöl to this level, and making Uzungöl what it is"[2] (Interviewee 7). In almost all of my interviews in Uzungöl, interviewees continuously suggested I talk with the owner of the İnan Kardeşler Restaurant.
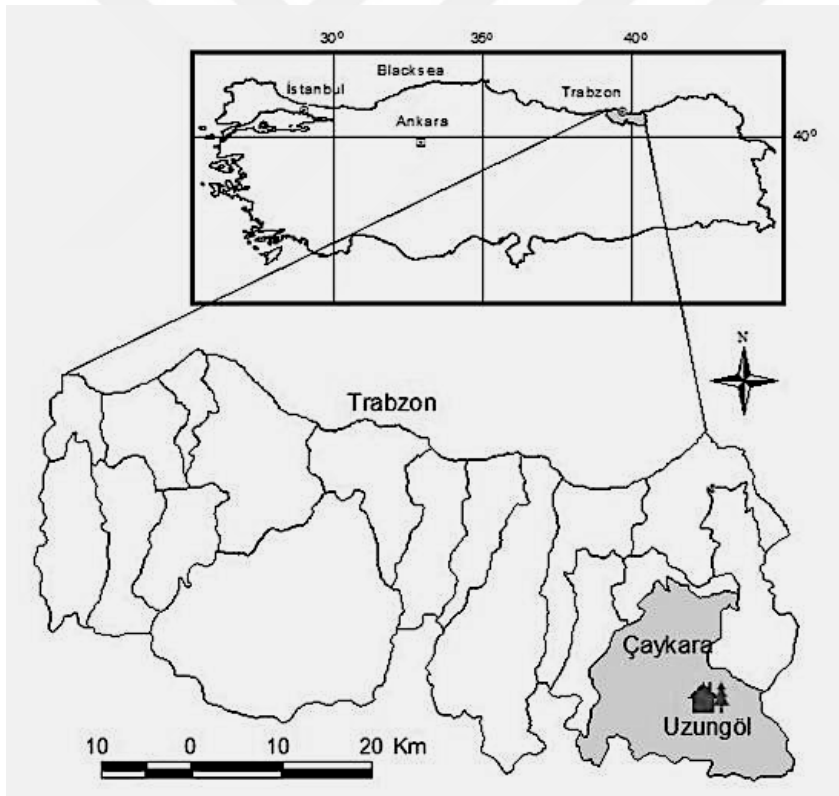
Fig. 2 The location of Uzungöl on a map of Turkey

Source: [Atasoy, 2010, p. 323]

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[2] Translated from: "Uzungöl turizmine öncülük yapan, Uzungöl'ü buralara getiren eee ve Uzungöl'ü Uzungöl yapan kişi."

During the interview, he gave me extensive background information regarding the region's tourism development. He told me that when he set up the restaurant in 1974, there were no accommodation options for visitors; visitors would come for a day-trip to Uzungöl and his restaurant, then rush back to Trabzon. Eventually, in the beginning of the 1980s, he decided to set up a hotel, İnan Kardeşler Hotel in the region:

> The people [locals in Uzungöl] thought that I went crazy because no one believed that I could build a hotel, and have tourists. We did not have a lot of visitors here at that time. They asked how I would cover my expenses. We did not even have good roads connecting us to Çaykara. (Interviewee 14) (See Appendix A, 1)

The hotel that he built was in the form of a wooden "bungalow"[3] he saw during his time in Germany - an environment-friendly construction. At the beginning, the bungalow had only eight rooms, but later on, as the need arose, he constructed more bungalows.

Nevertheless, over time, this handful of hotels could not meet the high tourism demand - especially after the mid-1990s. "People started to host tourists in their homes,"[4] the owner of the İnan Kardeşler Hotel said, and later, his hotel workers started to leave their jobs and set up new hotels and restaurants in the region (Interviewee 14). While some followed the İnan Kardeşler Hotels' design in construction, whose wooden bungalows had actually become a blueprint for the region, others built environmentally unfriendly and incompatible hotels. It means instead of environment-friendly wooden buildings, now, some of the hotel managers have preferred to build concrete and large hotels since they can build them easier and host more tourists in these (Interviewee 14). These hotels are ill-suited for the

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[3] "Bungalow" is a standalone building which can be used as rest houses, hotel or boutique inns (Chang, 2010, p. 966).
[4] Translated from: "İnsanlar turistleri evlerinde ağırlamaya başladılar."

region's environment, and with the increase in density of construction, uniformity in outward appearance has disappeared as well. As a result, in the following period, building environmentally unfriendly hotels was normalized in the region, and brought with it numerous environmental problems.

Uzungöl is closed off to external effects geologically, surrounded by mountains and located at a 30-minute drive away from the nearest town. It also differs from other natural landmarks in the region in terms of different touristic opportunities such as trekking, birdwatching, fishery, paragliding, or camping (MFWA, 2016, p. 219). Given this geographic isolation and unique features, the number of hotels in the region has increased over the years, and tourists have continued to visit the region. Eventually, by the early 2000s, Uzungöl shined out in the region as a tourism destination and became "a locomotive" in hosting Arab tourists and developing tourism in Trabzon (Interviewee 14).

In 2017, a total of 697.132 tourists (230.862 foreign and 466.270 domestic) visited Uzungöl (MFWA, 2016, p. 218) – an increase underscored by both national and international media. Some bringing attention to reasons behind the tourism increase, stating that Arab tourists prefer Uzungöl not only during the summer to benefit from the fresh air, but also during the winter to experience snow (Starr, 2017), and others were highlighting the improved transport infrastructure of the region and the increased touristic attractions as a result of this tourism demand (Daily Sabah, 2017).

Uzungöl is also a case for mismanagement in the tourism sector. At the very beginning of this increasing tourism demand, the region has enjoyed positive economic and socio-cultural development. For many years, the primary means of living in Uzungöl has been tourism, a point underlined by the interviewees as well.

However, the lack of corresponding infrastructural and environmental development has led to questions about the sustainability of this dependency on tourism. The regional infrastructure quickly fell short to the needs of the rapid increase in tourism, with roads and accommodations unable to satisfy the large demand. In return, this inadequacy led to an increase in illegal housing and subsequent environmental problems.

JDP government, on a state and municipal level, has several mechanisms in place to monitor its tourism policies across Turkey, as well as in Uzungöl. These mechanisms contain rigid rules and regulations and are supported by laws and executive plans, aiming for sustainable tourism development through participatory and region-based as well as environment-friendly policy-making (MCT, 2007a). So, the state promises to control a region's capacity to flourish as a touristic center, while protecting its nature.

Uzungöl's reality, however, did not reflect this. Neither local administrators nor residents adhered to or properly carried out the necessary regulations, failing to establish sustainable tourism development. The state-level regulations did not meet the locals' expectations, and in contrast to the state's intended strategy, the region ended up under threat of tourism mismanagement and violation of existing rules. In that regard, one of the local state officials stated:

> Uzungöl was subject to a rapid tourism wave. It could not satisfy the demand; neither in terms of accommodation nor for daytrips. As a result, the people, in order to satisfy this demand, since there is also no regulation for constructions or let's say there is a planlessness to them, took it upon themselves. (Interviewee 4) (See Appendix A, 2)

This "planlessness" led to a vicious cycle of local residents acting in their own regard and not being strictly punished, further leading to more and more ill-suited hotel

construction, and as a result, creating environmental problems and damaging the principle of environmental sustainability.

This issue resonated in the media as well, with reports of Uzungöl locals who converted their homes into hotels, sometimes even constructed illegal buildings, increasingly leading to conflicts among state officials and local residents (Hürriyet Daily News, 2016). In addition, recently, President Erdoğan and other state bureaucrats increasingly made statements on the situation. Regarding the increasing numbers of construction and therefore environmental problems in the region, Erdoğan promised that Uzungöl would be made better with the necessary regulations in the future (AA & NTV, 2017). Similarly, Minister of Internal Affairs Süleyman Soylu and Çaykara Mayor Hanefi Tok made statements about future construction plans and expressed their intents on demolishing buildings ill-suited to the region (Başar & Koltuk, 2018; CNN Türk, 2018; İHA, 2017).

It is clear that over recent years, Uzungöl has increasingly become an important political issue. It represents a case in which the promises of the state contradict with the actual situation on the ground. In order to analyze this contradiction, this thesis focuses on the mismanagement of the tourism sector in Uzungöl. The main questions behind this research are why tourism development in Uzungöl is unsustainable, and which processes and actors are responsible for this unsustainability. Since these questions have several ramifications, two follow-up questions can be added: which actors are excluded by the state, and why has the state failed to follow up on the mechanisms and regulations initially prescribed in the tourism strategy of Uzungöl? This thesis puts forward one general hypothesis. Accordingly, the reason for the lack of regulation and implementation in Uzungöl is the rent that locals, local state officials, and the central state was extracting from

tourism. Whereas the locals aim to increase their profit from the tourism sector, both local state officials and the central state cannot develop projects against the locals' interest since they do not want to lose their support, nor do they want to forego the benefits accruing to the state from tourism income. Based on these, I argue that in this ambiguous situation in the region, the central state is unwilling to include the locals into the decision-making process concerning Uzungöl and policymakers turned a blind eye to the locals' actions to extract from tourism for a long time. Eventually, the region is damaged environmentally, and due to these environmental damages, tourism development in Uzungöl has become unsustainable.

Overall, I believe this research will provide an important contribution to the literature on tourism policy-making in Turkey. Previously, Uzungöl has primarily been scrutinized in terms of its bio-diversity (see Akata & Uzun, 2017; Şahin, 1998) and geographical features (see Karslı, Şenkaya, Şenkaya, & Güney, 2017; Ozseker & Eruz, 2016; Verep, Çelikkale, & Düzgüneş, 2002). Apart from these characteristics, Atasoy also examines the changes in land usage in Uzungöl, claiming that Uzungöl suffers from rapid structuring due to increasing tourism demand which, led to overall habitat destruction (2010, p.790). However, Atasoy's work only provides a geographic examination and does not touch upon the governance in the region. Therefore, this thesis will contribute significantly to Uzungöl's tourism governance through holistic comprehensive research. Since this thesis examines the effectiveness of Turkey's tourism strategy, it will also contribute to the literature over tourism governance in Turkey in general.

1.2 Methodology

For this thesis, I employed qualitative research methods, including both document analysis and interviews. First, I conducted desktop research analyzing both state documents and secondary sources. The state documents I analyzed in detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are about construction and governance plans, and tourism strategy in Uzungöl and across Turkey. Moreover, I reviewed laws related to my research – the Code of Construction, Code of Tourism Encouragement, Code of National Parks, Code of Municipalities and Code of Cultural and Natural Properties, and specific regulations for Uzungöl, giving it different statuses (See Appendix B for the legal regulations affected Uzungöl). I also utilized secondary sources such as news, reports, and books in order to gain an understanding of the general situation in the region.

After examining these documents, I looked for literature to help theoretically situate the case of Uzungöl. First, because problems in the region mostly relate to mismanagement, I reviewed the literature on tourism governance and sustainable tourism development and conclude that the ideal framework on tourism governance is one that includes local participation and respecting the environment, all the whiling aiming for sustainability. In order to analyze the roles that locals play in tourism policy-making, I covered literature on community approach and collaboration theory in tourism. Then, to see what might happen if the locals were to take control over the region, I reviewed the literature on communities' mistakes, the possibility of collective action, and ideal examples of integrating locals into tourism governance. Lastly, since Uzungöl's status as a national landmark is what makes it a tourism region, I looked at the relationship between tourism and the environment.

Following this desktop research and literature review, I went to Trabzon for my fieldwork in September 2018.

Based on my literature review and theoretical approaches, I have categorized interviewees into three main sub-categories (See Appendix C); locals, political actors, and civil society members. In a total of 14 different interviews with people in different positions, I used different questions (See Appendix D). The interviews were semi-structured with main frameworks for each sub-category, guiding me during the interviews. However, I did not restrict myself to those frameworks and questions, allowing interviewees to talk and reveal their opinions more freely. All of the interviews were conducted one-on-one and face-to-face except for one interview with the officer from World Wildlife Fund Turkey (WWF-Turkey), where the interviewee insisted on having a Skype interview. As for the duration, the interviews lasted anywhere from thirty minutes to one hour. Other than the two hotel managers belonging to the first sub-category, all of the interviewees gave me verbal consent for recording their interviews and using their names, however, I chose not to use their names and hotel names to maintain confidentiality.

The first sub-category, local residents of Uzungöl, includes two travel agents, one person from a Uzungöl Quran Course and five hotel managers, all carried out during my fieldwork. For the first three interviewees stated above, I used snowball sampling. One of the travel agents was the person who showed me around when I first went to Uzungöl in February 2018. The other one was a friend of his, who owns another travel agency in Trabzon. The second travel agent also gave me the contact of another person who lived in Uzungöl since birth and currently works in the Uzungöl Quran Course.

Although the travel agents spent most of their time in Uzungöl during the tourist season, they were more willing to evaluate tourism in Trabzon in general, giving me a more general point of view. However, the third interview with the Quran Course teacher was only about Uzungöl. He worked as a city councilor in the Uzungöl Municipality before Uzungöl was included to Çaykara district, therefore, falling into the first and second sub-categories. For this reason, I asked him questions about a wider range of topics. Since he used to spend time in the Uzungöl Municipality, he was able to evaluate the political dynamics of Uzungöl more knowledgably and provide key insights. In the three interviews with the two travel agents and Quran Course teacher, they allowed me to use a tape recorder and seemed comfortable during the interviews.

In Uzungöl, there are 196 registered hotels according to 2017 data collected by the Trabzon Governorate (Trabzon Valiliği, 2017a). I entered 13 of these hotels, and the managers in five of them agreed to talk with me. Eight of them aggressively refused to have an interview citing security concerns after I explained the purpose of the interview. One of them stated that he could not trust me; the other told me that he could not be sure whether or not I was a state official trying to gather information secretly. This was understandable because most of the hotel managers in Uzungöl have ongoing trials for violating the Code of Construction, and have previously received imprisonment. Hence, they were unwilling to talk. Among the five hotel managers that I had interviews, two of them did not allow me to use a tape recorder due to security reasons, so I took notes instead. In all five of these interviews, the managers behaved timidly at first and did not go into a lot of detail, but after some prompting, they started to give more detailed information about problems they experienced.

In the second sub-category of political actors, I interviewed four people with different roles in tourism governance in Uzungöl through snowball sampling. I conducted these interviews in each interviewee's offices during my fieldwork in Trabzon. First, I organized an appointment with the Trabzon Provincial Director of Culture and Tourism through personal contacts. With his referrals, I arranged four more interviews; one with the Çaykara Mayor, one with the director of Construction Affairs in Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality, one with director of the Eastern Black Sea Development Agency, and one with a member of the Zoning Board of Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality, of Trabzon Chamber of Industry and Trade, and of the Uzungöl Tourism Professionals Association. However, the director of the Eastern Black Sea Development Agency canceled the interview at the last second without stating a reason and did not reschedule. The other three interviewees were willing to help and gave a lot of additional information during the interviews, widening my perspective on the situation. However, I did also have the feeling that they were trying to justify themselves and their institutions' inefficient and superficial actions in the region, given their discomfort when asked about construction and environmental problems.

In the third sub-category, civil society members, I initially planned to conduct interviews with people from both local and national civil society organizations. However, after conducting desktop research for organizations in the region, I realized that Uzungöl lacked active civil society organizations. At the local level, I have found three associations established in Uzungöl: Uzungöl Tourism Survival Association (*Uzungöl Turizmini Yaşatma Derneği*), Association of Uzungöl (*Uzungöl Derneği*) and Uzungöl Tourism Professionals Association (*Uzungöl Turizmciler Derneği*). However, despite going to their addresses and calling their

numbers several times, I could not reach anyone from the first two associations. The person I interviewed from the Uzungöl Tourism Professionals Association was also a member of the Zoning Board of Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality and of the Trabzon Chamber of Industry and Trade, falling into both the second and third sub-categories of my classification. As a result, I enlarged the scope of my questions for this interview.

At the national level, I interviewed two people from different associations. The first one was a city planner who works for the Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (TEMA) since 2009. The second one was with an officer of nature preservation from WWF-Turkey. Both of the interviewees were aware of the problems in Uzungöl and considered the situation irremediable.

During my interviews conducted in Trabzon, the local dialect of residents was a barrier for me, and on occasion, I had problems understanding them, causing me to ask follow-up questions for clarification. Another disadvantage I had during the interviews was with hotel managers who dramatized their experiences. Since they have ongoing or impending trials, some of which involving potential prison sentences, they considered themselves as victims. Therefore, while talking about the state's policies in the region, they frequently blamed the state and did not refer to any mistakes local residents may have made. Similarly, when asked about damage to the environment in the region, political actors prevaricated the conversation, causing some of their answers to become superficial. In order to neutralize the risks of dramatizing the situation and being superficial, I made sure to refer to state documents and news while analyzing the interviews.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. In Chapter 1, I clarify the starting point of the thesis first. From a personal experience, I explain what led me to focus on the tourism policy-making in Uzungöl. Then, I dwell on what the case of Uzungöl, why this case matters, and the missing points in the literature on Uzungöl. Lastly, I state which questions I aimed to answer, the methodology I used to analyze the case and the obstacles faced with during the field research.

Chapter 2 looks at previous work on the topic, ultimately constructing the theoretical framework for approaching my research questions. Theoretically, I draw on the tourism governance literature, which includes sustainable tourism development, centralized and decentralized tourism models, and the importance of regionalization in tourism governance and in getting support from locals in tourism policy-making. Then, I depict the role of locals vis-à-vis this governance process: how they become involved in the decision-making process in tourism, which mistakes they can make if they are the only actors, which ways should be adopted to avoid these mistakes and which approaches would pave the way for community integration or involvement into policy-making for tourism. Lastly, I examine the relationship between tourism and the environment since Uzungöl is a tourist destination due to its environment.

In Chapter 3, I show how tourism governance took on a new shape under the JDP. Before delving into the JDP period, I start this chapter with a historical overview of tourism governance in Turkey, providing grounds for a more comprehensive comparison between the two periods. In this way, I provide an analysis of the transition to the JDP's new strategy of tourism policy-making, one

that aims for sustainable tourism development through participatory, diversified, environment-friendly, and region-based policies.

In Chapter 4, following an evaluation of the current situation of the district, I dive into the special statuses given to Uzungöl, the state's plans for the region, and the roles of political actors in the region. So, using my desktop research and interviews, I describe and evaluate the current situation in Uzungöl firsthand. Overall, I aim to see whether the JDP's tourism objectives analyzed in Chapter 3, and the state's plans for the region are actually fulfilled in practice in the case of Uzungöl, and in return, whether the JDP's actions in the region have led to sustainable tourism development or not. Based on these, at the end of Chapter 4, I show that the projected and attained result of tourism policies in Uzungöl diverge despite the JDP's tourism objectives.

In order to explain this dilemma between the projected and attained situations in Uzungöl, in Chapter 5, I revisit my hypothesis and reanalyze my results through the theoretical lenses presented in Chapter 2. I classify my results into three sub-headings: top-down policy-making, the ineffectiveness of the state, and lack of pressure from outside. Through these three general arguments, I explain how the present mechanism fails to regulate constructions, and achieve environmental preservation and sustainable tourism governance in the region. As a result, the state could not meet the locals' needs and satisfy the tourism demand in Uzungöl. Under these circumstances, I claim that the future of Uzungöl, in terms of sustainable tourism and environmental preservation, is at risk.

In Chapter 6, I conclude my research claiming that in Uzungöl, the state failed to accomplish its purpose of sustainable tourism development. Responsible state officials could not provide a well-functioning governance mechanism for the

tourism sector in Uzungöl, and over time, locals became maverick actors in transforming the region. Their unregulated behavior increased with an increase in tourism traffic to the region. Eventually, the state and the locals have dragged the region into unsustainability. At the end of this chapter, I also set light to the necessity of further research in which policy recommendations would be listed for Turkey's tourism governance.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In tourism governance literature, most scholars focus on sustainable tourism development (see Bramwell & Lane, 2012; Cater, 1993; Ekinci, 2014; T. Jamal & Getz, 1999; Okazaki, 2008; Tosun, 2006; Tosun & Timothy, 2011). They evaluate the state's tourism policies based on a sustainability criterion, and examine whether these policies are environmentally protective for the regions in question and satisfy the needs of current and future generations (Cater, 1993; Ekinci, 2014; UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). However, for natural and historical landmark destinations, local communities along with the state are significant actors in tourism governance, because of the crucial role they serve in determining the needs of the region and, in many cases, later implementing the policies (Haywood, 1988, p. 109). Therefore, for more effective management strategies, states should involve local communities in the process of developing and implementing strategies.

However, in some cases, problems are overlooked resulting in overused natural resources, regional mismanagement, damaged environments, and so forth. With its demolished natural environment and increasing haphazardly constructed buildings, Uzungöl is one such example. This thesis uses four general approaches from the literature when constructing a theoretical framework to evaluate the situation in Uzungöl: sustainable tourism development and tourism governance, usage of the community approach and collaboration theory in policy-making, the possibility of excessive use of the resources and ways to prevent it, and the relationship between tourism and environment.

Accordingly, this chapter first explains the criterion for sustainable development. It then continues with sustainable tourism development literature in tourism governance, and explains the different approaches for tourism policy-making. Later, it examines community involvement in policy-making, suggested as a better way of tourism development in the literature. Next, by juxtaposing the ideas of the "tragedy of commons" and "collective action," it shows the opposing approaches for the cases in which the locals take control over their region. Since Uzungöl became a touristic destination due to its natural landmarks, and it was this increasing tourism demand that led to excessive use of its environmental qualifications and over-structuring, the last part of the chapter looks at the relationship between tourism and the environment.

2.1 Sustainable tourism and tourism governance

Sustainable tourism literature is primarily approached from the perspective of tourism governance or management. Scholars focus on ways to reach sustainability in tourist destinations, obstacles for the development, and states' roles in governance in these places. Studies about Turkey mostly study how Turkey is marketed as a tourist destination, the impact of tourism on Turkey's economic growth, and the environmental costs of tourism in Turkey. However, before concentrating on these issues, one should look at the literature on sustainable development, of which sustainable tourism is considered as one of the main pillars (Jiang, 2009: 117; WCED, 1987).

The United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) report (the Brundtland report), Our Common Future, defines sustainable development as "meeting the needs of present without compromising the ability of

future generations to meet their needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 49). This report is significant for sustainability literature because it was the first time sustainable development is conceptually defined. Later, Sharpley (2000, p. 7) developed sustainable development conceptually as "a juxtaposition of two schools of thought: development theory and environmental sustainability", and Ekinci (2014, p. 178) defined it as "sustaining the existence of all living creatures together in harmony and without any threat to each other". When tackling sustainable development, states emphasize feasible development strategies and preserving the environment for both current and future generations.

In order to achieve this, states underscore certain principles that need to be kept in mind when strategizing for sustainable development. For Haughton (1999, pp. 235-237), the main principles for sustainable development are futurity, equity, participation, and realizing the importance of biodiversity. Similarly, Giddings, Hopwood, and O'Brien (2002, p. 188) emphasize the dependency of humans on the environment by referring to the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987, p. 5) and state the following as vital elements for sustainable development policies:

> [F]uturity to give regard for the needs of future generations; equity covering social justice regardless of class, gender, race, etc. or where they live; and participation so that people are able to shape their own futures. A principle recognizing the importance of bio-diversity and ecosystem integrity is also vital. (Giddings et al., 2002, p. 194)

Based on these outlined principles, sustainable development brings together "ecology and economy" (WCED, 1987, p. 5) or in other words "environmental and socio-economic issues" (Hopwood, Mellor, & O'Brien, 2005, p. 39). It not only provides social and economic well-being but also preserves nature for today as well as for future generations.

The three elements of sustainable development, the society, economy, and environment, are "fractured and multi-layered" (Giddings et al., 2002, p. 187), meaning that each of them is significant in themselves while also being connected to one another. When talking about sustainable development of the society, the concepts of social cohesion, social inclusion, and social exclusion are most frequently referred to (Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011, p. 290), suggesting that for a society to have sustainable development, communities should be integrated with one another rather than excluded. With regards to the environment, environmental problems, or polluting industries that result in the decrease of the earth's resources are important topics (Hopwood et al., 2005, p. 39). Lastly, the main issue for economic arguments is the possible threat to markets that unduly demand of some groups' well-being poses (Yavuz, 2016, p. 159). In short, there should be a balance in place between preserving environmental resources, strengthening societal relations, and developing economic interests so that sustainable development would be reached.

With these three factors in mind, it is no surprise that tourism is a prominent sector where sustainable development becomes a major concern. The tourism sector uses both natural resources, such as climate, land structure, plant cover or beaches, and developed resources, such as qualified labor, transportation, and communication (Lerner & Haber, 2000, pp. 79-80). Given this complex structure, states should put "its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts" in the forefront during the policy-making process for sustainable tourism development (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005, pp. 11-12). In other words, sustainable tourism development has two conditions: benefiting from natural resources, without carelessly exhausting them, and developing human-made services, such as waste water or electricity systems

communication systems or infrastructure accordingly (Ekinci, 2014, p. 179). For this development, Cater puts forward three pillars:

> Meet the needs of the host population in terms of improved living standards both in the short and long term; [s]atisfy the demands of a growing number of tourists and continue to attract them in order to meet the first aim; [s]afeguard the natural environment in order to achieve both of the preceding aims. (Cater, 1993, pp. 85-86)

By putting these pillars into practice, states undertake a regulatory role (Mycoo, 2006, p. 490), and are considered the primary decision-makers in planning and implementing tourism policies (Dredge, Jenkins, & Whitford, 2011, p. 19).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the role of power and politics in planning and developing policies for the tourism sector became more discernible (Dredge, Jenkins, & Whitford, 2011, p. 26). States started to realize the significance of tourism for economic and regional development and set to benefit accordingly from the tourism sector. Tourism governance includes working on tourism plans, profiling tourists, evaluating tourism products, advertising regions' touristic opportunities and determining prices of tourism facilities (Woodside & Martin, 2008, p. 1). States also need to maintain good relationships with professionals in the tourism sector, both national and international tourists, and host communities (Bramwell & Lane, 1993, p. 2). These relationships are important in case of extraordinary circumstances and bad experiences that have the possibility of damaging a country's image in the eyes of the international sphere. Therefore, only through governments' sensitivity to such precautions can important landmarks reach sustainable tourism development (Bramwell, 2012, p. 51).

In the tourism sector, the state has seven functions according to Hall (1994, pp. 33-45): coordination, planning, legislation and regulation, government as an entrepreneur, stimulation, social tourism and government as an interest protector.

However, the success of the state in fulfilling these functions differs from state to state and in some cases, can result in mismanagement. There are various actors in tourism governance, from "the public, private, voluntary and community sectors" that are all involved in the policy-making process, often making it challenging for states to maintain coordination and cooperation among these stakeholders (Bramwell, 2012, p. 51; Hall, 1994, p. 33). In order to secure coordination during such decision-making processes, states also need to balance the roles of these actors (Hall, 1994, p. 32). Without proper coordination, tourism governance cannot be handled, especially in cases with rapid tourism growth.

In developing countries, such as Turkey, a case of rapid tourism growth emerged in the last decades, bringing with it socio-economic and environmental problems due to the lack of properly implemented tourism policies (Çetinel & Yolal, 2009, p. 36), eventually leading "potential social, economic and political benefits of tourism" to become obsolete (Tosun & Timothy, 2011, p. 359). These states are often not ready or well-equipped enough to economically absorb tourism growth, and cannot provide a promotion mechanism for these tourist destinations (Çetinel & Yolal, 2009, p. 45) while simultaneously preventing the depletion of natural resources (Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1066).

The success of tourism policies and regulations is highly dependent on the method of application. For example, in a "centralized model" or "top-down model", states aim to control regions from the center and do not give mobility to local agents (Alvarez, Ertuna, Ünalan, & Hatipoğlu, 2014, p. 130). As a result, while states are the leading investors in the tourism sector, they risk the chance to absorb specific needs of different regions, misunderstanding the realities of local communities, and offering inefficient service (Yüksel, Bramwell, & Yüksel, 2005, p. 860).

Decentralized policies and regional planning are, therefore, highly encouraged, especially in developing countries who consider tourism as a crucial part of their economic development (Tosun & Jenkins, 1996, p. 519). This is known as "regionalization" in policy-making in the literature, meaning that in order to have sustainable tourism development across the whole country, states should divide responsibilities between local bodies and the central government to avoid confusion and conflict (Tosun & Jenkins, 1996, p. 529). In addition to states, "local organizations, voluntary bodies, guides, concerned mayors, local administrations, municipal unions" (Göymen, 2000, p. 1029) and regional development agencies (RDAs) (Alvarez et al., 2014) are also advised to take part in a country's tourism policies. However, regionalization in tourism policies can be very challenging, due to conflicting interests, values, and power structures existing among the actors in different regions (Pforr, 2007, p. 282). Still, if regionalization is not done with tourism planning, the threat of mismanagement still exists resulting in regions suffering from congestion, environmental damages or infrastructural problems (Tosun & Jenkins, 1996, p. 522).

There are many examples which highlight the cruciality of regionalization in Turkey's tourism governance history, something that is also reflected in the literature. Especially after the military intervention of 1980, Turkey started to tackle tourism governance on a more regular basis (Göymen, 2000, p. 1033). As a result, the tourism sector became a cornerstone of sustainable growth in Turkey, not only providing regional development (Tosun & Jenkins, 1996, p. 529) but also affecting the international reputation of the country positively (Polat, 2016, p. 894). According to Tosun and Jenkins (1996, p. 529), up until the 1990s, Turkey was unable to manage regionalization in tourism planning. In the 2000s, however, the state clarified

how the marketing of different regions would be managed, and which institutions would be responsible (Demir, 2014, p. 117).

Regionalization in the tourism sector brings forth the debate of taking support from local residents. Without the necessary support from locals, it is harder to apply policies in rural areas because locals are better equipped to express the needs and desires of their communities (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004, p. 495). If such cooperation is ensured, states can develop a more "responsible and responsive approach" for tourism planning (Haywood, 1988, pp. 109-110). This also helps remedy imbalances between developed and underdeveloped areas in the country (Tosun, Timothy, & Öztürk, 2003, p. 142). Local residents, in most cases, know that if they join the planning process, it will work in their favor and they will gain more from the tourism sector (Andereck & Vogt, 2000, p. 27; Perdue, Long & Allen, 1990, p. 587). However, it can be hard for the state to encourage each local to participate in the planning process. Therefore, in order to achieve local involvement, scholars suggest various ways for the states by referring to the community approach and collaboration theory.

2.2 Community approach and collaboration theory in tourism governance

Murphy's *Tourism: A Community Approach* (1985) opened the discussion of taking support from local residents in tourism governance, leading scholars to start suggesting community involvement in tourism governance and offering new tourism models based on community involvement (Dredge, 2001; T. Jamal & Getz, 1999; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2006). Jamal and Getz take this a step further and bring together collaboration theory and tourism governance (T. B. Jamal & Getz, 1995).

Murphy claims, for years, tourism had been tackled with "a systematic and aspatial manner, which has failed to give sufficient weight to the significance of its interactions and the importance of destination character" (Murphy, 1985, p. 1). In this way, the tourism sector was governed with imprecise and generalized policies. Murphy (1985, p. 1) argues that the community approach balances "economic concerns with environmental and social considerations"; so not only do both the state and locals benefit, but the environment is also protected. Although he accepts that the total involvement of communities would be "idealistic or impractical", he still thinks that efficient community involvement in tourism can be achieved with "an open system that permits real and effective participation" (Murphy & Murphy, 2004, p. 285).

Involving the community in the tourism planning process secures a hospitable atmosphere towards tourists (Simmons, 1994, p. 98), protects the environmental and residents' interests (T. Jamal & Getz, 1999, p. 291), maximizes economic benefits (Murphy & Murphy, 2004, p. 288; Timothy, 1999, p. 371), and more importantly, increases the possibility of sustainability (Okazaki, 2008, p. 511; T. Jamal & Getz, 1999, p. 305; Tosun, 2006, p. 493). However, there are potential downsides to community involvement.

For Tosun (2006, p. 503), while internal factors that prevent community involvement can be "lack of financial resources at local level, the cultural remoteness of host communities to tourism related businesses, negligible local experience of tourism, lack of expertise and competence of tourism matters", external factors might be the dependency on international tour operators and large firms. In addition to these, lack of community self-awareness for tourism and coordination problems can

lead to breakdowns further along in implementation (Dredge, 2001, p. 355; Timothy, 1999, p. 374).

Also, clientelist practices in the tourism sector might prevent total community involvement. Clientelism refers to

> a complex chain of personal bonds between political patrons or bosses and their individual clients or followers. These bonds are founded on mutual material advantage: the patron furnishes excludable resources to dependents and accomplices in return for their support and cooperation. (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2004, p. 165)

In places where clientelist practices exist, only some groups (clients) are involved in the policy-making process. Therefore, these clientelist practices lead to "perceived inequalities," affecting the legitimacy of institutions in the eyes of society (Yuksel & Yuksel, 2008, p. 189). People feel that they are not equally treated and start to no longer trust state institutions (Yuksel & Yuksel, 2008, p. 189). These patron-client networks also lead to discussions of corruption and subverting the rule of law (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2004, p. 165).

In tourism governance, patron-client relationships are quite common. In places where these relationships are established, it is harder for locals to become involved in tourism governance or even express their needs since domestic business interests are the priority for governments (Yuksel & Yuksel, 2008, p. 189). In such cases, the gap between the excluded members of the community and the state expands, the community members start not to trust the policy-makers, and policy-makers do not need to please the whole community with their policies. For instance, Tosun cites the closing of "locally owned small establishments" due to clientelist practices in Ürgüp, one of the most attractive tourist destinations of Turkey and claims that not only are local peoples' lives drastically affected from clientelist

practices, but the chances of achieving sustainable tourism development are also low (1998, p. 601).

In order to overcome these barriers, and provide total involvement of communities, scholars suggest various methods. On the one hand, some suggest educating local residents towards building awareness and assisting them (Timothy, 1999, p. 374), others highlight the importance of understanding institutional histories to help local involvement in tourism planning (Dredge, 2001, p. 377). Through institutional histories, it becomes possible to analyze the position of local bodies, and correspondingly, it becomes much easier to utilize these institutions in tourism governance (Dredge, 2001, p. 377). On the other hand, others offer a more systemic framework for integrating communities into the process of policy-making; one consisting of three stages: integration, planning, and impacts (see Figure 3) (Mitchell & Reid, 2001, p. 115). Accordingly, the integration phase is completed via enhancing community awareness and providing unity and followed by strategic planning based on consensus (Mitchell & Reid, 2001, pp. 115-118). Lastly, impacts of the integration are examined through economic, sociocultural, and environmental measures (Mitchell & Reid, 2001, p. 119).

In addition to these, Jamal and Getz (1995) discuss community-based tourism planning through collaboration theory. Collaboration means "a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain" (Gray, 1989, p. 227). Based on Gray's definition, Jamal and Getz state that

> Collaboration for community-based tourism planning is a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain. (T. B. Jamal & Getz, 1995, p. 188)

With collaboration, actors from different groups come together and interactively deal with process management (Getz & Jamal, 1994, p. 152; Murphy & Murphy, 2004, p. 362), enabling the representation of different perspectives and recommendations (Hall, 1999, p. 280), and the construction of direct dialogue (De Araujo & Bramwell, 1999, p. 357) or "face-to-face interactions between stakeholders" (Bramwell & Lane, 2000, p. 1). Through collaboration, decisions result from negotiations involving established decision-makers and key stakeholder groups working together (Murphy & Murphy, 2004, p. 361). To avoid clientelist practices in these cases, local administrations ensure that locals' satisfaction is represented and equal treatment is provided in the planning and implementation stages (Yuksel & Yuksel, 2008, p. 204), hence achieving overall involvement of locals and equal representation.

Vernon, Essex, Pinder, and Curry (2005, p. 326) claim that in recent years, collaborations have increased rapidly since governments prefer to apply "bottom-up" policies instead of "top-down". This means more actors are involved in the policy-making process, and decisions are based on "collective learning and consensus-building" (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999, p. 392), becoming more inclusive and democratic (Bramwell & Lane, 1999, p. 2; Vernon et al., 2005, p. 326). Different stakeholders from the public sector, tourism industry, and local communities started to take part in the implementation process (Vernon et al., 2005, pp. 326-327). As a result, not only have the effectiveness of policies increased, but a more sustainable development is now accessible (Vernon et al., 2005, pp. 326-327).
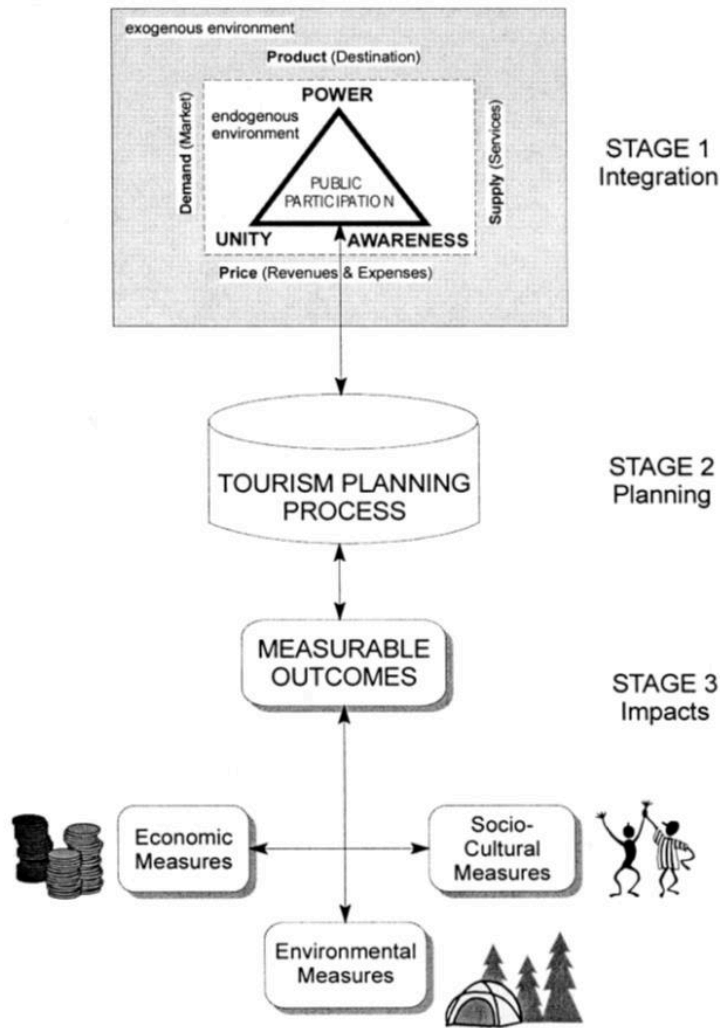
Fig. 3 Systemic framework for integrating communities

Source: [Mitchell & Reid, 2001, p. 116]

Just as in the other methods which suggested for sustainable tourism development, community involvement and collaboration have their own potential problems. In the perfect scenario, actors with different interests should be included in the decision-making process in order to be collaborative (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Dredge, 2006). However, if the state fails to communicate with locals and does not provide sufficient investment for tourist destinations, it faces the problem of overusing resources and unsustainability (Healy, 1994, p. 609; Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1066). Similarly, when local agencies acquire too much power,

they might use their power to decide to distribute tourism income among their own interests (Tosun, 2006, p. 502), increasing imbalances within the region. Imbalances can also occur if local actors are exclusionary involving local actors who only share similar interests (Dredge, 2006, p. 570). In these cases, actors do not negotiate or compromise since they can readily agree on a decision (Dredge, 2006, p. 570).

2.3 Tragedy of commons, collective action and ways to integrate communities

In the literature, problems that can emerge when there is a lack of collaboration between the state and the locals are tackled through Garret Hardin's idea of "tragedy of commons" (1968). He argues that if there is no control mechanism for local bodies, locals will consume and overuse the capacity of their lands since "as a rational being, each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain" (Hardin, 1968, p. 1244). In such a case, rational local actors focus on their short-term gains from their lands instead of developing sustainable resource usage management or considering long-term consequences of using resources. Hardin (1968, p. 1245) suggests that to avoid this possibility, these lands can be privatized or kept as public property, but their allocation should be systemized, preventing locals from exploiting resources.

A counter argument to Hardin's idea of "tragedy of commons" and his suggestions, is that people can regulate the usage of resources without privatization of the resources or top-down regulations of governments (Berkes, Feeny, McCay, & Acheson, 1989, p. 94). Rather, locals can develop "common-property resource management" for themselves and benefit from resources impartially (Berkes et al., 1989, p. 93). This resource management is achieved with "collective action". Ostrom defines this strategy of "collective action" as

> when more than one individual is required to contribute to an effort in order to achieve an outcome. People living in rural areas and using natural

resources engage in collective action on a daily basis when they plant or harvest food together; use a common facility for marketing their products; maintain a local irrigation system or patrol a local forest to see that users are following rules. (Ostrom, 2004, p. 1)

So, locals come together to regulate the use of resources. Ostrom argues that with collective action, locals protect the region together and pursue long-term collective benefits instead of self-centered, short term ones (Ostrom, 2004, p. 1). As a result, they establish social systems based on mutual consent of the community that regulate the resource management (Berkes, 1987, p. 87).

A disadvantage to collective action is that it can result in cases where some benefit more than others. An argued solution to such predicament is that when some actors benefit more without paying the costs, external actors can be involved to regulate (Ostrom, 2004, p. 1) or locals can share some of their power with governments for cooperative management (Berkes et al., 1989, p. 93). However, in the case of the latter, there should be a mechanism ensuring that both sides take part equally. In order to systemize this relationship between locals and political actors, the literature looks at ways of collaborating and involving communities through building networks (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Dredge, 2006; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Hall, 1999) and establishing partnerships (Aref, Gill, & Aref, 2006; De Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Murdoch & Abram, 1998; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Selin & Chavez, 1995).

In building networks for collaboration, the challenging issue is forming inclusionary networks where communities with different views are represented. If these networks are formed, tourism governance becomes more participative and democratic (Dredge & Pforr, 2008, p. 77). Beaumont and Dredge (2010, p. 26) argue that "different networks have the capacity to mobilize membership and be responsive to emerging issues in different and complementary ways". Also, through these

networks, it is easier to understand "the structures and social interrelations between government, tourism procedures and civil society" (Dredge, 2006, p. 562). However, since the aim is to be a voice of public interests instead of narrow sectoral interests, if these networks are not open for all stakeholders, collaboration becomes useless (Hall, 1999, pp. 285-287). Also, in the case of mismanaged networks, problems can occur in transparency, accountability, equity, and so forth.; therefore, methods used by governments to deal with networks are crucial (Dredge & Pforr, 2008, p. 77).

In partnerships, stakeholders come together for decision-making with the intention of working together (De Araujo & Bramwell, 2002, p. 1138; Murphy & Murphy, 2004, p. 348). Decisions reached through joint committee meetings are binding for these stakeholders (Murphy & Murphy, 2004, p. 348). Also, with partnerships through stakeholders, states can understand community capacity and potential better (Aref et al., 2006, p. 159). One potential difficulty in partnerships is that the process might be complex and time-consuming due to the challenge of bringing stakeholders together and cooperating (De Araujo & Bramwell, 2002, p. 1139). However, if the partnerships are well-organized, "competition, bureaucratic inertia, and geographic and organizational fragmentation" can be prevented (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 854).

2.4 The relationship between tourism and environment

Among the tourism-related failures referred to above, the most challenging are environmental problems, since once the damage is done, it is almost always irreversible. With the expansion of tourism in one region, wildlife can disappear due to increasing human presence, and natural landscape destroyed due to increasing infrastructural construction (Budowski, 1976, p. 27), and natural resources

overutilized, such as water, beaches, and vegetation (Pintassilgo & Silva, 2007, p. 209; Goodwin, 1996, p. 282). As a result, environmental quality decreases in the region and a "use-conversation gap" emerges (T. Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 171) ultimately resulting in unsustainability, where the tourism industry does not replace the resources it consumes.

Williams and Ponsford (2009, p. 396) claim that there is an uneasy relationship between tourism and the environment where the former relies on the latter for its existence, resulting in a "resource paradox". The only way to emerge from this paradox is to underline the importance of tourism management for healthy environments. For this, Williams and Ponsford (2009, p. 397) suggest that tourists should be more informed, and stakeholders in tourism should share the responsibility for sustainability. As another solution, Budowski (1976, p. 29) comes up with the idea of "conservation programs". Conservation programs, also known as "environmental protection programs" (Erdogan & Baris, 2007; Tosun & Jenkins, 1996) which give background information about the environment, ways to sustain and protect it, limiting tourism activities in the region and ultimately providing a control mechanism. As a result, not only can the environment and tourism benefit from each other (Budowski, 1976, p. 29) but this mutually beneficial relationship is sustainable.

In addition to these programs, for many, "ecotourism," or "ecology-based tourism" makes it possible for positive contributions to the environment (Goodwin, 1996, p. 287; Scheyvens, 1999, p. 246). Ceballos-Lascurin's (1996) defines ecotourism as (cited in Scheyvens's article):

> [E]nvironmentally responsible, enlightening travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes

conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations (Scheyvens, 1999, p. 245).

Ecotourism benefits tourists, locals, and the environment (Goodwin, 1996, p. 289; 2002, p. 340). By re-investing into the ecosystem, states preserve nature and guarantee the existence of tourism in the region for the future (Goodwin, 1996, p. 289). Residents play a crucial role in ecotourism. They directly participate in "environmental conservation work" (Tsaur, Lin, & Lin, 2006, p. 642). Without their support, it is harder for the state to control each tourists' or residents' actions. Ecotourism also provides employment opportunities to the locals (Goodwin, 1996, p. 289; Tsaur et al., 2006, p. 642). For Turkey, ecotourism is a newly emerging concept. For example, Pirselimoğlu, Batman and Demirel (2015, p. 47) see tourism activities in Altındere Valley, Trabzon as a potential area for "ecology-based tourism" – its untouched natural landmarks suitable for alternative touristic activities such as nature hikes, river sports, canoeing or paragliding.

By analyzing the interactions between people and environment (Stonich, 1998, p. 28), political ecology provides a useful analysis since it is an interdisciplinary approach which aims to prevent environmental conflicts through regulating the power structures and producing relations among the stakeholders (Douglas, 2014, pp. 8-9). Accordingly, when people start to commodify their lands' capacities through ranching, tourism, agriculture, mining or forestry, sooner or later, environmental conservation becomes crucial since in order to benefit from these lands in the long term, there should be a mechanism which regulates the usage (Vaccaro et al., 2013, p. 260).

Especially in rural tourist destinations, tourism development lives on these interactions; how people would benefit from the environment and more importantly, how they would do it in the long term. Analyzing these interactions requires taking

into account the political, economic, social, and ecological dimensions together at once (Douglas, 2014, p. 11). For Douglas, these dimensions should be understood in order to see how tourism develops one region and how the relations are built for its development (Douglas, 2014, p. 11). Using this comprehensive framework of political ecology, Stonich looks at the example of the Bay Islands in Honduras. He claims that in order to cover tourism development and natural conservation together in one region, it is crucial to understand "the interrelationships among various significant stakeholders, which is also one of the fundamental tasks of political ecological analysis" (Stonich, 1998, p. 49). So, for Stonich, analysis of this interaction among people and the environment provides a channel between tourism development and nature conservation.

Similarly, for Cole, political ecology is a key in cases where tourism benefits from the environment, where one looks at all political, social and historic dimensions while analyzing the situation (Cole, 2012, p. 1226). Through a political ecology approach, it is possible to reveal not only environmental and social dynamics of the region but also "the historical process and politics behind the tourism growth" (Cole, 2012, p. 1238). In return, the political ecological analysis provides environmental conservation both in theory and in practice because it produces long-term public policies which are prepared depending upon these dynamics (Vaccaro et al., 2013, p. 264).

However, in some commodified lands for tourism, agriculture or forestry, environmental conservation is yet to be achieved. There are conservation failures which emerge despite the regulations to protect these regions. For instance, the Burdur Lake basin in Turkey has faced increased pollution and a decrease in water volume despite "the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands" which is supposed to regulate

the use of wetlands and provide conservation (Adaman, Hakyemez, & Özkaynak, 2009, p. 783). The scholars, through a political ecology lens, highlight that in the region, there are different stakeholders who should work together to preserve the environment (Adaman et al., 2009, p. 794). However, since all have "different priorities and perceptions regarding conservation and its related problems," the governance mechanism that they are part of remained incapable in regulating environmental conservation and providing effective coordination among them (Adaman et al., 2009, p. 795). Similarly, in Turkey, there are tourism-related conservation problems such as excessive use of beaches (Cooper & Ozdil, 1992; Sayan, Williams, Johnson, & Ünal, 2011), destruction of forests (Kuvan, 2005) and pollution in rivers and seas (Cooper & Ozdil, 1992; Ozseker & Eruz, 2016). These problems damage both the environment and tourism development in these regions.

One of the explicit reasons of these failures is the inability to incorporate the environmental civil society into the decision-making process succesfully. Civil society organizations who participate in the decision-making process to highlight environmental degradation can be beneficial actors (Paker, Adaman, Kadirbeyoğlu, & Özkaynak, 2013, p. 762). They can raise awareness among the communities and influence policy-making (Kadirbeyoğlu, Adaman, Özkaynak, & Paker, 2017, p. 1727). However, the problem in Turkey is that environmental organizations either only have the right for "participation on paper" or experience "intimidation, co-optation or selective inclusion" (Paker et al., 2013, pp. 767-768) as well as having limited power to change this situation (Kadirbeyoğlu et al., 2017, p. 1738). Therefore, in Turkey, environmental organizations do not have much power to actively involve in the process of environmental preservation.

Taking into account all of these, tourism governance has different dimensions for the state, individuals, and the environment. Theoretically, states aim to reach sustainable development to benefit from the tourism sector today, as well as in the future. However, when states cannot develop coordinated, region-based, environment-friendly strategies, they cannot maintain this sustainability. This is because, their strategies do not satisfy the locals' and regions' needs, understand the regions' capacities fully, and in return may lead to usage of these resources excessively.

As for individuals, today's benefits may take precedence over the future's, causing locals to act without considering environmental costs. Whereas locals can benefit from their land equally through collective action, they can also act together with the state for the same purpose where states include locals into the decision-making process and respond to the locals' needs while also preserving nature. In cases where the state and locals work jointly, political ecological analysis of the situation is beneficial since through this, the governance mechanism which takes into account all of the stakeholders' priorities can be achieved. Also, environmental organizations that participate in the decision-making process are crucial actors in this mechanism since they can intervene when the state follows the wrong direction. Taking all of these into consideration, the requirements for a sustainable tourism development strategy involve: developing region-based policies, including locals in the decision-making through inclusionary networks or partnerships and protecting the environment through conservation programmes, environmental protection programs, and eco-tourism.

CHAPTER 3

TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN TURKEY

Tourism governance, historically, has taken different shapes in Turkey, and for a long time, Turkey could not provide a sufficient functioning tourism strategy. Under the JDP period, the transition started, and the government came up with tourism strategy and action plan which aims to have region-based, participatory and environment-friendly tourism policies with the aim of sustainable tourism development. However, in many cases, these plans were not implemented properly, and the state failed to undertake a regulatory role. In the following parts of this chapter, I first analyze the tourism governance before the JDP and then the changes in tourism governance during the JDP period. By presenting the difference between these two periods, I show how the understanding of tourism governance has changed in Turkey with the adaptation of sustainability as a main criterion in the tourism sector. Lastly, I examine whether these adjustments in tourism governance have been successfully implemented.

3.1 Historical overview

The history of tourism development in Turkey is commonly split into two periods (Demir, 2014, p. 101; Ozturk & Van Niekerk, 2014, p. 196; Yolal, 2016, p. 31): the period between the 1980s to 2007 and the period from 2007 to onwards. Whereas the first period includes amateur-level efforts to adjust regulations, in the second period, the state offers organized rules and regulations for tourism governance. Regardless of the amateur-level efforts in the first period, since the second half of the 1980s,

Turkey has witnessed a rapid tourism development (Alipour, 1996, p. 370; Tosun, 1998, p. 595).

In the 1970s, there were attempts to improve international tourism in the southern coastal area of Turkey, but they were inefficient (Akkemik, 2012, p. 791). After the military intervention of 1980, in 1982 the new administration prepared many reform laws, one of which was "the Code of Tourism Encouragement " (Göymen, 2000, p. 1033) where the state aimed to control tourism investments and touristic activities (Resmi Gazete, 1982). The state developed an approach that was both interventionist and progressive approach for the tourism sector, wanting to increase investments while keeping its control over the sector constant. This law also regulated for land use, property rights, and private enterprises in the tourism sector (Akkemik, 2012, p. 791).

After the 1983 general election, Turkey took its first steps into transitioning into a neoliberal economy when the then Prime Minister Turgut Özal aimed to create a market economy emphasizing private enterprise. With the introduction of "outward-oriented and export-led growth" in economic development (Akkemik, 2012, p. 791), the tourism sector also received its share with more investments and took on a new shape. The share of tourism-related state and private sector investments in tourism increased sharply in the following periods. Turkey's bed capacity increased, accommodation facilities improved, and the country, overall, became a more tourist receiving country (Göymen, 2000, p. 1034). At the end of the 1980s, the government followed "large-scale physical infrastructure (roads, waterworks, sewage, etc.) upgrading programs" (Akkemik, 2012, p. 791) in Turkey's western and southern coastal areas. Throughout the 1990s, these investments

continued, and the government encouraged the private sector to invest more as well (Çımat & Bahar, 2003, p.12).

Despite these developments, during the 1980s and 1990s, Turkey did not have a tourism plan. Rather, up until 2007, targeted tourism strategies and policies were included in the Five-Year Development Plans[5] of the State Planning Organization (SPO). These plans emphasized the importance of tourism and made it possible to see the figures of bed capacities, tourism revenue, number of incoming tourists, share of tourism investments, and tourism targets in numbers. However, they were not sufficient regarding tourism governance and tourism advertising (Demir, 2014, p. 116).

Although tourism was an individual pillar since the First Development Plan (1963-1967) (SPO, 1963), the term "sustainable tourism development" appeared for the first time in the Eighth Development Plan (2001-2005) when talking about "necessary arrangements [that] shall be made for sustainable tourism development" (SPO, 2001, p. 190). However, the plan did not expand upon the "necessary arrangements", failing to satisfy the need for regulations in the tourism sector. With the growing importance of tourism sector, this need was added to the agenda in the following years.

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[5] The State Planning Organization was founded in 1960; and it was reorganized by the Ministry of Development in June 2011 with Decree Law No.641. Since 1960, ten Five-Year Development Plans are published. In these plans, the main aim is to fulfill the potential of Turkey, and to make Turkey o global power. Retrieved May 10, 2018 from http://www.mod.gov.tr/Pages/Overview.aspx; http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/BesYillikKalkinmaPlani.aspx

3.2 Tourism governance during the JDP period

With the JDP, Turkey developed its first comprehensive tourism plan as a part of its "2023 Vision"[6] where the tourism sector began to be governed with policies formed "specifically for the tourism industry" (Ozturk & Van Niekerk, 2014, p. 197). However, even before this tourism plan was published, the JDP had initiatives advancing the tourism sector through the Eighth Development Plan, by referring to the term sustainable tourism development, as discussed in the previous section. The primary reason for the JDP's interest in the tourism sector was due to the impact of tourism on the economy (Ozturk & Van Niekerk, 2014, p. 197).

Over the past 20 years, the number of tourists coming to Turkey increased notably (see Table 1). This development directly impacted the economy, and tourism became one of the significant tools for economic growth in Turkey during the JDP period (Akkemik, 2012, p. 790). The share of tourism receipts in the gross national product (GNP) has increased since the 1990s (see Figure 4). Although there is a variety of factors leading to this tourism development, both in the number of tourists and tourism receipts, the role of changing tourism policies is one of the its main facilitators (Akkemik, 2012, p. 790; Çımat & Bahar, 2003, p. 6; Ozturk & Van Niekerk, 2014, p. 197).

During the JDP period, both the SPO and the MCT included tourism into their public agenda. In the Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013) and Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018), the concept of "sustainable tourism development" started to play an even larger role than before. The Ninth Development Plan clarified different steps for the development of the tourism sector:

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[6] "2023 Vision" is a list of goals of Turkey which President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's administration would like to accomplish in the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (Ozturk & Van Niekerk, 2014, p. 196).

> The tourism sector will be handled in an approach, which aims to create new capacity and increase service quality, diversify marketing channels, protect cultural assets, make natural capital sustainable and bring forth tourism varieties in compliance with comparative advantages. (SPO, 2007, p. 121)

The Tenth Development Plan outlines a more concrete target for the tourism sector, based on "maintaining the balance between protection and use of natural and cultural assets and realizing sustainable growth without sacrificing service quality" (SPO, 2014, p. 114). So, with this plan, Turkey clearly framed its tourism strategy suitable with the sustainable development criteria.

Moreover, in 2007, Turkey published its first Tourism Action Plan, covering the period between 2007 and 2013, and its first state-supported master plan for tourism, Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023. This was a drastic change for the tourism sector since it covered a variety of topics from how advertising will be addressed and how promotion expenses will be covered to which institutions will be responsible in each step (Demir, 2014, p. 117). In addition to delegating tasks among institutions, the strategy pushed towards diversifying policy targets for different regions aiming for long-term sustainable tourism development in the whole country (MCT, 2007b). Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023 emphasizes the significance of sustainability as follows:

> With the adaptation of sustainable tourism approach, tourism and travel industry will be brought to a leading position for leveraging rates of employment and regional development and 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. (MCT, 2007b, p. 4)

In other words, the state took sustainability in tourism governance as the primary criterion and prepared Tourism Action Plan accordingly.

Table 1. Number of Departing Visitors and Arriving Citizens

Year	Total	Foreign Visitors	Citizen Visitors
2001	13 450 127	11 276 531	2 173 596
2002	15 214 514	12 921 982	2 292 532
2003	16 302 053	13 701 419	2 600 634
2004	20 262 640	17 202 996	3 059 644
2005	24 124 501	20 522 621	3 601 880
2006	23 148 669	19 275 948	3 872 721
2007	27 214 988	23 017 081	4 197 907
2008	30 979 979	26 431 124	4 548 855
2009	32 006 149	27 347 977	4 658 172
2010	33 027 943	28 510 852	4 517 091
2011	36 151 328	31 324 528	4 826 800
2012	36 463 921	31 342 464	5 121 457
2013	39 226 226	33 827 474	5 398 752
2014	41 415 070	35 850 286	5 564 784
2015	41 617 530	35 592 160	6 025 370
2016	31 365 330	25 265 406	6 099 924
2017	38 620 346	32 079 527	6 540 819

Source: [TurkStat's Departing Visitors and Arriving Citizens Surveys, 2018]

Fig. 4 Share of the tourism receipts in GNP and exports of Turkey (1963–2015)

Source: [E. Demir & Gozgor, 2017, p. 359]

This action plan highlights three significant issues for reaching sustainability: participatory policy-making, diversification of tourism products, and environment-friendly tourism governance. The state is to work together with local agents, RDAs, and travel agencies in tourism governance in order to develop different approaches for different regions, while also adhering to environmental qualifications and preserving the region for future generations (MCT, 2007a, p. 4).

3.2.1 Participatory policy-making

In Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023, the MCT provided a new organizational structure for tourism governance across the country. This structure takes a "participatory planning perspective" with the aim of carrying out improvements in the sector on a regional basis (MCT, 2007b, p. 1). In addition to being one of the main conditions for sustainable tourism governance, the structure is a significant step

since it highlights the importance of regionalism and participatory planning in tourism development.

In the strategy, the MCT provided an organizational chart (see Figure 5) aiming "corporate structuring and governance" in order to achieve harmony and increase efficiency (MCT, 2007b, p. 58). Accordingly, the MCT stays at the center and occupies the regulatory role. There are three other main actors: councils, governmental institutions, and sectoral institutions (MCT, 2007b, p. 59). The MCT is supposed to work with these actors for a "wiser use of natural, cultural, historical and geographical assets" (MCT, 2007b, p. 1), with the formation of councils as a prerequisite in line with this aim.

The formation of councils on the local level, namely National Tourism Councils (NTCs), City Tourism Councils (CTCs) and tourism councils, is crucial to coordinating between national and regional levels (MCT, 2007b, p. 12). The NTCs have "3 representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1 representative from the State Planning Organization, a group of 7 representatives from the tourism industry, 1 representative from labor organizations and 2 representatives from Non-Governmental Organizations" (MCT, 2007b, p. 12).

The council members are supposed to prepare policy recommendations for the MCT, hence, communicating with the MCT and being actively involved in the decision-making process (MCT, 2007b, p. 13). The established CTCs will give advises to NTCs, and those suggestions will then be evaluated in NTC meetings. CTCs mainly represent "local demands, expectations and needs" to NTCs by engaging with local people (MCT, 2007b, p. 14). And lastly, when necessary, local councils for tourism can be established in the touristic regions. The MCT also establishes a National Tourism Certification Service, Domestic Tourism Research

and Steering Department, Tourism Education Guidance Service, and National

Tourism Data Repository Service (MCT, 2007b, pp. 58-59).

Fig. 5 Organizational chart of Tourism Strategy of Turkey

Source: [Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023, 2007, p. 59]

Among the main actors of this governance model, only the roles of the SPO and the

MCT are described. The SPO is a member of the NTC and responsible for reaching

the aims of the tourism strategy. The MCT's role is to undertake a "regulatory,

supervisory and directing" role in the application of the decisions (MCT, 2007b, p.

58). The roles of two main actors – governmental institutions and sectoral

institutions – are not defined, leading to an ambiguity with a direct effect on the

implementation of the strategy.

3.2.2 Diversification of tourism products

In addition to this new organization structure, both in Tourism Strategy of Turkey -
2023 and Tourism Action Plan detail a plan for diversifying tourism products. The
prescribed alternative tourism types suggested to be developed are health and
thermal tourism, winter tourism, golf tourism, sea tourism, ecotourism, and congress
and expo tourism (MCT, 2007b, pp. 36-38). The strategy divides tourism regions
across Turkey into nine thematic development zones, seven tourism corridors, 10
tourism cities, and two ecotourism zones (MCT, 2007b) (See Appendix E), based on
natural and historical resources (MCT, 2007a, pp. 82-83). Some regions are included
in more than one section. However, there is no list of specific rules for the
management of these overlaps.

Based on this diversification, Tourism Action Plan offers different
approaches to different regions – called a "Conceptual Action Plan" (MCT, 2007a, p.
82). The Conceptual Action Plan suggests that if different regions are governed
differently based on their needs, natural landmarks will be preserved and historical
sites will be placed under protection. The plan also clarifies that for environmentally
sensitive regions, the state will provide the necessary regulations.

3.2.3 Environment-friendly tourism governance

While there is no mention of environmental-friendly tourism governance in the
Eighth Development Plan, the Ninth Development Plan states "ecological potential
will be utilized and protection-utilization balance will be considered" when
developing policies for the tourism sector (SPO, 2007, p. 87). The Tenth
Development Plan takes this a step further and says that "within the scope of
environment-friendly and responsible tourism approach sustainable tourism practices

will be enhanced and the socio-cultural and environmental drawbacks of tourism will be reduced" (SPO, 2014, p. 112). The sample plan later states the following concerning sustainable tourism:

> [S]tandards of environment-friendly accommodation establishments were determined, and operations for certification started in 2008. Special importance should be attached to the resolution of problems regarding urbanization of tourism centers and infrastructure deficiencies as well as environmental problems and to ensure accordance of tourism investments with tourism-oriented development plans. (SPO, 2014, p. 113)

Similarly, in Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023, again, the principle of environmental sustainability is placed at the center with "showing full respect to and conserving biodiversity, in usage planning of our natural resources" (MCT, 2007b, p. 56) as one of its priorities.

Environment-friendly tourism governance is approached in the part of ecotourism zones in the strategy. Black Sea Region and the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) Region Ecotourism Zones have the highest priority. Plans specifically prepared for these ecotourism zones should preserve "the balance between conservation and utility" (MCT, 2007b, p. 56). The strategy accepts that in ecotourism zones, the local community has a crucial role of implementing and adopting the plans, since the state may not actively control each region all the time. Therefore, for effective tourism governance, the MCT should put an effort to make the local community participate in "government organizations, local governments, private sector entities and local NGOs" (Non-governmental organizations) (MCT, 2007b, p. 57).

In addition to ecotourism zones, the MCT decided to develop environment-friendly projects for plateau tourism regions in 10 cities: Antalya, Artvin, Bayburt, Gaziantep, Giresun, Gümüşhane, Ordu, Rize, Sinop, and Trabzon (MCT, 2018b). These cities were chosen as plateau tourism centers because they have natural

landmarks, locals in these regions are willing to contribute to tourism facilities and

integrate with touristic activities, and the plateaus are close to the city centers,

making for easy reach (MCT, 2018b). In these regions, the MCT has aimed to not

only sustain the environment and biodiversity, but to also provide economic benefits

to local residents (MCT, 2018b).

Despite its positive impacts on developing a sustainability-based

understanding of tourism governance, the implications of Tourism Strategy of

Turkey - 2023 have many shortcomings. First of all, as discussed above, some

institutional actors included in the Organizational Chart of Tourism Strategy of

Turkey have yet to be established. The lack of local councils for tourism affects

tourism development since it leads directly to less participation of local people in

tourism governance. Second, neither the strategy nor the action plan explains the

actors' roles clearly, except for the MCT and the SPO. These absent aspects pose the

possibility of future problems in task delegation during policy-making and

implementation.

Moreover, the diversification of tourism products talked about in Tourism

Strategy of Turkey - 2023 and Tourism Action Plan has not been accomplished. In

these documents, the MCT provides certain strategies for alternative tourism types

such as health, thermal, winter, golf or expo tourism, instead of offering policies to

implement these strategies (Ozturk & Van Niekerk, 2014, p. 196). Therefore,

although the strategy separates tourism products into groups, it does not explain how

to manage these tourism types, failing to diversify products across an entire year,

which is one of the main criteria in the tourism plan (A. Yüksel, Yüksel, & Culha,

2012, p. 522). For instance, in the Çalköy plateau in Trabzon, one of the "High

Plateau Tourism Centers", natural assets have been irreversibly damaged because

regulatory mechanisms to prevent it have not been established yet (Pirselimolğu & Demirel, 2012, p. 359). Similarly, coastal tourism has continued to endanger the biodiversity in some bays, like Belek, Antalya (Sayan et al., 2011, p. 1810), thus furthering the point that not each tourism product has made progress after the strategy is published.

Another shortcoming of this new understanding of tourism governance is the lack of "spatial planning" (Dede & Ayten, 2012, p. 437). Spatial planning is a region-based approach that requires developing separate plans for different regions by discussing the regions' needs with locals. If applied, spatial planning provides environmental and economic sustainability to regions (Dede & Ayten, 2012, p. 434). However, even though Turkey aimed for region-based tourism policies in its strategy and provided regional master plans for some regions, the state failed when it came to implementing the plans (Dede & Ayten, 2012, p. 437).

Moreover, there is superficiality when it comes to developing alternative tourism types or discussing the ways to conserve specific tourist destinations (A. Yüksel et al., 2012, p. 525). Rather, tourism in Turkey is discussed by numbers: how many tourists have arrived; is there an increase in domestic/international tourists; what is the tourism income and so forth (A. Yüksel et al., 2012, p. 525). Therefore, although the strategy highlights sustainability as the main criterion, tourism governance in Turkey is mainly "economic-growth oriented" (A. Yüksel et al., 2012, p. 527).

To sum up, the JDP government opened new possibilities in understanding tourism governance in Turkey. Before the JDP, the state failed to develop a strategy for the tourism sector, which would manage the tourism sector properly and bring sustainable tourism development. In 2007, however, Turkey had its first tourism

strategy prepared in line with sustainable tourism development criteria – one that highlighted the cruciality of region-based and environment-friendly policy-making in the tourism sector. Also, it aimed to include locals in both decision-making and implementing processes. However, the tourism sector has continued to be been seen as an economic resource, and economic concerns have been prioritized in place of sustainability criteria in producing plans and projects in Turkey, resulting in unkept promises, as in the case of Uzungöl.

CHAPTER 4

TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN UZUNGÖL

Uzungöl is within the boundaries of the Çaykara District of Trabzon Province, in the Black Sea region of Turkey (See Figure 1) (MFWA, 2016, p. 218). The region contains mountains, forests, lakes, and plateaus, as well as various endangered plant and animal species (MEU, 2010, p. 1). In addition to its environmental significance, Uzungöl has a substantial touristic capacity due to its natural landscapes and touristic opportunities the region offers, such as trekking, camping, birdwatching, skiing, and fishing (Trabzon Valiliği, 2017b; MFWA, 2016, p. 219).

Due to its differentiating qualifications, the state has given four different statuses to Uzungöl (see Table 2), and as a result, various state institutions and actors have had to undertake active roles in governing the region. However, despite these institutions and actors, the region's current situation is highly different than the foreseen one. With the increasing tourism demand, these institutions and actors have remained inactive in satisfying the needs of both tourists and locals, and the locals, in return, have taken actions which are not compatible with the rules and regulations put by the state in the first place. So, there are differences between theory and practice in Uzungöl, and these differences have damaged the principle of environmental sustainability in the region. Apart from losing the natural landscape, the region suffers from air and water pollution as well as misuse of its land's capacity. To analyze this situation, in this chapter, first, I examine the region in detail, list these statuses and actors that are in charge of the region's governance mechanism, and second, I evaluate the current situation.

Table 2. Statuses of Uzungöl

Date	Status	Law Number/ Decree Number/ Registration Number
03.10.1989	Natural Park	N/A
05.03.1990	Tourism Center	Decree no. 90/70
04.12.1998	Protected Area	Reg. no. 3332
29.12.2003	Specially Protected Environment Area	Decree no. 2003/6692, Article 1

Source: [Resmi Gazete, 1990; Resmi Gazete, 1998; Resmi Gazete, 2003; MFWA, 2016; MFWA, 2019]

4.1 General overview

In Uzungöl, there are three major issues which are relevant for this thesis: construction management, environmental preservation, and tourism governance. The legal regulations which affect these issues can be seen in Appendix B. In the following section, I examine these three issues by referring to state documents to show the current situation in the region. Also, I take a look at the political actors responsible for the tourism governance of Uzungöl.

4.1.1 Statuses of Uzungöl

The first of Uzungöl's four "special statuses" was given in October 1989, and Uzungöl became "Natural Park" (MFWA, 2019). According to the Code of National Parks, natural parks contain "landscapes which are suitable for people to relax and enjoy with the feature of plant cover and wildlife"[7] (Resmi Gazete, 1983b). Article 14 also states that in natural parks, the "natural and ecological balance, and natural

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[7] Translated from: "bitki örtüsü ve yaban hayatı özelliğine sahip, manzara bütünlüğü içinde halkın dinlenme ve eğlenmesine uygun tabiat parçalarını"

ecosystem structure cannot be disrupted"[8] (Resmi Gazete, 1983b). As a result, the

Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs (MFWA)[9] became active in the region. The

MAF acquired not only the right to supervise, permit and forbid construction in the

region but also expropriate land. The state aimed to put the ecological qualifications

of Uzungöl under its protection.

These ecological qualifications also make Uzungöl one of the most attractive

rural tourism districts in Turkey for both domestic and foreign tourists (MCT,

2018a). The state has realized Uzungöl's significance for the tourism sector in the

1980s, and eventually, in March 1990, Uzungöl received its second status, which is

"tourism center" (Resmi Gazete, 1990). Article 6 of the Code of Tourism

Encouragement states construction in tourism centers can be allowed only if the

public interest is taken into consideration, and natural and cultural features are

protected (Resmi Gazete, 1982). Therefore, with the new status of being a tourism

center, construction processes in the region changed.

In 1998, Uzungöl became a "Protected Area," and with this status, the parts

of the region has become "grade 1 and 3 natural protected area"[10] (MFWA, 2016, p.

218). According to the Code of Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties, a

protected area is:

> a product of various civilizations from prehistory to the present day; a city or
> city ruins that reflect the social, economic, architectural and other
> characteristics of the periods that they are experienced; a place where
> important historical events occur; and supposed to be protected due to its
> identified natural characteristics. (Resmi Gazete, 1983a) (See Appendix A, 3)

When a region becomes a protected area, the construction in this region should stop

until a conservation development plan is prepared (Resmi Gazete, 1983a). In

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[8] Translated from: "Tabii ve ekolojik denge ve tabii ekosistem değeri bozulamaz."
[9] Today, the MFWA operates as Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF).
[10] Translated from: "I ve III derece tabii sit alanları"

addition to this, constructions in the protected areas need to be suitable with the Code of Construction, promulgated in 1985. Any type of construction, planning, subdivision, expropriation, regulation, authorization, or utilization permit should obey this code (Resmi Gazete, 1995). Therefore, with its new status in 1998, the constructions in Uzungöl has become now under the regulation and jurisdiction of the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums, which is subject to the MCT.

Lastly, in 2003, the state gave Uzungöl a status of "Specially Protected Environment Area" due to "its ecological importance and its sensitivity to environmental pollution and violation natural and historical areas; in order to sustain them for the next generations; and decide on the protection and improvement ways"[11] (Resmi Gazete, 2004). Article 5 of the decree cancelled permits of touristic facilities, and the Environmental Protection Agency for Special Areas now became responsible for issuing permits (Resmi Gazete, 2004). This agency was established in November 1989 (Resmi Gazete, 1989), and later on transferred its duties when the Directorate General for Preservation of Natural Heritage was established in August 2011 (Resmi Gazete, 2011a). Both of these institutions currently operate under the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MEU), hereby increasing the impact of the MEU in the region.

In 2013, the MEU issued a bylaw that regulates the governance of regions that are both protected area and specially protected environment areas (Resmi Gazete, 2013). Accordingly, using and operating lands are under the jurisdiction of the MEU, and can be given to individual parties win the tender.

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[11] Translated from: "Ekolojik öneme sahip, çevre kirlenmesine ve bozulmaya hassas, doğal ve tarihi alanların bozulmalarını önlemek, gelecek nesillere aktarılmasını sağlamak, koruma ve gelişme kararlarını oluşturmak ve uygulamak amacıyla"

4.1.2 Other actors in Uzungöl

There are other state actors in addition to the MEU and MCT that have jurisdiction in

Uzungöl. Firstly, in April 2003, the Trabzon Provincial Directorate of Culture and

Tourism was established (Resmi Gazete, 2003). Today, the Directorate works in

cooperation with the MCT and Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality to advertise

touristic opportunities, promote Trabzon, and regulate the tourism facilities in

Trabzon.

The Ministry of Development (MoD) and SPO also provide projects

involving the region. In 2006, development agencies working in cooperation with the

SPO were established (Resmi Gazete, 2006), and as a result, the Eastern Black Sea

Development Agency (DOKA) started to develop projects for Artvin, Giresun,

Gümüşhane, Ordu, Rize, and Trabzon (Resmi Gazete, 2006). After its establishment,

DOKA published two region plans for the Eastern Black Sea. The first covered the

period between 2010 and 2013 and considered Uzungöl as one of the most attractive

destinations (DOKA, 2011, p. 95). The second highlighted the importance of

revising regional construction plans (DOKA, 2015, p. 207).

However, DOKA did not provide any document specifically prepared for

Uzungöl. Later in 2011, the Eastern Black Sea Regional Development

Administration (DOKAP BKİ) was established (Resmi Gazete, 2011b). The DOKAP

BKI's Eastern Black Sea Project (DOKAP) contained Artvin, Bayburt, Giresun,

Gümüşhane, Ordu, Rize, Samsun, and Trabzon, and aimed to accelerate regional

development in these cities (Resmi Gazete, 2011b). Their project documents also did

not talk specifically about Uzungöl.

As for the local administrations in the region, up until 2012, Uzungöl was a

town governed by its own municipality. However, in November 2012, with a change

to the Code of Municipalities, metropolitan municipalities were established in 13 cities, including Trabzon (Resmi Gazete, 2012) and the Uzungöl Municipality was disbanded, making Uzungöl a part of the Çaykara district. Since the 2014 local elections, Uzungöl has been governed by the Çaykara Municipality which operates in collaboration with the Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality.

4.1.3 Plans and a project affecting Uzungöl

With each new status and regulation, different state bodies have become the responsible actors in Uzungöl and prepared their own respective plans and projects; two of which were the MCT and MEU, who aim to increase their regional influence during the JDP period.

First of all, after receiving the status of tourism center, the MCT entered the picture and in 2007, gave the right to prepare a tourism master plan to the Eastern Black Sea to Barlas Consulting for Construction Planning Co. Ltd. (BCCP). In 2008, the BCCP delivered a Tourism Master Plan for the Eastern Black Sea to the MCT. Published in 2010 (BCCP, 2010, p. 1), the plan covered Giresun, Gümüşhane, Ordu, Rize, and Trabzon, and specifically emphasized the importance of Uzungöl for tourism in the Black Sea region (BCCP, 2010, p. 13). It stated that the current touristic facilities are not enough to cover the needs of tourists in the near future, ultimately suggesting that construction plans should be suitable with the touristic needs (BCCP, 2010, p. 45). Apart from this document, Uzungöl was not specifically covered in the MCT's Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023 or Tourism Action Plan, but only referred to as part of Black Sea Coastal Corridor and Black Sea Region Ecotourism Zone in its diversification due to its location and natural landmark (See Appendix E).

When Uzungöl became a specially protected environment area, the MEU started to develop new projects for the region, starting with the Uzungöl Conservation Development Plan in 2008. However, in 2009, the Trabzon Administrative Court rescinded the plan when locals appealed it on the grounds that the plan did not fit the regions' dynamics (Trabzon Valiliği, 2013). Later, in 2014, a new plan was accepted; which was again appealed by locals and rescinded on the same grounds (CNN Türk, 2018). As of now, Uzungöl does not have any operating Conservation Development Plan regulating constructions in the region.

Between 2008 and 2010, the MEU conducted "the Project of Examination of Terrestrial Biodiversity of Uzungöl Specially Protected Environment Area" with the aim "to preserve and govern natural, historical, cultural values and socio-economic structure through the approachment of embedded field management in accordance with the criteria of sustainability"[12] (MEU, 2010, p. 1). With this project, the MEU defined the main criterion for the governance plan of Uzungöl – sustaining its environment. In this project, Uzungöl was considered as one of the most important natural regions in Turkey, with its biodiversity and endangered species, and the project stated that Uzungöl was included in the Caucasian Mixed Forests Ecoregion (MEU, 2010, pp. 1-2).

The Caucasian Mixed Forests Ecoregion is one of the ecoregions identified with the status of CE (critical or endangered) by WWF in the Global 200 (Olson & Dinerstein, 2002, p. 203). In the Global 200, WWF identifies the list of priority ecoregions in the world with the aim of "conservation of terrestrial, freshwater and marine ecosystems harboring globally important biodiversity and ecological

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[12] Translated from: "doğal, tarihi, kültürel değerleri ve sosyo-ekonomik yapıyı bütünleşik alan yönetimi yaklaşımı ile sürdürülebilirlik anlayışına uygun şekilde planlayarak korumak ve yönetmek"

processes" (Olson & Dinerstein, 1998, p. 512). The Global 200 includes 142 terrestrial, 53 freshwater, and 43 marine priority ecoregions (238 ecoregions in total) (Olson & Dinerstein, 2002, p. 199).

Then later, in 2013, the MEU published the Governance Plan for Uzungöl, covering the time period between 2013 and 2017. The principal shareholders who took part in the preparation of this plan were public institutions, municipalities, NGOs, tourism professionals, fishermen, and women (MEU, 2013, p. 64). The MEU asked these shareholders' for their opinions and tried to involve them in the preparation process (MEU, 2013, p. 65). Despite the high emphasis of the importance of participatory planning in the document, there was not any published activity report for it, and when I asked about the plan, the interviewees did not know what I was referring to, hence indicating that the reality of the situation differed than what was prescribed.

 In addition to regulatory attempts of the MCT and MEU, in 2016, the Directorate General for Nature Conservation and National Parks prepared a "Nature Tourism Master Plan for Trabzon 2016-2019". This plan examined Uzungöl Natural Park in detail and gave a situation assessment. It stated that especially around the lake and in the Southeast part, buildings had risen each day, blocking the view in the region (MFWA, 2016, p. 268). However, the plan did not offer any solution to the problem.

In the three decades since 1989, Uzungöl has been subject to various legal regulations, plans, and a project. However, except for the Governance Plan provided by the MEU, these plans were devised by state stakeholders without consulting other regional actors in the region, including locals. Also, even then, some plans prepared for Trabzon, the Black Sea region or Turkey in general, did not cover the tourism

governance in Uzungöl in detail. As a consequence of such administrative

shortcomings, the current situation, which includes increasing damages in the

region's environment, is attained in Uzungöl. In this way, the principle of

environmental sustainability, which is placed at the center of Turkey's tourism

strategy, has been damaged.

4.2 The current situation in Uzungöl

As discussed in the previous section, the state failed to provide a control mechanism

in the face of increasing tourism demand in Uzungöl. Since it is a protected area,

tourism center, specifically protected area, and natural park, there are a variety of

political actors acting in overlapping political spheres. Despite the existence of said

political actors, there are not common governance and construction plans in

Uzungöl. Each actor has its own rules and regulations to follow and do not come

together for exchanging information. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising

to see locals becoming maverick actors in the region, causing environmental

problems and acting independently of state regulations and become lawless in the

region. As a result, corrupt practices have increased in the region with people

constructing illegal hotels without taking permits, or even turned their houses into

hotels since they are rational actors who try to increase their wealth from their lands.

Nevertheless, these maverick actions put barriers on the region's future. With

the increasing excessive use of the region's resources and environmental damage, the

region started to lose its idiosyncrasies that made it attractive in the first place. The

number of hotels and hostels in the region continuously increased, and this increase

has led to land degradation (See Figure 6 and 7). While in 2015, the number of

accommodation facilities in the region was 77 and total bed count was 2212

(Trabzon Valiliği, 2015); in 2017, the former became 196, and the latter became 9086 (Trabzon Valiliği, 2017a).

When I asked interviewees to evaluate the general situation in the region, I received two opposing points of view: while some criticized the current situation and blamed the local people for taking advantage from the situation through exploiting the region's resources, others evaluated the current situation as a success, claiming that these damages were done for the region's own sake.

Fig. 6 Aerial viewpoint of Uzungöl in 2010

Source: [Google Earth, 2010]

Fig. 7 Aerial viewpoint of Uzungöl in 2018

Source: [Google Earth, 2018]

On the one hand, one resident from the former group complained about people's tendency to exploit the region's resources and stated that "The *kalın kaburgalı* ("an indigenous saying which refers to the people who are headstrong in their business, and do not obey the rules that prevent them from achieving their aims") ones have moved along. They also added storeys. They merged their lands"[13] (Interviewee 1). He blamed these people for acting acquisitively. One of the state officials evaluated the process in a similar way:

> The ones who own small cottages or houses turned them into hostels or hotels. The ones who do not have any of these, immediately made new buildings with a wooden structure for tourism in their places. And with heavy structuring, the number of accommodations has increased. (Interviewee 2) (See Appendix A, 4)

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[13] Translated from: "Kalın kaburgalı olanlar yürüdü gitti. Katlarını da eklediler. Arazilerini birleştidiler."

In addition to houses, some stated that people even turned barns into hotels (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, and 10). One of the tourist agents explained by saying the following: "People even threw out their cows, painted the walls of the barn with white, put some furniture. Then here it is, a bungalow house"[14] (Interviewee 10).

Similarly, one of the environmentalists touched upon the issue of taking advantage of the situation:

> I see a thing in people, a desire to make use of an opportunity in that region; a desire to make use of an economic opportunity. This, actually, is not a wrong thing for them, but the shortcoming of the state in guiding it [regional development] causes this problem. It should not mean that the ones with the capabilities can build a facility in the mountains. (Interviewee 12) (See Appendix A, 5)

Therefore, control over the situation was lost as a result of some locals' attempts to increase their individual wealth. They used the land in accordance with their interests and the state could not put forward a control mechanism for sustainable development in the region to see whether the locals obey the common rules, and eventually failed to guide this usage process as the interviewee claimed.

On the other hand, others considered these developments as a success since they managed to provide hotels for the tourism demand and bring development to the region. They thought that it was as a result of the local people's determined efforts, that the region developed. A local state bureaucrat stated that he accepted that there was environmental damage in Uzungöl, but he also claimed that they only cut as many trees as needed for the roads and hotels (Interviewee 4). So, for him, it was out of necessity. However, this situation also signifies land degradation that emerged in the region. Based on this deforestation in the region to construct hotels or build roads, civil society members whom I interviewed consider the environmental change

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[14] Translated from: "İnsanlar inekleri dışarı attılar, duvarlarını beyaza boyadılar ahırın, biraz mobilya koydular. Hah al sana bungalow ev."

in Uzungöl as almost irreversible since once these trees are cut, it takes many years to grow them again (Interviewees 12 and 13).

One of the hotel managers claimed that Uzungöl developed with the power of the local people. They revived tourism in the Black Sea region and Turkey (Interviewee 6). And for him, it was a regional development where the state made no contribution to all, pointing to an understanding that the transition process in Uzungöl was a product of the society itself. Similarly, another interviewee compared the region's current situation with its past and stated that:

> Before, people were living under tough conditions. Very tough conditions economically. Agriculture or husbandry does not bear return. Then, after poor periods of time, they discovered tourism and got their share out of it really well. They provided a good turn. Now, here, we have reached a welfare level which is far above Turkey's. (Interviewee 9) (See Appendix A, 6)

Based on these quotations, it is clear that this tourism development has opened new horizons to locals' lives. Some of them changed their source of income and abandoned their old occupations. This increasing wealth has pushed some to think that there has been an upturn in Uzungöl as a result of tourism development. However, the better living conditions they reached were at the cost of serious environmental damage.

As can be seen, the interviewees disagree with each other on the overall effects of tourism in Uzungöl. While some praise what has been done in Uzungöl, others feel deep sadness about the situation in Uzungöl today. This division prevents collective action in the region; these groups could not sit at a table together to discuss the problems of the region and develop a common solution.

There are also some people who think that people constructed these out of necessity. A local state official stated that

> We do not have a plan. A man needs to repair its roof, the laws prevent him. No, sir, you cannot repair it. . . . How is he going to live? I mean he has kids,

son, brides, etc. You cannot say the needs of the 50-year house are the same with today's needs. We cannot say 'live with the conditions of 50-years ago.' We do not have this right. (Interviewee 4) (See Appendix A, 7)

Apart from satisfying the tourism demand, there are people who actually exert effort to develop their living standards. So, the region represents a complex situation which affects people's daily lives, the tourism industry, and the region's environment simultaneously.

When I asked whether something can be done to overcome the environmental problems and satisfy people's demands, the interviewees were not optimistic. One of the interviewees stated that:

With the new project, it can turn into a more livable place, a place with green areas or with more social domains. But I mean, it takes time to organize these people, to come up with common idea to act. If you say we should start today, it takes around 5 years, 10 years. We are in that point in Uzungöl. (Interviewee 4) (See Appendix A, 8)

Also, two interviewees from civil societies expressed that it is too late to save this region and that it was at an irremediable level (Interviewees 12 and 13). According to them, despite its awing nature and wildlife, the region has suffered from environmentally unfriendly practices and the irrepressible increasing constructions destroying nature for too long.

Furthermore, most of these accommodation facilities do not have a construction permit (CNN Türk, 2018). At this point, it is clear that the Construction Peace, an initiative that gives construction permits to buildings built before December 2017 if the parties fulfill the conditions of the related provisional article (MEU, 2018b), can affect the situation in Uzungöl. Providing a way for these constructions to become legalized, it becomes harder to preclude over-structuring and environmental damages, since most locals apply to benefit from the initiative and make their buildings legitimate (Başar & Koltuk, 2018). For Uzungöl, the

application of the Construction Peace poses a greater risk because once illegal hotels get their construction permits, the damage they have caused becomes permanent, leading the situation to become even more irremediable.

In light of these, we witness the epitome of Garret Hardin's idea of the tragedy of commons taking place in Uzungöl. Some locals, as rational actors, aimed to increase their benefits under political ambiguity, but these actions resulted in environmental problems putting the future of the region at risk both environmentally and in terms of tourism development. Furthermore, these locals cannot act collectively that might help them prevent these environmental problems. Through collective action, they might guarantee future benefits with fair and equal usage of the capacity of the lands. In the absence of collective action, eventually, tourism development and increasing environmental problems have fed each other in a vicious cycle in Uzungöl.

During the interviews, the interviewees established a connection between tourism development and environmental change in the region. One of them, by showing his longing to the old times of the region, explained the change with these words:

> This place was not like this. This place was perfect in a way that while you look at from here, . . . you were able to see around three kilometers up. Now, unfortunately, it is blocked, you cannot see anything but roofs. You may look at the uplands to see the forests, you cannot see anything else. (Interviewee 1) (See Appendix A, 9)

For him, the natural landscape of the region disappeared as the number of hotels increased. He also added that tourists were also uncomfortable with disappearing natural landscape. Agreeing with him, a civil society member that I interviewed defined the hotels in the region as "settlements without identities"[15] (Interviewee 13).

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[15] Translated from: "kimliksiz yerleşimler"

For her, the increase in the number of hotels ruined the magic of the region. Similar sentiments were echoed by other interviewees. A hotel manager agreed with her by saying, "we slaughtered nature"[16] (Interviewee 8). A state official claimed that the region suffers from "deformity" as a result of the unsuitability of building structures (Interviewee 2).

Apart from losing its natural landscape, one of the civil society members evaluated the situation in Uzungöl with the argument of "lifting capacity". For him,

> The lands have their own capacities. We should not exceed the lifting capacity. . . . What I meant with lifting capacity is that there should not be that many buildings in Uzungöl. . . . This emerged with two ways: the capacity is exceeded with the intense entrance of the tourists coming from outside and it is exceeded with the increase in the number of buildings in the region. (Interviewee 12) (See Appendix A, 10)

Exceeding the lifting capacity is highly related to the excessive use of resources, which is also called "use-conversation gap" or "resource paradox" in the eco-tourism literature. Other civil society member made a reference to these concepts and stated that "the important thing is not to exceed the self-renewal capacity and speed of nature because if you exceed them, the region cannot preserve itself"[17] (Interviewee 13). So, for both of these interviewees, the region's capacity has been already exploited, and eventually, replacing what has been used in the region has become almost impossible.

In addition to disappearing of the natural landscape and exceeding lifting capacity, some other problems have emerged in Uzungöl which have dragged the region into unsustainability. For instance, a sidewalk built around the lake has decreased the basin of the lake. Some hotel managers think that this sidewalk provides an opportunity for tourists to enjoy the lake's view, without taking into

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[16] Translated from: "Doğayı sömürdük."
[17] Translated from: "Önemli olan doğanın o kendini yenileme kapasitesi ve hızını geçmemek, çünkü geçerseniz bölge kendini koruyamaz hale gelir."

consideration its impact on natural surroundings. Also, the number of motor vehicles increased in the region, especially during the holidays. These vehicles not only lead to heavy traffic but also air pollution. One of the local state officials stated that "we do not have a big parking area. Therefore, during the holidays, tailbacks emerge in the region. Then, if you take pictures from the top, for instance, you cannot see anything but the cars!"[18] (Interviewee 4). Water pollution is also a problem. One of the travel agents claimed that it is not even possible to see the bottom of the lake anymore (Interviewee 10). All of these can be counted as unsustainability indicators for the tourism sector in the region.

Taking all of this into consideration, it is clear that tourism in Uzungöl has been dragged into a state of unsustainability. The locals have enjoyed rapid tourism development and other benefits in the last two decades resulting in the increasing number of buildings, at the cost of damaging the region's environment and its natural landscape, the very thing its touristic demand had depended on. In the next chapter, I look at the dilemma between projected and attained situation in Uzungöl and examine the mechanism that has pushed the region to enter this process.

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[18] Translated from: "Bizim büyük park alanımız yok. Dolayısıyla ne oluyor, tatil zamanı, burada araç kuyrukları oluşuyor. O zaman bölgeyi tepeden çeksen mesela arabadan başka bir şey göremezsin!"

CHAPTER 5

A ROAD TO UNSUSTAINABLILITY IN UZUNGÖL

In this chapter, I take the discussion one step further and scrutinize how the state managed tourism policy-making in Uzungöl. Up until now, I focused on mechanisms the JDP offered for tourism governance in Uzungöl, as well as in the other regions of Turkey. I listed the statuses of Uzungöl, regulations, plans, and a project affected and prepared for the region, and political actors with jurisdiction. In this way, I also examined two issues that affected the tourism development in the region: environmental preservation and issue of construction. Following these, I shed light on the current situation in Uzungöl.

With Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023 and Tourism Action Plan, the JDP aimed to create participatory tourism strategy, diversify tourism products, and be environment-friendly for sustainable tourism development. For Uzungöl, the promises were the same: the state aimed to develop specific rules for the region and draw on the region's capacity to flourish as a tourism center while protecting its nature – yet the promises on paper did not match reality. As opposed to what is aimed for the region, in Uzungöl, in the presence of increasing tourism demand, the state has failed to provide satisfactory policies for the tourism sector. Eventually, the increase in the number of tourism facilities through the locals' maverick actions in the region accompanied several environmental problems.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the state has given three different statuses to Uzungöl in time due to its environmental significance: natural park, protected area, and specially protected environment area. Also, for its position in the tourism sector, the region has the status of tourism center. Depending on these

statuses, the number of state actors in the region increased, however, instead of providing well-planned regulations, this increase led to chaotic mismanagement of the region.

After obtaining the statuses of a natural park, tourism center, and protected area, the state did not offer any specific projects or plans for the region. Under the JDP, state activity in Uzungöl increased drastically. Especially, with the status of specially protected environment area, prescribed in 2003 during the JDP period, the state aimed to make Uzungöl subject to strict rules and regulations to preserve its environmental qualifications. During the JDP period, as discussed in Chapter 4, the state published conservation plans, governance plans, and a tourism master plan affecting Uzungöl, along with a project analyzing the region in terms of its nature and wildlife. These state plans and a project, however, failed to meet the state's promises. The state could not protect the region's environment while developing the tourism sector in the region since these plans and a project for Uzungöl are either cancelled even without going into the operation or remained ineffective for these promises.

In addition to these top-level governmental changes, there were also changes at the local level as well. In 2012, Uzungöl began to be governed by the Çaykara Municipality connected to the Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality, as opposed to its own municipality, as a result of changes in the Code of Municipalities. This damaged the potential of the local administration acting as a middleman between the state and local residents. Similarly, nonexistent civil society activities in the region could not provide links between the locals and state officials.

In this chapter, I focus on the defective points of policy-making in the region and analyze this dilemma between promises and reality based on the interviews, state

documents, and some news articles. In line with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 and the contextual background laid out in Chapter 3 and 4, I analyze the mechanism for tourism policy-making process, activities of political actors in this process and the locals, and civil society's position in this mechanism.

5.1 Top-down policy-making

The literature on tourism governance profoundly touches upon the significance of regionalization and decentralization, or "bottom-up" policies, as well as participatory policy-making, as stated in the theoretical framework chapter. It means the states should have collaborations with the local administrations and develop region-based policies. This approach also requires the inclusion of the locals into the process since the locals are the ones who would explain their problems to the central authorities in the region. Likewise, Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023 favors decentralized and region-based policies in tourism governance, and actually offers a participation based "bottom-up" approach. However, the case of Uzungöl shows that there are serious problems in participatory and decentralized tourism planning.

As explained above, as of now, there is no conservation-based plan in operation in Uzungöl (CNN Türk, 2018); both "the Project of Examination of Terrestrial Biodiversity of Uzungöl Specially Protected Environment Area" and "the Governance Plan for Uzungöl" were ineffective. Regarding the contents and problems of the conservation development plans, one of the locals conveyed his observations in the following manner:

> They prepared a plan, a plan for constructions which was full of contradictions. People built, arranged the surrounding area, merged the lands. . . . Then, due to the subdivision that the plan offers, the acreage of the lands changed here. They made the lands smaller due to expropriation. How are we going to build houses in these small lands that the state offers to us? . . . Without thinking these, they divided the lands. Half is there, the other is on

the other side. They did not come and look at the situation before preparing this plan. They did not do such a thing. Later, we applied to the court, we sought our right. (Interviewee 1) (See Appendix A, 11)

The state officials did not visit the region during the preparation of these plans, resulting in its inability to provide "region-based" policies for Uzungöl – one of the necessary conditions for sustainable tourism development. In order to have a region-based approach, the state should decentralize policies and get support from locals in the decision-making process. This way, local actors can come together and determine the needs of the society, enabling the state to realize the specific needs and realities of the region and improve service delivery. Instead, top-down policy-making was continued in Uzungöl after the abolition of the first plan.

For an operative plan, a local state official claimed that there should be a "field management which throws together these actors"[19] (Interviewee 4). What he meant from "field management" is actually developing region-based or bottom-up policies. If the region-based approach had been developed, various setbacks could have been avoided. However, even if policies were made region-based, there still remains another problem in Uzungöl, one that came up in interviews just as frequently: inefficient local administration (Interviewees 1, 3, 8 and 9).

As stated in Chapter 4, Uzungöl has not had its own municipality, and it has been governed by the Çaykara Municipality connected to the Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality since 2014. This change, instead of providing regulatory governance mechanism, made things worse in the region. First of all, the local administration failed to supply the basic needs of the locals in Uzungöl. One of the hotel managers claimed that municipalities do not provide anything for Uzungöl (Interviewee 6). Later, he gave the example of Çaykara Municipality and stated that this municipality

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[19] Translated from: "aktörleri bir araya getirecek bir alan yönetimi"

received money from them, but provided projects for other regions in Çaykara (Interviewee 6). Similarly, one of the state officials in the region specified that the Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality only constructed an amusement park and restored the roads a little bit in these four years (Interviewee 3).

The resident who used to work for Uzungöl Municipality compared the current situation with the past and stated that "we used to have cars, our own staff. They were working day and night. The services were on the point. Now, they pave roads to other places with our money"[20] (Interviewee 1). So, for him, when Uzungöl had its own municipality, the situation was better, because the region was ruled within itself for itself, and the income collected was spent for the district. This indicated that local bodies started to use the tourism income for their own benefits as a result of the ambiguous mechanism and weak local administration.

Other than problems in providing the basic needs, the weak local administration also has its share in failing to be a voice of the locals when it came to relaying their problems to the central state. For instance, one of the hotel managers blamed the Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality and further stated: "I did not see the mayor even once here; not even once. You earn money from us, but you do not care about us"[21] (Interviewee 9). Similarly, another hotel manager, said that "in Uzungöl, the state is here only to punish people and collect garbage, not to develop the region"[22] (Interviewee 8). Focusing on the similar shortcomings, one of the local people who used to work for Uzungöl Municipality claimed that Çaykara Municipality remained "unresponsive" to the problems of Uzungöl and that it was

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[20] Translated from: "Bizim araçlarımız vardı, bizim elemanlarımız vardı. Gece de çalıştırabilirdik, gündüz de çalıştırabilirdik. Hizmetlerin hiçbir tanesi geri kalmazdı. Şimdi bizim buradan gelen paramızla aşağıdaki yollarda asfalt dökülüyor."
[21] Translated from: "Ben burada hiç görmedim başkanı, bir kere bile görmedim. Parayı bizden kazanıyorsun ama bizi umursamıyorsun."
[22] Translated from: "Uzungöl'de devlet burada sadece bizi cezalandırmak ve çöp toplamak için var."

better when Uzungöl had its own municipality (Interviewee 1). So, the mechanisms that provide efficient local administration were not established in the region yet, and subsequently, the local administration failed to be the voice of local communities when it came to relaying their problems to the central authority.

In addition to the weak local administration, there is no other mechanism for the locals to have communication with the state. It is a two-fold problem. First, as the interviewees from the region also claimed, there is no legal channel for locals to reach politicians and express their grievances. Second, the state cannot develop policies to problems they are not aware of. The perfect example of this case is the cancellation of the second conservation development plan prepared for Uzungöl.

After the cancellation of the first plan in 2008, the MEU came up with a new one in 2014. However, the second plan was also cancelled as a result of state officials making no modifications based on the opposing views brought to the public and judicial arena by the local people. This was corroborated by an interview participant who said the following: "Because they did not care about our complaint in the first round, they made the same mistakes"[23] (Interviewee 1). Since the state has operated in a top-down manner, it was harder for the state to learn from its mistakes with respect to the first plan, resulting in the inefficiency of the second one. Collaborating with locals and including them into decision-making processes could bring "collective learning and consensus-building," but in Uzungöl, the state did not generate these communication channels with the locals. Lack of coordination with the locals, therefore, prevent the state from both realizing its previous mistakes and learning the locals' problems.

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[23] Translated from: "İlkinde nelerden şikayet ettiğimizi umursamadıkları için, aynı hataları yaptılar."

Based on these, the locals expressed that when there is a problem in the region, they cannot reach local state officials, and therefore, have to solve their problems on their own. One of the hotel managers pointed out the following:

> Who is Çaykara Municipality? Or who is Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality? We could not solve anything with them. With ministers, politicians, we can handle our problems only if we are lucky. When the governor comes here, he says you have more power than me; I do not have enforcement as a governor. You have, he says. We are conscious of this now. Then we have to deal with by ourselves and find connections with Ankara. (Interviewee 7) (See Appendix A, 12)

Similarly, another interviewee stated that they need to draw on their personal proximities and relationships to politicians to solve these problems. He explained what he meant through the following example:

> Mr. Süleyman Soylu[24] came and listened to our problems. He was in the search of solutions for our problems, for instance for cleaning the lake. When something happens, we try to reach him and hopefully, he supports us. Also, Berat Albayrak[25] is the same. There are issues told to him. He also contributed, supported us. (Interviewee 5) (See Appendix A, 13)

Although these moves might solve problems, they show how malfunctioning regional political institutions are. These examples encourage clientelist relationships in the region.

In this case, some of the hotel managers have become clients who can handle their problems easily through their strong relationship with politicians. One of the locals stated that "The *kalın kaburgalı* ones have moved along"[26] (Interviewee 1). When I asked him how this happened, he told me that

> The guy came and bought the place from there. Eight hundred or so square meters. He used whole of it, although the top side of this place was a disaster area. And he put a hotel there since the disaster area temporarily was removed from a particular location to a specific location. Until the construction is over. . . . Again, the disaster area was declared [for this region] . . . as construction ended. (Interviewee 1) (See Appendix A, 14)

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[24] Süleyman Soylu is a Turkish politician who currently serves as a Minister of Interior.
[25] Berat Albayrak is a Turkish politician who currently serves as a Minister Finance and Treasury.
[26] Translated from: "Kalın kaburgalı olanlar yürüdü gitti. Katlarını da eklediler. Arazilerini birleştidiler."

The interviewee suggested that an individual with good relationships with responsible actors, arranges the necessary regulations for himself to continue his construction. However, if a person does not have a close relationship with a stakeholder, such regulations cannot be as easily bypassed.

Instead of consulting politicians, some of the interviewees talked about the need for platforms which may bring them together for "face-to-face interactions" and build "direct dialogue" among them. One of the hotel managers stated:

> We have meetings with Provincial Director [of Culture and Tourism]. What we can do, what we can practice, we speak about these. But do we get any results? We cannot get what we want. Only small things. Why? Because there are no actual operations. No implementation. (Interviewee 7) (See Appendix A, 15)

A local state official complained about similar issues saying, "what we have here, is not something that district municipality can solve by itself, Metropolitan Municipality, Ministry of Environment, Governorate; this is something that all stakeholders can solve jointly"[27] (Interviewee 4). The necessity for collaboration among political actors and locals in the decision-making process is realized by some in the region. However, instead of bringing both political actors and local people together and collaborate, the state preferred to apply top-down policies, failing to mobilize the local agents.

5.2 The ineffectiveness of the state

The top-down and exclusionary existence of the state accompanies its ineffectiveness over the region. During the interviews, the reasons behind this ineffectiveness are attributed primarily to the state's inability to provide coordination or collaboration among its institutions, its lateness to take actions and its unwillingness to change this

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[27] Translated from: "Buradaki olay, sadece ilçe belediyesinin kendi çözebileceği bir şey değil, Büyükşehir, Çevre Bakanlığı, Valilik; yani bütün paydaşların ortaklaşa çözeceği bir sorun."

situation. As discussed previously, there is a little to none coordination among stakeholders. Over the decades, different policies are developed by different actors resulting in no collaborative decision-making or solution for the region. Also, the locals are not included in the governance mechanism. As a result, the policies have become irregular, negligent, and incomplete in many cases. Similarly, the lateness of the state for various problems has enhanced this ineffectiveness as discussed by the interviewees. In most of the cases, the locals have taken action without waiting for the state's plans or projects. And lastly, the state has been unwilling to remake this governance mechanism due to the collusion that has emerged between the state and the locals.

The problems of irregularity and negligence in policies were mentioned during all of the interviews. Whereas political actors accepted the mismanagement of tourism in the region, the local community and civil society members criticized the state persistently with harsh words. The interviewees from the first category, local residents, accentuated the "non-existence" or "incompetence" of the state and its projects in Uzungöl (Interviewees 2, 7 and 9). Even though state institutions exist in the region, they lack in regularity and action, eventually leading locals to ignore them as if they do not exist at all.

When I asked about the reasons behind this inactive and failed existence of the state, the interviewees pointed to the plurality of important problems and responsible actors in the region as the issue. Precautions and protective measures for sustainable tourism and the environment, respectively, should be taken while still allowing day-to-day sustenance for locals. However, the state could not provide these precautions. One civil society member stated:

> These all happened because natural preservation, tourism, regional development were not thought together. I mean, people say, for example,

protected land, archeological site, we cannot even bang a nail; we cannot do anything. But still there are people living on these lands. They have needs. As I said, natural preservation should not be despite the people, but with the people. So, it should be approached with consideration of people's needs. (Interviewee 13) (See Appendix A, 16)

The inclusionary approach in policy-making tackles different problems of the region such as tourism development, regional development and environmental preservation all at once, so that clashes among plans and projects can be avoided.

Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 4, in Uzungöl, there are various political actors due to its special statuses. Therefore, instead of this irregularity, the region should have been subject to even more strict rules and regulations. One of the civil society members explained this irregularity in the following manner:

There is a lack of strategic thing, I believe, in the level of decision-making before the implementation. For the same region, there can be different plans. So, this lack of coordination, this disconnection, etc., pave the way for completely disconnected developments. This serves them [the locals] because there is not any directive thing, binder thing. (Interviewee 13) (See Appendix A, 17)

According to her, before the implementation of regulations, there should be a mechanism which connects these actors for the preparation of the plans, but the situation is the direct opposite. Each actor works on regulations by oneself without considering the others' goals. Similarly, one of the local state officials stated that

In Uzungöl, to introduce a new plan, Directorate General for Preservation of Natural Heritage, [Trabzon] Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism should confirm the plan, also, since it is a tourism center, Ministry of Culture and Tourism is also active. . . . So, since there is a multi-headedness in Uzungöl, instead of working with Çaykara Municipality or Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality, there should be field management which throws together these actors. (Interviewee 4) (See Appendix A, 18)

All of these actors are responsible for decisions taken in the region, yet a mechanism to allow their cooperation could not be constructed. Another local state official claimed that "due to its statuses, there should be a mechanism in Uzungöl, there

should be coordinated action. The state institutions must be coordinated since there are many responsible actors who make it hard to work actually"[28] (Interviewee 5).

In addition to this inability to provide a well-functioning tourism governance mechanism, the state has "discovered" the problems of the region rather late. One of the hotel managers claimed that

> The state is inactive here; they have fallen behind. They are not able to follow the circulation. . . . After the structuring is completed, everything is completed; now, how could they operate upon these? It is tough. What should it do? It should devastate. It is not going to happen. They cannot do anything. (Interviewee 9) (See Appendix A, 19)

According to him, the state is not only inactive but also arrived too late to find solutions to the problems in the region, since by then people had already completed their constructions. Therefore, even if the state would realize the problems of the region and try to develop projects for them, it could not have implemented them, since the locals had already found their own solutions through clientelist practices as stated previously without waiting for the state to act.

Another hotel manager underlined the lateness of the state as the core issue by expressing that the state left Uzungöl alone and did not promulgate suitable plans, and as a result of this negligence, people started to satisfy their needs on their own (Interviewee 7). One of the state officials in Uzungöl conveyed his observations regarding the state's activities in the region with the following:

> For years, our state could not prepare the plans or implement them. Also, instead of saying what should be done in the region to make everything better, our state tells what we cannot do in the region. 'No, you cannot do this, you cannot deal with this problem in this way' and so on. Instead of negativity, if we would have positivity, we could have protected our Uzungöl; managed to protect it. We could not achieve it. (Interviewee 2) (See Appendix A, 20)

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[28] Translated from: "Uzungöl'ün statüsünden dolayı kurumlar arasında da bir şey mekanizması oluşturulması lazım; eşgüdümlü işler yapılması lazım yani. Eee kurumların senkronize olması lazım. Çünkü pek çok kurumun sorumluluğu var Uzungöl'de."

In addition to this lateness, the state used negative references and restricted action rather than to look for a solution based on common ground when it has found out the problems.

Beside the inability and lateness of the state to change this situation, the issue is also the unwillingness of the state. For years, the state has not aimed firmly to change the situation in Uzungöl, have coordination among its actor or include the locals into the process, since it does not want to bother the locals, or in other words its clients. As discussed earlier, many people in the region have clientelist relationships with the state officials. These clientelist relationships guarantee not only continuous support from the locals to these state officials but also the economic benefits from the region. Therefore, the collusion has emerged between the locals and the state. Since the state has turned a blind eye to the locals' actions to extract from tourism for a long time and have their political support, the locals have continued to live with the problems within their region even though the state does not solve many of their problems. The locals are also aware of the fact that if the state takes the necessary steps, most of the hotels in the region should have been pulled down (Interviewees 8 and 14). Therefore, to continue operating their hotels and benefit from the region, the locals also prefer to continue their relationship with the state despite their problems.

5.3. Lack of pressure from outside

Another problem in this ambiguous structure is that there is no pressure on the state to reorganize this mechanism in Uzungöl. Since there is no pressure coming from outside, mainly from civil society organizations and political actors, no one is

actually forcing the state institutions to realize its mistakes, understand the region's

dynamics and make some adjustments to halt the continuation of the status quo.

First of all, there is a lack of civil society organization in Uzungöl that can

force the state institutions to "collaborate". As stated in Chapter 1, there are no active

civil society organizations which can assist the locals regarding developing tourism

and preserving the environment or problems related to construction in Uzungöl.

When I conducted desktop research, I found three different local associations:

Uzungöl Tourism Survival Association, Association of Uzungöl and Uzungöl

Tourism Professionals Association. However, during my fieldwork, I realized that

the first two were not available at the addresses listed online and their telephone

numbers were not updated, indicating that these two were no longer active in the

region.

I was able to reach one of the members of the board of Uzungöl Tourism

Professionals Association and have an interview with him. In this interview, he

stated that

> We do not have regular meetings, sometimes we come together, but lately we
> could not take big steps. . . . Before we were thinking about -but we never
> achieved it- initiating a thing, in the form of a union, 'The Union of Uzungöl
> Tourism Professionals;' It was a union that we thought to form with the
> participation of Governorate and Mayorship. We discussed it with the former
> governor. . . . Regulations have been prepared, etc., but we could not put it
> into practice. (Interviewee 5) (See Appendix A, 21)

When I asked about their other activities in the region, he indicated that they

sometimes organized meetings to bring local people together and ask their opinions,

but these meetings were not regular either, hence, serving as more superficially

established associations, dealing with daily issues and not offering a regular

communication channel to the locals. Some of them told me they had not heard about

these three associations, while others said that they had closed. Therefore, even

though some of these local associations might still exist, they are not actively operating in the region.

This lack of civil society is a crucial problem for the region since civil society organizations take significant actions in building networks between the state and society when the locals are not able to do so. Through these networks, they inform the state about regional problems for more holistic solutions. Also, they might warn the state about its own mistakes in the region. Therefore, a lack of civil society is an obstacle for the state to understand problems and integrate communities in its tourism policies.

As for national civil society organizations, the situation is not so different. Both of the members of the two environmentalist organizations that I interviewed stated that they are no longer active in Uzungöl. When I asked why, both stated that no one asked for their opinion or took their suggestions seriously (Interviewee 12 and 13). However, for them, this is not specific to Uzungöl, but a general problem in Turkey. According to these two representatives, in most regions, both the state and the local people do not ask their opinions specifically:

> TEMA is invited to some meetings of course, and we participate with our representatives. But, I cannot say that every time, we achieve influential participation because you can grade them in itself. Only giving information is also participation. Shared decision-making is also participation. So, it does not equal always. . . . When we want to have a meeting, even if it is not that easy, we can get an appointment with senior officials in Ankara, but it is not enough. (Interviewee 13) (See Appendix A, 22)

So, it seems that these invitations are only for show, rather than sincere attempts to collect expert opinions. This situation makes their participation in the decision-making process lower.

The other one stated that the state is selective in choosing when to involve their organization because, according to the interviewee, the state could not be sure if his organization would support or oppose their policy drafts. He stated that:

> I'm in Ankara, but if we are not going to go there and particularly say something; [such as] you are doing something here, include us; if we are not saying that we should be here too, they do not work too hard to include us. Because for them we seem to be like someone who makes things difficult. For that reason, we realize that they want our direct support in some basic things that we won't land them with troubles. (Interviewee 12) (See Appendix A, 23)

As a result, this selectiveness and exclusion demotivates national civil society organizations, and they step back from the region.

In addition to civil society organizations, one crucial pressure on the state for adjustments in the region comes from the state itself. In recent years, many political actors have made statements concerning Uzungöl. When President Erdoğan called attention to the situation in Uzungöl in 2017 (AA & NTV, 2017), the Minister of Internal Affairs Soylu visited the region to observe and discuss problems with local people (İHA, 2017). However, these were not influential enough for the necessary regulations to be carried out.

As a result of this multi-headed, negligent, and top-down policy-making in Uzungöl, the region's problems increase day by day. The state did not include locals into policy-making processes, and could not guide them for proper construction practices, tourism development, or environmental protection. Also, civil society organizations which can assist the locals for these and warn the state about the mistakes do exist in the region. Similarly, statements made by politicians remained insufficient to cause significant changes in Uzungöl, ultimately creating an ambiguous political environment. As a result, the increasing attempts of locals to take advantage of high tourism demand in the region, led to the irreversible damage

of the scenic beauty of the region, the very reason for its high tourism demand in the first place. Many hotels were built, and houses turned into hostels or hotels to satisfy this tourism demand. Even though most of these hotels do not have the proper permits, they continue to operate in the region.

In general, it can be claimed that the state is not uncomfortable with all of these developments in the region despite the risk of unsustainability. In the last couple of years, despite politicians' statements about and media's increasing coverage of the region, the state has not taken any steps to fix this situation, but rather has allowed hotel managers to operate their hotels despite not having permits. Last year, the state even published the Construction Peace program, which enabled locals to acquire construction permits and continue operating their hotels. Hence, the state and locals actually operate in collusion producing and reproducing the cycle: to continue enjoying political support and economic benefits, the state does not take any risk by interfering with the locals' actions through its operations, and the locals, in return, continue to benefit economically through their businesses. However, this seemingly mutually beneficial relationship results in anything but positive outcomes for the region's upcoming environment and tourism development.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Turkey is a significant tourist destination in the world thanks to its cultural, historical, and natural resources. It not only provides tourism opportunities during all four seasons but also enables tourists to enjoy various alternative tourism activities. In that regard, tourism revives regions through creating new job opportunities to locals, while actively contributing to the country's economy. However, tourism governance in Turkey has always been a challenge for the state. In recent years, the state's interest in the tourism sector has increased. The JDP put forward a strategy and action plan which aim to have sustainable tourism development in each tourist destinations claiming that tourism governance would be participatory, environment-friendly, and region-based. However, in many cases, the state has failed to provide policies to uphold that interest. Consequently, not every region has enjoyed well-functioning tourism governance and subsequently, sustainable tourism development in Turkey. Uzungöl is one of these cases in which the state has failed to provide a governance mechanism to reach sustainable tourism development.

Uzungöl is a region which is supposed to be a subject for certain rules and regulations due to its special statuses. However, when tourism has entered the picture in the region, both these special statuses and tourism governance mechanism that the state has tried to establish remained insufficient. For years, more and more tourists have started to come to the region, and the locals, in return, have been attempting to deal with the tourism demand with their practices. They started to develop actions which are not compatible with the region's environmental dynamics in the face of this increasing tourism demand in the region. More and more environmentally

unfriendly hotels have been built, the trees have been cut to build hotels and roads, a sidewalk which blocks the basin of the lake has been built around it, and air pollution has emerged in the region due to increasing motor vehicles. The locals have failed to act collectively against increasing environmental problems. These mistakes in environmental protection and construction management, overall, have damaged the principle of environmental sustainability in the region.

In order to analyze this situation, in this thesis, I asked the questions of how the state has dealt with such tourism development in Uzungöl in the presence of this increasing tourism demand, and which actors have been responsible for the environmental damage alongside the state. After a more comprehensive analysis, I argued that tourism development in Uzungöl was related to two specific issues, apart from tourism governance in the region itself: environmental protection and construction management. Firstly, Uzungöl is a rural place which attracts tourists' attention due to its environmental qualifications, so tourism development in the region is highly related to its environmental protection. For sustainable tourism to develop, the environment in Uzungöl must be protected so that tourism can be maintained in both the short and long term. However, I have found out that the central state and local administration have failed to provide a monitoring mechanism for environmental preservation. Secondly, these institutions could not regulate the issue of construction either. Over the years, illegal hotel construction led to environmental problems in the region. Therefore, environmental problems, construction management, and tourism development, have fed each other in the region.

Through a holistic approach, I found out that the shortcomings in the state's approach in regulating these three issues in Uzungöl derived from the state's top-

down approach in developing a governance mechanism as well as its inability, lateness, and unwillingness to change the situation. In the region, the state has produced top-down regulations for Uzungöl, and these regulations were not suitable with regional dynamics since they are taken without the consideration of the locals' needs. Eventually, these regulations are either cancelled or remained ineffective. There are also examples in which the locals have developed their own solutions without waiting for the state to respond in the presence of certain problems.

In many cases, the state did not try too hard to change its attitude in the region since there was a collusion for years and acting against this collusion would not be beneficial for the government since the locals might no longer support the governing party and the economic benefits of the state might decrease. In addition to the state's inability, lateness and unwillingness to change this situation, there was no active civil society in the region to tie together the locals and the state, to show the shortcomings of existing regulations and suggest new ones or even to force the state's hand to take action. Similarly, many state actors have remained ineffective against the regions' problems.

In light of these findings, in this thesis, I argued that contrary to what is suggested in the Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023 and Tourism Action Plan, the state did not provide participatory, environment-friendly and region-based policies for sustainable tourism development in Uzungöl. Instead, the state carried out top-down policies, failing to coordinate amongst its officials, and between its officials and local communities. It even came up with the Construction Peace program, which enabled locals to acquire construction permits for their illegal hotels. Under this ambiguous political environment, locals have become maverick actors in Uzungöl and caused environmental problems without paying attention to state regulations in

the region. Overall, the state and locals, hand in hand, have dragged the region into unsustainability.

Tourism Strategy of Turkey - 2023 and Tourism Action Plan opened new horizons for the tourism governance in Turkey. However, there is a great room for improvement in the decision-making and application process. The case of Uzungöl shows that amendments need to be made to these processes to avoid facing similar threats and regional damage in other environmentally significant regions of Turkey. In that regard, in future studies, the policy recommendations for the application of Turkey's tourism strategy should be listed so that the targets of the strategy can be fulfilled.

All in all, I agree that promoting tourism in rural areas is crucial for regional development since tourism development offers an opportunity for rural areas to develop and for locals in these regions to enjoy new job opportunities and diversify their means of income. With improving financial incomes, these local communities can enjoy higher socio-cultural activities. However, as in the case of Uzungöl, if the state's regulatory mechanisms are not efficient to prevent potential environmental and regional damages, the regions may suffer and lose their significant attributes that led to the inflow of tourists in the first place. Eventually, what these regions have could not be sustained for the future. For this possibility to be eliminated, the state should observe a tourism development strategy that complies with regional dynamics by having contacts within local communities, listening to their problems and including them in decision-making processes, while also aiming to preserve the environment.

No.	In Turkish	In English
1.	Burada halk [Uzungöl'deki halk] deliriyorum diye düşündü. Çünkü kimse inanmadı, otel kuracağıma inanmadılar, turist geleceğine inanmadılar. Çok müşteri yoktu burada o zamanlar, e nasıl karşılayacak bu adam otelin masraflarını dediler. Yolumuz bile yoktu düzgün bizi Çaykara'ya götürecek.	The people [locals in Uzungöl] thought that I went crazy because no one believed that I could build a hotel, and have tourists. We did not have a lot of visitors here at that time. They asked how I would cover my expenses. We did not even have good roads connecting us to Çaykara.
2.	Hızlı bir turist akınına uğradı Uzungöl. Yani gelen talebi karşılayamaz duruma geldi, oradaki gerek konaklama açısından olsun gerek günübirlik alanlar açısından olsun. Dolayısıyla vatandaş gelen bu talebi karşılamak adına hem bir taraftan bir plansızlık var, imarsızlık diyelim. Kendine görev edinmiş.	Uzungöl was subject to a rapid tourism wave. It could not satisfy the demand; neither in terms of accommodation nor for daytrips. As a result, the people, in order to satisfy this demand, since there is also no regulation for constructions or let's say there is a planlessness to them, took it upon themselves.
3.	tarih öncesinden günümüze kadar gelen çeşitli medeniyetlerin ürünü olup, yaşadıkları devirlerin sosyal, ekonomik, mimari ve benzeri özelliklerini yansıtan kent ve kent kalıntıları, kültür varlıklarının yoğun olarak bulunduğu sosyal yaşama konu olmuş veya önemli tarihi hadiselerin cereyan ettiği yerler ve tespiti	a product of various civilizations from prehistory to the present day; a city or city ruins that reflect the social, economic, architectural and other characteristics of the periods that they are experienced; a place where important historical events occur; and supposed to be protected

	yapılmış tabiat özellikleri ile korunması gerekli alanlardır.	due to its identified natural characteristics.
4.	Küçük bir kulübesi olan veya da evi olan tamamı pansiyona mansiyona ya da otele dönüştü. Olmayanlar da yerlerini de hemen bir yapı ile birlikte, ahşap bir yapı ile birlikte turizme dönüştürdü ve yoğun bir yapılaşma ile birlikte konaklama sayısı arttırıldı.	The ones who own small cottages or houses turned them into hostels or hotels. The ones who do not have any of these, immediately made new buildings with wooden structure for tourism in their places. And with heavy structuring, the number of accommodations has increased.
5.	İnsanlarda şeyi görüyorum. O bölgedeki fırsatı değerlendirme arzusunu, bunu ekonomik anlamda bir kazanım haline getirme arzusunu görüyorum. Bu aslında onlar açısından yanlış bir şey değil ama devletin bunu [bölgesel gelişmeyi] yönlendirme konusundaki eksikliği yanlışa sebebiyet verebiliyor. İmkanı olan herkes, parası olan herkes dağlarda tesis kuracak anlamına gelmemeli.	I see a thing in people, a desire to make use of an opportunity in that region; a desire to make use of an economic opportunity. This, actually, is not a wrong thing for them, but the shortcoming of the state in guiding it [regional development] causes this problem. It should not mean that the ones with the capabilities can build a facility in the mountains.
6.	Önceden insanlar burada çok zor şartlarda yaşıyorlardı. Ekonomik olarak zor şartlar. Tarım ve hayvancılık çok bir şey getirmiyordu. Sonra bu sefillikten sonra, turizmi keşfettiler ve bundan paylarını çok güzel aldılar. İyi bir dönüş sağladılar. Şimdi burada biz Türkiye'yi aşan bir refah seviyesindeyiz.	Before, people were living under tough conditions. Very tough conditions economically. Agriculture or husbandry does not bear return. Then, after poor periods of time, they discovered tourism, and got their share out of it really well. They provided a good turn. Now, here, we have reached

		welfare level which is far above Turkey's.
7.	Planımız yok. Adamın çatısını yapması lazım, kanunlar engelliyor. Hayır efendim, yapamazsın. . . . Nasıl yaşayacak bu adam? Yani çocukları var, oğlu var, gelini var. Adama diyemezsin, 50 sene önceki evin ihtiyaçları ile şimdiki aynı diye. Biz diyemeyiz 50 sene önceki şartlarda yaşayın da deme hakkımız yok.	We do not have a plan. A man needs to repair its roof, the laws prevent him. No, sir, you cannot repair it. . . . How is he going to live? I mean he has kids, son, brides, etc. You cannot say the needs of 50-year house are the same with today's needs. We cannot say 'live with the conditions of 50-years ago.' We do not have this right.
8.	Yeni bir projeyle beraber daha yaşanılabilir daha yeşil alanın bol olduğu, sosyal alanların daha çok olduğu bir alan haline dönüşebilir. Ama organize etmek, ortak fikirde buluşmak uzun vade alır yani. Bugün başlayalım derseniz hemen hemen 5 yılınızı alır, veya 10 yılınızı alır. Bu aşamaya geldik Uzungöl'de.	With the new project, it can turn into a more livable place, a place with green areas or with more social domains. But I mean, it takes time to organize these people, to come up with common idea to act. If you say we should start today, it takes around 5 years, 10 years. We are in that point in Uzungöl.
9.	Burası böyle değildi. Burası o kadar mükemmeldi ki buradan baktığınızda, . . . aşağı yukarı 3 kilometre yukarısını görebiliyordunuz. Şimdi maalesef kapandı, çatıdan başka hiçbir şey göremiyoruz. Ya çok yükseklere bakacaksın orman kısımlarını göreceksin. Başka hiçbir şey göremezsin.	This place was not like this. This place was perfect in a way that while you look at from here, . . . you were able to see around three kilometers up. Now, unfortunately, it is blocked, you cannot see anything but roofs. You may look the uplands to see the forests, you cannot see anything else.
10.	Alanların kendisine ait bir kapasitesi var; bu kapasiteyi hiçbir zaman aşılmamalı … Taşıma kapasitesinden	The lands have their own capacities. We should not exceed the lifting capacity. . . . What I meant with

	kastım şu, Uzungöl'de o kadar yapının olmaması gerekiyordu. . . . Bu iki şekilde ortaya çıkıyor; bir dışardan gelen turistlerin yoğun bir şekilde oraya girmesiyle şey aşılıyor, bir de içerisindeki yapıların artmasıyla aşılıyor.	lifting capacity is that there should not be that many buildings in Uzungöl. . . . This emerged with two ways: the capacity is exceeded with the intense entrance of the tourists coming from outside and it is exceeded with the increase in the number of buildings in the region.
11.	Plan yaptılar, çelişkili bir imar yapıldı, geldi oturumunu yapmış, etrafını toparlamış, birleştirmiş. . . . Sonra plandaki ifraz işlemleri yüzünden, dönüm miktarlarını değiştirdiler burada. İstimlaktan küçüldü arsalar. E nasıl ev yapacaksın o plandaki küçücük arsalara? . . . Düşünmeden bunları, kestiler burayı. Yarısı o tarafa kaldı, yarısı bu tarafa kaldı. Arazi başında durulup bakılmadı. Öyle bir şey yapılmadı. Sonra biz mahkemeye gittik, hakkımızı aradık. Bu iki kez oldu, buna inanabilir misin? Çünkü biz ilkinde neyden şikayet ettik umursamadılar.	They prepared a plan, a plan for constructions which was full of contradictions. People built, arranged the surrounding area, merged the lands. . . . Then, due to the subdivision that the plan offers, the acreage of the lands changed here. They made the lands smaller due to expropriation. How are we going to build houses in these small lands that the state offers to us? . . . Without thinking these, they divided the lands. Half is there, the other is on the other side. They did not come and look at the situation before preparing this plan. They did not do such a thing. Later, we applied to the court, we sought our right.
12.	Çaykara Belediyesi kim ya? Ya da Trabzon Büyükşehir Belediyesi kim? Bak diyorum size, onlarla hiçbir şey çözemiyoruz biz. Bakanla, siyasetçiyle çözebiliyoruz, o da şanslıysak. Onlarla oturuyoruz falan.	Who is Çaykara Municipality? Or who is Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality? We could not solve anything with them. With ministers, politicians, we can handle our problems only if we are lucky.

	Kaymakam buraya geliyor diyor ki sizin siyasi gücünüz benden daha fazla. Benim kaymakam olarak yaptırımım yok, sizin daha çok diyor. Bunun bilincindeyiz biz de. Bu sefer her iş bize kalıyor. Kalkıyoruz Ankara ile bağlantı kuruyoruz.	When the governor comes here, he says you have more power than me; I do not have enforcement as a governor. You have, he says. We are conscious of this now. Then we have to deal with by ourselves and find connections with Ankara.
13.	Sayın Süleyman Soylu bize ciddi katkı sağlamıştır. Geldi, sorunlarımızı dinledi, çözüm arayışı içinde oldu. Özellikle gölün temizlenmesi hususunda. Bir şey olduğunda, biz taleplerimizi oluşturup ona iletiyoruz. O da sağolsun destek sağlıyor. Onun haricinde Berat Albayrak da var. Ona ulaştırılmış bazı konular var. Onun da katkıları, destekleri olmuştur.	Mr. Süleyman Soylu came and listened to our problems. He was is the search of solutions for our problems, for instance for cleaning the lake. When something happens, we try to reach him and hopefully, he supports us. Also, Berat Albayrak is the same. There are issues told to him. He also contributed, supported us.
14.	Adam gelmiş, yer almış oradan. Sekiz yüz küsür metrekarelik bir yer almış. Bunun tamamını kullandı üst tarafı afet alanı olduğu halde. Ve buraya bir otel yerleştirmiş. Afet alanı geçici bir süre ile belirli bir yerden belirli bir yere kadar kaldırılmış. İnşaat bitinceye kadar. . . . Tekrar, inşaat bittiği gibi . . . [bu bölge] afet alanı ilan edildi.	The guy came and bought the place from there. Eight hundred or so square meters. He used whole of it, although the top side of this place was a disaster area. And he put a hotel there since the disaster area temporarily was removed from a particular location to a specific location. Until the construction is over. . . . Again, the disaster area was declared [for this region] . . . as construction ended.
15.	İl [Kültür ve Turizm] müdürü ile toplantılar yapıyoruz. Biz neler yapabiliriz, ne edebiliriz diye konuşuyoruz. Ama sonuç alabiliyor	We have meetings with Provincial Director [of Culture and Tourism]. What we can do, what we can practice, we speak about these. But

	muyuz? İstediğimiz sonuçları alamıyoruz, sadece ufak şeyler. Neden sonuç alamıyoruz, çünkü fiili icraat yok. Uygulama yok.	do we get any results? We cannot get what we want. Only small things. Why? Because there are no actual operations. No implementation.
16.	Bütün bunlar doğa koruma, turizm, kırsal kalkınma birlikte düşünülmediği için. Yani insanlarda şey mesela, arkeolojik sit, doğal sit, hani çivi çakamıyoruz, hiçbir şey yapamıyoruz ama sonuçta orada yaşayan insanlar oluyor. Onların da ihtiyaçları var yani. Dediğim gibi doğa korumak insana rağmen değil, insanla birlikte olması gereken bir şey. O yüzden o insanların ihtiyaçları ile birlikte ele alınmalı.	These all happened because natural preservation, tourism, regional development were not thought together. I mean, people say, for example, protected land, archeological site, we cannot even bang a nail; we cannot do anything. But still there are people living on these lands. They have needs. As I said, natural preservation should not be despite the people, but with the people. So, it should be approached with consideration of people's needs.
17.	Stratejik şeyimiz eksik; bence karar verme düzeyinde, uygulamadan önce. Aynı bölgeyi yönelik de farklı planlar olabiliyor. O yüzden bu koordinasyon eksikliği, kopukluk vb. de tamamen o kopuk kopuk gelişmelerin olmanın önünü açıyor. Onların işine yarıyor. Çünkü yönledirici bir şey yok, bağlayıcı bir şey yok.	There is a lack of strategic thing, I believe, in the level of decision-making before the implementation. For the same region, there can be different plans. So, this lack of coordination, this disconnection, etc., pave the way for completely disconnected developments. This serves them [the locals] because there is not any directive thing, binder thing.
18.	Uzungöl'de yeni bir plan yapacaksınız Tabiat Varlıkları Koruma Kurulu, [Trabzon] İl kültür Müdürlüğü'nün	In Uzungöl, to introduce a new plan, Directorate General for Preservation of Natural Heritage,

	falan onaylaması lazım hatta turizm merkezi olduğu için, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı da aktif. . . . Dolayısıyla çok başlılık olduğu için Uzungöl'deki belki yönetimi yerel belediyeler veya Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden ziyade bir alan yönetimi olarak belirlemek lazım herkesi bir araya getiren.	[Trabzon] Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism should confirm the plan, also, since it is a tourism center, Ministry of Culture and Tourism is also active. . . . So, since there is a multi-headedness in Uzungöl, instead of working with Çaykara Municipality or Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality, there should be field management which throws together these actors.
19.	Devletin burada bir aktifliği yok zaten, çok geriler. Buradaki sirkülasyonu takip edemiyorlar. . . . Artık yapılaşma bitmiş, her şey bitmiş. Şimdi bunun üzerinde operasyon nasıl yapsın? Çok zor. Ne yapması lazım, işte yakıp yıkması lazım. E bu da olacak değil. Yapamazlar da zaten onu.	The state is inactive here; they have fallen behind. They are not able to follow the circulation. . . . After the structuring is completed, everything is completed; now, how could they operate upon these? It is tough. What should it do? It should devastate. It is not going to happen. They cannot do anything.
20.	Yıllardır devletimiz planları hazırlayamadı, uygulayamadı. Ve bize bölgede her şey daha iyi olsun diye ne yapağımızı söylemek yerine devletimiz ne yapamayacağımızı söyledi. 'Hayır onu yapamazsın, onu o şekilde halledemezsin' falan dedi. Bu olumsuzluk yerine olumlama olsaydı, Uzungöl'ümüzü korurduk, bunu başarabilirdik. Başaramadık.	For years, our state could not prepare the plans or implement them. Also, instead of saying what should be done in the region to make everything better, our state tells what we cannot do in the region. 'No, you cannot do this, you cannot deal with this problem in this way' and so on. Instead of negativity, if we would have positivity, we could have protected our Uzungöl; managed to protect it. We could not achieve it.

21.	Düzenli toplantılar yapmıyoruz, bazen bir araya geliyoruz, ama son zamanlarda büyük adımlar atamadık. . . . Daha önce bir girişim olarak başlandığımı nihayete indirmediğimiz bir şey daha var, bir birlik şeklinde. 'Uzungöl Turizmciler Birliği' şeklinde. Bu Kaymakamlık ve Belediye Başkanlığı'nın iştirakiyle oluşturmayı düşündüğümüz bir birlikti. Bu konuyu valiyle de, biz görüştük. . . . Yönetmeliği hazırlandı fakat uygulamaya geçiremedik.	We do not have regular meetings, sometimes we come together, but lately we could not take big steps. . . . Before we were thinking about - but we never achieved it- initiating a thing, in the form of a union, 'The Union of Uzungöl Tourism Professionals;' It was a union that we thought to form with the participation of Governorate and Mayorship. We discussed it with the former governor. . . . Regulations have been prepared, etc., but we could not put it into practice.
22.	TEMA davet ediliyor tabi bazı toplantılara, temsilcilerimiz katılım sağlıyorlar. Yani katılım ile ilgili her zaman etkin katılım diyemem çünkü hani katılım da kendi içinde derecelendirebiliyorsun yani. Sadece bilgi vermek de katılım. Ortak bir karar almak da katılım. O yüzden her yerde aynı düzeyde olmuyor. . . . Biz de hani bir görüşme istediğimiz zaman eee yani tabi çok kolay olmasa da yine randevu alınıp Ankara'da görüşmeler üst düzeyde görüşmeler de yapılıyor. Ama yeterli değiller.	TEMA is invited to some meetings of course, and we participate with our representatives. But, I cannot say that every time, we achieve influential participation because you can grade them in itself. Only giving information is also participation. Shared decision-making is also participation. So, it does not equal always. . . . When we want to have a meeting, even if it is not that easy, we can get an appointment with senior officials in Ankara, but it is not enough.
23.	Ben Ankara'dayım, özel olarak bizim oraya girip bir şeyler söylemiyorsak, [mesela] orada bir çalışma yapıyorsunuz, biz de orada bulunalım	I'm in Ankara, but if we are not going to go there and particularly say something; [such as] you are doing something here, include us; if

demiyorsak onlar bizi dahil etmeye çok çalışmıyorlar. Çünkü işlerini zorlaştıran bir alanda yer alıyor gibiyiz sanırım. O nedenle de yapılacak işlere yani bizim çok da onları zora sokmayacağımız bazı temel şeylerde doğrudan desteğimizi istediklerini fark ediyoruz.	we are not saying that we should be here too, they do not work too hard to include us. Because for them we seem to be like someone who makes things difficult. For that reason, we realize that they want our direct support in some basic things that we won't land them with troubles.

LEGAL REGULATIONS THAT AFFECTED UZUNGÖL

The Name of the Law	Law Number/ Decree Number/ Registration Number	Publication Date	Issue No.	Content
Code of Tourism Encouragement	2634	12.03.1982	17635	Determining the regulations for developing tourism sector
Code of Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties	2863	21.07.1983	18113	Defining the concept of "protected area" and determining the rules to govern protected areas.
Code of National Parks	2873	09.08.1983	18132	Defining the concept of "natural park" and determining the rules to govern natural parks.
Code of Construction	3194	09.05.1985	18749	Determining regulations for construction
ND	ND	03.10.1989	ND	The decree law which ascribes Uzungöl the status of "natural park"
Decree-law	383	13.11.1989	20341	Establishing "Environmental Protection Agency for Special Areas"
Cabinet Decree	90/70	05.03.1990	20452	The cabinet decree which ascribes Uzungöl the status of "tourism center"

Registration	3332	04.12.1998	ND	The registration of Uzungöl as "protected area"
Law on the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism	4848	29.04.2003	25093	Establishment of "Trabzon Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism"
Cabinet Decree	2003/6692	07.01.2004	25339	The decree law which ascribes Uzungöl the status of "specially protected environment area"
Law on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies	5449	08.02.2006	26074	Establishment of development agencies, and determining their coordination and duties
Decree-Law	642	08.06.2011	27958	Determining the Organization and Duties of the Regional Development Administration of the Eastern Anatolia Project
Code of Municipalities	6360	06.12.2012	28489	Establishing metropolitan municipalities, and eliminating town municipalities.
Regulation on the Administration of the Places which are Specially Protected Environment	ND	02.05.2013	28635	Regulating the issues of usage and operation in the lands which are protected area and specially protected environment area at the same time

Areas and Protected Areas				
Provisional Article to Code of Construction	3194	06.07.2018	32381507-010.99/19 56942	Declaring the regulations for "Construction Peace"

INTERVIEWS

Pseudonym	Sub-Categories	Occupation
Interviewee 1	Common people and political actors	Resident and former local state bureaucrat
Interviewee 2	Political actors	State bureaucrat
Interviewee 3	Political actors	State bureaucrat
Interviewee 4	Political actors	Local state bureaucrat
Interviewee 5	Political actors and people from civil society	State bureaucrat
Interviewee 6	Common people	Hotel manager
Interviewee 7	Common people	Hotel manager
Interviewee 8	Common people	Hotel manager
Interviewee 9	Common people	Hotel manager
Interviewee 10	Common people	Travel agent
Interviewee 11	Common People	Travel agent
Interviewee 12	People from civil society	Environmentalist
Interviewee 13	People from civil society	Environmentalist
Interviewee 14	Common people	Hotel and restaurant manager

APPENDIX D

SAMPLES OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

For the First Sub-Category: Common People

1. Can you introduce yourself first?

2. Would you come to Uzungöl before?

3. If I ask you to make a comparison between your first time in the region and the current situation; What transformations were in the region?

4. What are the reasons behind tourism development in Uzungöl?

5. What kind of differences brought the region into a tourism region? What kind of changes happened in the region?

6. Were these changes in the region a part of the state's plan? Or was it the initiative of the people of the region?

7. What do you think about the increasing number of hotels in the region?

8. How would you evaluate zoning policies?

9. Based on all these, can we say that the economy is based on tourism?

10. Do you think tourism development in the region is sustainable?

11. How do you evaluate the activities of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the region?

12. Apart from the ministries in the region, which institutions and organizations are effective?

13. What is the contribution of these formations to the region? Do they have a voice in Uzungöl?

14. When I made a general research about the region on the internet, the most common thing about Uzungöl was the damage to the environment. How would you evaluate this?

15. What should be done to avoid these damages?

16. Do you think there has been a recent change in the government's policies in the region? Are there any positive or negative developments you have witnessed?

For the First Sub-Category: Political Actors

1. Can you introduce yourself first?

2. If I asked you to make a general evaluation, what happened in Uzungöl in the last 10-15 years? What changes have you seen?

3. How do you evaluate the increasing number of hotels in the region?

4. There are mainly three ministries operating in the region. Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ministry of Development and Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. What were the objectives of these ministries for this region? What kind of activities did they do?

5. In your opinion, has this Ministry(s) been able to meet its objectives? Has there ever been a change in targets?

6. What was the impact of the Eastern Black Sea Development Project (DOKAP), which was established within the Ministry of Development in 2014, to the region?

7. Does the state play an active role in the region?

8. Do the ministries interact with the local people while determining these policies?

9. When I made a general research about the region on the internet, the most common thing about Uzungöl was the damage to the environment. How would you evaluate this?

10. What should be done to avoid these damages?

11. In all of these matters, such as tourism, environment; non-governmental organizations or other actors in the region can have a say? Is there an exchange of ideas or does the state work with them?

12.Do you think there has been a recent change in the government's policies in region?

For the Second Sub-Category: People from Civil Society

1. Can you introduce yourself first?

2. If I asked you to make a general evaluation, what happened in Uzungöl in the last 10-15 years? What changes have you seen?

3. What is the effect of tourism on these environmental transformations? Does it flourish the region or damage it??

4. What were the goals of the state for this region? Has there ever been a change in targets?

5. Do the Ministries, in particular the Ministry of Development and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, follow a participatory policy? Do you think civil society organizations or other actors are effective in the region?

6. What was the impact of the Eastern Black Sea Development Project (DOKAP), which was established within the Ministry of Development in 2014, to the region?

7. Do you agree that, despite all policies, the state did not pursue an active project in the region and the fate of the region was left in the hands of the people of the region?

8. What should be done to avoid these damages?

9. In all of these matters, such as tourism, environment, etc., does the state operate with your organization? Do you have an option to take a role in regional decisions?

10. Do you think there has been a recent change in the government's policies in region?

DIVERSIFICATION OF TOURISM PRODUCTS

Thematic Development Zones	Tourism Corridors	Tourism Cities	Ecotourism Zones
Phryg Cultural and Thermal Tourism Development Zone	Olive Corridor	Iğneada-Kıyıköy Ecotourism City	Black Sea Region Ecotourism Zone
TROY Cultural and Thermal Tourism Development Zone	Winter Corridor	Kilyos Tourism City	GAP Ecotourism Zone
APHRODISIA Culture and Thermal Tourism Development Zone	Faith Tourism Corridor	Saros Bay Tourism City	
SOGUT Culture Tourism Development Zone	Silk Road Tourism Corridor	Kapıdağ Peninsula, Avşa and Marmara Isles Tourism City	
CAPPADOCIA Culture Tourism Development Zone	Black Sea Coastal Corridor	Datça Ecotourism City	
TERRA MERE Ecotourism Development Zone	Plateau Corridor	Kaş-Finike Tourism City	
HITTITE Culture Tourism Development Zone	Thrace Cultural Corridor	Anamur Coastal Line Tourism City	
URARTU Culture Tourism Development Zone		Samandağ Tourism City	
GAP Culture Tourism Development Zone		Maçka Tourism City	
		Kahta Tourism City	

Source: [Tourism Strategy of Turkey, 2007]

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