RE-VISITING BHABHA'S THIRDSPACE:

THE CASE OF PERMANENT TOURIST SETTLEMENTS IN FETHIYE

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ABSTRACT

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For the last 40 years, a large number of people has begun to migrate to another country under the name of "amenity migration". Amenity migrants bring along their local cultures and identities with them to their new habitat where different cultures and identities are also present. In progress of time, these divergent cultures confront consciously or unconsciously within a process of hybridization leading to the construction of a new spatial formation, which can be considered as "thirdspace", a concept brought forward by Homi Bhabha.

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In the context of amenity migration, the coastal Turkey is generally preferred by the Brits to settle. They attempt to sustain their daily practices in a different country with locals. The aim of this thesis is to understand and classify the concept of thirdspace as a space of hybridization through common spatial experiences of permanent tourists and locals in Fethiye, a town of Turkey at Mediterranean coastal region. Accordingly, how the social, ideological and economic confrontations between the two cultures represent themselves in spatial practices and how space is re-produced as a thirdspace in the context of Fethiye, will be analyzed.

On-site surveys and interviews held with locals and permanent British tourists demonstrate that Fethiye is divided into three different zones according to the mutual relationship among the British permanent tourists, locals and in-migrants: Brits dominating the locals in the first zone, local community dominating the Eastern in-migrants without any physical interaction with Brits in the second zone, and various types of dominating among the Brits and the locals in the third zone. In the last 30 years, these zones of the town have been exposed to lots of changes and turned to spaces of negotiation between locals and immigrants. Each zone represents a different spatiality in relation to the construction of thirdspace.

Keywords: thirdspace, Homi Bhabha, Fethiye, amenity migration, permanent tourist, local.

ÖZ

BHABBA'NIN ÜÇÜNCÜ ALANI ÜZERİNE YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK: FETHİYE'DEKİ KALICI TURİST YERLEŞİMLERİ VAKASI

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Refah göçü son 40 yılda ortaya çıkan bir terimdir. Refah göçmenleri, kendi yerel kültür ve kimliklerini, aynı zamanda başka kültür ve kimliklerin de yer aldığı yeni yaşam alanlarına beraberlerinde getirmektedirler. Zaman içinde, bu farklı kültürler, Homi Bhabha tarafından "üçüncü mekan" olarak adlandırılan yeni bir mekansal oluşumun inşasına yol açan bir melezleşme sürecinde bilinçli veya bilinçsiz olarak karşı karşıya kalmaktadırlar.

Refah göçü bağlamında, Türkiye'nin sahil kısmı genellikle yerleşmek için İngilizler tarafından tercih etmektedirler. Günlük hayatın pratiklerini farklı bir

ülkede ve o ülkenin yerel halkıyla sürdürmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Bu tezin amacı, Akdeniz kıyı bölgesinde, Türkiye'nin bir kasabası olan Fethiye'de kalıcı turistlerin ve yerlilerin ortak mekansal deneyimleriyle üçüncü alan kavramını melezleşme alanı olarak anlamak ve sınıflandırmaktır. Buna bağlı olarak, iki kültür arasındaki sosyal, ideolojik ve ekonomik yüzleşmelerin mekansal uygulamalarda kendilerini nasıl temsil ettiği ve Fethiye bağlamında mekanın üçüncü alan olarak nasıl yeniden üretildiği analiz edilecektir.

Arazi çalışmaları ve yerli halkla ve yerleşik İngiliz turistlerle yapılan anketler ve röportajlar, Fethiye'nin, yerleşik İngiliz turistlerin, yerli halkın ve ülke içi göçmenlerin arasındaki faydaçı ilişkiye göre üç farklı bölgeye ayrıldığını göstermektedir: birinci bölgede İngilizlerin yerli halk üzerindeki hakimiyeti, ikinci bölgede yerli halkın İngilizlerle hiçbir fiziksel etkileşimi olmadan ülkenin doğu kısmından gelenler üzerine hakimiyeti, ve üçüncü bölgede yerleşik İngiliz turistler ve yerel halk arasında gelişen farklı hakimiyet çeşitleri. Son 30 yılda, kentin bu bölgeleri bir çok değişime maruz kalmış ve üçüncü alan formunda yerli halk ve göçmenler arasında bir uzlaşma alanına dönüşmüştür. Her bölge, üçüncü alanın inşasına göre farklı bir mekansallığı temsil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: üçüncü alan, Homi Bhabha, Fethiye, refah göçü, yerleşik turist, yerli halk.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

So many small-scale towns of tourism from different parts of the world, particularly in Australia, (the US) California, Mexico, Turkey are exposed to changes with cultures that are foreign to them throughout amenity migration. These changes are derived from encounters of localities and the cultural characteristics of foreigners who migrate to these towns. This situation can be considered as a continuous hybridization process and it reproduces a new spatial formation, a thirdspace, a term developed by the critical theorist Homi Bhabha.

In tourist towns, the negotiation of two different cultures begins with a mutual relationship that the locals providing service, while the tourists getting services needed. Locals rent their houses to permanent tourists and also serve them in restaurants, shopping malls, and pubs. In other words, the host community's financial situation largely depends on the existence of permanent tourists (Waller, 2017). Within the framework of this mutual relationship, cultural characteristics of both locals and tourists change continuously.

Especially in the last 40 years, a large number of people has begun to migrate out of their home country under the title of "amenity migration" which is an after-effect of tourism. For amenity migration, it is critical that migrants bring along their cultures and identities with them to a different country where different cultures and identities are also present. In progress of time, it can be observed that these two

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different cultures start to experience some confrontations, consciously or unconsciously, which signifies the beginning of a never-ending process of hybridization.

Turkey, especially the tourist coastal part of it, is preferred by Brits more often. They try to sustain their daily practices in religious and public spaces of a different country together with locals. Within this period, the combination of the Brits and the locals creates a new spatial formation, which comes into being as a result of the hybridization throughout amenity migration, practice for both of them different from seasonal summer tourism.

The community of Fethiye mainly consists of locals and Brits who have very different cultures and both of them have been living together for about 30 years. In this period, the city has been exposed to lots of changes and turned into a space of negotiation between locals and immigrants, in various forms of thirdspace.

1.2. Research Questions

In order to respond to the problem, the following research questions have been asked:

1) How do the coastal parts of Turkey such as Alanya, Didim, and Fethiye turn into a thirdspace?
2) How can we read the concept of thirdspace in daily practice of permanent Brits in Fethiye?
3) What are the cultural and architectural reflections of thirdspace in Fethiye?

1.3. Aim and Structure of the Research

This thesis aims to analyze Homi Bhabha's theory of thirdspace throughout the spatial practices of British permanent tourists in Fethiye because it is a shared place of different demographics, mostly the British permanent tourists and locals. The main goal is to demonstrate the re-production of thirdspace within its sub-processes of translation, ambivalence, and hybridity.

The second chapter, Theorizing Thirdspace, aims to explain the theoretical framework of this thesis. Thirdspace theory of Bhabha analyzes the encountering of different communities within a postcolonial framework. Since Bhabba's theory will be placed in architecture in relation to the reflections of thirdspace on the built environment, the theories of other critical theorists of space, Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, and Edward Soja, are also analyzed with their spatiality triads regarding the production of space. However, since the main theory analyzed in the case study part is about the thirdspace of Homi Bhabha, this thesis will focus on the Bhabha's understanding of space rather than other critical theories of space embracing Marxist points of view. Then, this chapter continues with the Bhabha's theory of thirdspace and its sub-processes, namely, translation, ambivalence, and hybridity. In the final section of this chapter, it is aimed to analyze and explain the critiques of thirdspace theory by other critical theorists, Felipe Hernandez, Robert Young, and Jane Jacobs, who revisits the thirdspace theory in a context-conscious approach.

The aim of the third chapter, Amenity Migration, is to construct the contextual framework of this thesis. In the first and second sections, it is explained when, why and how amenity migration occurs. In the third section, it is clarified how the tourist community turns into the permanent settlers in the places which were their previous holiday destinations. In this section, the reason for selecting the term "permanent tourist" is explained. This chapter concludes with the situation of amenity migration in Turkey by means of examples.

In the fourth chapter, "Analyzing Fethiye as a Thirdspace", Bhabha's theory of thirdspace with its translation, ambivalence and hybridization is analyzed

processes in the case of Fethiye. In this chapter, the physical reflections of Bhabha's theory of thirdspace on the built environment are analyzed. The observations about the built environment reveals that these processes do not directly apply to spatial practices but change in accordance with case-specific cultural and social factors. Translation demonstrates itself as a transition or transformation, the ambivalence situation exemplifies a form of in-betweenness and hybridization refers to the co-existence of different contents.

Fourth chapter begins with the tourism history of Fethiye since permanent tourism culture is as an after-effect of tourism. Then, the demographic characteristics of British permanent tourists in Fethiye are explained using questionnaire data. In the third and fourth section of this chapter, the encountering spaces of British permanent tourists and locals, and their hybrid foundations in Fethiye are analyzed in detail. In the final section of this chapter, since Fethiye demonstrates three different types of spatiality according to the dominance of locals or British permanent tourists, the analyses are conducted under three zones: First Zone: Tourist Attractions, in which Brits dominate and includes locals; Second Zone: Locals, they dominate and includes Eastern locals by taking place of permanent tourists; and Third Zone: Reproduction of Space by Hybridization. The third zone is also divided into three parts in itself: Çalış and Ovacık, where the British permanent tourists dominate the locals; Kayaköy, Üzümlü, and Seydikemer, where the locals dominate the British permanent tourists; and center of Fethiye, in which the locals and the British permanent tourists are in a balanced situation.

1.4. Literature Review of Thirdspace in Amenity Migration

The existing researches about amenity migration and the relationship between the amenity migrants and the locals have been conducted mostly as part of sociology, and urbanization studies. The minority and the majority compositions, as a significant problem field of the postcolonial discourse, can also be observed within amenity migration as the domination of one culture on another.

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Thirdspace shows itself in various forms in sociology literature. Firstly, with the arrival of new people to another country, self-other dialectic begins. Locals need to name themselves in order to describe themselves separately because now there is the "other". It is the keystone of "third space cultures" (Sorin and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2000). However, the issue of "otherness" restrains integration of foreigners into the local community. In the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, it creates an imbalanced situation between "national identity" and "cultural negotiation" sşnce this region use by both community: the amenity immigrants and the locals. The level of integration and the level of nationalistic awareness has an inverse proportionality because one's foregrounding his/her own national identity while talking with a tourist, again promotes the construction of "others" (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012). Stereotyping "others", within the same characteristic aspects, consolidates the awareness and it limits the integration level just in compulsory cases like economic benefits.

Additionally, in the case of amenity migration, the term "other" does not merely belong to the permanent tourists even they settle the place after locals and their population is less than locals. However, they are the dominant community because they have the economic power to dominate the locals. For example, Derya Bayır and Prakash Shah examined the perspectives of permanent British tourists in Mugla, Turkey, and they found out that the most important target of the Brits is creating their own environment, namely "a middle England in a foreign country". The culture or lifestyle of the country does not matter for them because they give importance to climate, sun, sea and cheaper life cost. Despite the fact that they are unwilling to live with the local culture, they want to find some cracks to stuff it with all of their cultural and also juridical components (Bayır and Shah, 2012). They prefer to live with their own culture rather than to consolidate with another one (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000).

A sociologist İmren Waller has found out that one of the important factors to migrate is the "otherness" that Brits feel in the UK. Interestingly, a big number of permanent tourists in Turkey highlight that they do not belong to England because the country has lots of foreigners from different countries. Therefore, the

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native community of England observes several cultural changes and consequently they start to feel like "other" in their home country. Progressively, they seem to have lost their place attachment to their hometown. Since they feel like a foreigner in their hometown, change of place loses importance for them (Waller, 2017). In a way, they have to accept coalescence with another culture but they prefer to be the superior side of this contradiction rather than accepting the rules of the so-called opponent group. In order to make their culture stronger and indivisible, they continue to socialize with people from their own country and organize activities, events and some charity facilities as they used to do in England. At the interviews of Imren Waller about the amenity migration with permanent tourists in Didim, distrusting of British community to the locals is a much-mentioned issue. However, family bonds of locals impress them which is a different form of culture from the British and they are willing to create similar kinds of relations to feel safe.

In addition, locals respect their religious values. According to Imren Waller, the important determination is that there is a big "cultural gap", mostly caused by religious difference, between locals and British community (Waller, 2017). In order to minimize this gap, permanent tourists try to experience their daily life as they used to do in their home country. For example, there are several active churches in Antalya City, Side, and Alanya serving Brits and they also have lots of publications in their mother language like Alanya Bote, Alanya News, Orange, Dutch Talk, etc…(Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009). In addition, in some cases, this mediation process concludes with the westernization of the traditional locals (Waller, 2017).

The sociology literature regarding hybridization in amenity migration mainly focuses on various dialectics in addition to the self/other dialectic such as "traditional/modern", "authentic/inauthentic", "civilized/uncivilized" and "popular/mass culture". Such diversities give a new form to the existing ones by negotiations of different cultures. With the continuous convergence of different dialectics, the thirdspace will never take its final form (Amoamo, 2011). Locals of tourist destinations generally prefer to shape themselves according to the demands of tourists rather than continue to live their daily life (Ryan and Higgins, 2006). Even though most of the tourists are interested in the authenticity of locals, they

actually wish to have a familiar ring (McIntosh and Ryan, 2007). And also, by the reason of the fact that authenticity includes the history of the community and life experience, foreigners can just see the snap of the whole process; which is not enough to feel the true authenticity (Schouten, 2007). At the next level, tourists combine that snap with their own life experience in the thirdspace. Over time, its production, reproduction, and transformation occur (Amoamo, 2011).

In sociology literature, working on the culture of tourist areas, since the main target is to advertise the tourist attractions with its traditional values, the modern/traditional dialectic is brought to the fore. James Clifford referred to Bhabha's "power of tradition" to explain the situation in tourist areas. According to Bhabha, with this power, tradition always needs to renovate itself with the new contexts (Bhabha, 1994). In this way, "the inventions of tradition" gives place to "tradition of invention" (Clifford, 1997). Irresistibly, the tourist region is beginning to be re-presented, in order to make the tourism site more attractive. For example in Maori, New Zeland, some specific characteristics of individuals from the past represented by the tourism operators as all Maori community has still been living with this past tradition. Opposed to showing the realities of today, tourism operators choose to create a new "Maori identity" (Amoamo, 2011). With this approach, a big gap arises between the realities and the fictional world (Smith, 2005). Actually, this is the place of permanent tourists, because they spend enough time to understand that it is a theatre scene, not a real daily life. For example, when the local community of Maori was under colonization in the 1900s, they were living in traditional houses. However, after they met with the new community, they began to live in modern houses due to the westernization effects of the colonized British community. In order to get an advantage through the promotion of history, tourism operators continue to introduce the town to tourists as if they still live in traditional conditions (Amoamo, 2011).

Within the urbanization literature, the international migration of permanent tourists produces the term "global countryside". Michael Wood uses this term to express the combination of global and local contexts. He described migration processes as hybridization and explain how the pieces of globalism and rural turn

into an interrelated mechanism. As opposed to the common belief of the domination of global over rural, Woods explains this formation with negotiation, manipulation, and hybridization. For instance, village festivals are a means of the production of local culture, which are found attractive by foreigners and the next step of these activities are formed according to their demands (Woods, 2007). In progress of time, a small-scale village festival turns into a well-known event all around the world and demonstrates a hybrid identity in the form of "glocalization" (Urry, 2003). Moreover, rather than standardization of globalization, "localized hybridity" is a more convenient determination for global countryside due to the non-human factors (Murray, 2006; Jones, 2006). It does not refer to standardization of the productions because every rural area has its own climate, nature, etc… and these foster a different culture. Other than global urbanism, the global countryside is differentiated between each other (Woods, 2007).

1.5. Significance of the Research

As mentioned in the previous section, the existing resarches on thirdspace in amenity migration are various in sociology and urbanization. Related with the discipline of architecture, the urbanization researches are examined throughout the globalization of the rural (Woods, 2007). In this context, this thesis provides a different perspective to look at amenity migration as a frame to analyze thirdspace in architecture literature providing a contextual framework with the terms of translation, ambivalence, and hybridity.

In Turkey, the researches on amenity migration mostly focus on the German and British communities since Turkey is mostly favored by them. Because of that, some of the researches include their comparisons. For example, Antalya coast is divided into two parts according to the nationality of users: British and German. According to their life standards one side of the coastal region consists of apartments and the other includes villas (Shah and Bayir, 2012; Unutulmaz, 2006). In terms of the encounters of permanent tourists with the local community, the most

studied topic is "self/other dialectic" in sociology literature (Griffiths and Sharpley, 2012; Waller, 2017). In these researches, it can be seen how the two cultures come together and how they react to each other as a result of encountering. However, these are not detailed studies considering the effects of amenity migration on the built environment. In this context, this thesis is significant as it analyzes and presents how cultural changes regarding amenity migration are reflected in the physical built environment and observed as thirdspace.

The existing academic studies on amenity migration in Fethiye are mostly produced within sociology and tourism literature. The thesis, "Exploring the concepts of belonging and place-making in a post-industrial era", written by Adem Dal focuses on the belonging of British retired migrants to Fethiye in sociologic and economic dimensions (Dal, 2016). Another thesis written by Mutlu Dirlik is entitled "A sociological study for describing the socio-cultural and economic condition of real estate owning resident foreigners in Fethiye". In this thesis, the group that is defined as "resident foreigners" is asked to indicate the reasons for settling in Fethiye, satisfaction and whether they want to return (Dirlik, 2009). In tourism, there are 21 master degree theses related to Fethiye. These generally focus on the improvement tourism and tourism planning , performance of the tourism sector workers and customer habits of tourists in Fethiye (Bulut, 2018; Karpuz, 2017; Karakaya, 2017; Bilici, 2015; Burgucu, 2013; Olay, 2012; Türkoğlu, 2011; Zıllı, 2010; Uçar, 2010; Pehlivan, 2009; Akdu, 2009; Kurt, 2009; Ergün, 2008; Gülbay, 2007; Öztekin, 2003; Sarıhan, 2002; Ulucak, 2000; Topaloğlu, 2000; Tunalı, 1995; Güçlü, 1993; Sergün, 1992). With this thesis, the gap in the effect of amenity migration on the physical environment will not also be eliminated in the field of architecture, but also an interdisciplinary domain associating architecture and tourism will be created.

1.6. Reasons for Studying Fethiye

Fethiye is a preferred tourist attraction place, in the junction of Mediterranean and Aegean coast of Turkey due to its natural, historical and climatic

characteristics, which makes Fethiye a well-known place in the international scale. Even in the advertisements of tourism offices, Fethiye is promoted as the most preferred destination by the British tourists. When the British tourist community visits Fethiye for holiday, they may decide to settle in this town permanently after their retirements. In this way, the town begins to show different characteristics since two different communities practice their everyday life in the same place. Then, the town turns into a thirdspace in which hybridization forms of different communities can be analyzed. In other words, the context of Fethiye fits quite well in to the scope of this thesis.

A second reason to select Fethiye as a case is that the author of this thesis was born and has grown in Datça, another town of Muğla like Fethiye. It means that she has an opportunity to observe the changes in seaside towns of Muğla such as Datça, Marmaris, Bodrum, and Fethiye. In this way, she can narrate the changes of the city with the settlement of permanent tourists from the firsthand experiences and memory

Another reason for selecting Fethiye instead of other seaside towns is that since approximately 30 years have passed since the British settlement in the region, the effects of the encounters of the two cultures on the space have started to be seen. Although the British permanent tourists began to settle in the region later than the locals, they became part of the town within a short period of time. They still move to the region as part of amenity migration. Since this can be observed in the past and the present and likely to be observed in the future context, it becomes important for the selection of Fethiye as a case.

Another dominant factor is the settlement ratio of the British permanent tourists which has an increase lately. Various researches on amenity migration in Turkey have proved that after Didim, a town of the city of Aydın, Fethiye is the second popular place where the British community settles. Since there are considerable researches on Didim case, this thesis focuses particularly on Fethiye.

Construction of thirdspace in Fethiye is a challenging process due to the conservative attitude of the locals towards all type of foreigners. This is evident in the negative attitudes of the local community to all type of migrants, not only the

Brits but also those coming from the Eastern parts of Turkey. In this case, it was difficult for the Brits to live as comfortably as they did in their own country. This creates a problem area which is worth studying, another selection criterion for Fethiye.

1.7. Methodology

This thesis uses a case study research methodology including three different data collection methods. These are literature review, archival survey and field study. The literature review includes the scholarly works in order to explain the theoretical and the contextual framework. Archival survey is used to gather data about the daily life of the locals and the Brits in Fethiye throughout the related online newspapers. The case study method is used to analyze the spatial reflections of thirdspace in Fethiye.

The second chapter provides the theoretical framework of the thesis. Before understanding Bhabha's theory of thirdspace, a literature review on critical theories of architecture is also provided since Bhabha's theory of thirdspace will be examined in architecture in relation to space in the case of Fethiye.

The third chapter on amenity migration identifies the contextual framework of the thesis. The history and the terminology used in amenity migration is expressed with the existing literature. Addition to the literature review, in the section amenity migration in Turkey, national and local online newspapers are analyzed as part of archival survey.

The fourth chapter presents the case study using several data collection methods such as archival survey, questionnaire, interviews, and field observation. For archival survey, national and locals newspapers such as Milliyet and Gerçek Fethiye are examined. The case study part of the fourth chapter consists of a questionnaire and face-to-face semi-structured interviews.

The semi-structured interviews were carried out with 30 participants: 16 British permanent tourists (Appendix 2), 6 in-migrants and 8 locals (Appendix 3). Permanent British tourists were selected from the participants of the questionnaire to provide attendees from all types of zones. In-migrants were selected from the church community, real estators and retirees in order to look at Fethiye from different perspectives. Local participants were selected according to their living environment, either in the center of the town or in agricultural areas. The semi-structured interviews include three types of questions under three categories: Demographic information, the lifestyle, and spatial experiences of the contributor in Fethiye. In order to inform the participants about the questionnaire and the interview, consent and information forms were prepared and shared with them (Appendix 4,5 and 6).

Since the author of this thesis is a local member of the Muğla region, her personal observations and interpretations about Fethiye also takes place in this thesis since she had a chance to observe the negotiations of the locals and the British permanent tourists from the beginning. During the six months, April, May, June, July, August, and September in 2018, Fethiye was regularly visited by the author in order to make detailed on-site observations.

Since Muğla Municipality turned into a metropolitan municipality in 2006, Fethiye is exposed to some changes in terms of its official borders. For example, Seydikemer turned from being a small village of Fethiye to a town of Muğla with a new municipality. Since the British permanent tourists started to settle here when it is a town of Fethiye, Seydikemer was selected to be analyzed in this thesis. Additionally, because of the limited time to observe all the neighborhoods, some sample regions are selected to be analyzed. For the tourist attractions, coastal of Ölüdeniz and Hisarönü; for locals' zone Patlangıç and Yanıklar; and for third zone center of Fethiye, Kayaköy, Üzümlü, Ovacık, Çalış, and Seydikemer are selected.

CHAPTER 2 THEORIZING THIRDSPACE

This thesis examines the shared spatial practices of permanent tourists and locals, and how these two cultures encounter. Through a postcolonial perspective, it focuses on the social and cultural constructions of space.

Even though the thesis mainly refers to Homi Bhabha's theory of thirdspace, it is necessary to locate his theory within a larger theoretical domain. Accordingly, this chapter initially introduces critical theories of space and tries to demonstrate why they are important in the social construction of space.

In the first section, the tripartite theoretical frameworks of space drawn by Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Soja, and Homi Bhabha are explained consecutively. Among these, Lefebvre, Harvey and Soja follow a Marxist perspective in understanding space while Bhabha considers space as a cultural encounter in an abstract manner. In the section 2.1.4, it particularly analyzes Bhabha' theory of thirdspace through the processes of translation, ambivalence, and hybridization. In the following section, it argues why Bhabha' theory does not apply to all spatial conditions based on counter arguments of Felipe Hernandez, Robert Young, and Jane Jacobs. In this context, it revisits Bhabha's thirdspace within a context-conscious approach.

2.1. Critical Theories of Space

In the second half of the 20th century, studies on space began to change towards a direction namely "historical turn". Rather than examining the space separately as a sociological and a geographical construction, theorists following a Marxist perspective like Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, and Edward Soja, produced a relational method integrating these two approaches. According to them, space should be embraced with the social structures, and pure sociology or pure geography is insufficient to understand the production of space (Ghulyan, 2017).

David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, and Edward Soja are three fundamental theorists of this period, who worked on the production of space from a critical perspective, and relatedly urban theory. These three theorists interpreted the space in the contexts of daily life in order to add the capitalist experiences of people to the process of spatial production. Moreover, to demonstrate the social structure as an integral part of the space, they constituted their arguments through urban theory and inevitably through the daily life practice, as the smallest social component of the city. The relationship among people as well as people and the city demonstrates what happened in the whole system as discussed in the Marxist understanding (Singer, 1979). In order to understand the small components of the capitalist (urban) space, they followed similar analytical approaches to understand the production of space in three levels. These could be considered as triologies or triads.

2.1.1. Lefebvre's Triad

Lefebvre's main argument is "(social) space is a (social) product or a complex social construction" (Lefebvre and Nicholson Smith, 1991). Namely, space is both the final product of capitalist social relations and the creator of this relationship. Space produces social construction, and this social production re-produces space and this cycle continues repeatedly. By improving a triology on the

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production of space, he targets at showing the role of society throughout this re-production process and examining the physical, social and mental experiences related with space. He constructs the triad of the space by using these three types of experiential concepts.

The first concept is "spatial practice (perceived space)". In this concept, the material quality of space is perceived with bodily experiences and it is the space of users. Spatial practice includes the production and re-production process of a physically constructed environment. In this way, space is experienced directly as a material space (Lefebvre and Nicholson Smith, 1991). According to Carp, routes, destinations, way-finding, modes of transport are the spatial practices and one can perceive these spatialities by smelling, seeing, hearing, touching and so on (Carp, 2008).

The second concept is the representation of space. It is a mental (cognitive) process of spatiality and Lefebvre also describes this dimension as conceived space. According to him, the representations of space are produced by the logic of an economically dominant group and they used these representations in order to convey the ideology onto spatial practices. In order to make some regulations or breakups, they need the physical signifiers of ideologies of an economically dominant group. As he mentioned, "representations of space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations." (Lefebvre and Nicholson Smith, 1991). These are mentally produced, conceived ideas by thinking, reflecting, systemizing or interpreting are embodied through maps, drawing, models, methods, drawings and so on. Therefore, as the production of this spatiality demonstrates, it is the space of planners, designers, decision makers, etc.

Lefebvre argues that there cannot be a space without any emotions or feelings because, in daily life practices, the first two spatialities overlap within the lived space, namely representational space. "Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolism, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life…" (Lefebvre and Nicholson Smith, 1991). This spatiality is more underground and not facile. It is the space of emotions, feelings,

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memories, discourses, and etc… While the representation of space has an objective spatiality since it includes the signifiers of the whole system, representational space is subjective because it is the space of users' everyday practices. In the case of production and reproduction of space, lived space is conceptualized by Lefebvre as the least productive because it is a kind of ephemeral situation.

These three spatialities work together in daily practices of production of space. Although all of them are conceptualized differently by Henri Lefebvre, to create a theoretical framework and at some certain conditions one or two of them dominate the others, in daily life practice, they actually work together. Rather than making an exact division between these spatialities, their interactions, contradictions, and conflicts enable the real construction of social space (Lefebvre and Nicholson Smith, 1991).

2.1.2. Harvey's Time-Space Compression

According to David Harvey, the changes and transformations of space are the end products of the capital accumulation of capitalism (Harvey, 2002). In other words, the built environment is shaped according to the rhythms of capital accumulation. Additionally, this situation demonstrates itself through unequal developments. Since capital, space and time are the most important key elements of capitalism, this uneven development demonstrates itself throughout the fragmentation of the city within the frame of time and space (Harvey, 1973). Based on this explanation, David Harvey tries to understand the space and the relation between space and time through capitalism.

Harvey argues that space creates its own dynamics within time (Harvey, 1985: 33). Although time is calculated separately, when they compress together, they create their own spatial frame. He categorizes the space as "absolute space", "relative space" and "relational space" according to the domination of time over space or vice versa (Harvey, 1973).

Absolute space is fixed space and in this spatiality, space dominates time. There is something fixed in space which can well observe without our senses. Time duration and conception of time are not important because space is independent of time (Harvey, 1973). It can be measured or calculated in city plans, maps and engineers' diagrams.

Relative space is temporal or mobile space because it is the space of movement, in which time dominates space (Harvey, 1973). For example, in a bus, the position of a person within a certain time duration and his or her relation with space is different from a person outside a bus. Different from absolute space, in this concept, time cannot be separated from space totally. People construct a relative relation with space under the dominance of time. It is the space of transportation maps or production and consumption charts.

In relational space, there is a reciprocal relationship between time and space. They are compressed and they create their own spatial frame. This concept is cognitive and mental and it includes memories and representations. It is the space of thoughts, collective memories, and passions.

In a similar approach to Lefebvre's triology, David Harvey proposes that space cannot be determined as pure absolute, relative or relational. According to the occasion, it can be one of them or all of them at the same time.

2.1.3. Soja's Theory of Third Space

As a critical follower of Lefebvre, Edward Soja also puts the space first. Accordingly, he models a third space version of Lefebvre's spatial triology: perceived, conceived and lived space. Edward Soja's triad includes first space, second space, and third space. Similar to Lefebvre, first space is a perceived and material space. It has materialized relations and practices. Soja describes it as "sensible and open, within limits, to accurate measurement and description" (Soja,

1996: 79). Second space is the conceived space. In this spatial concept, "the spatial knowledge is primarily produced through discursively devised representations of space" (Soja, 1996: 79). Third space, again related to the Lefebvre's lived space, is a simultaneous experience of first and second space (Soja, 1996). According to Soja;

> "Combining the real and the imagined, things and thought on equal terms, or at least not privileging one over the other a priori; these lived spaces of representation are … the terrain for the generation of 'counterspaces', spaces of resistance to the dominant order." (Soja, 1996: 68)

When Edward Soja theorizes the term "third space", he also refers to the "heterotopia" of Foucault. In this context, according to Soja, there are two descriptions of third space. One of them is Lefebvre's perceived, conceived and lived space, which is shaped with historicity, spatiality, and society as mentioned in section 2.1.1. Different from Lefebvre's contextualization, Soja explains the third space as a more complex phenomenon than a simple simultaneous experience of first (perceived) and second (conceived) space. His third space concept gives an alternative way to search for space (Soja, 1996). Second, Foucault's heterotopia also emerges with the domination of traditional understanding of space as a totally social product or just geographical touch by the binary logic of critical understanding, namely thinking both mentally and materially. As a conclusion, Soja argues that the third space, as a version of heterotopia, could be everywhere because it is not only what is perceived or conceived, but lived with the own perspective of the society's every member (Borch, 2002).

2.1.4. Bhabha's Theory of Thirdspace

Homi Bhabha is a critical theorist born in India in 1949 as a member of Persi community. In order to identify their place in the society, he starts to work on hybridization in postcolonial discourse because the Persian community in India, which he belongs to, is neither the local community of India nor British community, which is the colonizer of India. Additionally, he has grown up within the hybrid space of colonizer British community and colonized Indian community (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). According to him, thirdspace is more than combined components. It is a new and different entity throughout the negotiation of the different cultures (Bhabha, 1990).

As Homi Bhabha mentioned, "thirdspace is a space of where hybridity occurs (Bhabha, 1994: 38). In order to understand the Bhabha's thirdspace, the terms "translation", "ambivalence" and "hybridity" should be analyzed because these are the major key components of Bhabha's thirdspace in postcolonial theory. From this point of view, firstly it is important to understand the emerging process of thirdspace with this terminology.

2.1.4.1. Translation

Walter Benjamin makes a basic definition of translation as "translation is the re-creation of the original, not a copy" (Benjamin, 1999: 72). When a language of the work is translated from one to another, it means not only a reconstruction of it with grammatical rules but rather historicity of another one. Even if a translated work provides a definitely correct grammar, it is impossible to be given exactly the same understanding because of the communities who use different language, also have different cultures and daily life experiences.

Another important point for Benjamin is that the dynamism of the language. Language always changes with its adaptation, and in this way, it never dies (Benjamin, 1999). It demonstrates a process of hybridization because, during the translation, the language always combines with the new languages. In an advanced stage, it has different or new words and it has a new stage different and more than the previous version. However, the old language continues to demonstrate itself as a beginning point.

In the case of Bhabha, the term translation is an adaptation in postcolonial discourse, and he argues, "Translation is a performative nature of cultural communication" (Bhabha, 1994: 228). During the cultural communication, the colonizer begins to demonstrate its qualities by translation to make its language more comprehensive for the colonized community. In this way, they can meet on a common ground, namely, thirdspace, in which translation occurs as a concept of never-ending process of hybridization throughout the negotiation of different cultures. Because of this reason, translation is one of the important components of thirdspace for Bhabha. In the case of architecture, translation shows itself by the construction of a new urban texture with all components from the housing units to living standards. The colonizer translates the colonized country's primitive and useless constructions according to their living standards. Translation occurs from the housing units to the city planning because architecture demonstrates the high living standards of the colonizers. And then, they plan the cities according to them. It shows the poorness of the colonized and superiority of the colonizer (Hernández, 2014).

When Hernandez criticizes Bhabha's argument, he explains the role of translation with a metaphor. There is a gap between different cultures and this gap is not a void. Actually, it is the place in which two or more culture negotiate or communicate similar to Bhabha's description of translation (Hernández, 2014).

Cultural translation can be examined in three stages: "the representation of the other as an inferior, the teaching of European languages, and elimination of differences as a means of control" (Hernández, 2014). Firstly, the colonizer describes the colonized by making it more understandable for its own community,

in other words, the colonizer describes the colonized with European understanding like black, uneducated or primitive. It means a kind of standardization of the colonized community. Although Bhabha and Benjamin are against this kind of simplification, considering it as a kind of standardization rather than a continuous process, in most cases the history of the colonized is ignored by the colonizer in order to reduce the quality of the local. Therefore, it gives a direction to the cultural translation process.

In case of teaching a European language, it is a more profitable way to transfer Western knowledge to the colonized local and also it is a kind of a show of force between two communities. Hernandez explains the elimination of differences with the first one. At the representation part of the colonized community, a terminology that others and standardization of the inferior are used for description and in this way, the differences between the members of this community are eliminated. Therefore, controlling the inferior part becomes easier. For example, describing the colonized community as black does not mean that all the blacks are the same but the colonizer simplifies them by using such a label (Hernández, 2014).

2.1.4.2. Ambivalence

Ambivalence refers to the imbalanced situations in this translation or hybridization process. Psychoanalysis explains the term "ambivalence" using the case of human identity which is always in a construction process enhanced by the past experiences and today's condition. In addition, it means the coexistence of two conflicting terms such as love and hate. It is constantly in the state of flux.

Bhabha refers to Sigmund Freud when he explains cultural ambivalence. According to Freud, "it is always possible to bind quite large numbers of people together in love, provided that others are left out as targets for their aggression" (Freud, 2002: 50). In order to achieve a common peace for the whole civilization, it is important to stifle a portion of humankind's regular inclinations, drives and wants. When people prefer to go after their special demands rather than living under

certain rules, confusions occur in the environment because the exposed group also wants to make their own voice heard. Bhabha interprets this ambivalence among the colonizer and the colonized in case of production of a new thirdspace in this hesitant environment rather than focusing on the suppression of colonized community. As he mentioned in the article "Of Mimicry and Man", the condition of the colonized community is "almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha, 1985: 127). Additionally, according to him "…the colonial presence is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative …" (Bhabha, 1985: 150). Since their representative figures have some regulations prohibited or limited by the authorities, they are in ambivalence as mimic men in-between their original colonized culture and hegemonic colonizer culture (Bhabha, 1985).

In terms of culture, one randomly integrates or rejects the other in its system and after every operation (integrated or rejected), the new culture (it can be called new because it exposed to an operation) cannot turn to the previous stage. For example, the colonizer first tries to eliminate the differences of the colonized culture but then, it finds some differences to show its power (Hernández, 2014).

2.1.4.3. Hybridity

Hybridity means "Rather than simply a straight mixture of two or more elements which form a new one." (Hernandez, 2014). In postcolonial discourse, it is "a process in which cultural elements change in relation to themselves and to one another" (Bhabha, 1999). After the hybridization process, the last product does not include the same features of the originals. It is a new existence and it is not pure or homogeneous anymore. In biology, the classic example of hybridization is the mule. It is the offspring of a male donkey and a female horse. However, it is the new animal species and infertile. Bhabha uses this term frequently. According to him, it has a strong meaning to explain cultural productivity. Two different items come together and create neither… nor… dialectic (Bhabha, 1999). With this approximation, it is more than the homogeneity of language, culture, and identity.

These are always heterogeneous. Furthermore, the eternity of these concepts can occur only within the interaction, namely, hybridization. For example, Robbin Chatan analyzed Nasova House, in Fiji, constructed as a traditional building with two wings and surrounded with a verandah by the government to show its superiority (Figure 1). After the British colonialism, this building was used for The British Government House. To make it more useful according to British understanding, the plan was changed and rather than using separated rooms they created the main axis and placed the offices throughout the axis. In the progress of time, to satisfy the residential needs of English bureaucracy, some houses were constructed near that house (Figure 2). Additionally, although the traditional reed façade and structure of government house did not change, some European elements like glazed doors were added (Chatan, 2003). It obviously demonstrates the reflection of hybridity onto the architecture in the progress of time.

Figure 1. Before Appearance of Nasova Government House (Chatan, 2003)

Figure 2. After Appearance of Nasova Government House (Chatan, 2003)

According to Bhabha, the dynamism of hybridity prevents the classification of binary systems such as colonized/colonizer, minority/majority. It opens a new space: the space of negotiation and in this space, the voice of the minorities can be heard. Hybridization is an important thing especially for minorities because they can maintain the difference (Bhabha, 1999).

Some theorists interpret the term "hybridization" different than Bhabha. For example, Patricia Morton defines hybridization in architecture in her book "Hybrid Modernities". She asserts that there are three different hybridizations of French and its colonials. Although the final product is a new thing, it also protects the characteristics of both the colonizer and the colonized (Morton, 2003). She explains the term hybrid by observing 1931 Colonial Exposition over architecture and presents three types of hybridization:

1. In the building scale, the interior and the exterior part of the construction represents two different cultures. Two cultures (one of them is represented at the interior part, the other exterior) coexist in one building but never merge.

2. Two different types of building coexist in the same place but these are independent constructions.

3. The native constructions are used to create new monumental ones. It is named by Morton as "horror of eclecticism" (Morton, 1998).

In her explanations, A plus B always equals AB and does not produce a new third as in Bhabha's description, because she examines the hybridization in the concrete built environment not in an abstract manner. For example, at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Madagascar Pavilion was designed as a hybrid formation with its European interior and traditional Malagasy exterior (Morton, 1998). Although it seems to be a traditional architectural feature, its interior was totally European, because the country was a French colonial. Additionally, they never meet in shared spaces.

An important criticism of hybridization is made in the article, "Hybridity, and ambivalence: Places and flows in contemporary art and culture", by Nikos Papastergiadis. He tackles the terms of combining of production of knowledge and experience of everyday life. It can be captured in the figures of global cultural exchange and mobility is the key point for that. With this approach, hybridization also sharpens the other cultures which are placed out of the hybridization (Papastergiadis, 2005). He argues that globalization is a product of hybridization of all cultures. In this way, the cultural differences draw apart from the homogeneous characteristics of globalization and become more visible. Rather than producing a new hybrid third via negotiation of the two different cultures as Bhabha defends, Papastergiadis claims that different characteristic features of the cultures render thmselves more visible in the context of globalization.

Among the descriptions about hybridization, the consciousness becomes an important factor (Chatan, 2003). For example, in Bhabha's explanations, the

negotiation of two or more cultures occur naturally. However, in Morton's definitions, it is totally artificial because two different cultures never fuse, they just collocate. Since the Bhabha's theory of thirdspace is an abstract concept, they never fuse in architecture but the idea which generates the built environment fuses.

2.1.4.4. Thirdspace

The space of hybridization is drawn by Bhabha as thirdspace. It is a tangible space of mixture and space of in-betweenness, which includes lots of dialectics like periphery-center and east-west. He generally uses this term in cultural circumstances. As an example, Parsis community in India represents the third space, that is to say, an intermediate position because they are wealthier than Indians but at the same time, they do not have any authoritarian power in order not to be English. This group cannot be placed in both groups but it is a new formation (Bhabha, 1999). According to Pratt, one of the important examples of the thirdspace is the museums because museums give a chance to experience the other as other history or other culture which is produced for those purposes. This kind of a spatial practice is named as a "contact zone" by Mary Louise Pratt, in which self-shifts show themselves in a "pluralist cosmopolitan space". In that zone, three important acts happen: meaning-making, the growth of meaning and development of understanding (Pratt, 1991).

One of the biggest problems in the contemporary world is the prevention of this spatial practice from human interference. Most of the spaces are designed in accordance with customers' will but the reality is not like that. According to Lefebvre, this application is just the product of represented space. However, again according to him, third space is produced with the real human interactions, which create new possibilities (Elmborg, 2011).

Robert Young refers to third space as a "void". It is a non-space and in which everybody finds something from her or himself but at the same time, nobody can

totally suit because it is the space of coming from outside. These voids can be seen everywhere (Young, 1994). Like Young, Shaolu Yu considers the third space as "mental gap" which occurs between imagining and living. In the condition of Chinese immigrants in New York City, there is a gap between real New York and the imagining city and when they come to that city, they create their own world between real and dream (Yu, 2017).

2.2. Re-Visiting Bhabha's Thirdspace within a Context-Conscious Approach

In two fields, Bhabha's thirdspace theory do not function properly. First, it is about the reflection of his theory on concrete spatial practices. His theory is too abstract because he mostly focuses on the cultural components of communities. In order to find the reflections of thirdspace on spatial practices, combining it with Soja's third space provides both the production of space as a hybrid component and understanding this hybridization as a combination of perceived and conceived space from the perspectives of two different communities. The second problem is that the thirdspace of Bhabha does not have a context-conscious approach. His understanding cannot be applied to certain historical periods and to specific historical conditions when the colonialism was a common European practice.

In the triads of Lefebvre, Harvey, and Soja, it is not possible to see any sharp dominance of one concept over another. In the work of Lefebvre, for instance, although the lived space looks like one step ahead of other contents, Lefebvre clarifies the situation as these spatial practices are just grouped to make space analyzable. In everyday practice, one of them can demonstrate itself dominantly, or they can change their position according to the situation (Lefebvre, 2014: 71). In a similar vein, in Harvey's research about the time-space compression, the balance between time and space has changeable circumstances, and again in everyday practices, absolute space, relational space, and relative space work together. However, in the case of Bhabha, the term hybridity is used as a dominant figure in every condition or in any time. So that, it constitutes a rigid understanding of space

and Bhabha uses this rigid core in any situation. It is a kind of an inflexible definition which isolates itself from all other substances of the past, the present, and the future. As a consequence, he fails to notice the importance of everyday life, present situation and historical connections (Hernández, 2014). However, this criticism of Bhabha's thirdspace is problematic. Hernandez considers thirdspace as a physical space, but according to Bhabha, it is a space of encounter in a cultural manner.

Jane M. Jacobs criticizes Bhabha in her book "Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City". She argues that Homi Bhabha does not have an anti-colonial stance (Jacobs, 1996: 28). Namely, he works on colonial discourse and its field but he does not propose a justice between the colonized and the colonizer in political understanding. Moreover, he does not mention the rebellions and living conditions of the colonized community (Hernández, 2014). The argument of Katharyne Mitchell about Homi Bhabha also supports Jane Jacobs' criticism. According to her, the thirdspace should include everyday practices but Bhabha's argument is far away from this context. Moreover, she argues that "without context, this in-between space risks becoming a mobile reactionary space, rather than a traveling site of resistance" (AlSayyad, 2001; Mitchell, 1997).

Another critical opposition to Bhabha comes from the British postcolonialist theorist Robert Young. Firstly, he focuses on the usage of the term hybridity in the history of the literature (Hernández, 2014). According to Young, Bhabha uses the hybridity notion just throughout the encountering of two different cultures without giving any reference to the usage of the term before his usage. Accordingly, Young makes deep research to show its historical connections. Out of biological combination, it has been used for over the last 160 years to describe the hybridity of two different races. Additionally, it is a kind of danger because it restrains the characteristics of the pure race. With these researches, Young tries to fulfill the lack of historical contextualization of Bhabha. Additionally, one of the satisfactory definition of hybridity is done by Robert Young as "the process of mixing different species resistant to adverse natural conditions". According to him, the persistence of the culture in changing world understanding can only be provided

with hybridization. In this way, cultures can survive and provide their existence (Young, 1994).

Young has also some concerns about the "timeless characterization" of the term hybridity in postcolonial discourse. He argues that colonialism cannot be explained with just one concept and Bhabha's theory in terms of restricted characterization and lack of historical contextualization. Bhabha tries to produce a timeless characterization in this discourse but at the next step (changing of time, conditions, etc…), it does not work. Young argues that colonialism cannot be explained just with one concept, it has to be expressed with different concepts which establish a bond between different time periods. In addition, explaining postcolonial discourse should include the statement that "all hybrids are different" rather than "all cultures are hybrid". While the first one means heterogeneity, the second one leads to homogeneity as sameness or stereotypes (Young, 1994).

CHAPTER 3 AMENITY MIGRATION

Amenity migration is an appropriate context within which architectural reflections of Bhabha's thirdspace can be explored. In order to understand the ways and situations of negotiation of the locals and permanent tourists, this chapter provides a basis.

In the first section, the definition and the short history of amenity migration are explained. In the following sections, the terminology used in amenity migration, the transition from a tourist to a permanent settler, the permanent tourism culture in Turkey and the thirdspace literature in the permanent tourism culture are presented.

3.1. The Definition and History of Amenity Migration

Amenity migration is the movement of people, temporarily or permanently, for increasing their environmental qualities with natural opportunities or experiencing different cultures (Moss, 2008). Additionally, this concept can be thought as a further stage of temporary tourism. Different from tourist holidays, amenity migration causes long-term encounters and has a more real daily life experiences rather than the imagined perspective of tourism. Moreover, this after-process of tourism stage began in the 1950s and in the 1970s, it started to show its effects at the top level (Waller, 2017; Karakaya and Turan, 2006).

Earliest researches of amenity migration can be examined throughout the different perspectives in the UK and the USA. British researchers generally focus on the economic backgrounds causing the emergence of amenity migration and it underlies the migration from urban to rural. For example, in the past, the notion of amenity migration was first realized by a British explorer in 1811. In his book "Lost landscapes and failed economies: The search for a value of space", Thomas Michael Power explained this situation as a new source of income (Power, 1996). In the following years, especially after 1980, the decline in traditional economic branches like timber export and mining, people in Bath and Brighton, in southern England, shifted their income source from traditional methods to long-term tourist facilities. In order to make it more sustainable, locals of this place improved their recreation facilities, natural opportunities and also some social sufficiency like educational and artistic issues. In this way, locals achieved the self-sufficient economy (Anderson, 1997 and Power, 1996).

On the other hand, the amenity migration in the USA was based on climatic therefore regional factors (Anderson, 1997). Accordingly, Edward Ullman, a geographer from the USA, argues that climatic factors are the root cause of motivation although economic feasibility is one of the important key element of migration (Ullman, 1954). As an example, in California, in Western America, amenity migration became an efficient case study among these scholars because the date of amenity migration goes back to 1910s and 1920s. Moreover, especially in the 1940s, the number of emigrants was too flashy in California in all over the world (Ullman, 1954). According to Ullman, previous big scale intercity migration types like migration for job opportunities in China between the years 1927 and 1929 was nearly about 400.000 people or in Asiatic Russia between the years 1926 and 1936 was nearly about 270.000 was not as remarkable as in California (Lorimer, 1979; Pelzer, 1941 and Ullman, 1954). In contrast with previous migrations to China and Asiatic Russi, the big scale immigrations, California let in immigrants only for amenity purposes, not for job opportunities, war conditions or any other economic reasons (Ullman, 1954). As it is seen from these examples, even though the term amenity migration continues to spread, its economic and regional reasons are rarely combined (Gosnell and Abrams, 2009).

Amenity migration has accelerated since the 1970s. According to Allan Williams, there are four important motivations for this increase. The first one is that with the extension of lifespan, people have more time after retirement to spend for themselves. Second, the retirement age was decreased via regulations. Third, after World War II, people had a good opportunity to accumulate their wealth and relatedly, they get economic self-sufficiency to migrate. Lastly, with the development of transportation technologies, people have a great chance to see and to experience other countries. Consequently, these factors affect people to make an easy decision for movement (Williams, King, and Warnes, 1997).

3.2. The Terminology Used for Amenity Migration

Depending on the causes of amenity migration, the emigrants get different names. Since a big percentage of them migrates from the northern part of Europe to the southern part after their retirement, most of the scholars name it as "international retirement migration" (Williams, King, and Warnes, 1997).

Another term preferred in the studies of amenity migration is "lifestylers". It is used for people who live in the standard urban environment and want to change their urban life. This group wants to change their lifestyle due to the excessive capitalism and consumerism of urban life. And then, they want to have a more relaxed life. For example, Shire, in Denmark, after the 1970s, turned out to be a demanded place by immigrants, especially by the British community. In those times, there were two main types of people who want to move to another place: hippies and early retirees. The first group of people was "out cash" and the others were "cash rich". Since hippies do not have financial sufficiency, locals need for money and increasingly worse economy in the rural Shire resulted in the domination of the second group, namely cash rich. Therefore, Denmark turned out to be a comfortable place to settle by amenity migrants (Curry, Koczberski and Selwood, 2001). The shift from urban to rural in Australia was also searched by Gurran and Blakey, who used the term "sea change" for amenity migration to

emphasize the urbanization process, especially inclining population, in the coastal part of Australia (Gurran and Blakely, 2007).

Within the years, the effects of amenity migration begin to show its existence, especially in the urbanization process. Accordingly, the big transformation from rural to urban creates new research areas with new terminology. For example, the terms "aspirational ruralism" and "counter urbanization" were used by Michael Woods. His research generally focused on the migrations which began in the 1990s. According to him, the most forceful cause which pushes people to other countries is to increase their living standards. These people try to sustain their new natural living environment and in order to ensure its continuity, they try to protect the rural environment (Woods, 2009). Woods also emphasized the globalization process of amenity migration, and how the locals became a part of the global world. Therefore, he used the term "global countryside" for selected destinations (Woods, 2007).

Like Woods, some other scholars worked on the globalization process of migration and it was interpreted as "a rural rebound". Actually, it means the transformation of rural places to urban as a result of a rising population in rural areas (Johnson, Nucci and Long, 2005). Considering the statistics of some wales of England and mountain areas of the USA, collected and explained by Gareth Lewis, "population turnaround" shows itself clearly. Statistical data also reveal that the number of new towns, a mix of rural and urban places as well as resorts, ports, and retirement settlements have been increasing from the 1970s (Lewis, 2000). Surely, the new owners of rural are named as "amenity buyers" (Gosnell and Travis, 2005).

Different than private decisions of people for amenity migration, after the World War II, the British government offered its community the migration to the rural to overcome the food scarcity due to the effects of the war. Keith Hallfacree named this movement as "back to the land". According to him, although support of the government had a big role to actualize this migration, most of the migrant liked the idling life of the rural and also they saw these areas as a market in terms of land properties. Therefore, economic expectations and idling took the place of production of food (Halfacree, 2006). A group of people in Britain also shared a

similar motivation with the "back to the land" people. Moreover, especially in Brighton and Hove, people experienced the houseboat conception, "back to the water", to get away from urban busy, capitalist and consumerist lifestyle. By living in rural, immigrants can survive with low living expenses in a natural environment and also have much more idling time (Smith, 2007).

Amenity immigrants take some different names according to their involvement in the new place and the time they spend there. "Expatriates", "residents", "visitors", "returners" and "tourist" express the conditions of locals' and foreigners' approximation (Rodriguez, 2001). Additionally, "residential tourists", "registered residents", "long stayers", "non-registered residents" and "renters" are the terms used according to the duration of staying in that new place (Betty and Cahill, 1996).

3.3. The Process of Transition from Being a Tourist to a Permanent Tourist

The terminology used for amenity migration in the previous section has generally addressed the internal migration. However, over the years, tourist destinations have turned into places demanded by "permanent settlement" (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004). Chris Guilleard explains this situation as retirement is "the longest holiday of the lifetime" and it has a confirmative effect for choosing a tourist place to migrate (Gilleard, 1996). Additionally, these people continue to sustain their tourist habits like consumption and entertainment facilities (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004).

Dwight Hines uses an effective term for these people "permanent tourist" which is used throughout this thesis. According to his observations about amenity migrants from US middle class, this term does not also mean that they live in this new place permanently but also they try to continue their tourist activities permanently. Moreover, they also have a tendency to protect some of their regular living standards (Hines, 2010). According to Fernandez Rodriguez, there are four

main reasons to explain the "permanent tourist" label. Firstly, these people are a part of a constant group as retirees or elders. They neither belong to the tourist community as they spend much more time in their new places than tourists, nor locals of the new country. Therefore, naming them as a permanent tourist describes their placement in the new country. Secondly, even they live there permanently, they visit their home country for short or long periods due to the belongings of family or country but to a different place where they settle. Thirdly, they continue to live as a tourist like consuming or enjoying. It is an important factor because this kind of lifestyle affects the locals and they behave towards the permanent tourists as a tourist rather than local. Finally, they have a "territorial effect". Since their purpose to come to their new settlement was started as a holiday before, they feel as a tourist after they settle this place (Rodriguez, 2001).

In addition to the climatic factors of holiday places to migrate to this place, emigrants also look for places, which have affordable living purchases (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004). In general, the British community tends to select less-developed countries to settle or to go to holidays because of the lower cost of living and the purchasable property prices. Hereby, they can be the second homeowner (Waller, 2017). Furthermore, the most effective factor in helping people to investigate these countries for their retired ages is that they can travel fast and cheaply to those places for the holiday (Rodriguez, Fernandez-Mayoralas and Rojo, 2004). Additionally, after retirement, when making a plan for a longer holiday between visiting and settling somewhere, people make a choice. A big portion of them finally prefers to stay at a place to live permanently although they choose to see many places first (Rodriguez, 2001). During their travel, they choose a place as a second home to stay longer and then to settle there permanently (Müller, 2002). Especially after the 1980s, lots of retired people, who are in their 50s or higher, began to move from northern Europe to southern Europe (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004). In addition, the most popular locations selected by tourists to settle are the most demanding tourist destinations as well (Rodriguez, 2001). According to a research done by Anthony Warnes, between the years 1994 and 1999, firstly Italy and then Spain, France and sunbelt part of the USA had been the favorite places for amenity-based migration (Warnes, 2001).

Relatedly, the research was done by Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes about the amenity migration of British retirements, which is done in six different amenity migration destinations and tourist places at the same time, demonstrates the explanations above. These groups are British retirements in south Europe (Tuscany, Italy; Malta; Costa Del Sol, Spain; Algeria, Portugal), European retired people in Andalusia (Casta Del Sol, Spain), international retired migration in Torrevieja, Spain, German retirees in Mallorca, Spain, Swiss retirees in Costa Blanca, Spain and German retirees in Canary Islands. In those places, at least 65% of permanent tourists have their own houses and in some places, this value is up to 98%. In addition to that, higher than 90% of immigrants are retired. Their reasons to migrate are in decreasing order: climate, financial reasons, Mediterranean way of life, health reasons, social life, work-related, leisure activities and environmental. Furthermore, nearly 80% of Brits had come to this place before in their holidays. However, when the permanent life has begun, they started having some troubles (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004).

From the permanent tourists' point of view, there are four important difficulties for retired people that emerge in their new places. One of them is the ambivalent position of immigrants because their nationality and previous living conditions are different from the current. Secondly, their condition as a permanent tourist is not different from temporary ones. Then, the term "retired" is understood by other people as whose has a wealthy spouse, self-employed or professional people. Finally, there are not enough health-care opportunities for the routine control of elder people (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004). In addition to that, their ambivalent position in the local community creates identity chaos. O'Reilly puts useful inferences about the condition of retired British amenity migrants in Spain. He argues that immigrants feel like a part of the local community but also they know that they are not from Spain. The connection with their friends and families who still live in England gives a feeling as if they are part of the host community. However, when they try to create a relationship with locals, their perception turns into a permanent tourist (O'Reilly, 2003).

3.4. Permanent Tourism Culture in Turkey

Amenity based international retirement migration occurred in the 1960s and especially after 1980s, it has accelerated. The target places for amenity migration are Spain, Portugal, Malta, and Italy at the first wave. Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania emerged as a second wave after the real estate purchase in the countries of the first wave getting an increase. According to Balkır and Kırkulak, Turkey differentiates from other countries because immigrants generally prefer to stay in countries which have a colonial past or some cultural and religious similarities. However, in the case of Turkey, migrants do not have any kind of connections with their new place (Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009).

The most favored places of Turkey to migrate are respectively Istanbul, Bursa, Antalya, and Ankara. Different from Antalya, others get migration due to the business sector. In the case of Antalya, it is chosen by the retired European immigrants and registered number of it is 12.832 in 2009. According to observations of Kirisci from 2003, British, German, Dutch and Nordic retired immigrants in a gradually decreasing order select these places (Kirisci, 2003). After the 1980s, the overseas expansion of Turkey attracts the tourists effectively. In the year 2003, deed of real estate law allowed that foreigners can buy property in Turkey. With the legalization of foreigners' rights in Turkey, Germans and Scandinavian began to settle in Antalya, Alanya, and surroundings; Brits prefer especially in Didim, Kuşadası, Fethiye, Bodrum and Marmaris to settle (Karakaya and Turan, 2006).

The most popular districts of Turkey selected by international permanent tourists are Alanya, Fethiye, Didim, Bodrum, and Kusadası, in the coastal part of the country and Ürgüp in Anatolia (Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009). Additionally, the common point of these cities and towns is that all of them were actually their previous holiday destinations. Relatedly, the closeness of the airport is another important factor because nobody wants to spend their short holidays on the road (Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009).

Demographic characteristics of permanent tourists from different districts of Turkey show some differences. In case of Antalya (Antalya Centrum, Alanya, Kaş, Kemer, Manavgat and Kalkan), 24.2 % of them are British, 22.6 % German, 12.3 % Dutch, 12.3 % Norwegian and 10.2 % Danish. On the other hand, 51.7 % of the locals were born in Antalya. This demonstrates that the city also let in immigrants from the other parts of Turkey mostly for job opportunities (Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009).

In Muğla and its surroundings, the British property owners are at the top of the list but in overall Turkey, Germans take their places because Turkey applies some different property laws to Germans to protect the Turkish community in Germany. Additionally, these two communities in Turkey cause some fragmentations. The struggle to become dominant exists among the permanent tourists from different countries and they try to marginalize each other. Consequently, they choose to settle in different cities. For instance, along with the Mediterranean coastal part, Brits generally prefer Kaş, Fethiye, and Didim (southwestern part) while the preference of Germans and Scandinavians is Alanya (southeastern part). It means that the city is divided into two parts by the immigrants. Moreover, the side of the British people generally consists of single-story villas (about $100m^2$) designed according to their preferences, however permanent tourists at the other part choose to live in multi-story apartments (about 80-90 m^2) (Shah and Bayir, 2012; Unutulmaz, 2006). As a consequence, the silhouette of the city takes its new shape according to the demands of the new foreign community, yet within the limitations of the building bylaws in Turkey.

From the viewpoints of the host community in Muğla, the migration of foreigners creates an advantageous situation because they open a new area in the source of income. In order to get more benefit in this way, locals have changed their professions to serve Brits. In fact, some parts of the Muğla take national migration to serve in tourist areas (Bayır and Shah, 2012). In this way, one more demography that is different adds to with its culture to the existing ones.

The demographic characteristics of British settlers in Muğla mostly include the retired migrants, who have a Turkish partner and the workers who have a small

percentage in this distribution (Bayır and Shah, 2012). In Didim, Muğla, and Antalya, the average age of permanent tourists is higher than 50. For example in Didim, 45% of them is 55 and over and 37.3% is between 45 and 54 (Karakaya and Turan, 2006).

The distribution range of education of the permanent tourists in Antalya is 57 % university, 40.6 % high school and 1.6 % primary school. Additionally, the education level of locals is lower than of permanent tourist, 40.6 % primary school and 10.9 % higher education On the other hand, in Didim, the education level of permanent tourists has decreased. The range of university graduates is 16%, high school 26% and primary school 58% (Karakaya and Turan, 2006).

Their reasons for choosing Antalya are sunshine, climate, lower cost of living, natural beauty, good social relationship, respect for elders and peaceful lifestyle and as it happens nearly all of the amenity migration, 90% of them come to Antalya before for holiday purposes (Unutulmaz, 2006). The choosing factors of Didim are not so different from the factors of Antalya. Low level of stress, good relationship with locals, sea, and sun, climatic conditions, health reasons are the attractive points of their new places (Karakaya and Turan, 2006). Although Brits in Didim, have some complaints like communication problems, different purchasing application, behaving disrespectfully to animals, they interiorize their new living place and do not want to turn back to England except when they faces dangerous health problems (because their health care frees in EU countries) (Karakaya and Turhan, 2006; Waller, 2017).

Especially, Alanya is the most popular place among Germans where they can use their native language. According to the data from 2006, foreign population in Alanya was nearly 5.000 and their total residential area was nearly 10.000 m^2. Furthermore, 75% of these values belong to the Germans (Unutulmaz, 2006). Apart from them, the first choice of permanent tourists is gated communities including gym, pools, gardens and security systems. Opposed to living in a gated community, 69.9 % of them do not care about the nationality of their neighbors and 13.6 % prefer to live with locals. Furthermore, the houses built for them generally include major appliances. These foreigners prefer to live with their own nationalities and

one-third of them are homeowners in their new place. Nearly 62 % of the local community does not want to dwell in a gated community or foreign neighbors. Additionally, locals do not favor the cafes, pubs or restaurants preferred by permanent tourists (Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009).

In Antalya, permanent tourists generally prefer to go their home country for Christmas (Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009). The situation of them in Didim is different because 96 % of them spend the whole year in their new place (Karakaya and Turhan, 2006).

In terms of the relationship between permanent tourists and locals in Didim, the migrants generally do not want to take advice from the host community because they do not trust them in terms of financial issues. In other situations, their relationships are good but they live in bad conditions. Permanent tourists are socializing between each other most of the time. Accordingly, we may assert that they try to create a small British community in Didim because there is not enough specific information about the host community. Turkey is an economically suitable place for them and they try to continue their lifestyle which they get used to (Waller, 2017).

CHAPTER 4 ANALYZING FETHIYE AS A THIRDSPACE

4.1. Tourism History of Fethiye

Fethiye is a town of the city of Muğla in the southwestern part of Turkey. Based on its geographical location, it is a kind of transition place between the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 3). In general, Fethiye has two sources: "tourism" and "agriculture and stockbreeding".

Figure 3. Location of Fethiye in the City of Muğla (Uydu Harita, 2018)

In the 1960s, the other seaside towns of Muğla such as Bodrum and Marmaris improved in the tourism sector but Fethiye could not take a significant place in this sector. And then, in 1962 "Fethiye Tourism Association" was founded by locals without the support of the government. In order to revive the tourism sector, this local association organized festivals like "Mediterranean Festivals". However, these efforts had not been very effective due to the lack of transportation to the region (Yılmaz, 1982). In the 1970s, with the improvements of transportation facilities, the tourist population demonstrated an increase and the opening of the Dalaman Airport in 1981 totally solved the transportation problem to Fethiye, because it is only 55 kilometers distance between the airport and the central Fethiye (Fetav.com, 2018).

In the 1980s, the government gave tourism incentive credit to improve the tourism facilities in Turkey. With this support, in 1982, "Fethiye Tourism Development Cooperative" was founded to improve and increase the sufficient tourist attractions and to contact with the international tourists. Furthermore, the number of hotels increased and their performance was improved (Yılmaz, 1982).

In accordance with these improvements in the tourism sector, Fethiye has turned into a well-known tourist destination in international scale, especially in Europe. Today, a considerable number of people from the UK begins to select Fethiye for holiday. The most important reason for the selection of Fethiye especially by the Brits was that the tour operators from the UK started to organize holiday tours to Fethiye twenty years ago (Milliyet Haber - Türkiye'nin Haber Sitesi, 2018). Based on the fact that Fethiye is a rich place in terms of historicity and suitable for a summer holiday, the attractiveness of the region has increased. The town includes historical places: Tlos, Pınara, Xsantos, Letoon, Patara, Cadianda, Oinoanda, Araksa, Sydma, and Kayaköy; beaches: Ölüdeniz, Çalış, Oyuktepe, Kıdrak, Gemile, Günlüklü, Katrancı, İnlice, and Patara-Karadere (Fetav.com, 2018).

Additionally, Fethiye took the place in the holiday advertisements in England like in brochures, newspapers and TV ads. After British tourists returned to England from a holiday in Fethiye, they advised it other Brits. As a conclusion,

the British tourist number in Fethiye has increased. Then, these people choose to settle in Fethiye as an after-effect of tourism.

4.2. Amenity Migration in Fethiye

After the British community started to familiarize Fethiye throughout their summer holidays, they preferred to settle in this town in the longest holiday of their life, namely in their retirement (Gilleard, 1996). In this way, Fethiye turned into a well-known destination for the international retired migration (Balkır and Karakulak, 2009). In 2011, more than eight thousand families permanently settled in Fethiye, (Sabah, 2011).

Furthermore, obtained data from the survey conducted with sixty British settlers shows that 83,3 percent of the participants are retired (Figure 4). Among these participants, 28,3% of them are 50-59 years old and 61,7% of them are the 60s or older than that (Figure 5). Regarding the age, they all have a common reason for choosing Fethiye: "a better way of life in their elderly times". In England, they have a quite busy life and they spend all their time by working before retirement. In Turkey, they can have a life with lots of opportunities such as the sun, sea, and nature in economically more suitable ways. They can spend a good life with their retirement pensions. If they continue to stay in England, even they have a more relaxed life than their working times, they do not have the same opportunities as they may have in Turkey.
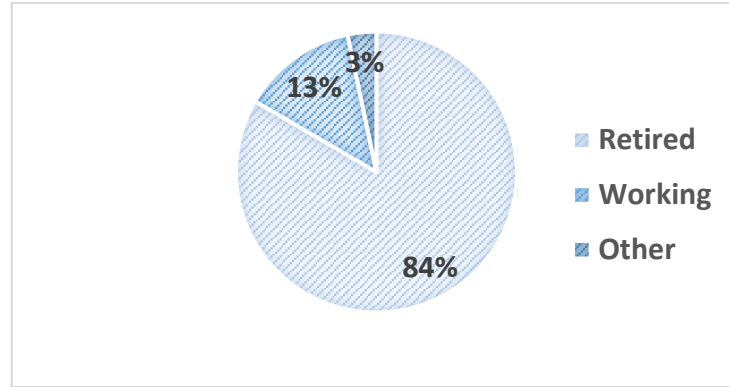
Figure 4. Retired-Working Distribution of British Permanent Tourists in Fethiye (prepared by the author)
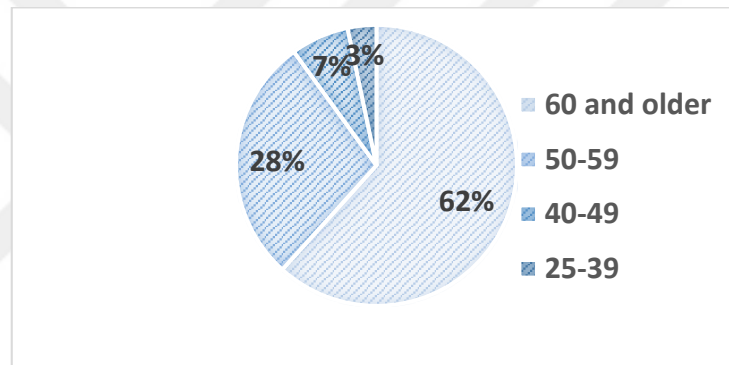
Figure 5. Age Distribution of British Permanent Tourists in Fethiye (prepared by the author)

94,9% of permanent tourists participating in the survey have visited Fethiye, Antalya, Bodrum, Kuşadası, Marmaris, and Kaş for holiday before. And then they decided to settle Fethiye permanently. In spite of the fact that their initial reasons for permanent settlement are the climatic and natural conditions of Fethiye, the existence a previously of settled British community has also a considerable criterion for them to settle in this town. Some of them visit their families only in summer holidays, but they may decide to live in the town permanently. Besides this, 76.5% of the permanent tourists go to their home country maximum for two or three weeks to visit their families. These visits do not happen at specific times of a year. Additionally, if there will be a migration because of the family ties, mostly, British

people migrate to Turkey, rather than turning back to England of the British permanent tourists.

31,7% of the British permanent tourists have been living in Fethiye for 3-5 years, 21,7 for 6-10, 20% 11-15 years, 8,3% 15-20 years and 3,3% more than 20 years (Figure 6). Those who have been living more than 10 years agree on some positive improvements done by the local municipalities such as parks with gymnastic equipment and bicycle road. These changes result from that the Muğla Municipality turned into a metropolitan municipality and its first concern is to increase the green spaces in order to improve public spaces. On the other hand, they have some negative observations about the environmental changes occurring by the effects of gentrification such as increasing number of construction, population, and parking problems. Actually, these are the natural effects of gentrification: increasing of population, soon after raising of construction which includes shopping centers and occurring traffic problems. After that, local municipalities turn into metropolitan municipalities and begin their job by making green spaces.
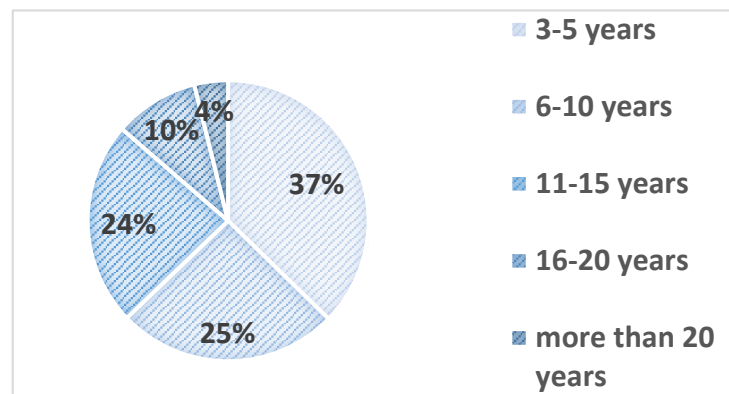

Figure 6. Settlement Duration of The British Permanent Tourists in Fethiye
(prepared by the author)

In order to understand their lifestyle and some consumer habits, it is important to know "those permanent tourists come from which part of England" (Figure 7). Survey results show that the big percentage of them comes from the

middle and north England, especially from Manchester and London (Figure 8). These cities are also known as the industrial cities which generally consist of a working-class population (Narin, 2013). The jobs of the interviewees have proved this information. Their professions are generally carpenter, electrician, nurse, receptionist, and hairdresser or other similar professions. Moreover, the retirement pension of these people is 600 Euro (TurkceTax - Ingiltere'nin vergi ve mali sistemi, 2018). While these people have a lower living standard in England, they can sustain luxury life standards in Turkey due to the exchange rates. A local woman who lived in London, England for 12 years in London and also has the closest relationship with permanent tourists indicate that:

> …Before the migration, this community were living as a robot in England. Most of them were a member of the working class. So they want to get a relax life and also obtain more opportunity with their retirement pension. Because of that, they are here. Moreover, some of them get unemployment salary and can live with this money in Turkey in good standards. The Turkish community in Fethiye gives them priority because they are rich in Turkey… (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 27 October 2018).

This statement supports the conditions of permanent tourists in Fethiye. Firstly, cheapness is an important factor to select a place to settle in Turkey. Secondly, they continue to live as a tourist because they come to Fethiye to live as if they are in holiday. They do not have to work as they used to in England before their retirement.
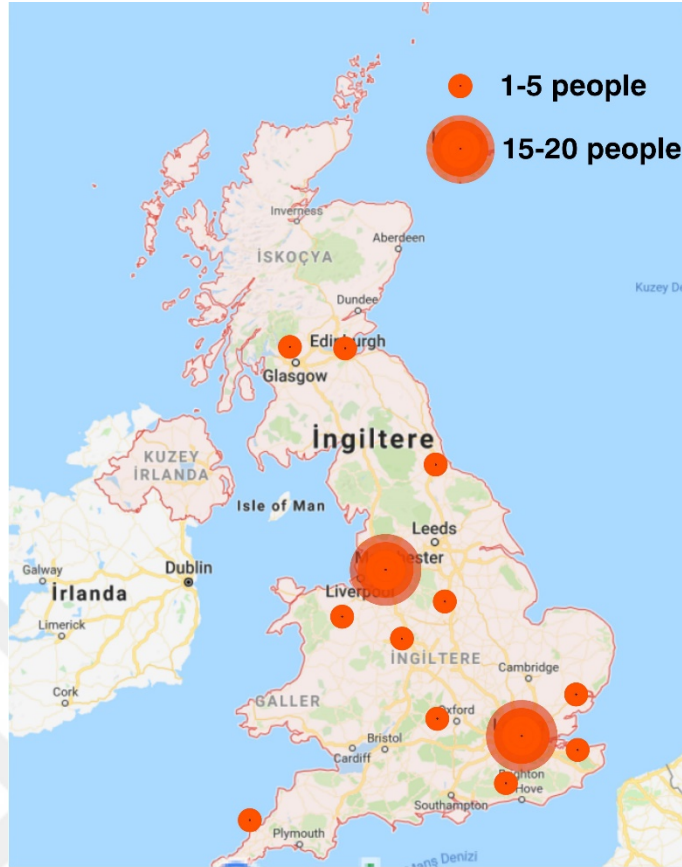
Figure 7. Where the British Permanent Tourists Come From in England (prepared by the author)
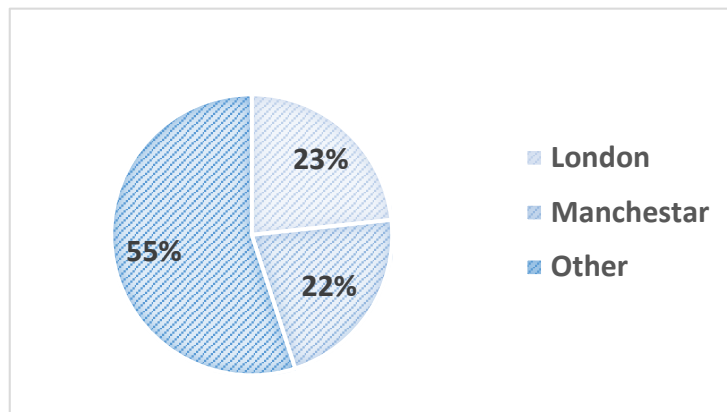

Figure 8. Where British Permanent Tourists Migrated in England (prepared by the author)

4.3. Virtual Spaces of Permanent Tourists in Fethiye

Despite the fact that the cultural and spatial practices reflect on the real physical world, gathering, helping and conversancy facilities between permanent tourists mostly actualize at the social media, namely, in the visual environment. In order to understand the relationships between the locals and the permanent tourists, as well as their attitudes towards each other, social media groups, are appropriate examples.

Incidental to the number of foreign community increases in Fethiye, permanent tourists create some social media pages to know each other better and to get help about their daily problems. Especially, foreign permanent tourists generate a well-coordinated group to reach all the foreign community in Fethiye. For example, "Fethiye expat zone" is a well-known social page among the British permanent tourists. In this Facebook group, they ask questions like "I need an electrician" and they make some criticism about the happenings in Fethiye in the local news. Since the permanent tourists cannot build a relationship of trust with locals, due to the emergence of the economic manipulations relationship, they try to solve their problem among themselves.

Apart from the foreign community, some of the members have Turkish spouses. Their place in the community has similar characteristics with the Parsis community in India. According to Bhabha, the Parsi community came from Persian to India and although they lived in that country for long years, they have some cultural and religious differentiations. When India was a British colonial, Parsis were educated with British understanding and nominated to high degree job. In this way, they had an economically well position. However, they were neither Indian nor British. So, they were in ambivalence position when introducing themselves (Bhabha, 2004). In Fethiye, Turkish spouses of Brits are nearly in the same position with this Parsi community as a part Bhabha's mimic man (Bhabha, 1985). They try to exist as a representative of the British culture by using same places with them, but these places are selected by the dominating culture. So, they have some limitations governed by the authorities. Additionally, they are neither British,

although they live with British people for long years and even some of them come from England, nor local anymore. Most of the time, they want to become a part of the foreign community, as far as it is understood from the social media because they prefer to ask their questions about ordinary daily life problems in Facebook groups of the foreign community. For example, a Turkish spouse tries to find a dentist in Fethiye and prefers to get recommendations from the permanent tourists rather than asking a local person. More clearly, in the situation about getting advice from somebody, self-expression of a British is that "I settle in Fethiye but I look like a tourist. So that when I ask something to locals, they first think economic benefits rather than help me. Then I seek somebody else like me" (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 14 July 2018). However, although Turkish people do not need that kind of concern, they choose to act like British permanent tourists.

4.4. Hybrid Foundations: Fethiye International Group (FIG) and Animal Aid

Fethiye International Group (FIG) and Animal Aid Fethiye are two well-known voluntary associations in Fethiye. Both of them were founded by British permanent tourists. The first one organizes charity facilities for the children in Fethiye, actually work for locals, while the second one works for street animals. These two foundations facilitate under the permission of "Fethiye Tourism, Promotion, Education, Culture and Environment Foundation (FETAV). So, these three foundations work together. For example "race for life" began in 2015 and has been collecting donations every year since then. In 2016, some medical equipment were bought to a hospital with collected money.

The shop of Animal Aid Fethiye is at Çalış, where the domination of permanent tourists are seen, and the shop of FIG is at Pazaryeri neighborhood, which is the closest place to Taşyaka, where the locals and permanent tourists have equal dominance. Additionally, their organizations at cafes, restaurants, and streets create negotiation places for the two communities. In this way, both of them become familiar with each other's culture. Moreover, although FIG and Animal Aid Fethiye foundations seem to be the lower level branch of FETAV, they have domination in

case of charities, activities, and gatherings. This situation demonstrates that they have more voice in helping the local problems of Fethiye than they had before. In this way, they gain prominence and begin to fill the streets and cafes with not just being a money source but as a citizen working for the prosperity of their country. It affects the local population and locals think that "Brits make more things than us for my people so I have to do something". Then, they begin to take place in these activities and start to take part in these facilities. For instance, nearly 70 cats and dogs are protected in the animal shelter of the Fethiye Municipality in the cold weathers with the help of foreign settlers (Gerçek Fethiye Gazetesi, 2018)

One of the important points about these charity facilities is that, since the organizers of them are Brits, some of the activities are closely related with their culture. For example, one of the activities is "Christmas Gift Fair". In those times, the fair place turns to a street in a Christian country even the common religion in Turkey is Islam. Additionally, on December 25, British community swim in Father Christmas dress to celebrate the birth of Christ (Anon, 2018). In the beginning, the main target was just collecting donation for poors. However, in case of spatial practices, this organization translates the space as a part of Christian culture and the local community participates in the organization to help people and to get fun even it is not suitable for their religion. Therefore, two different communities, which demonstrate a multi-vocal characteristic, perceive this event differently: religious and entertaining.

4.5. Zones of Thirdspace

In general, Fethiye is a shared place of four different kinds of demographics: locals, in-migrants who mostly come from metropolitans of Turkey like Istanbul and Ankara, permanent tourists spending the big part of the year in Fethiye and tourists just coming for the summer holidays as mentioned previous chapters. Especially, according to the foreign community in different parts of the town, different cultural and spatial characteristics can be observed. Their distribution and effectiveness in the town load to the emergence of three different thirdspaces in the

town (Appendix 7). These mainly depend on the number of foreign community. The first zone consists of tourist places like Hisarönü and coastal part of Ölüdeniz. The second one consists of the peripheries of the city preferred by the locals: Kınık, Karadere, Oba, Patlangıc. The third zone spreads out to different parts of the city, namely Kayaköy, Üzümlü, Ovacık, Çalış, Taşyaka, and Tuzla, and it is especially used by all types of communities: locals, in-migrants, permanent tourists and seasonal tourists (Figure 9).
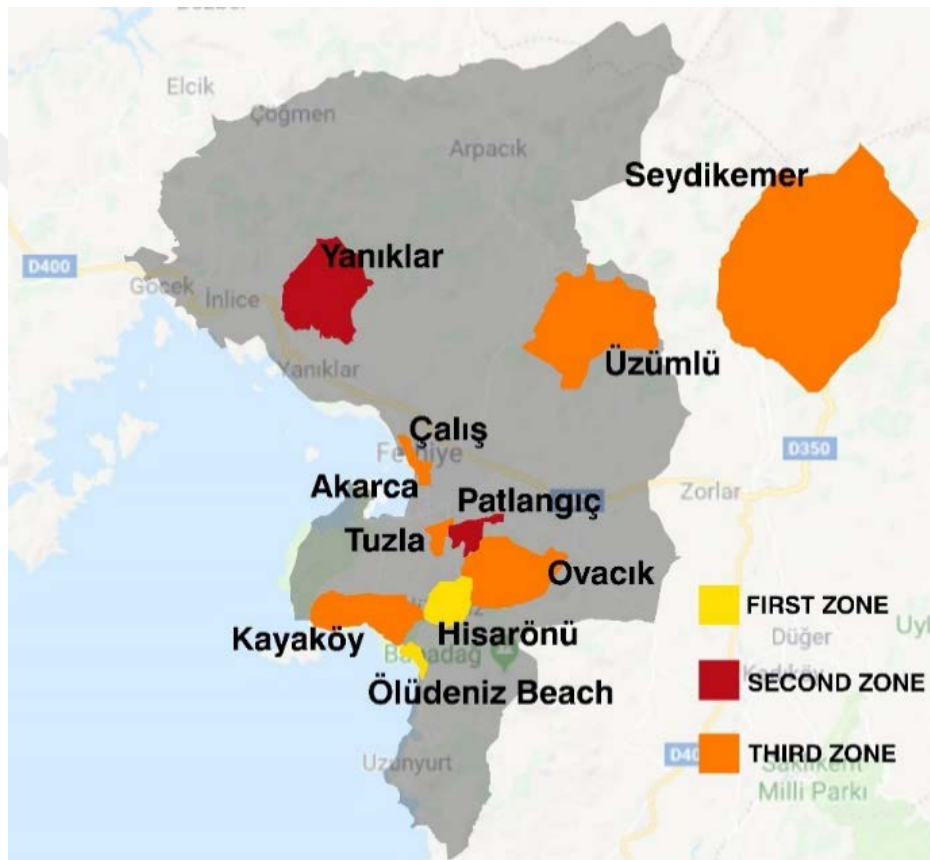

Figure 9. Zones of Fethiye (prepared by the author)

4.5.1. First Zone: Tourist Attractions

In tourist attractions of Fethiye, Brits dominate the locals in spatial practice. Since in the tourist attractions, the source of income is totally based on tourism,

Hisarönü and the coastal of Ölüdeniz neighborhood in Fethiye has a consciously organized texture for tourist population. In this texture, the locals do not represent or protect their local culture under the domination of British culture. In other words, the local culture is concealed under the priorities of tourism.

The built environment of tourist attractions zone mostly consists of entertainment places and tourist accommodation units. In the first stage of re-designing of entertainment places, existing buildings are translated by the locals to make these places more favorable and familiar for tourist population. The bright nightlife of the district with a bar street, colorful signboards, restaurants, discos, pubs, travel agencies and small shops, it is like an international place from anywhere of the world rather than being a specific region of Fethiye alongside (Figure 10). Throughout the two streets of Hisarönü, all the globalized local restaurants are placed: Shine Indian Restaurant, Dragonaro Chinese Restaurant, McKebab, Mamma Mia Ristorante Italiano, Chinese Rose Hisaronu, Shanghai Blues, La Mediterranee Restaurant, Nusr-Et Steakhouse. Throughout the years, the number of entertainment places has increased. While at the beginning of this translation process, the tourist entertainment places were located just at the main streets, in the present, they also spread into the secondary streets. Moreover, the locals' places like a local hairdresser or local grocer move away from the main streets. At this point, the hierarchical order of managements demonstrates two different characteristics of thirdspace. Firstly, the places of tourists and locals do not intersect in any way. They are just placed in the same neighborhood. This situation demonstrates the non-hybrid character of public space. According to Bhabha's thirdspace theory, even it does not emerge a new thing different from before versions, by including different components in the same neighborhood, the new city layout emerges.

Figure 10. Hisarönü Bar Street (Photo by the author)

Secondly, increasing entertainment places through the secondary streets demonstrates a translation created by the domination of the tourist community. Additionally, in Hisarönü district, which is a small district in the town, people feel like being anywhere in the world. For example, the bar street of this district is like a small packet and it can be found in all cities like London, Hong Kong, Budapest, Barcelona, and so on. This packet includes buildings dressed in colorful, illuminated signboards. In Hisarönü, especially at night, it is nearly impossible to perceive where you are. Yet, in the wintertime, it turns into a decayed town due to the absence of the tourists. Hence, this small packet district serves a seasonal tourist community.

In case of globalized local entertainment places, they demonstrate themselves in a kitsch version rather than original local remarks. For example, Indian restaurants have an authentic appearance with wooden terraces but they do not have any kind of ornamented Indian figures even in details. Additionally, they serve Indian foods with recipes from India, cocktails from Europe or America and produced by a local community of Fethiye. In addition to that, the same wooden

stuff can be seen easily in the out of Chinese restaurants and this time symbolic Chinese lanterns are used for decoration (Figure 11). These places demonstrate the hybridization of global and the local as glocal, which is new formation: a thirdspace. These restaurants take place in Turkey and re-designed by the local community only for tourist attraction.

Figure 11. Chinese Restaurant with Traditional Chinese Lanterns (Photo by the author)

However, the reflection of the British tourist population, whose demographic dominance is large enough to keep an eye, on space has a big impact. For example, the names of managements obviously show the situation: British Restaurant, London Hairdresser, and The White Man Restaurant. Even in TripAdvisor, a kind of application for travelers, some Turkish people leave a comment like "Hisarönü is like a little Britain" and most of them have a common idea about these Brits who come from the suburb locations of England. These

comments demonstrate that the existence of the British community creates here "a little Britain". This little Britain shows the power of a certain culture as a result of the economic hierarchy. This is an ambivalent situation which leads us to ask: "Is Hisarönü a district in Turkey or in Britain?" Even though it is a place in Turkey, it does not demonstrate any sign of Turkish culture and a big part of the community is British. Additionally, the translation of entertainment places from global culture to British culture creates a second ambivalence between global tourism and British tourism. These ambivalent situations present Bhabha's "in-between the designations of identity" definition for the term thirdspace. Ambivalences enable the co-existence of different characteristics. Furthermore, co-existence of two different cultures or identities opens a passage to create thirdspace via hybridization (Bhabha, 1994: 4).

Although Hisarönü district is designed for the foreign tourists and the number of Brits dominates the other nationalities the local community, Hisarönü is a kind of canal that opens a way for hybridization. When the tourists come for holidays, they encounter with the owners of the restaurants, bars or pubs and now, expectedly 50% of the owners have British spouse. In this way, space turns into a more familiar one for the British tourists not just materially but also mentally. The second translation of entertainment places is done by the British spouses of the local community. They translate the entertainment places in accordance with the British culture because they know what the Brits would expect from a holiday, more than a local would.

13,3 % of the British participants of the survey is working in Fethiye. They are generally working in the service sector like pubs, restaurants or dealing with a real estate investment consultant. Those who are working in service sector live in Kayaköy and Ölüdeniz and they settled in Fethiye after marrying with a Turk. At this point, their purpose is the same as the permanent tourists: visiting Turkey for a holiday. Different from the retired permanent tourists, they are in an ambivalent situation between being a manager or a customer. Because they want to continue their life as if they are in a holiday but they need to work as the manager of the entertainment places as well. This ambivalent situation emerges from that these people try to live with their holiday experiences within their new manager position.

4.5.2. Second Zone: Locals

This zone includes the peripheries of the coastal neighborhoods and villages of Fethiye out of Kayaköy: peripheries of Çatalarık, Yeni, Babataşı, Patlangıç and Pazaryeri neighborhoods and the villages like Yanıklar, Karaağaç or Eldirek. In case of physical appearance of the second zone, all the houses are single or double-story reinforced concrete village houses and there are lots of greenhouses.

In this zone, there are not any kind of physical interactions between the British permanent tourists and locals. However, in daily life practice, locals take the place of permanent tourists and dominate the Eastern locals who migrated to Fethiye from the Eastern part of Turkey.

Although the community of this zone seems to be the original locals, most of these people are worker migrate. As a local from Kumluova states:

> …30 years ago, agricultural laborers came to Fethiye to find a job at the greenhouses. These are generally from the rural part of Antalya. In the years, their number has increased and they settled with their families in the town. After they started earning money, they purchased the lands to make greenhouse agriculture and employed other workers. At this time, workers from the eastern region of Turkey begin to work for them… (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 27 October 2018).

With the increase of the agricultural workers, the demand in the agricultural sector has increased as well. All the uncultivated lands have been translated into greenhouses with the effect of cheap labor and the built environment has been reshaped as dense greenhouses (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Top View of Patlangıç (Yandex.com.tr, 2019)

Although most of the local population are not the original locals, after every migration, the existing community turns out to be the local members of Fethiye. At the same time, workers become the new landlords. Another local from Üzümlü supports this idea as follows:

> …At the beginning, there were three settlements in Fethiye: Kayaköy, Üzümlü, and Karagözler. Actually, people from these places are the original locals. Others come from other places for working in greenhouses but over the time, they turn to the locals. This situation can also obtain for the center of Fethiye. All the waiter are from the east part of Turkey. The real estate agents are from the other parts of Turkey but not from Fethiye. The number of original locals is too little because after they earned money by selling their real estates, they give up Fethiye or stop to work… (Interviewee 3, personal communication, 28 October 2018).

In terms of cultural translation, the locals who have turned from the workers to a landlord have started to act like a permanent tourist. For example, charity facilities, which are generally organized by the British permanent tourists for the

poors in Fethiye, are done by locals to Eastern locals. Locals provide the needs of Eastern locals like clothes or food products. It creates an ambivalent situation. Although it seems to be a charity facility, it is a kind of domination in which locals demonstrate their power to another local community. Additionally, behaving like a permanent tourist is an ambivalent situation between sameness and hybridity. When they earn money, they begin to live in other parts of Fethiye and become a consumer like a British permanent tourist. This is also a new kind of community format, by which locals create a new lifestyle who do not live like a local anymore. For example, the consumption habits of this community changes. When they live in the agricultural area, they just consume natural products. However, in the center of Fethiye, they also consume the take-home foods and find a place themselves in entertainment places.

4.5.3. Third Zone: Re-Production of Space by Hybridization

This zone is used by all the communities: locals, in-migrants, permanent tourists and seasonal tourists. It is the least affected one by seasonal tourists. Of course, the number of hotels or hostels cannot be belittled the zone continues to exist out of the seasonal holiday times as well. Although permanent tourists, locals, and immigrants are settled in this zone partially, in so far as they are not a big part of the community, they cannot totally dominate the cultural or spatial facilities. In this way, rather than dominating each other, they achieve a balance via negotiation.

In this zone, in terms of the perceptions of the British permanent tourists throughout feeling as a local or a tourist, there is an ambivalent situation. Although 78,6 % percent of them indicated that they feel a local in the conducted questionnaire, they also specified that, even though they feel like a local, the locals behave them as a tourist. Therefore, their feelings may change depending on who they are talking to. Additionally, when they first came to Fethiye, this town was a seasonal holiday place for them. After they have permanently settled in this town, they still continue to live with their tourist lifestyle but in the environment of the locals' daily life rather than in fictionalized tourist attraction spots.

According to the survey results, 22 out of 60 participants live in Çalış, 19 in Tuzla, 7 in Kayaköy, 5 in Ovacık and others live in the city center and surroundings. At the beginnings of the amenity migration, permanent tourists generally focused on places with natural beauty and less-dense population. For these reasons, Çalış, Kayaköy, Üzümlü, and Ovacık are good target points for settlement. In progress of time, they have begun to spread into the neighborhoods in the center of Fethiye.

This zone also includes three different thirdspace formations in itself. The first one includes new buildings constructed by the Brits on their own lands: Çalış and Ovacık. The second one is the old settlement places of Fethiye like Kayaköy and Üzümlü neighborhoods. The third one is the center of Fethiye, which includes Taşyaka, Akarca and Tuzla neighborhoods.

4.5.3.1. Çalış and Ovacık

In general, Çalış and Ovacık demonstrate the domination of the British permanent tourists over locals. Çalış is a part of the coastal line in Foça neighborhood of Fethiye (Figure 13). According to the interviews, this place was an empty terrain before the 1980s. Especially, the seaside part is worthless in terms of agricultural production. In those times, some people from England purchased the lands inexpensively. Afterward, they began to construct their own houses. Especially, after the 2000s, the number of villas has increased in Çalış and Ovacık. Throughout these constructions, while 500 m^2 plot was 300.000 Turkish lira six years ago and 500.000 four years ago, but today it is 1.200.000. This demonstrates how much dominate the British community in this region is because their settlement pattern increases the land values.

Figure 13. Built Environment of Çalış (Karakaş, 2017).

Although most of the local landowners have sold their lands to Brits or to the building contractors, some of them still continue to make agriculture in greenhouses in lands further away from the coastal line. In the present, duplex and triplex villas exist near these agricultural areas. The sharp border between the settlement pattern and greenhouses can be observed clearly. However, the number of agricultural spaces has been decreasing day by day. It creates an ambivalent situation because it is unknown that the wasteland will be filled with greenhouses or villas. Even if the possibility of construction of a villa is higher than greenhouses, it is a changeable situation according to the distance from the sea.

One of the Turkish participants of the interview, a real estate dealer, indicates that:

> …Before the settling of English community, Çalış was an empty place and the land was not valuable. In time, some of them came here for investment and they began to construct their houses. After that, the land of the region began to gain value. Then, the locals started to deal with the contractors. If the contractor makes 10 villas, 3 of them will belong to the landowner. Today this range has changed. Landowner belongs 5 of them and also takes additional money. And their target

customers are Brits because even they do not live here, they buy the house for rent… (Interviewee 4, personal communication, 30 April 2018).

Since the 1980s, coastal and climatic characteristics, as well as geographical features of Çalış, have not changed much. However, it turned out to be a demanded place by the new permanent tourists, because other Brits live in that place too. These relational factors also increase the value of the land. Additionally, the increase in land values in Fethiye, which has been used at very reasonable prices, cannot be distinguished from Harvey's relational space in which time and space produce their own spatial frame. Although the climatic features and the seaside characteristic of Fethiye are not exposed to any kind of change, the existing of foreign community and new type built environment with villas affect the valuations of the lands relationally (Harvey, 1973).

The lands, which were empty for a long time, are re-valued related to the new British community and the new appearance with villas. Translation in the built environment is created with a new and different settlement pattern. In this place, rather than seeing multi-storey apartments in other parts of Turkey, the built environment is mostly formed by duplex or triplex villas. In this way, the pattern of the built environment includes two different types: villas taking a big part and apartments as a small part. Bhabha identifies this translation process as creating a space for hybridization, rather than producing a big discrimination between two different cultures, because through translation two different characteristics of communities become understandable by each other (Bhabha, 1988). In architecture, this translation demonstrates itself as a transition in order to introduce one culture to another via architectural elements (Hernandez, 2014). In Çalış and Ovacık, British community prefers the villa type to introduce their familiar environment to locals through architecture.

Figure 14. Top View of Ovacık (Yandex.com.tr, 2019)

In light of this information, Çalış can be considered a place designed for the new community. Even though there are apartment blocks of locals, those working in the tourism sector and low-income permanent tourists, based on the demands of the new British community, the houses in Çalış generally consists of villas in the form of gated communities. Additionally, most of them have a pool, either individual or shared one for each gate. Architectural plans of the villas have similar characteristics having small interiors and big balconies (Figure 15). However, at the locals' houses, the reverse is seen, even they have closed their balconies to increase the area of interiors. From the permanent tourists' point of view, open parts of the houses are important in order to get benefit from the nice weather conditions. They give importance to the regional climatic conditions because they settle in Fethiye because of that. Although they live in Fethiye permanently, their houses have the characteristics of summerhouses. However, according to the local, it is a usual situation. Therefore, when they begin to live the English favor villas or apartment dwelling, these turn to summerhouses with closed balconies.

Figure 15. Plan of a Villa in Ovacık (Redtekpropertyturkey.com, 2018)

Ovacık and Çalış demonstrate similar characteristics to each other. The villas with pools form the built environment of these two settlements (Figure 16). However, they have an important difference in terms of distance to the seaside. Ovacık does not have a coastal part but it is in the same neighborhood with Hisarönü, this place is a totally tourist attraction in Ölüdeniz neighborhood. Because of that, for the permanent British tourists, it is a familiar place in terms of physical space and the local community. Additionally, the density of new urban texture is bigger than Çalış.

Figure 16. Settlements of The British Permanent Tourists in Ovacık (Photo by the author)

After the military coup attempt in 2015, some of the permanent tourists sold their houses and turned back to England. After that, retirees from Istanbul became the new migrants. Accordingly, a Turkish journalist participant of the interview, she is also an in-migrant from Istanbul, indicated that:

> …Fethiye divides into two demographics. We can evaluate the in-migrants and international migrants together and the locals. The perspective on the life of the first two is the same but locals are different. The local community is not in interaction with others apart from financial issues… (Interviewee 5, personal communication, 15 July 2018).

One of the important reasons for selling the villas to in-migrants but not to locals is that for the local community the planning scheme of these houses is not useful. These are like summerhouses with a small kitchen and a big balcony as mentioned before. However, locals like big interiors with big kitchens. In terms of in-migrants, these are good houses because of their appearance, which is a good

criterion to buy it. Afterward, they make some translations according to their living standards. When they try to indwell, since the rooms are too small, their interior design turns to a crowded place with lots of furniture. Even though the British live in these houses permanently, their furniture placement is essential and functional enough for a typical summerhouse.

The transition and conversion of Çalış and Ovacık do not just consist of an urban texture shaped by villas. For example, according to the needs of the British permanent tourists, there are pork shops in these places, which is an unusual situation in an Islamic country. The fact that, these shops are open all the seasons also shows the permanent existence of the British community. They re-arrange the environment according to their needs in daily life practice.

In Fethiye, the permanent tourists are used to going to some specific pubs, restaurants or cafes. Nil, Lukka, Bambu, Motto are the most visited places by this community in Çalış coastal. Among them, Lukka is preferred for watching European league football matches by permanent tourists. Actually, in this bar, the users change according to the national and international league. Additionally, in Çalış, permanent tourists organize a quiz meeting in Bizbize Turkish grill restaurant (Figure 17). That place offers a jazz-music during the daytime and hosts the British community but in the evening, it turns into a Turkish grill restaurant. These two examples show the coexistence of two different cultures, which never meet. Since locals and permanent tourists never meet in the facilities, even if they use the same place, it prevents the emergence of a thirdspace through hybridization.

Figure 17. Quiz Meeting of Brits in Bizbize Grill Restaurant (Photo by the author)

On the other hand, generally, their first choice is Nil Bar because of cheap beer and traditional British Sunday lunch. If these bars are examined in terms of spatial quality, nothing different than other bars can be seen; they are even worse. It is just a kind of habit for them, visiting Nil Bar, sitting at Motto or watching a match at Lukka is an integral part of their daily life. Additionally, in some situations, all different communities use the same place but in different times.

At the beginning of amenity migration to Fethiye, the hybridity began at the uninhabited, namely in the peripheries, because at those times seaside places like Çalış were peripheries for a local community. Ovacık was preferred due to the closeness to tourist places and it is also a nearly uninhabited place. After the changes, which occurred as a product of hybridization, in Çalış and Ovacık, these two at the present days, rather than being empty lands of the periphery, have turned into two different centers of a polycentric town. In this way, the town is translated by permanent tourists by relaxing living conditions rather than locals' agricultural land or uncultivated land.

4.5.3.2. Kayaköy, Üzümlü, and Seydikemer

The settlement of foreign community in Fethiye shows itself with a built environment including villas with pools. However, Kayaköy and Üzümlü have different characteristics. In this part of the third zone, thirdspace emerges with the domination of locals. These places have largely protected their village image (Figure 18). For example, local villagers keep feeding chickens and some goats at their gardens. Additionally, rather than selling their houses to locals, they rent them to British permanent tourists. Since the local community wants to protect their village life, they do not want to sell the houses to prevent the translation of the environment by British permanent tourists. However, they sell the peripheries of the region to earn money. Locals have an ambivalent consideration between selling and renting or between earning more money and protecting their village life.

Figure 18. A View from Üzümlü Village (Photo by the author)

In Kayaköy, the fact that locals do not want to sell their lands and at the same time restricted reconstruction permit in this place due to being a first-degree

archeological site, the formation of a gated community is prevented. Hence, the new community has to adapt themselves to already existing ones or produce a new suburban environment at the peripheries of this region. The peripheries of the empty lands are translated into the gated communities. The built environments of permanent tourists fill those wastelands. A part of these new settlers stays in bungalows. In this way, the usage of space is translated from a seasonal tourist accommodation area to a permanent housing area.

In case of Seydikemer, the center shows the characteristics as an underdeveloped town rather than a village but again there are gated communities at the peripheries of the region. In Seydikemer, there are two gated communities at the peripheries of the region. In addition, in this place, gated communities have too high garden walls and it is nearly impossible to see inside from outside (Figure 19). Although the village houses have hovels and these gated communities are neighbors, they do not share a place. Gated communities behave as if they are in another place. It demonstrates a non-hybrid situation even if villas and village houses are closest to each other. This neighborhood has a suburban texture with two different types of houses.

Figure 19. Isolation Wall of a Gated Community in Seydikemer (Photo by the author)

Although at the housing typology, nothing has been changed at least at the centers of the villages, Kayaköy, Üzümlü, and Seydikemer do not demonstrate the typical village texture of Turkey as well. These two are like a mediatory space between local village population and permanent British tourists. Both communities can find a place for themselves.

In Kayaköy, this position began as a result of the tourist trips to see the old Rum houses. In time, the villagers have begun to get economic benefit from these tourists by opening some traditional Turkish pancake restaurants and organizing camel trips. When the foreign community began to settle, the environment has had some arrangements to create a hangout place for them such as cafes, pubs, and restaurants. Additionally, this transformation is a continuous process because the number of service places has nearly increased since the 1990s. In Kayaköy and

Üzümlü, even they continue to protect their natural environment, it is observed that this space is under a translation process in terms of the service sector provided for the new community. However, this translation is a transition from an empty house to an entertainment place, rather than a translation of a traditional teahouse into a place for permanent tourists. A British couple living in Kayaköy for 15 years shared their observations about the place:

> …When we first came in Kayaköy, there were just traditional teahouses or some traditional restaurants. But now, we are happy that there are lots of places for us like pubs and some modern restaurants. Then, we do not need to go to the center of Fethiye for that kind of social facilities… (Interviewee 6, personal communication, 29 April 2018).

Additionally, one of the important details about the production of thirdspace in Kayaköy and Üzümlü is the existence of luxury restaurants. In any village of Turkey, it is quite normal to see a pita or a grilled meatball restaurant. These luxury restaurants and pubs demonstrate the special characteristics of the town. Moreover, the managements serving to the British permanent tourists and the traditional character of the locals melts into each other. If any of these spaces are taken out from the new formation of the town, the construction of thirdspace will be incomplete. This situation of the town presents thirdspace because the new image of the districts belongs to neither the local nor the British culture. It is an in-between space that both cultures produce together (Bhabha, 1994). In time, these places form its new identity, which includes the traditional and modern together. Although in the built environment it seems to be A plus B hybridization, its character behind the perceived one embracing differences together.

On the other hand, the transformation process of Üzümlü began in 1996 with the settlement of the first German family in this town. Then, two more came and in 2001, they opened the first wine house. At those times, these families were not the part of retirement migration. Over the years, the British community has begun to migrate to the village and Germans left the town. In progress of time, other

wine houses, cafes and also some tourist boutique and shops have opened (Figure 20). Before the German family opened a wine house, this village had not had the wine production. Today, wine houses form the biggest part of entertainment culture. Through the hybridization, Üzümlü begins to learn the usage of grasps raised in their lands. Additionally, locals feel uncomfortable that a foreigner comes to their lands and begins to earn money. This condition breaks the mutual relationship between permanent tourists and locals. Then, locals begin to produce wine and do not permit working of foreigners.

Figure 20. A Winehouse in Üzümlü (Photo by the author)

Although the local community of Üzümlü and Kayaköy does not complain about the existence of British permanent tourists in the town due to the mutual economic relationship, all the interviewees stated that "Brits get our land with money, which they cannot take up with the warfare" (Interviewee 7, personal communication, 30 April 2018). In the beginning, all of them were thankful to Brits since their land value has increased. However, at the present, there is also a transformation in the user profile. Most of the locals are now laborers in these lands

where they used to be property owners before. In this case, hybridization occurs according to the relational factors. First, villages re-produce by locals and permanent tourists according to the economic benefits. However, this new thing has happened permissively. With this understanding, minority group, here minority describes the financial situation, is eager to change for earning money. Nobody forces them for changing as it happened in the 17th or 18th centuries through the placement of government agencies of colonizers in the colonized terrains. However, in today's condition, legal occupations turn to the economic occupation. Additionally, the thoughts of locals about the Brits show the connection of historicity. Even locals provide their financial income through the permanent tourists, they are aware of their past experiences with them. According to the critics of Young on Bhabha, when two different cultures negotiate with each other it is impossible to separate them from their historical contexts. At the same time, the locals, as the economically dominated group, want to make a voice to demonstrate their existence but with a small expressing due to the economic mutual relationship.

Although Seydikemer services for two different communities, there is not any encountering spaces of locals and Brits where they can communicate verbally. However, the existence of them affects the local community in terms of cultural and spatial understanding. For example, in the town, although stone is a traditional and regional material, making a construction with reinforced concrete and painting façade with different colors is a representation of a good financial situation of the owner of that building. Therefore, making buildings with these characteristics was important for them. However, the villas of permanent settlers are made from stone and it affects the social and cultural status of the local community. Stone façade takes the place of colorful façades as a representation of the good financial situation. Users' motivation of the town has changed. Stone façade turns into a representation of wellness. Additionally, the lifestyle of permanent British settlers changes the younger population in this region. An interviewer whose age is 26 from there argues it:

…Before Brits settle to Seydikemer, we all think that out of the conditions caused by marriage or school, we live with our families. We do not have an option to stay in another house in Fethiye but they show us the individual life. Actually, because of that reason, the studio apartments have been begun to construct after their settlement. The tradition between locals like "the members of the family live together" is broken down and the local young population has a chance to live individually in another house, even if they continue to live in Fethiye… (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 28 October 2018).

The existence of Brits in Fethiye in long durations rather than holidays has caused the changes in the local population. Although this transformation of understanding does not create a physical change in the center of the town, it affects the spatial understanding of locals, and causes another migration to the center of Fethiye and relatedly leads to the construction of studio apartments as a new trend.

Herein, the villas with stone façades demonstrate the cultural superiority of permanent British tourists over the local community. In this way, the social dominance of the new community opens the way for individual life and causes the construction of studio houses indirectly.

Concerning the permanent tourists, nothing related to their cultural perception has changed in the town. However, again because of the mutual relationship, advertisement of markets, dentists and restaurants are in English and their brochures take place at the main entrance of gated communities. In this way, usage of foreign language in entertainment service sector spread to the daily life needs due to the settlement of tourists permanently.

Since that zone already has a settled texture, it does not demonstrate the characteristics, which melt into each other. There are just spatial-temporal locations like cafes, restaurants, pubs or some Turkish traditional artificial activities such as camel trips. Since there is not any cultural negotiation between the two communities, locals and permanent tourists, there is not any kind of reflection onto space. Both of them protect their exact and fixed characteristics. However, when they translate the existent characteristics according to their culture, some

stereotypes have emerged. For example, a permanent tourist from Kayaköy standardizes the locals and identifies them with exact keywords as:

> …Actually, I do not live according to the traditions of here. I am different from the locals. I can dress the way I want, I do not do not wear a headdress. I have a long-term partner but I do not want to marry. These are different things for them because of that they behave me like a different, like the other… (Interviewee 9, personal communication, 30 April 2018).

Although this woman has lived in Kayaköy, working as a chef in a restaurant for 8 years, she does not feel any kind of belonging to the region. Locals and permanent tourists live close to each other but both of them want to create a kind of relationship out of economic reasons. In this way, it concludes with living in the same place, even preferring same cafes or restaurants but in different spatial belongings. Additionally, by making this kind of explanation, as a part of representation of identity, she has some prejudices for locals such as "all locals wear headdresses" and "locals do not have a partner without marriage". It points out that "I am more civilized than locals as a part of the British community".

4.5.3.3. Center of Fethiye

Taşyaka and Tuzla neighborhoods, which are central, are the most favored places for permanent tourists. Especially Taşyaka has a big rate in terms of permanent British tourists' settlements. The distribution of them throughout these neighborhoods do not create a settlement pattern with villas as in Ovacık and Tuzla or does not just affect the increasing number of service sector for them. Rather, in these places, one or two dwellings of the apartment blocks are used by permanent tourists. Additionally, the British permanent tourists and the local community have equality in terms of the spatial usage. This equality reflects on the production of

thirdspace with an equal contribution of both the British permanent tourists and the locals.

In the conducted survey, it has been derived that 29 participants out of 60 live in the center of Fethiye. The most favored districts are Tuzla, Taşyaka, Karagözler, and Günlükbaşı. Moreover, all of them live in apartment blocks and those having pets prefer to stay on the ground floors. Additionally, garden care is quite important for them. If there is a well-tended apartment garden in the town, one of the permanent tourists most probably lives there. The British permanent tourists practice their British garden culture in the apartment gardens, which they share with locals. A local homeowner of a British family explains the situation as follows:

> …Before he rented the dwelling in my apartment, the garden of the apartment was so complicated and because of the thickets, we cannot enter the gardening part. It was not used from the apartment occupants. After a British family settles here, their first issue was cleaning the garden for themselves and for their dog… (Interviewee 10, personal communication, 14 July 2018).

His British tenant who cleaned and designed the apartment garden indicates that "I want to change my environment because I deserve to live in better conditions. Although the locals have a beautiful town, they do not recognize its value. There is sea, there is a wonderful climate but nobody is aware of it." (Interviewee 11, personal communication, 30 April 2018). Actually, in this way, he began to change the environment according to his living standards and this is a representation of high civilization.

One of the important issues about the transformation process in spatial practice is the church activities of "Fethiye Community Church (FHK)" (Figure 21). In the beginning, they were gathering at homes for Sunday pray. Then, cafes took the place of the church. Finally, they started to decorate a standard apartment flat into a church (Figure 22). The duration of gathering at homes and cafes for religious activities assigns a new meaning by being a church. Meaning of the spaces

like homes or cafes gets a new purpose according to the occurring activities. With the new usage, those spaces exposed to a transition and the thirdspace is created. For every Sunday ritual, a familiar café turns to a worship place. In the process of time, the British community goes to this café more than usual because it creates a kind of belonging for them. Since they become familiar with these places, even after the opening of the church, they continued to go to this place.

Figure 21. Fethiye Community Church (Photo by the author)

Figure 22. Interior of The Church (Photo by the author)

During the interviews, some of the members of the church comment on the conflicts between the local government and the Christian claims. A Christian in-migrant participant indicated that:

> …Actually, there are some small-scale churches in Fethiye, the old ones. For example, there is one in Kayaköy but it is in the restoration process since 2012. Additionally, there was a synagogue but it is demolished and a new public bazaar is made in place of it. Moreover, still there is a church near the FHK, however, the outskirts of it are covered with an office building and it turns to a part of it… (Interviewee 12, personal communication, 15 July 2018).

Since Christians have a right to open a church for their religion, because of some reasons such as restorations, they cannot use the existing churches. The existence of a church as a museum or as a place for religious practice is an ambivalent situation. For example, the church in Kayaköy is visited as a historical space. However, permanent tourists cannot use the space for their religious activities. Additionally, the ambivalent situation of the church in Fethiye can be explained with Lefebvre's lived space. Lefebvre explains lived space is the space of users' everyday practices. It is about the feeling and memories (Lefebvre and Nicholson Smith, 1991). This conceptualization explains the understanding of the church as a museum by visitors and locals and as a religious place by the Christian community in lived space. Additionally, it is also an effort of the Christian community to make a voice. They want to demonstrate their existence throughout the church.

Moreover, the opening of the church triggers the surrounding places. For example, after the religious rituals, people go to the Paşa Kebab for lunch. Since the British community in Fethiye are generally used to go to the same places with their friends, all the British community begin to go there. Additionally, as seen from the survey results, the Paşa Kebab is one of the favored restaurants for the permanent British community in Fethiye. Nearby the church, there is Saklı Bahçe Café and it works like a branch of the FHK. The members of the church organize

gatherings at this place. Furthermore, one of the regular gatherings is "Turkish talking" meetings because they invite the Turkish community to learn the local language and it creates a good interaction between different demographics but generally, rather than locals, in-migrants prefer going there. Across the church, there is Apple Café, again preferred by this community as well as seasonal tourists. Near that café, there is a natural stone jewelry shop, which belongs to a British permanent tourist. The church is located in the center of other activity spaces or shops. As one moves from the center to the periphery, s/he can perceive a decrease in places preferred by the British permanent tourists.

As mentioned by the social media groups, the user community of the church and surroundings is not only the permanent British tourists but also the Turkish spouses of them in Fethiye, who prefer to hang out in the same places with the British population. Additionally, some of them change their religion to Christianity. These groups go to church for Sunday ritual and meet with the church members at the meeting after the ritual at the terrace of the church and at Saklıbahçe Cafe, which functions as a branch of the church. One of the interviewers describes herself as follows:

> …My husband is British so that we lived long years in England but his retirement we prefer to live in Fethiye. I live in Tuzla in a double-storey villa and I have both Turkish and British neighbors. We both are Christian but my husband does not prefer to come to the church. And also, I like to attend some charity facilities of the foreign community… (Interviewee 13, personal communication, 15 July 2018).

Actually, this group has a tendency to live with British culture more than the British community apply. This can be seen from the church example. They want to prove that they become a part of the British community by existing in their environments. It is understood from the interviews that they want to introduce themselves as a supportive part of the permanent British tourists even more than the Brits themselves. For example, some of them get an important assignment such as

administrative affairs at the church facilities. However, they do not belong to the community of locals or permanent tourists, which is an ambivalent position. Moreover, this ambivalent group, opens a way for hybridization, because they establish a kind of mediate group between the locals and the British permanent tourists by including and melting the characteristics of both the British and the local community (Bhabha, 1994).

Similar to Çalış, permanent tourists have specified some pubs in the center of Fethiye and they usually go to same places: Meri Bar, Bambu Bar, Deep Blue Bar. On the other hand, in order to get familiar with the Turkish tradition, they used to go Mozaik Bahçe Restaurant for Anatolian kitchen. Although it does not belong to the traditional Mediterranean or Aegean kitchen, it is a well-known Turkish cuisine in the world. Additionally, preference of specified places by permanent tourists identifies these restaurants or pubs as a place of permanent tourists and it prevents the hybridization. Since the selected entertainment places by locals and permanent tourists are completely different and segregated, there is no chance for hybridization.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Daily spatial practices are more complicated than we assume since they can be considered multi-dimensional problem fields including various social, cultural and ideological meanings. As discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, critical theorists of space have followed various analytical approaches, commonly focusing on, more or less, similar tripartite frameworks. In this way, they have provided useful theoretical and conceptual tools not only to reveal these meanings but also to understand complexities and contradictions they convey in daily spatial practices.

As an example of using such a conceptual analytical tool in understanding a concrete built environment, this thesis has analyzed Homi Bhabha's theory of thirdspace throughout the spatial practices of the British permanent tourists in Fethiye. The main goal of the research was to demonstrate the physical manifestation of Bhabha's conceptual thirdspace of cultural encounters.

Bhabha's thirdspace theory enables us to analyze and to make visible these hidden daily life practices of two different communities. During several on-site visits and interviews, the first observation in this hidden life is the economic mutual relationship between the locals and the Brits. Fethiye is divided into three different zones in terms of the spatial reflections of this mutual relationship: tourist attractions, locals' environment and shared spaces of the locals and the British permanent tourists. In tourist attractions, its effects are at the peak. The locals re-designed their environment in accordance with the pleasure of the British tourists or according to the dominance of Brits over locals. Its effects can be understood from the fact that there is not a single gathering place for the locals in the most

commonly used main streets, and the places used by locals are placed at the secondary streets for the economic sources of income. In the case of the locals' space, no negotiation space was observed at the beginning of the field visits, since the British community does not usually prefer to live in this space. However, during the interviews, it has been observed that the locals have a will to live like the British permanent tourists. Hence, they try to take the role of the Brits in terms of their relationship with the Eastern locals and moving to the areas where permanent tourists settle. In other words, some locals in Fethiye dominate the Eastern locals in a similar hierarchy to which they have with the Brits. With a certain level of otherness, each community finds itself in an ambivalent position as in Bhabha's mimic man.

In the third zone, where the locals and the British permanent tourists live together, although the mutual relationship continues, especially in the pubs, the cafes and the restaurants, both groups (re)produce the space through their own daily life practices. In this zone, the production of thirdspace is shaped according to the dominant group. In this way, it again divides into three different spatialities in itself. In Çalış and Ovacık neighborhood, the British permanent tourists' domination; in Üzümlü, Kayaköy, and Seydikemer, the locals' domination and in the center of Fethiye, their equal dominancy is observed during the field visits and interviews. For example, reading the pattern of the built environment is the most obvious way to analyze the dominance. According to the user profile, it consists of the villas, the apartments or the village houses.

Throughout the case study process, it has been observed that there are some factors, which challenge the production of thirdspace as a mediatory space. The behaviors of the British community and the locals against each other is usually negative. According to the Brits, the locals continue to treat them as if they are still a tourist. Even though they settle in Fethiye, the biggest aim of the locals is just to get economic profit from the Brits rather than sharing the daily life experiences. The British permanent community came to Fethiye because they can sustain a high-class life in this town with their retirements pay due to foreign currency. However, in England, they belong to the lower class. The locals have a disdaining point of view towards the British community. Additionally, the local community of Fethiye

has a conservative ideology, so they generally do not like foreigners. Because of these reasons, the production of thirdspace is always a kind of contestation between these groups.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bhabha's theory of thirdspace has been exposed to some critics regarding its lack of historical contextualization. At the beginning of amenity migration, preferred destinations started to be shaped with the historical components of the region. For example, in Fethiye, the division of the city into three zones cannot be explained without the place of British tourism in the tourism history of Fethiye. Additionally, in Antalya, the seaside part of the city divides into two zones as a result of the claim for being the dominant identity; related to a historical political struggle between the British and the German communities.

Revisiting Bhabba's theory by integrating the critics of Young, Hernandez, and Jacobs provides a useful framework to adapt Bhabha's thirdspace within the field of architecture. In this context, Bhabha's thirdspace disregards the historical conflicts of the two cultures and conceals the subversive situations of daily life (Young, 1994; Jacobs, 1996). Additionally, every group wants to continue their life with their culture, which comes from their history, or they remember their history (Young, 1994). From the local's point of view, they remember that Brits wanted to occupy their land in history. They conveyed this anecdote from past to present. For example, one of the interviewees shared a short story, which realized in the transportation from Fethiye to Kos Island in last year. When the ferry approached to the island, there are some warships at the port side. British man explains it to the local woman as "Do you know why the warships are there? Because you wanted to give damage to them in history. They still fear that." (Interviewee 14, personal communication, 30 April 2018). In fact, nobody breaks the connection with the history. The minority group is also finding an opportunity to be heard (Jacobs, 1996). The British permanent community tries to minimize the locals by reminding the historical cases. However, in Fethiye case, due to the mutual economic relationship, people choose to be quiet in most cases.

According to Bhabha, hybridization is a never-ending process (Bhabha, 1990). When it is analyzed in architecture, it pulls away a concrete section from a

specific time. It has to be like that because, since the process continues, at the next stage, it will produce a new concrete section as it happens in the church example. In the beginning, home of a person turns to a church, at the next step a cafe than a standard apartment dwelling. Actually, the rigid contextualization in Bhabha's theory of thirdspace from the critics of Hernandez is not the theory itself but the concrete section, which is taken from a specific time (Hernández, 2014). In order to observe the Bhabha's cultural abstract thirdspace in architecture, just examining the snap of a built environment is not enough. In contrast to Hernandez's critique, the process of encountering, which produces the built environment should be considered.

By this thesis, standing on Bhabha's thirdspace in a theoretical relation with the spatial discussions of Lefebvre, Harvey and Soja, a critical reading of amenity migration of the British community in Fethiye is provided. Although all the critical theories of space are studied in detail, relating them to the field of architecture and to a case like Fethiye is a significant contribution to the academic literature on architecture. It is expected that this thesis will bring forward other research questions regarding spatial studies on amenity migration.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Questinnaire

İZMİR EKONOMİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Master Thesis Questionnaire: Spaces of encounter in case of Fethiye: I am the master degree student in architecture at University of Economics in Izmir. As a part of my research, *the encountering spaces of two different communities*, this questionnaire is carried out. The data collected through this questionnaire will only be used for academic purposes.

Q1	Age	☐15-24 years ☐25-39 years ☐40-49 years ☐50-59 years ☐60 years and older
	Gender	☐Male ☐Female
	Education	☐Elementary school ☐Secondary School ☐High School ☐University (undergraduate) ☐University (graduate)
	Civil Status	☐Single ☐Divorced ☐Married (with British) ☐Married (with Turkish) ☐Married (with other)............................
	Known Language(s)	☐English ☐Turkish ☐German ☐Other: ....
	Hometown	....
	For how long have you been in Fethiye?	☐0-2 years ☐3-5 years ☐6-10 years ☐11-15 years ☐15-20 years ☐more than 20 years
	What is your profession?	....
	Do you practice any profession in Turkey?	☐ No ☐ Yes (please specify) ....
	Income level	☐ High ☐ High-Middle ☐ Middle-Low
	Your house is	☐Owned ☐Rented ☐Other
Q2	Why did you choose Fethiye? (You can mark more than one box.) Attract you:	
	☐ Nature ☐ Climate ☐ Living conditions ☐ Recreation ☐ Business connection ☐ Health reasons ☐ Neighborhood ☐ Familial reasons ☐ Other:	
Q3	Why did you decide to leave your hometown before moving into Fethiye? (You can mark more than one box.)	
	☐ Economic reasons ☐ Living conditions ☐ Health reasons ☐ Familial reasons ☐ Other:	
Q4	Have you been in Turkey before? If yes, which places have you visited?	
	☐ No ☐ Yes (please specify)	
Q5	How often do you visit your home county? In which months, for what purpose?	
	☐ Never ☐ Often (please specify)	
Q6	What is the type of your home in Fethiye?	
	☐ Apartment ☐ Single story villa ☐ Duplex villa ☐ Triplex villa ☐ Apartment (gated community) ☐ Single story villa (gated community) ☐ Duplex villa (gated community) ☐ Triplex villa (gated community)	
Q7	What was the type of your home in Fethiye?	
	☐ Apartment ☐ Single story villa ☐ Duplex villa ☐ Triplex villa ☐ Apartment (gated community) ☐ Single story villa (gated community) ☐ Duplex villa (gated community) ☐ Triplex villa (gated community)	
Q8	How many square meters of your house and how many rooms it has?	
	....	
Q9	What is the nationality of your neighbors generally?	
	☐ English ☐Turkish ☐ Other (please specify)	
Q10	What is the name of 5 cafes or restaurants you go mostly?	
	1. .... 4. .... 2. .... 5. .... 3.	
Q11	Do you feel as a local or tourist?	
	☐ Yes ☐No	

Appendix 2. Semi-Structured Interview Questions for the British permanent tourists

İZMİR EKONOMİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi: Fethiye'de karşılaşma mekânları

Yüksek lisans tezi röportajı: İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesinde yüksek lisans eğitimi almaktayım. İki farklı toplumun karşılaşma mekânlarını konu aldığım tezimin bir parçası olarak bu anket çalışması düzenlenmektedir. Anket sonucu elde edilen veriler sadece akademik amaçlı kullanılacaktır.

1. **Demografik bilgiler**
    1.1. Kaç yaşındasınız?
    1.2. Eğitim seviyeniz nedir?
    1.3. Medeni durumunuz nedir?
    1.4. Hangi dilleri biliyorsunuz?
    1.5. Doğum yeriniz neresi?
    1.6. Ne zamandır Fethiye'de yaşıyorsunuz?
    1.7. Mesleğiniz nedir?
    1.8. Gelir düzeyiniz nedir?
    1.9. Daha önce kaç yıl nerede yaşadınız?

2. **Katılımcının Fethiye'deki yaşam tarzı ve yeri?**
    2.1. Fethiye'ye gelme sebebiniz nedir?
    2.2. Daha önceden yaşadığınız yerden ayrılma sebebiniz nedir?
    2.3. Daha önce başka bir ülkede bulundunuz mu? Turist olarak mı?
    2.4. Yaşadığınız evin tipi nedir?
    2.5. Komşularınız genellikle nereli?
    2.6. Fethiye'de yaşayan yabancı halk ile etkileşim halinde misiniz?
    2.7. Fethiye'ye yabancı yerleşiminden memnun musunuz? Neden?
    2.8. Yabancılarla sürdürdüğünüz ortak aktiviteler var mı?
    2.9. Fethiye'ye yerleşmiş olan İngiliz halkı hala turist olarak görmeye devam ediyor musunuz?

3. **Katılımcının Fethiye'deki mekân deneyimleri ve gözlemleri**
    3.1. İngilizlerle paylaştığınız ortak mekânlar var mı?
    3.2. En çok gittiğiniz 5 mekânın adlarını yazabilir misiniz?
    3.3. Eviniz dışında en sık bulunduğunuz mekânlar nerelerdir?
    3.4. İngilizler Fethiye'ye yerleştikten sonra çevrenizde nasıl değişimler gözlemlediniz?
    3.5. Fethiye'de İngiliz halk için özel olarak yaptığınız etkinlikler var mı?
    3.6. Dışarıdan bakan bir gözlemci olarak buraya sonradan yerleşen İngiliz halkta kültürel değişimler gözlemlediniz mi?

Appendix 3. Semi-Structured Interview Questions for the Locals

İZMİR EKONOMİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi: Fethiye'de karşılaşma mekânları

Yüksek lisans tezi röportajı: İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesinde yüksek lisans eğitimi almaktayım. İki farklı toplumun karşılaşma mekânlarını konu aldığım tezimin bir parçası olarak bu anket çalışması düzenlenmektedir. Anket sonucu elde edilen veriler sadece akademik amaçlı kullanılacaktır.

1. **Demografik bilgiler**
   1.1. Kaç yaşındasınız?
   1.2. Eğitim seviyeniz nedir?
   1.3. Medeni durumunuz nedir?
   1.4. Hangi dilleri biliyorsunuz?
   1.5. Doğum yeriniz neresi?
   1.6. Ne zamandır Fethiye'de yaşıyorsunuz?
   1.7. Mesleğiniz nedir?
   1.8. Gelir düzeyiniz nedir?
   1.9. Daha önce kaç yıl nerede yaşadınız?

2. **Katılımcının Fethiye'deki yaşam tarzı ve yeri?**
   2.1. Fethiye'ye gelme sebebiniz nedir?
   2.2. Daha önceden yaşadığınız yerden ayrılma sebebiniz nedir?
   2.3. Daha önce başka bir ülkede bulundunuz mu? Turist olarak mı?
   2.4. Yaşadığınız evin tipi nedir?
   2.5. Komşularınız genellikle nereli?
   2.6. Fethiye'de yaşayan yabancı halk ile etkileşim halinde misiniz?
   2.7. Fethiye'ye yabancı yerleşiminden memnun musunuz? Neden?
   2.8. Yabancılarla sürdürdüğünüz ortak aktiviteler var mı?
   2.9. Fethiye'ye yerleşmiş olan İngiliz halkı hala turist olarak görmeye devam ediyor musunuz?

3. **Katılımcının Fethiye'deki mekân deneyimleri ve gözlemleri**
   3.1. İngilizlerle paylaştığınız ortak mekânlar var mı?
   3.2. En çok gittiğiniz 5 mekânın adlarını yazabilir misiniz?
   3.3. Eviniz dışında en sık bulunduğunuz mekânlar nerelerdir?
   3.4. İngilizler Fethiye'ye yerleştikten sonra çevrenizde nasıl değişimler gözlemlediniz?
   3.5. Fethiye'de İngiliz halk için özel olarak yaptığınız etkinlikler var mı?
   3.6. Dışarıdan bakan bir gözlemci olarak buraya sonradan yerleşen İngiliz halkta kültürel değişimler gözlemlediniz mi?

Appendix 4. Participant Consent Form

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

Participant Consent Form

Date:..................... **Place:**............................... **Interviewer:** Ece Buldan

This interview will be held within the scope of my master thesis in Department of Architecture, Izmir University of Economics.

Fethiye in Mugla, Turkey has an intensive migration from different countries, mainly England. Most of the tourists decide to settle in Fethiye permanently after their holiday experiences. In progress of time, these immigrants and locals have been exposed to encounters both consciously or unconsciously. This situation triggers the hybridization process which causes the reproduction of space and in the literature in the academic literature that corresponds to "thirdspace".

In this research, "how the confrontations of cultural, political and economic differences between cultures represent themselves in spatial practices and how the space is reproduced as a third space in the context of Fethiye" will be analyzed.

The details of interview are given below:

- It is planned that the recording of interview will take max. 1 (one) hour. You can stop the recording and the interview at any time.
- Collected data will only be kept by the interviewer.
- The outcomes of this research will only be used for academic purposes in a master thesis.
- Your personal information such as name and surname will not be asked during the record; so it will not take place at any stage of the research.

I have read the above information and I agree to participate voluntarily in this research.

Ece Buldan   **Interviewee:**

Master Degree Thesis Student

Izmir University of Economics

Department of Architecture

If you would like to know more about the research, you can forward your questions and comments to ecebuldan@gmail.com.

Appendix 5. Participant Information Form for Questionnaire

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

Participant Information Form

(Questionnaire)

This research is conducted by Ece Buldan, master degree student of department of architecture in Izmir Economy University. This form is prepared to inform you about the research provisions.

What is the purpose of the research?

Fethiye in Mugla, Turkey has an intensive migration from different countries, mainly England. Most of the tourists decide to settle in Fethiye permanently after their holiday experiences. In progress of time, these immigrants and locals have been exposed to encounters both consciously or unconsciously. This situation triggers the hybridization process which causes the reproduction of space and in the literature in the academic literature that corresponds to "thirdspace".

In this research, "how the confrontations of cultural, political and economic differences between cultures represent themselves in spatial practices and how the space is reproduced as a third space in the context of Fethiye" will be analyzed.

How can you help us?

Questionnaires will be conducted during the research process. The survey will take approximately 5 (five) minutes.

What you need to know about your participation?

Participation in this work is entirely a voluntary action. You may refuse to participate in this work or quit it whenever you want. If you have questions that you do not want to answer during the questionnaire, you can leave it blank.

The data collected from the participants will be kept completely confidential and the identity information of the participants will not be obtained. Only the researchers will be able to reach the collected data. The outcomes of this research will only be used for academic purposes in a master thesis.

Risks:

There is not any risk for participants.

If you would like to know more about the research, you can forward your questions and comments to ecebuldan@gmail.com.

Appendix 6. Participant Information Form for Interview

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

Participant Information Form

(Interview)

This research is conducted by Ece Buldan, master degree student of department of architecture in Izmir Economy University. This form is prepared to inform you about the research provisions.

What is the purpose of the research?

Fethiye in Mugla, Turkey has an intensive migration from different countries, mainly England. Most of the tourists decide to settle in Fethiye permanently after their holiday experiences. In progress of time, these immigrants and locals have been exposed to encounters both consciously or unconsciously. This situation triggers the hybridization process which causes the reproduction of space and in the literature in the academic literature that corresponds to "thirdspace".

In this research, "how the confrontations of cultural, political and economic differences between cultures represent themselves in spatial practices and how the space is reproduced as a third space in the context of Fethiye" will be analyzed.

How can you help us?

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted during the research process. The interview will take maximum 1 (one) hour.

What you need to know about your participation?

Participation in this work is entirely a voluntary action. You may refuse to participate in this work or quit it whenever you want. If you have questions that you do not want to answer during the interview, you can pass it.

The data collected from the participants will be kept completely confidential and the identity information of the participants will not be obtained. Only the researchers will be able to reach the collected data. The outcomes of this research will only be used for academic purposes in a master thesis.

Risks:

There is not any risk for participants.

If you would like to know more about the research, you can forward your questions and comments to ecebuldan@gmail.com.

Appendix 7. Translation, Ambivalence and Hybridity X Zones Matrix

		translation	ambivalence	(non) hybridity
first zone		*re-design of entertainment spaces *increasing number of entertainment places *transformation of entertainment spaces	*Britain *vs.* Turkey *Manager vs. Customer *Global tourism vs. British tourism	*co-existence of all glocal restaurants (glocal=global+local) *product and space *hierarchicy of non-hybridity
second zone		*functional transition (demand for agricultural sector) *transition of user profile (Eastern local)	*Sameness vs. Hybridity *Domination vs. Charity	*hybridity in consumption habits
third zone	çalış-ovacık	*translation in living standards *translation of built environment *transition in built environment fragmentation	*greenhouses *vs.* villas (settlement pattern) *local vs. tourist	*local typology with western furnituring *hybrid settlement pattern *product and space *existence of two different communities in the same place
	üzümlü-kayaköy-seydikemer	*translation of usage of the place *translation of built environment *transformation of entertainment spaces *transition of user profile (from a landlord to a worker) *subversion in the represeantation of wellness *creating cultural stereotypes	*Western product vs. Local producer *Renting vs. Selling *Village vs. Sub–Urban *Economic occupation vs. Legal occupation *local vs. tourist	*co-existence of differetn urban textures *co-existence of traditional and modern life styles *emergence of a new type *new type touristic marketing strategies *co-existence of differetn cultural places
	tuzla-taşyaka	*functional translation *transformation of built environment	*local vs. tourist *local vs. permanent tourist *church as a museum vs. Church as a religious practice	*practicing a particular culture in a foreign environment *non-hybridization in entertainment places *Local community in foreigners' spaces

B: Brits   L: Locals   E: Eastern locals