

**THE EXPERIENCES OF BRITISH CITIZENS IN DIDIM A COASTAL
TOWN IN TURKEY:
A CASE OF LIFESTYLE MIGRATION**

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ABSTRACT

THE EXPERIENCES OF BRITISH CITIZENS IN DIDIM A COASTAL TOWN IN TURKEY: A CASE OF LIFESTYLE MIGRATION

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The aim of this thesis is providing an initial insight into the quite recent Northern European immigration to Coastal Turkey through exploring its causes and consequences within the context of a particular locality, Didim where a single nationality group, the British, comprise the most prominent lifestyle migrant category.

In that frame, three aspects of the migratory move namely the causes and the meaning of the move through the migrant narratives; the new social spaces created in terms of everyday practices of the migrants and the interactions with the locals; and the meanings of the changes for the locals have been elaborated. Within a descriptive ethnographic approach, in depth interviews were conducted in Didim with 20 British lifestyle migrants and 20 locals.

It is found out that while the migratory move to Didim is a strategy devised by the British migrants to react to the broader social and cultural changes impacting their lives; the meaning of the same move for the locals of Didim is a change impacting their lives which requires devising new strategies for coping and for challenging.

The encounters and co-habitation of the two groups of people from countries of different affluence levels and with a significant cultural distance, in the social setting of migration transgressing the boundaries of the already established context of international tourism, shape the daily life in Didim through the new social spaces being constructed and identities being constantly re-negotiated.

Keywords: Lifestyle migration, geographical mobility, social space, British, Didim Turkey

ÖZ

BRİTANYA YURTTAŞLARININ TÜRKİYE’DE BİR KIYI KASABASINDA, DİDİM’DEKİ DENEYİMLERİ: BİR YAŞAM BİÇİMİ GÖÇÜ VAKASI

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Bu tezin amacı tek bir ülkeden, Britanya’dan gelen yaşam biçimi göçmenlerinin ağırlık taşıdığı Didim bağlamındaki neden ve sonuçlarını irdeleyerek, Türkiye’nin kıyı kentlerinde yaşanmakta olan, yakın tarihli, Kuzey Avrupalı göçü olgusuna başlangıç mahiyetinde bir açılım sağlamaktır.

Bu çerçevede, göç hareketi, Britanyalı göçmenler açısından sebepleri ve taşıdığı anlam; göçmenlerin gündelik hayat pratikleri ve yerel halkla etkileşimleri sonucu ortaya çıkan yeni sosyal alanlar ve son olarak da bu değişikliklerin yerel halk için anlamı olmak üzere üç vechesi ile incelenmiştir. Betimleyici etnografik yaklaşımla, Didim’deki 20 Britanyalı “yaşam biçimi göçmeni” ve yerel halktan 20 kişi ile derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Britanyalı göçmenlerce yaşamlarını etkileyen daha genel toplumsal ve kültürel değişimler karşısında bir strateji olarak geliştirilen olan göç, yerel halk açısından ise uyum sağlanması için yeni stratejiler geliştirilmesini gerektiren bir değişim anlamı taşıdığı bulgulanmıştır. Farklı refah düzeylerine sahip ve kayda değer bir kültürel mesafeyi haiz iki farklı ülkeden kişilerin, alışageldikleri uluslararası turizm bağlamının sınırlarını zorlayan göçün toplumsal ortamındaki bir aradalıkları, inşa

edilen yeni toplumsal alanlar ve sürekli yeniden müzakere edilen kimliklerle kentteki gündelik hayatı biçimlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yaşam biçimi göçü, coğrafi hareketlilik, toplumsal alan, Britanyalı, Didim Türkiye

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II.METHODOLOGY	6
II.1 Assumptions	7
II.2 Hypothesis	7
II.3. The methods employed	8
II.3.1. Documentary analysis	9
II.3.2. Qualitative methods	11
II.4.Research process	13
II.5.Sampling	14
II.6.Limitations and difficulties of the research	16

III. EMERGENCE OF DIDIM AS AN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION DESTINATION FOR THE BRITISH	19
III.1.The migratory relations between the UK and Turkey	19
III.2.The setting.....	21
III.2.1. Demographic features	22
III.2.2. Historical development of Didim	24
III.3.Didim as a tourism resort and an internal migration destination	25
III.4.Didim as an international residential tourism and migration destination	27
III.4.1.Property ownership by foreigners in Didim	27
III.4.2.The spatial dimensions of foreign property ownership in Didim	29
III.4.3.Foreigners in economic life of Didim	30
III.4.4.Foreigner in Didim’s social scene	32
III.4.5.Foreigners in Didim's mediascape	33
III.4.6.Foreign pupils in Didim’s schools	35
III.4.7.Intercultural marriages in Didim	36
III.4.8.Local authority awareness	38
III.4.9.The presentation of the foreign contingent of Didim in the media.....	40
III.5.Conclusion	42
IV. WHO MIGRATES TO DIDIM? WHY AND HOW?	44
IV.1. Who are Didim’s migrants?	45
IV.1.1. Demographic and socio-economic profiles of the migrants	45
IV.1.2. Property ownership	47
IV.1.3. Pension status	47
IV.1.4. Household compositions	48
IV.1.5. Narratives on lives left behind	49
IV.1.6. Trade-union membership	50
IV.1.7. Religious identity and observance	51
IV.2. Pull and push factors through narratives on migration	51

IV.3. The previous history of the migrant as an international tourist	60
IV.4. The decision-making process	65
IV.5. Conclusion	71
V. HOW DO THEY LIVE ?	81
V.1. Residing and working in Didim as a Briton: Legal Requirements versus actual experiences	81
V.2. Crossborder mobility patterns of migrants in Didim	85
V.3. Relations and emotional ties with the UK	88
V.4. Housing and home oriented issues and activities	95
V.5. Car ownership and traffic	99
V.6. Shopping, eating out, entertainment	100
V.7. Acquiring the host country language: the migrants' competence of Turkish	104
V.8. Relationships with the locals	106
V.9. Conclusion	109
VI. HOW ARE THEY RECEIVED? : THE MEANING OF THE MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACTS FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY.....	112
VI.1. Existing literature on impacts of international lifestyle migration for receiving communities.....	112
VI.2. A brief account of the academic literature on impacts of international lifestyle migration to Turkey	114
VI.3. The prevailing discourses in ongoing debates in Didim around the international migration and the migrants	119
VI.4. Representations and perceptions of the local interviewee about international migration and its impacts in Didim	122
VI.4.1. Direct impacts of foreigners' acquisition of property and international migration upon the local interviewee	123
VI.4.2. The representation of the international migrants and the migration in the locals' accounts.....	125
VI.4.3. Images and representation of migrant lives in the	

the locals' accounts...	132
VI.4.4.How do the locals perceive the broader impacts of the international migration?	136
VI.4.4.1. The environmental / physical impacts of international migration through the locals' accounts	136
VI.4.4.2.Economic impacts of international migration through the locals' accounts	141
VI.4.4.3.Impacts of international migration on social relations through the Locals' accounts	156
VI.5. Attitudes of the locals towards the migrants and migration	165
VI.6. Conclusion	167
 VII. CONCLUSIONS	 173
REFERENCES	179
 APPENDICES	 194
A. Property acquired by foreigners in Didim (Breakdown by Country)	194
B. Companies with international capital in Didim	195
C. Marriages with foreign citizens in Didim (1/7/2004-2/7/2006)	196
D. Questionnaire for the semi structured in-depth interviews-for foreigners	199
E. Questionnaire for the semi structured in-depth interviews- for locals	205

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Seasonal population of Didim by neighbourhood	23
Table 2: Distribution of foreign property ownership in Didim by neighbourhood	30
Table 3: New establishments licensed In Didim	31
Table 4: Recorded marriages In Didim (2000-2005)	36
Table 5: Turkish male-foreign female Marriages (July 2004-July 2006)	39
Table 6: Pull and push factors of migration for the sample group	54
Table 7: Previous geographical mobilities of and alternative locations considered by the migrants	64
Table 8: Foreign interviewee profile Table	74
Table 9: Categorization of the interviewee according to NS-SEC	79
Table 10: Local interviewee's estimates on the size of the migrant community	125
Table 11: Socio-demographic characteristics, "sense of belonging to place" and political standing of the local interviewee	169
Table 12: Impact of international migration on the local interviewee's and their families' lives	171

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The town's location in the country and in the region	22
Figure 2: Neighbourhoods in Didim	23
Figure 3: Property ownership by foreigners in Didim	28

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is providing an initial insight into a quite recent phenomenon, Northern European immigration to Coastal Turkey, through exploring its causes and consequences within the context of a particular locality, namely Didim. Adopting a descriptive ethnographic approach instead of one seeking positivistic cause and effect relationships, three aspects of the migratory move namely the causes and the meaning of the move through the migrant narratives; the new social spaces created in terms of everyday practices of the migrants and the interactions with the locals; and the meanings of the changes for the host population will be elaborated. In this frame, this thesis is a modest attempt inspired with a feeling that the case of the British migrants and the members of the local community might provide some hints about some of the ways that broader and structural changes under the conditions of late modernity and globalisation are impacting individuals, groups and communities and how people are reacting, devising new strategies for coping and for challenging.

The emergence of Turkey as a “country of destination” within the international immigration system which is highly shaped by economic and political factors dates back to the 1990’s (İçduygu, 2004:80). The country’s experience with the new forms of migratory moves that are not motivated by traditional causes like flight, exile or work but targeting personal lifestyles (King, 2000:90) is even more recent, but has an apparent visibility particularly in some Western and Southern Mediterranean coastal towns. (Dündar, Erdoğanaras, Görer and Duman, 2005; Özcan, 2005:1; Armutçu, 2004; Tamer-Görer, Erdoğanaras, Güzey, and Yüksel, 2006:4) Though there exists literally no statistical data on the scale of Northern or Western European migration to Turkey, the occasional journalistic attempts on various aspects of expatriate life in Alanya, Fethiye or Didim (For examples see Armutçu, 2004; Özcan, 2005; Milliyet, 19.02.2005; Özalp & Oral, 2005; Hürriyet, 10.04.2006;

Başlangıç, 2005; Milliyet, 23.09.2005; Milliyet, 19.02.2005 among others) and a few academic field studies conducted mostly by urban scientists (Berkmen-Yakar & Özügül 2003; Keskinok, Özgönül and Güçhan, 2005; Tamer-Görer et al, 2006; Dündar et al, 2005) demonstrate that southern Turkey has already appeared as a new destination zone alongside the traditional ones like Spain, Italy, Portugal, Greece, France, Malta or Cyprus (Casado-Diaz, Kaiser and Warnes, 2004) especially for Germans and Britons who are looking for a “place in the sun” (Williams, King and Warnes, 1997) to structure their lives into “patchwork biographies” of modern lives (Hitzler and Hoher, 1994 cited in Boenisch-Brednich, 2002:66).

O'Reilly (2007:1) employs the term "lifestyle migration"¹ to describe such voluntary mobilities of the "relatively affluent individuals moving, en masse, either part or full time, permanently or temporarily, to countries where the cost of living and/or price of property is cheaper: places which, for various reasons, signify something loosely defined as quality of life". International life style migration , retirement migration of the elderly or hybrid-tourism migration during the earlier ages both can be considered as --though not exclusive- examples there of, is closely linked to improvements in transport and communications-according to Castles (2002:1154) and is also increasingly strongly related with preceding holidays where a likely place to migrate would be carefully chosen. (Boenisch-Brednich, 2002:66) Thus, there's nothing particular for Turkey - which has long been one of the most popular holiday destinations at the European scale (WTO, 2003:6) and which has long been affected by the Europeanization process which Warnes, Friedrich, Kellaher and Torres (2004) relate to retirement migration through “acknowledgement of western European democratic, civic, legal framework as the norm and internationalisation of the real estate business enabling easier access to information and property abroad ”- to be considered at mass scale as an option “to have a secondary house” (The Independent, 02.08.2006) or “to migrate” alongside the traditional zones.

¹ Throughout this thesis, I employed the terms "lifestyle migration" and "retirement migration" in a rather loose manner and sometimes interchangeably in the context of the experiences of the migrants of Didim who in most cases do not fit into the definitional boundaries of "retirement migrant" which implies a certain age category but whose very existences in Didim at least in accordance with the Turkish legislation- are justified for being one

On the other hand, there are certain factors differentiating Turkey from the other life-style migration destinations and as such, creating a need for further exploration of the meaning of migration both for the migrants and the receiving communities. The history of mass tourism in the country and thus localities' exposure to foreign tourists at a mass scale dates back only to the second half of 1980's (Yücel, 1996:1416) and quite recent when compared to Spain, Italy, Portugal, France, Greece, Malta or Cyprus. Unlike the other Balkan countries, namely Bulgaria and Croatia (Bozic, 2006:1427, Dandalova, 2005; Miami Harold, 19.03.2004) with which it is associated as a new destination and it also shares a "candidate status", the country's future with the European Union is far from being certain and cultural differences with an emphasis on the "Muslim" religion is one of the parameters mentioned anytime the name Turkey is uttered either positively or negatively within the EU context. Finally, the fact that the country didn't have a colonial past distinguishes Turkey from the other Muslim countries, particularly of Northern Africa like Morocco, Tunisia or Egypt, that appear as a setting for European lifestyle migration (The Independent, 02.08.2006; La Gazette du Maroc, 15.08.2005) since it doesn't offer the comforts of a shared history in terms of language or a cultural familiarity prevailing among the local populations.

This research was triggered by a sheer curiosity on the "extent and nature of integration of European migrants", which has proved to be problematic even in the Spanish case (the Independent on Sunday, 13.03.2005; O'Reilly, 2004), in this totally new setting. Also, it has been considered challenging to study some aspects and dimensions of the migratory transformation of a town and more importantly, people's perceptions of this transformation.

Russell King, (2002) while discussing the new migratory patterns in Europe argue the need to appreciate that key questions about who migrates, why they and what are the social, economic and personal effects of migration, now have a 'different array of answers than the mainly economic and political ones which shaped the earlier analyses.

In fact, the gradually increasing number of literature, though still deemed inadequate (Casado-Diaz, 2006; Bozic, 2006) on amenity-or lifestyle led modes of migration within which retirement migration dominates attempts to explore “the more complex social psychological motivations like excitement, experience, leisure and the projection of an individual’s identificatory experience beyond what are perceived as the restricting confines of his or her own country” (King, 2002:90).

Within this general framework, to seek this different array of answers in the context of a town in Turkey, the specific research objectives are formulated as such:

- To present the variety of the migrants in terms of their socio economic and demographic characteristics. To evaluate whether the migratory moves could be categorised as an example of “international retirement migration of the elderly” as assumed by most of the previous studies conducted in Turkey.
- To explore the motives and pull and push factors behind this geographical mobility with a focus on the associated meanings through the migrants’ narratives.
- To seek the relationship between individuals’ experiences as tourists with the area and their more permanent moves.
- To have an understanding of their actual living conditions, processes of adaptation or coping strategies and the level and nature of interaction with the locals.
- To explore the meaning of “attachment to place” or “belonging” for the migrants.
- To have an insight on the dimensions of the transformation the town is undergoing and the meaning of this transformation for the locals.

Instead of devoting a special chapter to the conceptual framework, I opted for making references to the reviewed literature under the chapter or section headings when of relevance. Thus, this introductory chapter will be followed by Chapter II in which I will discuss the aim, design, sampling and data collection methods and the limitations of the research.

The social setting of the research will be introduced in Chapter III where general background information will be provided on the history of Turkey-UK migration history and on the town; and the findings of the research on some quantitative aspects of the migration with its visible and observable consequences will be presented. In Chapter IV I will present the findings of the research on the migratory move, and discuss the causes and the decision making process of the migration throughout the migrant narratives with a focus on the associated meanings (In Chapter V I'll be presenting some findings on the geographical mobilities and vignettes from daily lives of the migrants with the belief that all these might provide some hints on the meaning of integration in a new and peculiar migration destination. In Chapter VI I will try to provide an initial insight on the meaning of the migration and the changes it brings about through the narratives of the locals. A Conclusion Chapter where the results are discussed will follow.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this thesis is exploring the Northern European immigration to Coastal Turkey by elaborating three aspects of the migratory move namely the causes and the meaning of the move through the migrant narratives; the new social spaces created in terms of everyday practices of the migrants and the interactions with the locals; and the meanings of the migratory transformation of the town for the host population. Within that context, the purpose is showing some of the ways that broader social and cultural changes are impacting individuals and how people are reacting, devising new strategies for coping and for challenging in the case of the British migrants and the members of the local community. As not uncommon with studies of qualitative approach, the general question posed at the beginning of the study has evolved into more defined ones as the study unfolded (Richard, 2005:39–42).

Didim which was represented in the Turkish media as a town where there existed a considerable number of foreign population with various impacts on the urban life from intercultural marriages (Başlangıç, 2005; Özalp, H. & Oral, B. 2005) to some municipal actions aiming at foreign settlers (Milliyet 23.09.2005) has been selected as the “case study”. The decision was based on practical reasons like the dominance of the Anglophone migrants in the town that would not impose a language barrier, the relatively small size with respect to Fethiye, the other Anglophone dominated migration destination where the foreign settler population is geographically sparse; hence, difficult to cover within the time constraints of such a research and the proximity to Ankara compared to Dalyan, Kalkan and Bodrum (Özcan, 2005:2; Dündar et al., 2005; Keskinok et al., 2005) which are the alternative locations.

II.1. Assumptions

1. A small town provides an appropriate setting to observe the economic, social and cultural implications of the change brought about by international migration.
2. Migrant narratives provide a good source to explore the motivations underpinning recent migratory trends that are of more individualistic nature and thus, can't be fully explained by economic pull-push discussions or migration system theories.
3. Locals' perceptions of the migration phenomenon and transformation the town is undergoing can be captured through an interviewing process.
4. The fact that gender is a bias determining people's life spheres and thus level of exposure to social change is of crucial importance in a patriarchal society like Turkey. Thus, different criteria were employed for recruiting male and female local interviewee.

II.2. Hypotheses

1. For the British migrants, the migratory move to Didim is a strategy devised to react to the broader social and cultural changes impacting their lives; the meaning of the same move for the locals of Didim, in turn, is a change impacting their lives which requires devising new strategies for coping and for challenging.
2. The characteristics of the European migrants in Didim demonstrate a greater variety in terms of age or socio-economic background than that assumed by the previous "retirement migration" studies that have so far framed the discussions around the phenomenon both in the locality and in Turkey.

3. Rationales of more individualistic nature like excitement, experience, leisure, escape determine the motivations of migration and a sense of self-accomplishment dominate the migrant narratives.
4. Decision-making process about the destination of migration may not necessarily rely on personal touristic experiences in the area per se but the capital accumulated as a tourist in general
5. The peculiarities of Turkey with respect to the EU member Southern European countries- might cause a different mode of existence and different coping strategies on part of the British migrants than that envisaged in the existing literature on lifestyle (retirement in particular) migration to these traditional destinations.
6. There might exist a “culture clash” which Smith and Krannich (2000:399) define in the context of urban to rural lifestyle migration as "the significant difference between the identities and the associated value orientations of the newcomers and longer-term residents " in Didim between the Britons and the locals
7. Patterns of a xenophobic discourse, reflecting the prevailing nationalistic discourse in the country rather than constructed upon references to personal experiences or individual reflections can be seen at various levels in the locals' discourses.

II.3. The methods employed

Citing Hill's (1977) famous quote “Statistics represent people with the tears wiped off” and reminding that the tears of the migrant people are what is overlooked and failed to be understood De Tona (2006:3) praises the appropriateness of qualitative methodologies- in addition to quantitative ones- to migration, which is an elusive and fragmented experience itself. Though, in the case of life-style or amenity-led

migrations “cheers” is a more appropriate metaphor for the associated feelings than “tears”, the relevance of the qualitative enquiry of the meanings and practices related to migration still prevails. Valid and reliable quantitative data, on the other hand, alongside its other distinctive merits can solidly confront social constructions and social realities (Bousetta in De Tona: 24).

In order to gain a better understanding of the migration phenomenon as experienced by the migrants and the host community, I used both quantitative and qualitative methods. While I relied on the former to learn about the local social setting where the meaning is produced, the data produced through qualitative methods was where I sought the meaning. In this frame, documentary and literature analysis, participant observation and in depth interviewing were employed for data collection.

II.3.1. Documentary analysis

Adopting a quantitative approach, I tried to develop the town’s preliminary demographic, economic and social profile as an “international migration destination” from census material, various registries and records, a review of the available literature which was so limited and 16 scheduled or adhoc interviews with public officials in Ankara and in Didim.

The lack of coherent and reliable statistical data on International Retirement Migration has already been commented on by all the researchers of the field. (See Williams et al., 1997; O’Reilly, 2004 and 2000; Dwyer, 2000; Casado-Diaz, 2006) The case is even worse in Turkey where the latest census was conducted 6 years ago whereas let alone migration, acquisition of property by foreigners at a significant scale was quite recent and where there doesn’t exist either enforced registration requirements or any incentives for individuals to get registered like making use of health services of the host country within the EU framework. In fact, the lines between fact and fiction was such blurred that the estimates of local people - including policy makers- on permanent foreign settlers in town ranged between 150 and 5,000 whereas figures like 14,000 were uttered about the properties acquired by

foreigners which is later found out to be 3,138 according to the data of the General Directorate of Title Deeds and Land Registry. Thus, in order to have at least an approximation of the measurable dimensions of the phenomenon which is the “emergence of a coastal town as an international migration destination” –namely property ownership by foreigners, ownership or settlement patterns by neighbourhood, foreigner presence in economic structure of the town, some indicators of economic activity, the amount of construction, foreign pupils attending to local schools, circulation figures of the local press, international marriages in town- the records of the General Directorate of Title Deeds and Land Registry (GDTDLR) and the General Directorate of Foreign Investments (GDFI) of the Undersecretariat of Treasury in Ankara and Didim Chamber of Commerce, Valiler Primary School and various departments of Didim Municipality were collected and analysed. The review of these data in connection with interviews conducted with officials (namely the Mayor, the Chiefs and/or officials of departments of planning, infrastructure, cultural affairs, municipal police, the marriage registrar and the Turkish instructor of Didim municipality, the then-chief of gendarmerie, two police officers in Didim and Aydın police departments, the secretary general of Didim Chamber of Commerce, the head of the district office of GD Title Deeds and Land Registry, the principal and a teacher of Valiler Primary school, a sociology professor living in the town, the former mayor, the head of statistics department of the GDFI, the lawyer of the GDTDLR) enabled to gain a perspective that was grounded in the principle of triangulation –observing a phenomenon from multiple perspectives using various data-collection methods as described by Rowles and Watkins (1993: 517).

Though not directly on the research question and not systematically , I perused the relevant articles I came across particularly in Radikal, Milliyet, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Tempo and Aksiyon to have a better understanding of the coverage of mainstream national media on “acquisition of property by foreigners”

Also I screened the archives of the two English weeklies, the Dydimian and the Voices published in town From July onwards, the Voices has launched a website

and started publishing online. Thanks to the courtesy of the editors, I gained access to the electronic archive statistics and could perform a simple analysis of the visitors' news preference information.

II.3.2. Qualitative methods

Meanwhile I used the qualitative approach to grasp the meanings that social actors concerned attach to their own and the others' activities since the major aims of the thesis are trying to capture the characteristics of the migratory movement and settlement experience through the migrants' narratives on one hand, and on the other, understanding not only the reception of the migrants by the host community, the images, representations and attitudes towards them but also the locals' perception of the impacts of the changes caused by migration.

I was expecting that a qualitative study would help to understand the discourses of two groups of respondents on migratory and reception experience in depth, in detail and contextually. Relying on the presumption that meaning and human practice merit scientific interest as genuine and significant phenomena in their own right (Weinberg, 2003:13-17), I was concerned with exploring people's wider perceptions on past actions, everyday behaviour and change through their narratives.

Particularly during the first phase, "observation" and "participant observation" that are important methods for a qualitative research since they "allow ideas to emerge from the research, rather than superimposing existing theories and ideas on the subject and testing or validating them" (Smith and Ravenhill, 2004:26) were being used. Thus I spent regular time in the Voices' office and took part in various social gatherings like birthday parties or cocktails of a posh restaurant where a segment of the expat community regularly attend. I entered quiz shows and pool nights in more common pubs where I was a witness to daily lives of the expat community and the ongoing relationship between the locals and the community. I then pursued the emerging themes in the interviews.

In depth interview which Kvale (cited in Opdenakker, 2006:1) defines as “an interview whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena” has an interactional character. As a means of gleaning information from conversations, it can range from highly structured in which the researcher asks pre-determined questions in a specific order to the relatively unstructured akin to a friendly conversation with no predetermined focus (Cook and Crang, 1995:35).

For this research I designed two semi structured in-depth interview forms for a systematic data collection from foreign and local settlers of the town. Whilst the interview form aimed at the foreigners was designed to seek data on personal background, the migration decision, daily life and mobility patterns, modalities of existence, perceptions of the expatriate community and life, the locals and the place; I aimed at collecting information on direct experiences of the migration phenomenon and data on the attitudes and perceptions of the impacts while designing the forms for the locals.

I adopted a face to face interviewing technique since the social cues, “like voice, intonation, body language etc. of the interviewee which can give the interviewer a lot more extra information added to the verbal answer” (Opdenakker, 2006:7), were of utmost importance. I conducted the interviews either in the respondents’ home or office or on neutral ground and used a recorder. Generally I followed the order of the questions but in cases where I felt the issue needed more clarification or the issue mentioned by the respondent provides a new insight, I prompted the respondents to elaborate along those lines. Especially in relation to the sensitive issues like class or ethnical cleavages existing in the town or when “political correctionism” prevailed along issues like intercultural marriages or intimate relationships with unconventional age differences, intentional intervention was used as a method.

My original intention was interviewing all respondents alone; however on a number of occasions couples were interviewed together during both the foreigner and local

interviewing processes. Also, a few of the Turkish interviews ended up as group interviews when other people have been unexpectedly present and joined in with the conversation. I took that fact into account while transcribing recorded material and I separated the opinions of the unexpected others from those of the main interviewee. Nevertheless, I used these narratives whenever of relevance with a specific caution of the setting.

Even though the dominant approach of the study was qualitative, I'd rather have implemented a probabilistic sampling technique had there been reliable registers or statistics in order to contribute to "diagnostics" of the phenomenon which is on the public agenda and has already started to have policy implications at the local level. In other words, I used "purposive sampling", defined by Crookes and Davis, (1998, cited by Avoko-Higginbottom, 2004:11) as "judgmental sampling that involves the conscious selection by the researcher of certain subjects or elements to include in the study", in response to the external conditions leaving no other alternative.

Alongside, the data I collected in the field, I used the narratives appearing in the "reader letters" and "editorials" of the two English weeklies in order to provide a better understanding of the expatriate life in the town.

II.4. Research process

I started the research with an informal interview with the Mayor on 11th February 2006. Through the mayor's intervention I established the initial contact with the offices of the two English weeklies in town. During the period between February and April I visited the town every other weekend and spent time in one of the weekly's office which was also functioning as a drop-in centre for expats. There, I met my key-informant, the British author of the Voices paper, who acted as a gatekeeper and enabled me greater access to the expat community. While helping with the editing of the weekly on a regular basis personally, I had the opportunity of participating in various expat events and gatherings as well as finding channels to make numerous informal interviews with real estate officers, hotel and bar

employees, owners of a few bars and restaurants that are frequented by the expats and expats themselves. Moreover, I started to collect the documents and making interviews with the officials.

Without such networking beforehand it would be almost impossible to conduct the research. As stated by Martin Perez (2006:16) immigrants are a particularly difficult group to interview due to their problematization: their socio-economic position, their cultural difference, their racial visibility and their legal position as denizens; thus, establishment of a relationship based on confidence is the key for success of a research. Some features of that problematisation basically of labour migrants in rich countries, are not applicable to Northerners in a Southern country; nevertheless, the awkward and apprehensive feelings of the expatriates about the host community and the country and the informal or unregistered lifestyles some were leading, made building friendships and gaining people's trusts a salient strategy of research.

I conducted 20 in-depth interviews with the foreign "permanent or temporary settlers" and a "second house owner" in Didim during weekends between April-June 2006. Meanwhile not only to understand the relationship between these new settlers and the town residents better and to compare and contrast the perceptions and associated meanings but also to explore their perceptions upon the impacts of the migration I conducted in-depth interviews with 20 Turkish nationals who have been living in Didim for the last 3 years. During July and August, further visiting the town twice for one week, I conducted more interviews with public officials (the police, the gendarme and the school's principle) trying to fill some of the information gaps I felt could be of importance.

II.5. Sampling

Sample size, for which there are no closely defined rules within qualitative methodology (Patton, 1990 cited by Tuckett, 2004:49), was determined as 20 for the foreign interviewee largely due to the time constraints of the research. Nevertheless, during recruitment of the interviewee, borrowing the concepts of "maximum

phenomena variation” of ethnography (Avoko-Higginbottom,2004:16) particular attention was paid to secure that people of both genders belonging to various age groups (ranging between 35 to 70) that demonstrate different modes of mobility (i.e. expatriates, residents, seasonal visitors and returners in O’Reilly’s typology (1995) depending on distribution of time in home and host countries) were represented.

These 20 informants live in different quarters of Didim: Altinkum (4), Mesut (2), Hisar (2), Efeler (2), Yeşilkent (2), Çamlık (5), Yenimahalle (1), 3rd Beach (1). Despite no specific effort was made on having a criterion on neighborhood, the sample seems not to deviate from the geographical patterns of foreigner property ownership in Didim which was approximated during the research by manipulating the Municipality database (See Chapter III).

The 20 in-depth interviews with Turkish national residents of Didim were conducted to have a better insight on the expatriate communities’ life experiences in Didim and to understand the migration’s effects on the locality, the change and the perception of the change by the locals of the town. With the assumption that the phenomenon would not affect all segments of the society in the same manner, the initial recruitment strategy designed was asking each foreign respondent a reference for a Turkish interviewee. However finding out that the interviews were becoming concentrated around young male locals either in food or real estate business with whom the foreigners interact mostly, the approach has been changed to include people that have had a part in public life of the city. The current and the former Mayors, the chairperson of the tourism entrepreneurs’ association, the staff of the information desk in the municipality and the owner of the weekly paper were purposively added to the interviewee list. Also, assuming that housewives in a small Aegean town would have less access to the public sphere or less need to interact with the foreigners and thus might have not observed the phenomenon fully, interviewee was selected among females that have a job.

Frequencies and patterns were reported under most of the headings to provide an insight into the hitherto not studied aspects of the phenomenon in Turkey, let alone Didim, albeit with the caution that neither the size of the sample nor the sampling

method used during interviewing allows any generalisation. Any such attempt may or may not be confirmed by more statistically representative survey analysis. Nevertheless, it is expected that these frequencies and patterns might add to the information produced by the previous studies that all have the burden of similar kind of biases and more importantly might help the reader which aspects have considered of worth for further elaboration.

Both the foreign and local interviewees were classified according to a set of criteria including age, gender, education, vocation and duration of habitation in Didim among some others specific to each group. These Profile Tables can be found in Pages 74 and 169 of this thesis.

II.6. Limitations and difficulties of the research

Most serious difficulty regarding the research arose from either lack of information or impossibility of access to the data for the ordinary researcher. The former was highly due to the 6 years passed after the latest general census and the option of “unregistered sojourn” in Turkey available for European citizens rendering collection of accurate statistics impossible.² The latter was the case regarding the residency permits issued by the General Directorate of Security, work permits issued by the Ministry of Labour, files on “property acquisition transactions by foreigners ” processed by the Aegean Army Commandery, crime statistics kept by the local police and the gendarmerie. Moreover, no monographies of the town has been written so far, a systematic archive of gray material doesn’t exist and the records of the Municipality have been at an initial stage of digitalization. Thus, in a number of cases the information presented here relies on informal interviews conducted by relevant former or on-duty officials. Cross checks, in line with the principle of triangulation, were made whenever possible.

² Upon entrance to Turkey, any EU citizen is issued a tourist visa allowing a stay of 3-6 months depending on the country of origin. Thus a visit to and from home or a neighbouring country means an automatic renewal of the visa. In case of Didim, the neighbouring Greek Islands (i.e.Kos and Samos) are just 1.5 hours by ferry and regular ferries, in turn, are available all year round from Kusadasi and Bodrum. A control system, though, has been introduced by Bodrum passport police in May 2005 to enforce “residency permit” requirements (the Dydimian, 24.05.2005).

The inadequacy of precise data also had repercussions both on the design of the research and during the process of qualitative data collection. It is important to reemphasize that the sample acquired through the purposive sampling approach, which was used instead of a random sampling due to lack registers and statistics, does not constitute a representative sample of the research universe so it may be difficult to apply the findings the larger population. Also it should be noted that, since there existed no records clarifying different modes of foreigner presence in town and no- agreed upon terminology, in most cases “the property owners”, “second-house owners” and “temporary residents”, “full-time residents” and even “the tourists” referred to one single category in the locals’ mindsets and the discourses. So, there were some cases during the interviewing process during which the focus has shifted at such a level that interviewer intervention was needed to clarify what was meant by the question asked.

Interviews are usually criticised due to the fact that the interviewee may lie or tell the interviewer part truths or may omit details; in other words may present a Goffman-style actors front-stage presentation of themselves. That is, the interviewer sees the self that the interviewee wishes to be seen in public (Gardner cited by Smith and Ravenhill, 2004:25). This was particularly the case with most of the Turkish interviewee regarding broader issues like “Turkey and the EU relationships” or “foreigner’s acquisition of property in Turkey.” In fact, the discourses and the cues reminded Belge’s (2006) observation presented humorously:

“Once an issue is framed with the adjective “national” the behaviours around that issue start to get a “pathological” feature. Toning, gestures, mimics contents change all together. (..) A Turkish Citizen immediately starts “aggrandising” just like a theatre actor once the topic of the conversation changes towards a “national issue” (...) A continuous need and effort towards proving one’s self... Largely standardized, ritualistic, not internal but external acts conducted to transmit the message: “I’m more patriotic than everybody else” ”

Thus I should mention how they really reflect the backstage self; hence, offer a reliable picture (Smith and Ravenhill, 2004:26) is problematic.

At a more general level, the issues related to my own “positionality” as a middle-class Turkish female outsider has had some impacts on the interviewing process.

Gender and age were the salient social fissures affecting the local male interviewees and forced them to choose their words carefully while expressing their opinions for avoiding to appear disrespectful.

My familiarity with and personal history in Britain helped during the expat interviews since they could make references to some facets of British life and culture without hesitation. On the other hand, as shown by Ganga and Scott (2006:36) in another migration research context, what we both know about the “stereotypical quasi-colonial British expatriate” might have caused them to be cautious and controlled.

The fact that a significant number in the expat community were involved in unregistered business activities or employed informally which might have serious consequences like being deported if caught, sometimes distorted the interviewee replies. There had been a couple of cases where the interviewee declaring him/herself as “a retiree” and telling about some confrontation s/he faced while working during the course of the conversation. Another sensitive issue on part of both groups was the intimate relationships especially those between people of "unconventional" age differences. In such cases experiences were either mentioned without going much in detail or projected as stories of the “other”; in one case in which the parties already had a reputation being subject to a “news story” in a national magazine (*Hürriyet Pazar*, 10.04.2006) they accepted to talk off-the-record but not gave their consent for use of the data.

In fact, there had been cases where once the recorder is turned off the interviewees showed an inclination to continue the conversation in a more informal manner. Though these phases provided some deeper insight about various aspects of expat life and the ongoing tension and social clash in town, in line with research ethics within which I sought the “informed consent” of participants (Gray, 2004:252) I have not used any such data during the writing process unless the informants gave their explicit permission.

CHAPTER III

EMERGENCE OF DIDIM AS AN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION DESTINATION FOR THE BRITISH

This Chapter aims at providing an insight about the broader historical and the social setting within which the phenomenon of international migration is being experienced and present Didim's preliminary demographic, economic and social profile as a "destination" area drawn through quantitative and qualitative methods employed. For this purpose, after a brief section on the Turkey-UK migration history which might give some hints to distinguish the "national migrant group" under scrutiny from the others throughout its specific history of exposure to the migrants from the host country, I'll introduce the historical and social background of the town in which the international migration was experienced,. Furthermore, various figures related to the quantifiable aspects of migration and some information on relevant social scene will be provided.

III.1. The migratory relations between the UK and Turkey

While discussing the Northern European migration to the Turkish coastal towns and the Northerner migrant groups, the migration histories between the home country and Turkey which had hitherto been experienced in the opposite direction namely that of labourers and lately refugees from Turkey, might be of some value for understanding the phenomenon. Thus, though any comparative attempt is beyond the scope of this thesis it worths mentioning the features distinguishing UK say from Germany or Austria where the people originating from Turkey constitute the largest migrant in the country concerned with different meanings and implications for the host community.

To start with, there has never been such a massive labour migration from Turkey to the UK and people from Turkey have never been the major subject of the public

discussions of "migration" related issues in the country. According to the 2005 data of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2005) the people from Turkey ranks the 7th in terms of size among the immigrant groups.

In fact, Yılmaz (2001 in Atay, 2006:27) states that the overall Turkish speaking population in the UK is around 250,000 among which 120,000 are Turkish Cypriots³, 80,000 are Turkish citizens and 50-60,000 are refugees of dominantly Kurdish origin. According to Atay (ibid:51) that the migrant mobility from Turkey to the UK that started at the end of 1960's in order to meet the labour shortage in textile sector had always remained highly controlled with entries upon priorly issued work permits. From late 1970's, on the other hand, a young, urban, well educated group, -some preferring permanent stay in the country they had come either for language learning or education purposes and some being political exiles and/or refugees of the 1980 military coup - gained visibility. A third group, "from Turkey but who identify themselves as Kurdish upon ethnical basis " and demanding "political asylum" (ibid:46) was added to the Turkish speaking community as a consequence of the chaos and the insecurity caused by the armed conflict in the Southern Anatolia in the early 1990's and by the end of the 1990's this group has also had a significance. According to Atay (ibid:61), UK with a reputation at the European scale to have a relatively loose asylum policy has been the most preferred destination for the Kurdish refugees and the "economic" asylum seekers in disguise who were not necessarily Kurdish Also another important feature distinguishing the Turkish speaking migrant community in the UK than those in other European countries has always been their concentration in a single city, London ⁴ rather than being geographically disperse in different parts of the country.

³ The Turkish Cypriot migration to the UK dates back to the early 20th century. Atay (ibid: 34) states that the one-direction mobility from the former colony to the mainland reaches its peak during times of crisis in the Island, particularly in the 1960's and 1974. According to the author Turkish Cypriots with their language abilities, cultural affinity and long history in the UK is quite a privileged and well-integrated migrant group in comparison to the other Turkish speaking groups.

⁴ Arslan (2004) in a more recent article records that the Turkish speaking population in London is about 350,000 150,000 being Turkish Cypriots and their geographical morphology in the town reflects their local and/or ideological belongings: Turkish Cypriots more scattered whereas the Kurdish prefer Harringey, Hackney and Dalston and the Turkish are in Stoke Newington.

The history of the reverse direction mobility on the other hand is marked majorly with "tourism" In that sense, Turkey's emergence in the British outward tourism market -in which its share was as small as 0.1 % and 0.7 % in 1971 and 1981- as a major holiday destination, is quite recent. But by 1990's the country ranked the 10th most popular zone for the Britons traveling abroad and since then it has been competing with Greece as the 4th or the 5th most preferred option for the summer holidays in the Mediterranean basin after Spain, France and Italy according to the UK statistics (NBS,2006).

Whilst there exists no data regarding the more complex mobilities of the Britons to Turkey outside the traditional definition of tourism implying "temporariness of the stay" and a "home to return", the figures of property ownership⁵ in coastal towns of Turkey might give a clue the scale of current or potential lifestyle migration. In that sense, it worth mentioning here that the Britons constitute the second largest foreign national group with 12,789 properties outstripped only by the Germans who own 15,278 properties in Turkey.(Turkish Daily News, 10.02.2007)

III.2. The setting

Didim is a coastal town in Aegean Turkey within the boundaries of Aydın province. It is neighboured by Akbuk town to the East and Yalıköy, Akköy and Yeniköy rural settlements to the North.

The town is scattered on southwestern zone of the province and has a developed highway network and a coast of 30 km. The ease of access to metropolitan Izmir and proximity to Izmir-Adnan Menderes (165 km) and Bodrum-Güllük (87 km) Airports are among the major reasons of the town's development as an "international coastal tourism zone"

⁵ Foreigners' acquisition of property in Turkey is regulated by Article 25 of the Law on Title Deeds and the cases regarding real persons are framed in accordance with the principle of reciprocity. Thus it should be noted here that both Britain and Germany have long been among the countries citizens thereof could acquire property in Turkey. Nonetheless geographical restrictions, like in second degree military security zones or formerly in village areas, discriminating against foreigners have always existed.



Figure 1: The town's location in the country and in the region (source: Didim Municipality)

III.2.1. Demographic features

Located in the highly populated Aegean zone, the town has 26,260 inhabitants according to the 2000 census. Compared to the 17,067 of the previous census, this figure implies an increase of 53 % which is far above the country average (i.e. according to State Institute of Statistics (2000) the annual population increase in urban Turkey is 0.27 %)

As shown in Figure-2, there are nine neighbourhoods within the Municipal Borders of Didim. The number of dwellings in these neighbourhoods and summer and winter populations thereof are provided in Table -1. It is apparent from the figures that “second housing” is one of the defining features of the town with a particular impact on the neighbourhoods by the seashore, Mavişehir, Altinkum, Efeler, Çamlık and Fevzipaşa.

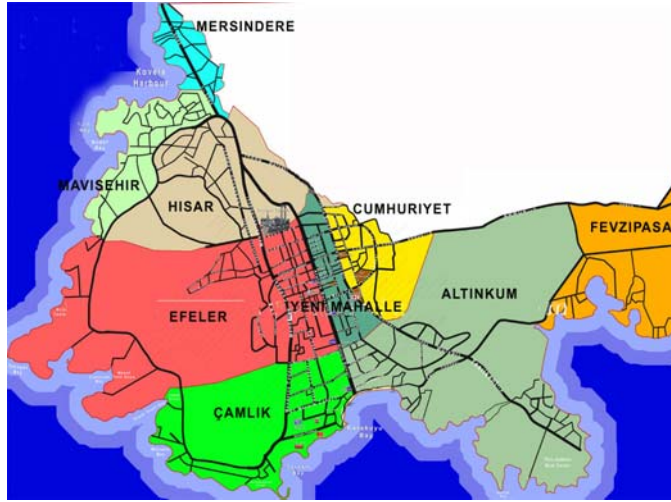


Figure 2: Neighbourhoods in Didim (Source: Didim Municipality)

Table 1: Seasonal population of Didim by neighbourhood

Neighbourhood	Winter Pop.	Summer Pop.	Total Population	% of Summer pop. In total pop.	Summer (holiday home) number housing unit	Total number Housing	% of Summer House in Housing Stock
Çamlık	3 850	6 980	10 830	64.45	1 938	3 080	62.92
Hisar	2 130	630	2 760	22.83	170	746	22.79
Mersindere	740	1 744	2 484	70.21	484	690	70.14
Mavişehir	470	535	1 005	53.23	178	335	53.13
Cumhuriyet	3 160	236	3 396	6.95	57	828	6.88
Yenimahalle	7 170	4 509	11 679	38.61	1 048	2 716	38.59
Efeler	4 120	5184	9 304	55.72	1 296	2 302	56.30
Altinkum	3 280	4 308	7 588	56.77	1 104	1 946	56.73
Fevzipaşa	1 340	1 920	3 260	58.90	640	1 086	58.93
Total	26 260	26 046	52 306	49.80	6 915	13 729	50.37

Source: Didim Population Administration: 2005

III.2.2. Historical development of Didim

The history of settlement in the area dates back to the Ionian period, where it had an important role within the city system of Miletos as a centre of “trade” and “oracles” However, it started to lose its central position during the Roman times and was an unimportant zone during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. (Ministry of Culture, 1997) The Greek village Yoran located in the current Hisar Mahallesi was evacuated as part of the exchange agreement with the Greece except for a few Turkish villagers that were scattered in the area called the “Muslim Yoran” situated to the North. (Çankaya, 2006, 16) The Turkish migrants from Saloniki of mainland Greece were settled instead. The village, where the major economic activity turned from olive and almond to tobacco production with the new population, had suffered from an earthquake in 1955 followed by a partially successful resettlement attempt in the South, Yenimahalle. A group of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria were settled to the area that also received migrants from inner Anatolia. The municipality was established in 1967 (Municipality of Didim, 1997). The hints of transition of the village to a tourism town date to the same period. The construction of the first two housing cooperatives, Altinkum and Mavişehir, and “training and vacation facilities” of a few public enterprises started in late 1960’s (Ministry of Culture, 1997:9). Meanwhile, the initial tourism activities were of small scale. According to Çankaya (2006:24) gradually increasing construction of “second-houses” hindered development of an organised tourism in town till the second half of 1980’s.

The former Mayor Mehmet Soysalan relates the development of international tourism to the effects of the public incentive policies encouraging tourism industry in the 1980’s with new airports and infrastructure and later, the discovery of the area by the British tour operators in 1987 (interview, July 15). Alongside the population increase caused by rising tourism activity and the ongoing construction works, Yalıköy and Denizköy of Didim were chosen in 1980’s as a re-settlement area for the inhabitants of two villages from Kars and Adıyaman whose lands were expropriated for construction of Karakaya and Atatürk dams.

The settlement was announced as a “town” in 1991 and starting from 1990’s has gained a double reputation as a resort “catering for the “second-home holidaying” activities of Ankara and the nearby metropolitan areas like Söke, Nazilli, Aydın and Denizli” on one hand and “a destination for British package tourists”

Since 1985, Didim has always had a population increase far above the Turkish average and has undergone a rapid urbanisation. (Erdoğan, 1998a) In fact, according to a survey of State Planning Organisation (SPO, 2003) among 872 towns in Turkey, it ranks the 11th, in terms of population increase; 101st in terms of urbanisation and the 49th in terms of socio-economic development.

III.3. Didim as a tourism resort and an internal migration destination

Economic structure of the town reflects that of a rural area undergone a transformation by the impact of tourism. Gordon and Goodall (2000:293) describe a resort area as one in which tourism, retirement or convalescence are the defining, if not always statistically dominant, elements of the economic base. In Didim the agricultural sector, which had once been the most determining one, has lost its importance such that currently 68 people are employed in agricultural production. Only 15-16 households are involved in cultivation of Yoran tobacco which used to be the best-quality tobacco of the Aegean zone All the agricultural land within the municipal borders have long been developed (Çankaya, 2006:23) Today the urban economy relies totally on tourism and construction and Didim is a “resort” in the above sense.

According to the Municipality data (2006), 250 enterprises, mostly located in Altinkum and Çamlık, are involved in tourist-accommodation with an approximate total capacity of 10,000 beds/night The total number of commercial enterprises, on the other hand, is declared to be 2,162 by May 2006 (Didim Chamber of Commerce Registry) Currently, the dominance of the construction sector in town’s economy outstrips that of tourism as apparent in the fact that for the year 2004 the highest 20 taxpayers were almost solely composed of estate agents and constructors among

which the top was a Briton married to a Turk- owning a real estate agency (the Dydimian, 11.04.2005).

The rapid development of construction sector is considered as the main reason of the low-skill labour migration to town particularly from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (Çankaya, 2006:21).

In fact, the ongoing migration has long been considered in the town's agenda as one of the most important challenges of the urban life. As early as 1997, the urban planners conducting a small-scale survey within the frame of the preparatory works for the conservation plan (Ministry of Culture, 1997:41) report that 12.5 % of the respondents attribute the lack of good neighbourly relationships in Hisar mahallesi to "the cultural difference between the natives and the migrants from the East". Erdoğan (1998a), elaborating on the fact that the share of Didim born people in Didim is 14.3 % according to the 1995 census states that "the population composition with different heritages of their original regions and different formations accumulated through their personal life processes might cause problems for Didim". It might well be argued that the earlier hints of the tension between the natives and newcomers have gained a new dimension with the broader political agenda of the country. Within the frame of a conspiracy theory regarding a civil war between the Turks and the Kurds in Turkey (Tempo, March 2006) Didim is listed among the Western towns at peril.⁶ In fact, the ongoing tension with "the outsiders", "those coming from the East" or the "Kurds" has appeared as one of the recurring themes of the non-Kurdish locals' and a few Britons' narratives during the interviews and shall be referred to when relevant.

⁶ Gürpınar (2006:76) analyses of the anti-Kurdish sentiments in Western Anatolian towns with a Kurdish population as an example of "prosperity chauvenism" where "certain social and economic factors (namely the reliance of migrant Kurds on localism and regional networks for survival or employment concerns, their sepeation for cultural reasons, increasing crime due to these "less well-off" strangers or their monopolisation of low labour market) brings about a fragmented configuration and this ex-post facto situation is ethnicised when analysed retrospectively.

III.4. Didim as an international residential tourism and migration destination

Whilst following the amendments of the Title Deed Law and the Villages Law in 19.07.2003 and the consequent Council Court Decision renouncing these amendments in July 2005, “acquisition of property by foreigners” has turned into a hot political issue in the country, (For an example of opposing standpoints See Ülkü, 2006; Uğur, 2005) Didim provides an example of and is referred to as one of the localities that is most affected by the phenomenon.

According to Erdoğanaras *et al.*, (2004) it ranks the 8th among Turkish towns with 786 properties being sold to foreigners between 1980-2004/April. In the long discussed report of the Presidency State Auditing Board (CDT) (11.06.2006:1) it is outranked only by Alanya (2811) in the list of the towns in which the largest number of foreigners acquired property during the period between 19.07.2003-31.12.2004 with 2201 properties sold (CDT, 2006:41). In a more recent article on real estate market in Turkey it is stated that it is the “most preferred zone by foreigners” (Hürriyet Emlak, 27.04.2006).

The remaining parts of this chapter aims at presenting the data acquired through documentary analysis of some official records and the insight gained through observation and informal interviews during the research period and a brief analysis of the coverage of the “foreign residents in Didim” by the national media. The factual information on the “presence of foreigners” in town and some aspects of the migrant life and an understanding of the mainstream discourse about relevant issues might help to create a better framework for understanding the perceived impact of the migration while the former also challenges the latter.

III.4.1. Property ownership by foreigners in Didim

According to the data of General Directorate of Land Registry, by October 3rd September 2006, (See Appendix A) a total of 3,138 property are owned in Didim by 4,362 foreigners whereas the people from Britain has had the highest share with

2,731 property – 88 % of the total- owned by 3,871 Britons⁷ . Added to this figure the nationals of the Irish Republic ranking the second largest group with 166 properties, the share of the European Anglophones in foreign property ownership in Didim rises up to 96 %.

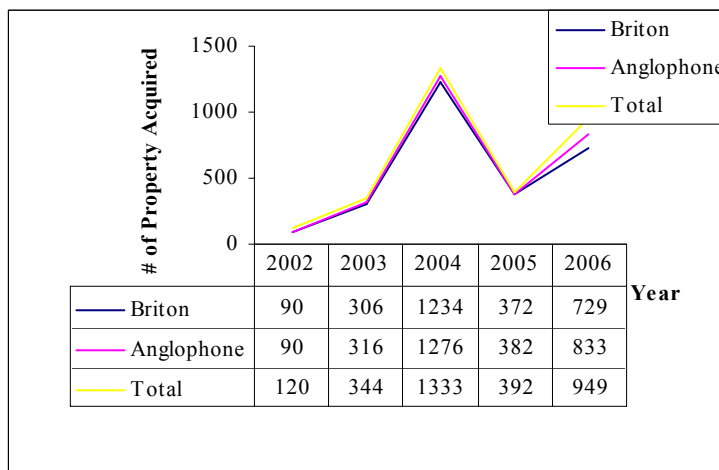


Figure 3: Property ownership by foreigners in Didim

Source: General Directorate of Land Registry

198 of the property owned by the European Anglophones is land –without building-, 65 is land with a building whereas the rest are independent units-either flats in high-storey buildings or semi-detached or terraced houses.

Among the other foreign national property owners in town Germans constitute the most numerous group - 165 properties owned by 169 people- and the rest is comprised of nationals of 17 countries, mostly of the EU (See Appendix A).

The evaluation of the trend within the course of time reflects the legal framework regulating the issue. Didim’s status as a “military security zone” due to which access

⁷ The discrepancies between the number of people and acquired property arises from “joint ownership” on the property which is a common practice among couples according to the Head of the Land Registry Office in Didim.

to property by foreigners had been totally forbidden, was changed in the year 2001, thus foreigners' entry into the local housing market started in the year 2002 and reached its peak in 2004. The dramatic decrease of the year 2005 is a consequence of the Constitutional Court decision of July 2005 canceling the "Law amending the Title Deed Law" enacted in the year 2003. All legal transactions related to acquisition of property by foreigners were suspended until a new Law was adopted in December 2005. Thus, the figures for the year 2006 include not only new purchases but agreements of the previous year which could then not be legalised.

III.4.2. The spatial dimensions of foreign property ownership in Didim

Since there exists no linkages between the records of the GDTDLR and databases of other public offices; and as the foreign households are not obliged to register themselves with muhtarlıks, any precise information regarding demographic or spatial patterns of foreign house owners or residents doesn't exist. However, making an attempt at creating a foreign tax or bill payer database Didim Municipality has started to register all foreigners since 2004 upon application for water subscription or property-tax declaration ⁸. These registry records including 4,128 foreign names and addresses thereof by 10th July 2006, has been classified as part of this study in order to have an approximate idea about spatial dimensions of foreign house ownership in town. Excluding 159 records where the address declared is not in Turkey the distributions by neighbourhood are presented in Table 2.

The last column of Table 2 shows an intuitive approximation envisaged by Çankaya (2006) due to the author's experiences as the editor-in-chief of one of the two English newspapers in town upon late-subscription and distribution figures of the Voices paper.

⁸ Water subscription records held by the same authority, on the other hand, indicate that of the total 34,410 subscribers in town 3,060 are Britons (Didim Municipality records)

Table 2: Distribution of foreign property ownership in Didim by neighbourhood

Neighbourhood	Foreign Nationals Registered*	Percentage	% envisaged by Çankaya**
Çamlık Mah.	1 329	33.48	28.00
Altinkum Mah.	1 200	30.23	26.00
Efeler Mah.	1 002	25.24	18.00
Yeni Mah.	295	7.43	10.00
Hisar Mah.	37	0.93	7.00
Fevzipaşa Mah.	14	0.35	1.00
Mersindere Mah.	21	0.53	1.00
Mavişehir	35	0.88	8.00
Cumhuriyet Mah.	9	0.23	1.00
Others	28	0.71	-
TOTAL	3 970	100.00	100.00

Sources: Didim Municipality, Çankaya (2006)

Both the figures, indicate that foreign house ownership in town is concentrated in 3 neighbourhoods namely Efeler, Camlik and Altinkum (84 % according to Municipality Registry and 72 % according to Çankaya), thus the Coastal residential area of the central town.

III.4.3. Foreigners in economic life of Didim

According to the database of General Directorate of Foreign Investments (GDFI), a total of 56 firms in town are owned wholly or partly by foreign nationals (See Appendix B).

A breakdown of the total by year of establishment and a comparison with the establishment licenses issued by the Municipality shows a tendency towards increasing foreigner presence in town's economic life (See Table 3).

Didim Municipality officials state that the new operation licenses in Didim are mostly concentrated in food and entertainment sectors. The reason that the visible abundance of real-estate offices all around the town is not reflected in official

records is explained with the actual situation, in which, in most cases real estate is a secondary field of activity by companies that are registered for another primary one.

Table 3: New establishments licensed in Didim

Year	Establishment Licenses Issued*	Establishments With Foreign Capital **
2000	199	
2001	190	1
2002	197	-
2003	242	-
2004	315	4
2005	224	20
2006	204	31

Source:*Didim Municipality- Municipal Police, **General Directorate of Foreign Investments, Undersecretariat of Treasury

The sectoral breakdown of foreign capital companies, in turn, reflects the dominance of “real estate” as a field of activity (16/56). Also important is the entrance of a large multinational real estate company, Parador, specified in selling through showing trips marketed at home⁹, to the Didim market in 1996. Wholesale or retail trade (12), Hotel-restaurant (7), construction (6) are the other significant sectors that are favoured by foreigners.

Also stated by the Municipality officials that where architectural design, interior design, and new age furniture shops are the fields that have started to flourish, an increase in the commercial license applications in Efeler neighbourhood- in comparison to Cumhuriyet and Fevzipaşa which are among the least preferred residential areas by the foreigners- is observable. The GDFI figures according to which of foreign capital enterprises are located in Altinkum (13), Çamlık (13), and Efeler (12) Yenimahalle (7), Fevzipaşa (2), and Hisar Mahallesi (1) Cumhuriyet Mah. (1) Denizköy (3) Akbuk- confirm this insight on site-selection pattern.

⁹ Andersen (2003:25) states more than half of the Swede retirees in Costa Blanca bought their houses through such services.

Britons constitute the dominant group also among the economic actors with 40 of the 56 enterprises recorded are owned by them.

Despite the apparent visibility of a number of small enterprises run by foreigners like bars and cafe-shops, a fact also stated during the interviews both by the foreigners and locals, and no hint of precaution on part of the owners since the expression “British Run” is used in adverts or fliers, no official records regarding them could be found either in GDFI or Didim Chamber of Commerce Databases.

III.4.4. Foreigners in Didim’s social scene

Despite the recentness of the phenomenon, it won’t be wrong to say that the Britons in Didim have an apparent visibility in the town and there exists awareness on part of the local authorities to understand the migration phenomenon and tackle the problems faced by the foreign migrants.

While strolling around the town on an average winter day it is just an ordinary feature of the daily life to meet the migrants in all the public spaces from dolmuş to banks and supermarkets. Traditional Sunday lunches, live broadcast of the British premier league soccer matches, karaoke, pool and quiz nights at pubs and foreign newspapers and magazines in newsstands that are the characteristics of a typical Turkish tourism resort during the season seem to continue all year long without lacking clientele. The foreigners are not always at the receiving end of the services. In the “real estate offices” in Altinkum, Çamlık and Efeler areas recruitment of one or more foreign employee seems to be the norm. Also worth mentioning are the foreigners working as waitresses or bartenders in some fast-food restaurants or pubs. While none of these jobs are registered, any enforcement of the “Law on employment of foreigners” with serious sanctions on both part of the employer and employee has not been reported by the police during the interview (Interview, July 4, 2006). In fact, the only deportation heard of during the research period was of two gay entrepreneurs who tried to set up a “queer bar” with a Turkish partner in 2005.

Unlike in other Mediterranean destinations of Northern lifestyle migration¹⁰, social clubs or charities aimed exclusively at foreign residents are not parts of the social scene. The only civil association co-founded by the foreign residents of the town is the Society of Friends of the Animals, which holds its monthly meetings with a translator. It has also been declared by the chairperson of “Didim Society” that the statute of the society had been changed to facilitate membership of foreigners and one foreigner- the then-reporter of the Voices paper- had applied by May 2006. Also it has been recorded that a British female resident with a previous nursing career takes active part in the recently constituted health commission under the City Assembly.

On the other hand the newspapers are abound of news of informal charity campaigns like charity collection for the children of Didim Altinkum (the Dydimian, 28.12.2005) or fundraising activities.

III.4.5. Foreigners in Didim's mediascape

In a town where 6 daily local papers in Turkish – 4 claimed to be for official announcements – with a circulation of 300 each, are published, there exists two English weekly newspapers – the Dydimian and the Voices- started in December 2004 and December 2005 respectively. The Dydimian, the price of which was 2 YTL in summer 2006, has a winter circulation of 400 and sells around 1500 copies during the remaining months whereas the circulation figures of the free of charge Voice vary between 500 and 2000 according to the season. Both are owned by Turkish entrepreneurs who are also involved in “real estate” business and each has unofficially employed British editors. The papers are distributed at a number of places where the foreign residents are known to attend, including the information desk in the municipality. The webpage of the Voices was also launched in July 2006.

¹⁰ King et al., (2000) in their study of retiree migrants in Southern Europe state the importance of such clubs except in Tuscany, Italy.

Both the newspapers have a similar content: local news in line with town's public agenda, community pages with photographs from birthdays, weddings or gatherings, tourist information, ads of enterprises of people aiming a foreign clientele, domestic and UK news selected from newspapers with emphasis on British sports. They also provide legal information for matters concerning the foreign residents (Among the examples are first page coverage of the *Dydimian* on "Inheritance Law for Foreigners in Turkey"; 06.09.2005; Traffic process in Turkey- About importing cars to Turkey or buying one as a foreigner; 31.01.2005; When and How Much You'll Pay Your Taxes; 06.09.2005) and function as a messenger not only from Turkish or British officials (i.e." Don't lose your right to Vote-Message from the British Embassy" –*Dydimian* 14.02.2005; the cover pages on "Turkish Courses for the British- *Dydimian*, 25.01.2006) but any party who wants to reach the British contingent in town.¹¹ This "messenger" function is not executed just through the printed version; the message is transferred to the subscribers through e-mail or mobile phone like exemplified in the case of a craft fair which would be held earlier than the printing of the paper announced through sending e-mail or text messages to subscribers (*The Dydimian*, 15.02.2006).

As stated before, most of the kiosks in Altinkum area also caters for English newspapers-mostly tabloids- and magazines-the bestselling ones were reported to be sensationalist and low-priced weeklies aimed at the female segment of the market

like "the Chat" or "the Full House". Foreign language books are offered in some of the hotels and cafes but not in the bookshops like in most tourist resorts. Also worth mentioning the particular cafe-shop in Altinkum, namely Betty's Cafe run by 3 Britons partnered with a Turkish national where a stock of 2,500 books imported from the UK are offered for swapping all year round. The shop has around 50 regulars dropping in at least once a week. Resident Brits comprise for 50 % of the clientele in season and the total off-season and the statistics kept by the cafe-owners

¹¹ The editorial of the *Dydimian* dated 25.01.006 states : "It seems that there is a Pork butcher who, if there are enough people looking for pork sausages and bacon could deliver them for you. He is in Kuşadası, not Didim but would need to have enough people buying these products to make it feasible for them to be delivered. Apparently for all those who are on the internet, he can be reached on".

demonstrate a reader preference towards popular thrillers (i.e. Stephen King, Dan Brown), romance (i.e. Daniela Steel, Martina Cole), Sci-fi (Pritchett) and sexy crimes (Bernard Cornwell). The mostly demanded magazines, on the other hand are Home and Gardens, Hello and OK.

There aren't any local radio and TV stations in Didim and consequently, not any for the British contingent.

Two internet forums *absolutelyaltinkum.co.uk* and *turkishliving.com*, introduced to the section of readers who hadn't already been using them, by a reader in the Dydimian (07.06.2005) act as important sources of information and communication for the residents. While membership is not limited to residents, during the occasional visits paid to the forums within the frame of this research it was observed that "questions on daily life in town" posed by members were addressed within a short period of time by the others. Also, some paid services – like that of electricians or carpenters- were offered by the members themselves.

III.4.6. Foreign pupils in Didim's schools

One of the important but so far unexplored problematic consequences of the northerner migration in the town is the schooling of the children. The foreign school kids in Didim, independent on their residence address, are to attend to Valiler İlköğretim Okulu which is in the boundaries of Çamlık Mahallesi. The school has a total of 910 students – 475 at primary and 425 at secondary stages. The Principal of the school states that 42 children with British nationality have been registered for the term 2006-2007, 39 being at the primary stage, 1 at 6th and 2 at 8th grades. Moreover, there are 18 children with one non-Turkish parent.

Whereas the school has been having foreign students for the last 3 years, no specific orientation programmes have been implemented for that purpose. Hence, even children without any notion of Turkish are accepted and expected to follow the

curriculum. 3 students were graduated so far and 2 have been registered for the state high school.

The other option available is the private Gonca School where 7 foreign pupils attended during the term 2005-2006 and two have been enrolled for the term 2006-2007.

III.4.7. Intercultural marriages in Didim

In the Municipality database upon which I tried to find an approximation to the geographical patterns of foreigner property ownership in Didim 67 of the adult foreigners registered has Turkish surnames probably demonstrating that they are foreign females married to a Turkish male. In fact, upon observation that the increase in international marriages is among the most popular themes in the local and national news coverage of Didim, I decided to further explore the issue.

To start with, general statistics kept by the marriage registrar of the Didim municipality for the years 2000-2005 demonstrates that marriages enacted between foreign citizens or a foreign citizen and a Turkish national constantly constitute a significant proportion of the total. Furthermore, in most of the cases, the foreigners involved are Britons (See Table 4).

Table 4: Recorded marriages in Didim (2000-2005)

Year	Total Marriages Registered (a)	Marriages in which one or both parts are foreign (b)	% of (b) in (a)	% of Britons in (b)
2000	116	21	18	86
2001	143	39	27	79
2002	164	39	23	82
2003	188	52	26	83
2004	227	55	24	85
2005	269	52	19	96

Source: Didim Municipality-Marriages Registrar's Office

On the other hand, the data does not imply any relations between settlement of the foreigners which can be dated back to 2003 and marriages since the percentages prior to and after that date are almost the same. Moreover, the only marriage people have acknowledged between an already resident Briton and a Turkish person was that of a Turkish female with broad media coverage and the only “lonely heart” advert published in three issues of the *Dydinian* (the *Dydinian*, 27.09-4.10-11.10-2005) in which a 45 year old geography teacher from Antalya declared: " I'm a person who likes the British and who supports Turkish-British friendship. I'm happy that the British love Turkey and I'm happy that they are moving to Turkey. I am living in Antalya and would like to get married to a British lady. ", didn't bring the expected outcome according to the newspaper's then editor.

To explore the issue further, I've conducted a detailed analysis of more recent records -of the total 99 marriages transacted between a Turkish citizen and a foreigner during the period 01.July 2004-and 12.July 2006 thanks to the courtesy of the marriages registrar officer and summarised the information on ages of the male and female partners, nationality of the foreign partner and local origin of the Turkish partner in Appendix C.

One of the issues the analysis helped clarifying has been the importance of differentiating between marriages between two foreigners and marriages between a foreigner and a Turkish citizen. In that frame my analysis showed for example, the international marriages in which Turkish citizens involved for the year 2005 were 38 since the 14 of the 52 marriages ¹² in Table 4 were enacted between two foreigners

With 3 exceptions -in all of which the foreign male is older than the Turkish female spouse -in one case 22-years- all the records belong to marriages enacted between Turkish male and foreign female and in 91 of the 96 the female partner is a Briton. (See Appendix C for the ages of the partners and origin of the Turkish partner)

¹² Both Başlangıç (2005) and Oral Özalp(2005) for example use that 52 ,for example, while arguing that 1/4 of the marriages in the town is between Turks and foreigners.

I further classified the data on Turkish male - foreign female marriages according to the age differentials between the spouses and the local origin ¹³of the partner ¹⁴ (See Table 5) In 64 of these 96 marriages the female spouse is older than her partner and in 32 of the 64 the age difference is over 10. On the other hand, as apparent in the Table, unlike implied by most media coverage and overtly stated in Didim, marriages with unconventional age differences is not exclusive to male of Kurdish origin or even those from other poverty-struck zones of the country. Also worth noting that in 6 of the 18 marriages enacted by male from Didim during the period, the female partner is 6 or more years older than the spouse challenging the prevailing discourse that "this is an outsider phenomenon".

III.4.8. Local authority awareness

The initial response of the local authorities to the increasing property sales and migration was starting issuing water bills in English. Then a survey aimed at foreign residents in town was ordered to Adnan Menderes University. 150 questionnaires were distributed as an insert to the weekly Dydimian-then the only English paper in town which started in March 2005. The findings of the Karakaya and Turan survey (2005a) will be referred throughout this thesis whenever relevant. The Municipality has been a partner to the Didim-friends of animals charity mentioned above and the members of the society started volunteering for the kernel.

The first official meeting with the foreign contingent took place on 18 May 2005 under the chair of the head of the district with participation of a Council member, the police head and head of the health department (the Dydimian 24.05.2005). Also in line with the recommendations based on the survey, an information desk with English speaking staff was established in the Municipality in June 2005 and two

¹³ I used not the "birthplaces" but "family registries" of the male spouses which might allow determining origins of second generation migrants.

¹⁴ I categorised the "localities" into 3, the first being ones of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia with a dominantly Kurdish population (and all are exclusively in the Incentives Regime List), second the localities which are in the provinces listed in the incentives regime (Law No.5480) due to the low GDP or (Law No.5350) due to negative socio-economic development index values and third the remaining ones.

Table 5: Turkish male-foreign female marriages (July 2004-July 2006)

Age diffce (F-M)	Male Partners' Origin								
	2004			2005			2006		
	Eastem & SEastem Provinces	Remaining provinces of the 49 poorest	Other 32 provinces	Eastem & SEastem Provinces	Remaining provinces of the 49 poorest	Other 32 provinces	Eastem & SEastem Provinces	Remaining provinces of the 49 poorest	Other 32 provinc es
1 - 5	3	2	4	0	1	4	0	0	4
6 - 10	1	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	6
11 - 15	4	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2
16 - 20	0	1	1	5	1	2	0	0	1
20 +	1	3	1	3	2	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	9	6	9	12	5	9	2	0	13

Age diffce (M-F)	2004			2005			2006		
	Eastem & SEastem Provinces	Remaining provinces of the 49 poorest	Other 32 provinces	Eastem & SEastem Provinces	Remaining provinces of the 49 poorest	Other 32 provinces	Eastem & SEastem Provinces	Remaining provinces of the 49 poorest	Other 32 provinc es
0 - 5	3	3	4	1	1	3	1	0	4
6 - 10	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
11 - 15	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
15+	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0
TOTAL	3	4	7	4	2	4	1	2	5

Source: Didim Municipality-Marriages Registrar's Office

meetings was organised in August 20th 2005 and in 27 September 2005 with participation of 150 foreign residents informed through the Dydimian. Free-of-charge Turkish courses were started upon request in February 2006 and of 60 foreigners enrolled, 33 completed the course in June 2006 (Voices, 02.06.2006).

Also in the new development plan, land was allocated for a Christian cemetery (the Dydimian, 10.05.2005) and a church (the Dydimian, 19.07.2005) for which no initiative from the British contingent in Didim but a recent interest from an American, who “has been running a church in Ankara for the past 20 years “(the Voices, 18.05.2006) is recorded.

III.4.9. The presentation of the foreign contingent of Didim in the media

Within this frame, foreign residents of the town have been subject to occasional news stories in the local and national media. The news coverage reflect various aspects of the expatriate lives either as an example of the “perils” inherent in acquisition of property or immigration by foreigners (See Dirik, 2006; Hepçilingirler, 2006a; Özgürsoy,2006; Milliyet, 01.06.2006) or provide sentimentalist accounts of human stories (See Özalp and Oral, 2005; Hürriyet, 10.04 2006; Radikal 27.06.2005; Milliyet, 23.09.2005).

The themes in the first line of news coverage revolve around dominance of the English language in town –Municipality’s policy of issuing water bills in English being considered as the peak of catastrophe-, foreigners’ involvement in unregistered real-estate activities or their preferred spatial segregation, with varying tones of criticism from “reproaching the authorities for their indifference” (Dirik,2006) to overt xenophobia of a Kemalist local paper condemning the foreigners as being the agents of foreign states declaring that "they are acquiring with their money what they couldn't acquire in the past by arm force and they'll first ruin the morals, destroy the culture by dragging (the Turks) to sex and lust ¹⁵and then turn them into slaves” (Özgürsoy,2006).

The most favorite themes of the stories on the second line are “happiness of foreigners to live in Didim”, “kids in Didim’s schools”, “intercommunal activities with the visual emphasis on Turkish and British flags” and “foreigners as parties to local urban issues”. The news on intercultural marriages or intimate relationships in Didim abounds in the national media after an article on statistics on marriages is reported by the Dydinian (The Dydinian 07.06.2005). Whilst the Mayor is reported to point out that he sees some young men who do not have assets or much going for them marry older, well off female tourist (The Dydinian 14.06.2006:1), the general

¹⁵ Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis it worths mentioning that I was told by some Britons that Didim Altinkum is represented in the British low segment female magazine market as "the Thailand of the Aegean"(a claim that I couldn't validate through a google search) a destination of a phenomenon which is referred to as "female sex" or "romance tourism" (Kempadoo, 2001:51)

media coverage of the issue provides a good example to present the genderised and racialised attitude towards both the foreigners and the outsiders or the Kurds. The two extracts below provide examples of the sarcastic tone common to all the news with different levels of explicitness:

“1858'de Newton, Apollon Tapınağı'na gelen 'kutsal yol'daki heykelleri alıp İngiltere'deki British Museum'a götürmüş. 150 yıl sonra gelen torunları da damatları alıp İngiltere'ye götürüyor. Yoksul ülke olmanın gözü kör olsun!” (Başlangıç,2005).

“In 1958 Newton took the statues of the “sacred road” to British Museum in England. His grandchildren coming after 150 years are taking the grooms to England. It’s hard to be a poor country” (Başlangıç,2005).

“Anadolu'nun Marco Polo'ları bir başka biçimde keşfetmiş Didim'i. Tarih kültürel değerler onlar için hak getire.”Made in Anadolu” yurttaşlarla İngilizlerin yaşı geçkin “leydi”leri arasında gizli bir mutabakat var sanki. Taraflar burada buluşuyor ve çıkar birliği başlıyor. Orada “sınıfta kalan” hanımefendilere Türkiye’de sınıf atlama ve yatırım, kara yağız Anadolu delikanlılarına da Avrupa kapısı açılıyor! Sonrası malum ...” (Dirik, 2006)

“The Marco Polo’s of Anatolia have discovered Didim in another manner. For them history doesn’t matter; neither does cultural values. It seems like there exists an agreement between Citizens “made in Anatolia” and over aged “ladies” of Britain. The parties meet here and the union of interests start. Ladies “failed the class” there find an opportunity for climbing the class echelon and for investment in Turkey and the doors to Europe open to the “dark skinned” Anatolian blokes... The rest is known... ” (Dirik, 2006)

The discourse of the Özalp and Oral article (2005) is even less concerned about political correctness. While the age difference and former marital statuses of the female partners of the couples are underlined for all of the 4 couples interviewed, these indicators are not even mentioned when presenting the story of a couple formed by a 23 years old Turkish female and a 46 years old British male divorcee with whom I met during the research. The phrases like “citizens made in Anatolia” or “dark-skinned Anatolian blokes” of the previous extract implying that the males concerned are outsiders to Didim, are replaced with references to the origin of the groom like “Batmanlı” or “Diyarbakırlı” and ethnicised diagnosis of the phenomenon is made through the subtitle of an interview: “Didim is on its way to become a British-Kurdish colony” (ibid).

III.5. Conclusion

In this Chapter I tried to present some factual data and observations about the emergence of Didim as an international migration destination, particularly for a single national group, the British who used to be and still are the major international tourists of the town.

Despite the recentness of the phenomenon, that is highly related to the current legislative developments regarding "acquisition of property by foreigners" -which in turn might be interpreted as a further step in the course of economic liberalisation Turkey has been undergoing since the 1980's - the British migrants , mostly middle aged or elder but also young families with children, have a certain visibility in the town which had already gotten "determined and reconstructed from a tourist point of view" in Lafant's words (1995 in O'Reilly, 2000:32)

Though all my efforts for quantifying the extend of the migration in Didim rather validated the difficulty of quantification of such forms of migration argued by the relevant literature (See Casado-Diaz, 2006 or Warnes and Williams, 2006 for recent examples) at least some patterns emerged.

As data demonstrate, most of them reside in the coastal neighbourhoods of the town,¹⁶ a fact repercussions of which can also be traced in the entrepreneurial interest and economic dynamism in Altinkum, Çamlık and Efeler.

A rise parallel to but not as drastic as the increasing migrant presence in town is also observable in the "internationalisation" of some businesses -particularly in the real estate and construction sectors- It also worth noting that Britons constitute the major group among the foreigners who hold shares -in almost all the cases with a Turkish partner - in the international companies in the town.

¹⁶ Especially the dominance of the British dwellings in Altinkum area reminds the discussions on determinancy of retiree migrants in local politics in Spain (mentioned in Dündar et.al., 2005) for the future -though not foreseeable at the current stage of the EU-Turkey relationship.

Alongside the adaptation of the existing tourist infrastructure of the town as exemplified by organised karaoke nights or price labels- only in English- in some stalls of the open air market¹⁷ even in February, new initiatives like the English weeklies demonstrate the eagerness of the "local entrepreneurial spirit" to exploit the new opportunities created by the migration. The council is also responsive to the phenomenon as apparent in the Turkish language courses introduced upon demand or the church and cemetery area allocated in the development plan.

Of various consequences of this co-habitation sentimental issues like "mixed marriages" or "intimate relationships" are emphasized in the local and national media coverage of Didim's migrants. Also worth noting in this respect is the exaggerated tone aggravating the issue as my findings summarised in Section III.3.7 demonstrate and giving hints about the latent ethnical conflict within the local community.

¹⁷ Though a legal obligation, putting price labels is not a common practice in Didim open air market

CHAPTER IV

WHO MIGRATES TO DIDIM? WHY AND HOW?

Noting the significant differences, in terms of sociodemographic characteristics and motivations among the retirees of differing national origins and even among retirees of different resort areas in the same country, Casado Diaz (2006), in her recent evaluation of the international retirement migration in Spain, stresses the need for further research into these differences and more studies in different countries (ibid: 1337).

In fact the aim of this Chapter is trying to provide a deeper understanding of the so-called "retirement" migration process in Didim, an emerging destination in a country outside the EU system, thus not offering the full "regulatory" comfort of traditional migration zones but providing similar financial and geographical opportunities at an incomparably lower cost. Also should be kept in mind that this new migration phenomenon could only be possible in the context of the privilege bestowed upon citizens of European Union (EU) countries to move quasi-freely to Turkey and to acquire property here.

Within this frame, after presenting and commenting on the diversity demonstrated by the British migrants in Didim, the causes and the meaning of the migratory move will be explored through the migrant narratives with specific emphasis on the peculiarity of the destination. Furthermore, the "migration decision process", and the significance of the previous mobility patterns for the process will be discussed.

IV.1. Who are Didim's migrants?

Even with full recognition of the fact that the sampling methodology used does not allow for generalisations, it can be stated that the Britons in Didim demonstrate a

greater variety than that assumed by using the category “retirement migration” with various policy implications. In fact, the diversity of the patterns or cases observed throughout the research underlies the need for further exploration of the issue with a more representative sample size and methodology.

IV.1.1. Demographic and socio-economic profiles of the migrants

Whilst as discussed in Chapter III there exists no official data on the new residents of the town, nor a statistically valid study, Karakaya and Turan (2005a) survey relying on 54 replied questionnaires of the total 150 distributed as an insert to the English weekly, the *Didymian*, offers some initial findings on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrants in Didim. Despite the apparent sampling bias, the survey presenting its results in a “general manner” is referred to especially by the policy makers as a basis for discussing the phenomenon.

According to the survey, the majority of the foreign migrants of the town are over the age of 55 (48%); the second largest category is of the people between 45-55 (37%) and the third largest group is the 35-44 age group (10 %) Females (57 %) outstrip males (43 %) by 14% whereas the married couples are the majority with 82%.

The authors declare that 58 % of the respondents have been educated at primary, 26% at secondary and 16 % at university level and 66 % define themselves as “retired”, 12 % as “unemployed”, 6 % as “commerçant”, 4 % as “civil servant” 2 % as “workers”. When asked about their income levels, on the other hand, only 29 respondents, of which 63 % declaring an annual income of less than £ 15 K comes up with an answer. Performing cross tab analysis of two questions of the survey, namely on value of property and level of income, the authors decide that the survey’s findings on “level of income” are not reliable but they nevertheless state that “The Britons living in Didim comprise of people who have a low level of education and a low level of income” (ibid, 39).

My research sample confirms some of the findings of the Karakaya and Turan Survey. Of 20 Britons interviewed, 15 declared that they left school at the ages 15-16 – the earliest age to leave the British comprehensive system-. The rest are 2 A-level holders, a college drop out and 2 BSc.'s (See Table 8 on pages 74-78). Their previous employment patterns and histories, on the other hand, even of the less-educated doesn't fit to a blue-print picture of a homogenous group comprised of "blue-collar working-class people"¹⁸ as implied by the authors. As shown in the Table 9¹⁹ on pages 79-80 with the relevant National Statistics-Socio Economic Classification (NS-SEC) categories, among the 29 Britons (interviewee and partners thereof) covered by this study there are 7 factory workers of different supervision levels, 2 salespeople, 4 skilled public service workers, 3 IT professionals, 2 white-collar managers, 3 white-collar workers, 3 trades people (a hairdresser, a window fitter, a curtain maker), 2 housewives, a former magistrate of the Court of England, a recruitment agency owner, a café owner

Just 2 among them Frank, 70 and Kent, 64 through their careers in the Army Forces could be labeled as "lifetime expatriates" in the sense Williams *et al.*, (1997) use the term: "people spending their working lives in between countries, not exclusively in their own". One Maggy, 62 had a one year break in her earlier life when she settled herself in Spain with a former husband. The working lives of the rest were spent all in the UK and in most cases in the same locality of the UK where they were born and bred. (The exceptions were George who left London for going to College and settling in West Sussex afterwards; Mary who was a "multi-mover" within the UK; Peer, a Scouse who moved to Sunderland for work; Laura a Northern Irishman who spent all her adult life in Sheffield and Dana who moved to her birth place Hull after a divorce.)

¹⁸ It worths mentioning my personal observation that the accent supposedly one of the distinctive features of the English working class (i.e. with dropping 'h's or 'th' sound replaced by 'f') was discernible only in a few interviewee.

¹⁹ The Table provides a classification of the interviewee according to National Statistic -Socio Economic Classification (NS-SEC) upon basis of their own accounts on former occupation in the UK and the employment statuses which might be a starting point for a more elaborate class analysis which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

IV.1.2. Property ownership

As noted by Nathaniel Lichfield and partners in a study conducted for the UK market (2006:13) retirement migration is normally the privilege of owner occupiers, who are able to realize substantial equity by selling family-sized homes in more expensive metropolitan areas and buying a smaller house in their preferred location. This general statement holds also true for the migrants in the sample with a variation due to the difference of the price levels of the property markets in two countries allowing acquisition of an even better-quality house with the capital raised through the sale of a more modest one in the UK. In fact, all the interviewee used to be property owners in the UK and a few among them still are. Though geographical locations shows a variety most stated that they used to live either in rural areas or outskirts of small towns except for a Londoner, Sarah and a Derby inner city dweller, Nathan. (See Table 8 on pages 74-78) for property ownership and location in the UK) And currently all with the exception of Daisy, 51 who stays in a long-term rented flat, own properties in Didim.

IV.1.3. Pension status

The most controversial aspect of this research with the Karakaya and Turan Survey (ibid) emerges around the meaning of the category “retired”. The state pension age in the UK is 65 for males and 60 whereas the effective retirement age at which half the population has retired is around 62.5 for men and 60.5 years for women. Even though withdrawal from labour market through early retirement is part of the labour market culture²⁰; as Hardill, Spradbery, Arnold-Boakes and Marruga (2004) state it happens at around the age of 55 and especially with those members of the service class who have had an uninterrupted employment history and by no means for the majority. Thus assuming that the late 40’s will be an early age to leave the labour market to support one’s self for the rest of his/her life, the interviewee were asked to

²⁰ Vickerstaff and Cox, (2005:1) argue that lately “ a pattern of individualisation is identifiable in contrast to mass transition into retirement” at such a scale that the concept of retirement itself has become more unpredictable and difficult to define.

clarify their and their partner's official "pension" status. Thus, it is found out that whereas 9 among the 29 Britons covered by the study are on "state pension", 2 have been retired due to illness, 4 were on "private pension", 3 were still working in the UK through regular visits, 3 had a registered business in Didim, the remaining 9 were self-claimed early retirees who relied primarily on the capital they gained through the sales of their property in the UK. 5 among the 9 were working in Didim- all unregistered and 4 as PR people in real estate agents- during the time of the interview and 3 declared that it would be impossible for them to survive financially if they couldn't work in Turkey at all. But, it is apparent from their narratives that even them; they genuinely consider themselves as "retired". When talking about the future, they express their wishes "to retire properly", or "more properly" for example. In fact it seems likely that to them the exit from the formal labour market of their home country or the home country itself is experienced as "retirement" *per se*.

IV.1.4. Household compositions

Also worth mentioning are the findings on household compositions that weren't summarised in the Profile Table but quite important for demonstrating the diversity of the migrant typologies in Didim. 5 of the interviewee, one after death of his spouse last year, were living on their own in Didim whereas 11 were parts of 2-member households formed by couples; 4 of these move-in intimate relationships, in turn, were established after the migratory move, 2 among them, being with Turkish partners. Of the 20 interviewee, 4 were members of larger families. Nathan, 43 – a self declared retiree – has a 9 year old daughter attending to the local primary and a 23 year old step-daughter who is engaged to a local guy, living with them. Jen, 35 has two daughters living with her; one attending to the primary school and the elderly, 15 informally working in a local Emlak office. Debby, 45 has been living with her 23 year old daughter, her Turkish partner, 22 and a grandson, 7. Kent's live-in partner May, 58 has a daughter Sylvia, 23 who works as a waitress in a fast-food shop and stays with her mum and Ken in Ken's house. As will discussed later around the theme of decision making processes some of the migrants have followed

or been followed by their adult offsprings. Marge, 61 and her husband, Darryl, 59 have allocated one of their 2 properties in the town to their daughter Jean, 39 who moved to Didim with her 2 children 15 and 12. Lily's daughter stayed after she came to visit her mother and decided to stay upon entering a relationship with a local.

IV.I.5. Narratives on lives left behind

While white-Britishness is a shared identity trait encompassing almost all the migrants in the town, the "reflections" of the interviewee about the lives left behind reminds a form of existence Sennett refers to as "Drifting" (Sennett, 2005:13) while discussing the effects of the work culture of late capitalism with high demands of flexibility upon individuals' lives in a highly competitive job market.

Armand (36) and his partner Laura (46) who still live in the UK and eventually intend to retire in Didim draw a hectic picture of life where the emphasis is on the demands of work:

"We're just like working class people. That's it. We don't go out much because I work 3 shifts. We work long hours. We can't even see each other much. I go out Friday nights after work. Two beers something to eat. Laura can't. She works on Saturday. We live in a small village. One pub, one shop, one bus. Jo works in the city centre. I work driving around the villages Yorkshire Dales, Derbyshire, Peak District delivering drugs to doctors"

Most of the interviewee narratives about their life back in the UK revolve around common themes of a busy working life, long commutes to work, the property and family ²¹commitments.

Jen, 35: "We had our own property, a 3-bedroomed semi detached on the outskirts of Blackpool. We were very close to family. Kids were going to school and I was working then. Drove to work. Go home, housework, make something to eat. And that was it. "

Daisy, 51: "Used to work full time. Looked after the house. Brought mi daughter up. And that's it. Sorry. It was a very boring life. I was born and brought in Durham so got a family

²¹ Duncan and Smith (2006:19) while analysing three of the indices, namely same sex couples, birth outside the wedlock and working mothers associated with family individualisation, in the UK context, argue all are three are deeply influenced by pre-existing local structures like class, ethnic and religious distributions and further imply that family is not a denigrating traditional structure because of "individualisation" except for a few specific groups in a few "alternative" areas.

there. I had a semi with a garden. Not in the city centre. In a little village. Droving back and forth to work. Boring”

Maggy, 62: “I’d been on my own for 12 years. I worked full time. It was midnight when I got home. I traveled by car for an hour. I had no social life at all. Because of the hours I worked. I’d been working or visiting family and friends.”

Nathan, 43: “City centre house. Close to families. Near families. Quite really. Get up. Go to work. Come home. Sleep. Get up. Go to work. Come home. Sleep. No time for anything else”.

When asked about their social lives and community networks back there, most mentioned social nights with friends, Friday or Saturday nights at the local pub and holidays abroad. Except Frank (70) who said that he was member to the bowls club where he lived and George (58) who emphasized his membership to a golf club nobody uttered any belonging to a social or communal organisation.

Andy, (49) from Milton Keynes, a well-known new developed town designed around community principles, expressed their case as such:

“It was a very close community where we lived and we were part of that. But we didn’t have many outside interests because we didn’t have time. By the time we were back from work, take the dogs out for a walk, have dinner and time to go to bed. ”

IV.1.6. Trade-union membership

Only 6 among 20 interviewee stated that they or their partners were members to the Trade Union and 3 among them emphasized “just because they had to”. Just two interviewee Kent, 64, a former Royal Post employee and Peer, 57, ex-manager in Nissan car factory, referred to their roles as labour representatives while talking about their lives in the UK. The changing discourse of employment relationships in the UK under the broader process which is sometimes referred to as “*Japanisation of the British industry*” (Oliver and Wilkinson, 1988) is discernable through their narratives:

K: “I was a member CWU-Communication Workers’ Union. I was the medical and the legal secretary. I was also an active member of the Labour movement, Labour Party.”

P: “I was in the trade union which was the transport and general workers’ union but no work problem so we never used the union. But I was a founder member of the company council. We did the wage negotiations and terms and conditions. I was on the Council for 6 years.”

IV.1.7. Religious identity and observance

8 of the interviewees told that they felt themselves belonging to the “Church of England”(CoE), one of “catholic” faith and one a “pagan” (See Table 8 on pages 74-78). Religious affiliation, on the other hand, is not a salient feature of the identities of even the believers as might be expected of the members of a Nation according to which God (56 %) competes with David Beckham (37 %) in terms of influence and in more serious terms both identification with a religion and even more than that church-going is in constant decline (BBC Governance Unit, 2005: 36) Just two CoE, the pagan and the Catholic claimed to be practicing or would have been practicing had there been a church. Also, “being part of the local parish” was uttered only once (by Marge, 61) during the interviews while referring to the life back on the UK. The findings regarding religious identity confirms the need mentioned for a quantitative survey in the town since the first policy action of the Municipality to deal with foreign residents has so far been allocating places for “a church” and “a cemetery” which seems “incompatible” with the characteristics of the migrants or at least not among the first priorities.

The following sections will attempt to discuss the motivational factors which illustrate diversity as wide as the characteristics of the actors.

IV.2. Pull and push factors through narratives on migration

As early as 1981, Heaton, Clifford and Fuguitt argue that both mild temperatures and recreational development were an attraction to the elderly. A recent literature survey on dynamics of migration in the UK (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2006:12), on the other hand, identifies the aspects most highly valued by British people aged 65 and over as quality of local health care, absence of both violent and non-violent crime, low cost of living and low pollution, probably reflecting the elderly’s perceptions of the social environment they inhabit. King, Warnes and Williams (1998) list the reasons of international retirement migration to the Mediterranean countries as lower cost of living, climate, health, slower pace of life,

admiration of destination country, work or business connections, family connections by emphasizing the differentiation among different destination areas. Indeed, according to Rodríguez, Fernandez-Mayoralas and Rojo (1998) who classifies the decisive factors under three headings as “environmental”, “economic and geographical” and “socio-cultural” reasons, environmental factors, particularly climate outweighs the others in the context of Spanish south, Costa del Sol. However, the authors, also like later researches in the area (King et al., 2000; O’Reilly, 2000, Rodriguez, 2001), mention that the *climate’s* being the main pull factor should be interpreted through its role as an enabling factor for an outdoor oriented lifestyle rather than as the direct enjoyment of a particular type of climate.

In order to explore the underlying factors of migration to Didim, the interviewee were explicitly asked about the reasons of the decision to leave UK and of the one to move to Turkey. But, these “reasons”, which O’Reilly prefers to call “post-hoc justifications” instead, since she says “what is discernible in migrant narratives are exactly these rather than actual causes” (O’Reilly, 2000:25), were recurring throughout the whole interview. As Lessinger (cited in Mar, 2005:362) noted current migration research sees the cause of migration as increasingly complex, and unable to be adequately explained in terms of the old language of “push” and “pull” factors, as pull and push factors can be operating simultaneously. In fact, they were imbedded simultaneously, though in an unstructured manner within the overall discourses of Didim’s migrants interviewed.

While the climate, high cost of living, demanding working life and social degeneration are the most cited reasons attached to the home country, namely Britain -push factors- ; those associated with Didim –pull factors- are an actual like of the place –due to the mild climate and lifestyle- and the opportunity of early retirement or financial welfare. In some cases, the discontent regarding the home country outweighs the attractiveness of the new place. (See Table 6) But mostly, the pull and push factors are interlinked in the migrant narratives such that the new life experienced is constructed as the opposite of the one left. Whereas Britain is pictured as “unhealthy”, “cold” “depressing”, “isolated and lonely”, “unaffordable”,

“highly regulated and taxed” on one hand and offering “no sense of security” or “control on one’s own life” on the other, Didim is presented as a “sunny“, “laid-back”, “easy” , “secure” place offering a better quality of life both financially and socially.

Contrary to a study conducted on the future of British migration discarding the popular belief that the negative feelings of Britons about the direction of the country is going has a significant impact on the decisions to migrate (The Centre for Future Studies, 2003:10) most of the interviewee confirm the observation of a migration intermediary cited in a Guardian article (2004): “It is not as if they’ve fallen in love with a place and want to go. They have had enough of where they live and want away. We deal with a lot of families who have worries about the country”

Peer (57)’s narrative, provides the typical example of a disillusioned Briton discourse:

“UK is expensive: They always think about new taxes all the time. More tax, more tax, more tax. and politics. I think the society is degenerating. There doesn’t seem to be any discipline there anymore. It just seems to be falling apart, disintegration sort of thing and I didn’t like the way it was going so I just went. It’s been going on for years now, it’s been going on for quite a few years and steadily it gets worse every year. The government say we’re gonna do this and they don’t. You just see different things happening around the world that affect the United Kingdom. You don’t see anything done except for new taxes. ”

In fact taxes and the high cost of living in the UK are recurring themes in most of the narratives. George (58) narrates his case as such “Tax. Too much tax in the UK. Too much Everyday you earn as much as you can, the government come and take, take, take, take. One of my major reasons.”

The feelings of alienation and lose of control against a deteriorating country leaving “no space for honest, hard working *English* people ”- with an inherent anti-immigration tone as shall be discussed later- are hidden along most migrant narratives. The long extract from Nathan (43) offers an account of the emigration decision as an “escape strategy” from England and of the imagined relationship between “*England as a living hell*” and “*immigration*”

Table 6: Pull and push factors of migration for the sample group

Interviewee	Pull Factors	Push Factors
Sarah (50)	Price, Liked The Place Lifestyle- Food, Weather, Laid Back & Relaxed	Deteriorating Health Of The Husband
Jill (50)	Attachment To Altinkum (No Particular Reason)	UK Becoming Unaffordable
Peer (57)	Instantly Liked It Somewhere Sunny, Somewhere Nice, Good Social Scene	UK Expensive, Disintegrating, No Discipline, Don't Appreciate The Way
Nathan(43)	Mild Climate, Security , Early Retirement, Financial Comfort, Better Future For The Child	Deteriorating Health, Too Much Tax, Unaffordable, No Security, Corrupt Politics, Too Much Crime, Rules & Regulations
Lily (49)	Nicer Weather, Better Life Style, Freer & Relaxed, More Friends	Expensive, Rules & Regulations, Too Much Political Correctness
Andy (49)	A Quite Life	Too Much Stress At Work
Debby(45)	Turkish Citizenship Through A Former Marriage, Better Climate, Better Life & Business Prospects, Securer For The Grandson	
Daisy (49)	Likes The Place	Likes UK Too
Dana(62)	Property Prices, Cost Of Living, Climate, Lifestyle	Climate, Unaffordability
Jen (35)	Early Retirement, Gorgeous People, Financial Comfort, Cost Of Living, Climate, Ease Of Access To The UK, Parents Living In Didim	Too Much Work, No Social Life, High Cost Of Living
Maggy (62)	Wanted A Change, Sunshine And To Have A Social Life	
George (58)	People, Cost Of Living, Easy Life Style	Too Much Tax In The UK
Mary (69)	Sunny, Feeling Welcomed, Wanted A Boat	Don't Like The Way The Country Is Going, The Attitude Of Young People, Drug, Crime
Marge (61)	Early Retirement, Wanted A Change, Wanted What We Want To Do	
Frank (70)	Security, Property Prices, Cost Of Living	No Security , Unaffordable, No Social Life For The Elderly In Winter But Binge Drinking
Kent (64)	Liked Mediterranean Lifestyle	Needed A Change After Being Widowed
Ken (61)	Something Special With Altinkum	
Paul (65)	Mediterranean Lifestyle, Ease Of Access To Greece & The UK	Early Retirement To Greece But Got Very Expensive
Rose (69)	The Weather & The Way Of Life	

“Health. Mainly health. I had arthritis. And after that. Tax. Tax reasons. They tax on everything. Tax, tax, tax. They tax your food, they tax your clothes. They tax you all your life. They tax you when you die. They tax a percentage of what you leave. I was working for nothing basically. When the taxman finished me. I was on £400 a week. I paid £110 for tax, £73 for national insurance which is supposed to cover your doctors and dentists and it doesn’t. Because when you go to the doctor in England you must phone him two weeks before to make an appointment. “I’m going to have flu on the 3rd of March” You need to see a doctor when you’re sick. Not when he’s free. So I ended up with £200. Then I had to pay £150 a year for TV license. And you have a dog. You have to pay £80 for a dog license. If you have a radio you have to pay a radio license. If you have a car and you insure your car you have to pay a tax on insurance And also you pay the mortgage. When I bought my house my mortgage was £200 a month. When I sold my house my mortgage was £600 a month. Up, up, up, up all the time. Everything goes up in England wages stay the same. The only time we went out was Friday night or once or twice a year like Amanda’s birthday we had a party, on Pat’s birthday we go out for a drink and a meal. Apart from that, we can’t afford it. Nobody in England can afford to do anything. The rich people are getting richer and the poor people are getting poorer. The cost of living was getting up but the wages wasn’t. So each month you get less and less in your hand. They had a rule. If you had so many children the government would give you that much Money a week. They stopped that. Stopped that and they started taxing you And it became, apart from health reasons, it became I don’t want to do it any more. Personally, I didn’t see why I personally should work hard all week, your house isn’t safe. – they are getting robbed- You can’t pass through certain parts of town at night. They shoot at you. It’s absolutely the country is turning into crime, crime, crime where you go. And the police they have no interest. You identify people that come and smash your windows. “He did it.” “How do you know that was him?” “I saw him.” “Do you have any proof? You can’t prove it. Please don’t waste our time with silly phone calls.” It’s been a living hell. You can’t go out. You go out and you get mugged. If you don’t get mugged, by the time you get home your house is being robbed. You leave your car. Stolen in the morning. Very bad area For example the girl next door. Did not work. stole money. In her house every night loud music, parties. Loads and loads of people three o clock in the morning. Turning up in their cars loud music smoking drugs, taking drugs, selling drugs. When they see you leaving the house they rob the house. Nightmare A living nightmare. I mean you come here. You’re safe. You can walk wherever you want to go. You go. It’s safe here. No stress. No aggravation. The houses are safe. Different. (Since *when UK is crab?*) When Tony Blair got the power. The politics in the UK at the moment they all cover up their... The rich gets richer and the poor gets poorer. So we had to get out when we had money to get out with. At the moment England is the richest nation in the world. Blair’s wife earns half a million £ a year. Every time he brings a new law about, she goes to court and fights somebody for that law. Must be held in their house. The asylum system. A thousands of them a week is turning up. They are just survivors. About the crime. Crime in schools. Crime is not affecting them because they are protected by men in guns. Ask people on the street. I am proud of being English but at the moment I’m not proud of England It is so bad England is killing itself. rules and regulations. England is never left alone...Money, Money, Money; tax, tax, tax. ”

For the interviewee of Nathan’s age group, Turkey meant, most important of all, the opportunity of early retirement or even if one still has to work as exemplified by Lily, 49 “to live in a “a lot freer, a lot more relaxed.” place where “the weather is nice” instead of the other one where “Everything has got to be so politically correct. You can’t say this. You can’t do that.”

The quote from Sarah, 50 provides the romanticised, “idyllic” picture of the new land imagined against the harsh realities of the one left:

“What I thought about Turkey was it moved somewhere where people have better moral values than they are currently in the UK. So we expected to have less crime, a quieter of life, more integrity All the things bad about the UK we expected they would not be here. Crime caused by drugs, street crime, vandalism to your car, rushed style of life, bad things happenings like terrorist attacks on the tube. That sort of thing. I know that happens in big cities everywhere but. That was the sort of ... What we thought was probably the health service, the national health service would be better than the one we currently use in the UK.”

In fact, comparisons favouring the new life with the old one are often made; sometimes by presenting the picture of an alternative un-migrated self; sometimes through portraits of those still stuck in the UK, condemned to a terrible life, probably as a means of “post-facto rationalisation” to justify “the migration on the basis of what has occurred since their movement” (Skeldon, 1994 in O’Reilly, 2000:28).

Jen (35), who left UK with her two children and admitting that hers was a difficult decision with “her husband going back to England and coming and herself and the children not seeing him”, needs that kind of self-assurance:

“Because it was all work, work, work to pay the bills. There was not a lot of social life going on. None. Frankly, you’ve got to work very hard back in the UK to get what you want. I mean, you come here and pay cash for the property .That’s yours. You don’t work here to pay for your mortgage. You work just for your electricity, your water and it’s lot lot cheaper than what it is in the UK”.

Fred, a 70 year old retired Brit originally from London and who has been living in Didim for 5 years narrates the story of his parallel, unmigrated self through references to his peers:

“I retired in Turkey but I have an idea of retirement in the UK. I was member to a bowls club and most of the people were retired. So I feel what they were doing. They were playing bowls and were bored. They hated the winter because there was no bowls. Drinking in the club. They were middle class people, all different sections of society. I wanted to save for my health. Because I was being in the pub all the time. We came here on holiday for a week. We see children walking on the streets at 9 o’clock at night. And we thought if it is safe for them to walk around at 9 o’clock at night, where it is not in England it must be a good place to live.”

Debby, 45 talks about her 7 years old grandson Jack who’s attending to the local primary:

“He has a much better life here than he’d have in England. He picked up the language very very well. He’s been here for a year now and he’s doing very well. He’s happy. He’s got a lot more freedom here than what he’d have in England. He can walk around the corner to see his friends. He can’t do it in England. There’s a lot of space in here. It’s safe. ”

While exploring the meaning of migration for West-European people Boenisch-Brednich (2002:66) argues that mobility today is connected to lifestyle decisions and therefore strongly linked to Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus. Thus, with the integration of the modern lifestylish concept of *moving* you either demonstrate a modern biographical openness or the capacity for handling your cultural, social, economical capital. As stated by Vickerstaff and Cox in the post traditional life course older people, who inhabit the prime site of the new agency, choice and reflexivity that contemporary society allows have the opportunity (and the risk) of decisions about who they want to be in retirement and how they’ll live (2005:79)

In fact, especially with the elderly migrants of Didim, “change” and/or a “new start” expected through a *move* appear as important motives:

Kent, 64 expresses the associated meanings of “physical move” and “moving forward in life” explicitly:

“I had been a pensioner. So when my wife died I had to move away, move my life forward, I had to move away from Colchester, I had to go somewhere to live. So I moved over to Turkey. I just needed a new start in my life.”

“I just wanted a change I was just at that stage. I wanted to live something different”

says Maggy, 62 a divorcee.

Wallace, Delorme and Kaerschen (1997:50) while analysing the determinants of migration decision, accept that divorce is sometimes a factor in migration. It might well be assumed that death of a partner might have a similar affect. However at least within the context of the elderly migrants of Didim the quest for change through mobility is not limited to people deprived of their significant others.

For Fred “If you retire, you can’t live in the same place you worked.” “We wanted to come. We just wanted to do what we wanted to do.” says Marge, 61 “We were

happy with our life in the UK. (But we came) Because it was time to change. We wanted a change.”

Ken, 61 whose wife passed away in Didim last year and who not only experienced the trauma of the loss of a loved one but underwent hard times psychologically and financially while dealing with the consequences of the death in a completely foreign land, narrates the story of how he persuaded his late-wife for a change and how “right” he turned out to be:

“We had a lonely life Britain. We had friends and families. We had a lot and we had nothing. Me and my wife. Nephews and nieces but never saw them. Once a year or none at all. I just said my wife “Just give it two years. If it does not work we will go”. We settled in and we made a lot of friends, genuine friends That son and daughter. Not a second in 2 years we’d never regretted it.”

Confirming King et al., (2000) attributing the recent surge in International Retirement Migration (IRM) to an ethic of individual self-realization alongside more external factors like earlier retirement, longer life spans, increased wealth and changing family obligations, it might be argued that “a sense of accomplishment” is the hidden theme common to all migrant narratives whatsoever are the “reasons” or “the post-hoc justifications” in individual stories. As documented also by Gustafson (2001) the act of migration shapes retirees perceptions of themselves positively

“You are mad” (the people said when heard about my decision to move) I’m that sort of a person. I will do things a lot of other people wouldn’t do. Not many people at my age would sell their houses and lose all their rights in England to come here, just say goodbye to their country of birth and go to another one. At the age of 67.” says Mary, 69 (...) people I met in shops. It’s like “You got a nice tan You’d been on holiday.” “Oh, I do live in Turkey.” “Oh do you? What’s it like?” Then the questions come and you get talking”

Maggy has a story with similar lines:

“Most of them thought it was, you know, doing that you’ve got to have the nerve to do it. So they thought I was crazy, taking a big risk. Most of them wished they could have the nerve to do it (...) They are all for it now. Now they know I am here and I’m settled and I’m all right. But I think most thought because I was on my own it was a big thing to do, but to me if you do not do something... Sometimes you just need to take your chance”.

According to Rose’s partner Dazz, 65: “Most people were envious, they would love to do it. At once, they have no guts to do that, they are scared. They are frightened”

Moving itself is experienced by the migrant as a “social distinction” per se; “**most people want to live under the sun**” says Kent, 64 as one who could succeed to do it; but the fact that the destination of the move is Turkey, even reinforces that feeling implying superior knowledge, more courage, broader horizons and a sense of making better than the others who do not have those.

Peer, 57 narrates the reactions of the people:

...“What made you pick Turkey?” they said. “I just went for holiday” I said “I enjoyed myself. I really liked it there” The problem about Turkey is the ignorance. Now everyone knows about Spain, about America. Because there are big places that everyone goes for holiday. . Everyone knows those places. Turkey is a developing tourist place. And every year it’ll get more popular. Because of the sunshine, the people’s friendliness. I think there is a lot of... Most people do not know about Turkey.”

Ken, 61 talks along similar lines:

“They thought I was crazy. For one, my cousin’s husband They came out here to visit me. He said before he came he thought we were stupid. *Seeing what we’ve got here...* I think a lot of people have got the apprehension that Turkey is a place where there were nothing. I remember a woman saying to my wife: “Are there any shops? “ That idea of that barrenness, they think there are still camel trails. When they saw their views changed”

Nathan, 43 who previously stated that “Altinkum” was the first and only place his family had been abroad was not only justifying a decision but continuing the leave-do party they threw and the joy of waving good-bye to people in a “32 feet limousine” throughout his narrative:

“No we did not consider anywhere else. Just seeing here and the people... And my friends working. They were all leaving England. They were going to Portugal to live. They were going to Cyprus. They were all back in England. Back to work seeing how expensive it is. In Cyprus a house smaller than I have here 110 grant Beer same prices in England, cigarettes same price as England. Everything because it’s Europe It’s EU.”

To conclude this section it might well be argued that most of the migrants in Didim are among the “seemingly powerless” (Giddens,1984:25) of their affluent societies rather than being part of “the specific white metropolitan world in which celebration of globalisation and migrancy is an embedded narrative” (Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000:29) but nevertheless they “have” had “the capacity to mobilise resources and secure “spaces” of control” (Giddens, *ibid*) which they believe they succeeded by migrating. In the remaining parts of this Chapter, I’ll try to explore one of these resources, which is the competence gained as an international tourist as

a member of the part of the world benefited globalization (Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000:112), in depth and try to reveal the complex picture of the decision-making process which can in this sense, be interpreted as a step in mobilization of the resources. The meaning of “locality” under the conditions of globalization will also be discussed while trying to map Didim in the international retirement migration system at the European scale.

IV.3. The previous history of the migrant as an international tourist

The fact that there exists a connection between tourism and voluntary, life-style oriented migrations like retirement migration, has been widely accepted in the relevant literature (see Hall and Williams, 2000; Boenisch-Brednich, 2002; Castles, 2002; Dehornee, 2002; Allemand, 2004; Ceriani, Knafau and Stock, 2004; Clarke, 2005)

The intensification of both kinds of mobility is the result of the recent changes occurred in realms of production and consumption, namely shifts to various forms of more flexible production changing both capital accumulation and labour process and the development of more flexible and internationalised forms of consumption as argued by Hall and Williams (1998:1) While the distances shrink, travel times shorten, economic prosperity grows in the West and longer vacations and leisure time are obtained, accessibility to more places grows (Azarya, 2004:952) not only the expanding middle class as argued by Crick (1989 cited in Azarya, *ibid.*) but also the working classes of the Western world systematically scavenges the earth for new experiences or opportunities.

There exists a symbiotic relationship between consumption-led of migration systems and tourist flows. (Hall and Williams, *ibid*) The destinations of the amenity-led moves are usually restricted coastal zones in which the migrants cluster and rural areas of exceptional landscape value, in which they disperse (Warnes and Williams, 2006:1263) While those migrants whose tourism experiences have mostly been confined to mass tourism seek out retirement destinations which provides similar

levels of comfort and convenience, those who have been “explorers” or “individual mass tourists” are more likely to seek out areas which have been less touched by mass tourism (Williams et al., 2000:45) and the existing surveys demonstrate that in either case the migrants have their prior connection with the destination mostly through previous touristic experiences (King et al., 1998:1019) Indeed, Casado-Diaz et al., (2004:355) note about the international retirement migration at the European scale, that “apart from inland France and Italy, most of the southern European areas favoured by foreigners for retirement residence are coterminous with or close to “mass” tourist zones, emphasizing the importance of previous holidays in the destination area as a conditioning pathway”. It might well be added that, even lack of a personal holidaying experience in the place, mass tourists zones in terms of tourism infrastructure, guarantees the levels of comfort and convenience, upon which the previous mass-tourist rely (Williams et al., *ibid*)

It might well be argued that in a society where “mobility” is highly and “positively” valued (Allemand,2004:21; Boenisch-Broednich, 2004:267) a personal history with experiences as an “international tourist” not only informs decision-making as implied by the concept “search space” (Hall and Williams, 1998:1) or creates a “geographic competence” of an area (Ceriani et.al., 2004:30) but even more than that, adds up to one’s “mobility capital” -which according to Allemand (*ibid*) is not exclusively determined by the social, economic, cultural or the technical– giving him/her a chance to learn and improve his/her capacity to deal with alterity inherent in the contact with other places, societies and people. (Ceriani et al., *ibid*: 29)

Thus, the interviewee in the sample were asked about their histories as tourists or sojourners in Didim in particular, in Turkey and elsewhere abroad to search for the role of their “geographical competence” and/or “mobility capital” in their decisions to move.

All, but just one, of the persons and/or couples interviewed had a long history as international –mostly package- tourists and in three cases as sojourners in their backgrounds and even though the geographical coverage of their previous cross-

border mobilities varied (See Table 7) the knowledge of Mediterranean mass tourism destinations- with which Didim or Altinkum as branded in the international market, share similar characteristics as a resort for general recreation tourism- is common to all. As stated by Williams et al., (2004:100) in the wider context of Turkey, the town had already been altered by the increased tourist flows from the UK in the 1990's and both the growth of commercial and public services and bilingual workers had become embedded to its scape.

The inherent knowledge of what an international holiday resort would be like whichever country it is in, was what dragged Paul and Aneth who “decided that they'd never have a holiday in Turkey because Turkey invaded Cyprus in 1974 when they were having a holiday in Cyprus and when went to the north of Cyprus, the Turkish run part didn't like it., to consider Turkish coastal towns as an option to the already settled Greece “which got very, very, very expensive”.

Armand and Laura states their reliance on their previous tourist experiences openly when asked why they chose Altinkum, even without seeing the place, to buy a holiday home in which they eventually intend to retire: “Everywhere you've got a holiday. They're all the same. Spain. This place could be in Spain. Prices of property.”

Also, the confidence and a sense of adaptable - self developed through previous touristic experiences which according to Ceriani *et al.*, (2004:29) are among the hidden competences of a “tourist” have been discernable in some of the migrant narratives:

“I lived in Spain for 12 months in 1989. It was when I was still married. We had a bar. I just loved it. Absolutely loved it in Fuengirola” says Margareth who wanted to leave UK “to have a social life and have some sunshine” and did not hesitate to settle in Didim when the opportunity came after her first holiday in the town:

“I'd been here (in Turkey) as a tourist. I didn't have any preconceptions. I don't have any preconceived ideas about anywhere. When I traveled before I go and I try to go... I'm not one of these Brits that go abroad and expect fish and chips there. You know what I mean? I eat; I

go native if you like. Wherever I'd been I try to be with the people of that country. Otherwise, what's the point? I like to learn about people and how they live and everything. I knew that you go to certain places you show respect. Like there are places you wouldn't go to with shorts and a t-shirt on. You'd wear more"

Likewise, when asked whether she had any preconceptions about Turkey before the move as a senior lady on her own Mary was so self-assured:

"Before I moved or before I first came to Turkey? Whenever I go to a country, I would be very open minded. I am happy to accept what they are and the way of the life. This is the same with Turkey. Before I moved here, I knew exactly I was coming to friendly country, beautiful country and wanted so much to explore so much to learn about . It was a challenge to my mentality I think".

16 of the interviewee and/or their partners had a previous familiarity with Turkish coastal towns in their personal histories; 14 of them were regular tourists of coastal Turkey or a particular resort and for 10, indeed, the loyalty was with Altinkum. 3 among these 10, even though they had been visiting the town once or twice a year for more than 10 years had not been anywhere else in Turkey. It was not Turkey or even Didim that they were migrating but Altinkum where they had been experiencing as an illusion, which according to Shaw, Agarwal and Bull, (2000:273), is what tourism is all about.

In fact, as shall later be discussed in Chapter V, even though post-migratory evaluations were presenting differing accounts of the place and the locals than that imagined before the move through the experiences as a tourist, all the interviewee with prior contacts with Didim stated the importance of their "geographical competence in the place" - which they thought, would add to the "economy of effort" (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004:100) any international tourist resort can offer to an amenity-seeking migrant- as a facilitator or even a trigger of their decisions to move , as exemplified by Jill's (61) and Ken's(50) respective narratives:

"I'd been coming for 15 years. 1991 when I first came...But then we couldn't buy property so (...) I thought it was just a nice place to live with the sun with the nice weather. We don't have nice weather in England. I knew it was a Muslim country but I'm not a Muslim you know. I respect their faith the way I expect them to respect my faith. (...)Because I'd been coming all those years, made so many friends. It's just when you come on holiday it's different then living in a place. "

Table 7: Previous geographical mobilities of and alternative locations considered by the migrants

Interviewee	Own Or Partners' Previous Experience Of			Alternative Locations considered for Moving (in Turkey-Elsewhere)
	Altinkum-Didim	Other parts of Turkey	Other Parts of the Globe ²²	
Sarah (55)	Repeated-second home	Istanbul,Dalaman,Dalyan ,Kusadasi,Marmaris,Bodrum	Most European countries	None
Jill (50)	Repeated	-	Most tourism destinations in Euro-Medarea, Thailand, Singapore	None
Peer (57)	Just once	-	Spain,France	Dominican Republic
Nathan(43)	Just once	-	-	-
Lily (49)	Repeated	Repeated-southern coast	Spain,France,Italy	Datca,Bodrum Everywhere holidayed
Andy (47)	Twice	Fethiye,Marmaris,Kusadasi	All around Europe,USA	Fethiye,Bodrum,Marmaris
Debby(45)	Twice-second home	Repeated Marmaris	-	Marmaris
Daisy (51)	Repeated	-	-	-
Dana(62)	To buy property	Repeated-Marmaris	Greece,Spain	France
Jen (35)	Repeated	Marmaris,İzmir	Spain,America,Australia	Australia
Maggy (62)	Just once	Repeated-southern coastal areas	Spain , most EuroMed countries,India,Canada	None
George (58)	Repeated	Antalya and all around the Med coast	Most European countries,USA	USA
Mary (69)	Repeated-boat	Western and Southern Coastal towns	Italy,Mallorca	None
Marge (61)	Repeated-sec home	Marmaris	Most European Med countries	None
Frank (70)	Just once		Jersey -Spain,Island	None
Kent(64)	To buy property	Kuşadası,Marmaris	Cyprus, Malta , European Med	Kuşadası,Bodrum Malta,Spain,Portugal
Ken (61)	Repeated	Fethiye,Marmaris	Greece,former Yugoslavia	
Paul (65)	To hunt property	Fethiye,Marmaris to hunt property	Europe, other Med countries,India,USA	Fethiye,Marmaris,Bodrum India,Bulgaria
Rose (69)	Repeated-sec home		USA,N.Zeland,Australia,Spain	Spain (previously by partner)
Ammand(36)	To buy property	Repeated Marmaris	Spain,Croatia	Marmaris,Bodrum Spain, Croatia

²² Countries with previous settlement experience are shown with bold characters

“I remember the first time we came to Turkey on holiday maybe about 1990(...). We found the friendliness of the Turkish people. We first went to Calis Beach. And then we went to Icmeler. And then we came to Altinkum. I loved the place (...). We met lots of people who we considered friends and still have good friends now from the first time (...) There was something special about Altinkum. We came on holiday one time, we dined in restaurants. And I said “Why we don’t stop here?” What did we have there to lose? Nothing. What would we gain in Altinkum? So we decided came on holiday again. Looked for houses. Got back home to the UK Contacted the Turkish Consulate for the visas. Sold the house in UK. We had nowhere to live in the UK. It was just a risk we took and it paid up. We didn’t decide to leave UK. We decided to live in Altinkum. “

IV.4. The decision making process

Puga (1999:262) states that for retirement migration, decision making is a long process that matures during the years before the retirement. In the majority of the cases, according to Casado Diaz (2006:1322) “before a retiree (often a couple) decides to migrate to a country, they have usually spent time in the favoured area as tourists and to some extent have become acquainted with the lifestyle, making it easier to integrate when they decide to settle permanently. Thus, a population displacement that began as an extension of mass tourism becomes a growing migration flow with purchasing of a second-home for year-around use where temporary and seasonal migrations during holidays change to longer and more permanent sojourns on retirement. Duhamel, for example, explores the transition between different types of mobilities through the story of a family discovering Mallorca while cruising, starting having holidays there, buying a second-home and later retiring there in 17 years (Duhamel, 1997 in Ceriani et al., 2004:30).

In fact, in the literature, specific importance is attached to “second-home ownership” and “shorter stays” in the decision-making process of retirement migration. For Williams et al., (2000) “second-homes” and “seasonal migration” are the stepping stones to permanent residency. Smith and House (2006:238) on the other hand, through their analysis of the elderly in Florida, argue that seasonal migration is not a precursor but appears more to be a substitute for permanent migration. More recent works to international migration at the European scale brings about similar insights to that of the Florida case (Gustafson, 2002; Muller, 2002b).

The decision making processes of the migrants in Didim, as exemplified by the sample of this study, are far from reflecting the anticipations of former studies of international retirement migration in Europe. Just 3 couples interviewed, Sarah and Gareth, Rose and Dazz and Marge and Darryl all in the over-55 group demonstrate mobility patterns similar to those anticipated in the literature: discovery of the place through a holiday, development of a place attachment through repeated tourist visits, purchase of a second home and later residency. As a result of the fact that Turkey is a relatively new location in the transnational property markets (Tamer-Görer et.al, 2006:2) mostly due to the recentness of the country's regarding regulatory reforms and in the particular case of Didim, due to the former status of the town as "military security zone" where foreigners could not acquire property which was changed in 2001, the time span between the purchase of the property and the decision to make the "second home" the "primary residence" for the interviewee is quite short: 1-3 years. For the other 6 interviewee who'd been regular tourists, or in Molly's case already an entrepreneur in the town, it seems likely that once they found access to the property market they made the decision to move permanently due to the fact that the purchase of the house in Didim had been financed by the sale of the "primary residence" in the UK, like exemplified by Jill's and Ken's accounts in the previous section. In fact, for all the 10 interviewee in this group, but George and Jen who thought of USA and Australia respectively as alternative locations to move both due to family reasons but discarded the idea in the first case because of financial reasons and in the latter for easier access to the UK, Turkey, indeed Altinkum was the sole location considered as a destination. (See Table 7)

The cases of Paul and Peer, on the opposite end, provide an example of irrelevancy of long decision making processes in retirement migration, and even of tourism and holiday locations which according to Warnes "form the outer reaches of the mental maps for many people" (Warnes,1994 cited in Williams and Patterson, 1997:146) in a world where globalisation not only undermines the meaning of locality (Mowforth and Munt, 1998 cited in Azarya,2004:949) but also demands more flexibility from people with free time, the retiree, as well as the working ones (Huber and O'Reilly,2004:348), to deal with change:

Paul (65) and Aneth (60), for example who had a very very busy life in the UK thought about taking an early retirement towards the end of their careers:

“We decided to buy a holiday house in Greece. Because we used to take our vacations there for about 10 years. So we bought a house in one of the Greek Islands and spent our holidays there. Then we started spending more and more time there. We got into the culture in Greece and learnt the language. Then they joined the Common Market and it got very, very, very expensive. We had to leave and we decided to move to somewhere else which wasn't that expensive. We decided Turkey was another option (along with Bulgaria which they discarded because the season was short and India which was too far) And came to Turkey” (even though they had never been to the country before) “We sorted all the options. We first thought about Fethiye but we hated Fethiye at all. It's too flat. It was basically new built. Like Altinkum is now. But it wasn't when we first came. Anyway, we quickly moved on to Marmaris, which we didn't like. We tried İcmeler, we mainly liked that but we couldn't find a house in İcmeler. Very sad about it because I quite liked İcmeler. Then we moved up and we'd be going to look at Altinkum and Bodrum. That year we made 3 different visits to Turkey from Greece. In one summer we kept coming for four five days each... We came to Altinkum and we didn't like it. I'd promised a guy to go back, and being English we went back. He'd shown us all these terrible houses in Altinkum. I said “No sorry. This isn't good for us”. He said: “We're building some new places in Altinkum but in the country. Would you like to go there? “We went there; we didn't even get out of the car. As soon as we saw the area and the view. It was so good. We bought and it was just grass. A pile of grass and we bought it. 4 years ago. September”

The long extracts from Peer's (57) narrative who was interviewed on his third week of settlement in Didim, provides even a better account of the flexibility and coincidentalness, of the capitalism within us (Sennett, cited in Huber and O'Reilly, *ibid*) in a society mostly concentrated on the immediate moment and in which “factors of lasting importance and values move into the background” (Huber and O'Reilly, *ibid*)

“I'd always intended to retire to France. I'd had a house in France since 1998, in Loire-Atlantique North West of France between Rennes and Nantes. In the country side. There were a few Brits but scattered around. There was quite a few. So I used to go there every year for my holidays. I had a high pressure job and used to go to France for peace and quiet. It was like a chill out. (Could you speak French?) No. France is very nice place, quiet place. And it's great for holiday When you actually go to live there it's too quiet. It's just too quiet. It was really hard to try to find something to do, keep you busy, find hobbies, going to the community to meet people: And it was difficult because it was very very quiet. (...)A friend bought a property here. Then his mother and father who are my friends wanted to come out and told me when they return “it is a very nice country, friendly people, the weather is nice and there is a good social scene there”. And they were gonna go back and buy a house and sell in France and go to Turkey. So when they came out last year I just said “I'll come with you for a week's holiday.” I instantly liked it.” I saw many properties I went with them and I videoed all the houses that we saw so that we could watch later on TV. And I liked the very first house I saw. And after a week, I came for another week and the house was still there and I saw more houses And I bought the very first house I saw.”

Purchasing property on his second time and consequently making a permanent move to a country that he had no personal experience at all did not bother him at all except for:

“Because of the hype on television about Muslim communities I was asking to myself: “A lot of people are saying... What about this Muslim Christian thing? I came over here and there wasn’t a sign of whatsoever is said. It’s just people have a belief and you have a belief. It may not be the same. But there’s no reason why you can’t just treat people as you expect to be treated yourself. I did that and I have no problem at all”.

After all he was confident that he’d be happy like his father:

He bought a villa in Mallorca. He had the villa for 15 years. And he retired to Mallorca and lived 15 years and died there. He was very happy there. I think I take after my father. I got to here. *Somewhere sunny, somewhere nice*. So the same with my father.

Debby (45), who had been a regular to Marmaris, gives a similar account on the irrelevance of the locality for the move as long as it’s *somewhere sunny somewhere nice*:

“Originally I wanted to go to Icmeler but property prices there were very expensive. I had limited money to spend on a home I wanted to have a bigger house in Didim (which she had not been before) than the one I’d have in Icmeler with the same money.”

The narrative of Ken (64) on how he made his decision to move to Turkey, not only provides an insight for mapping coastal Turkey on the fringes of the European retirement migration system but also the significance of the development of communication technologies, particularly the internet as an effective means for transnationalisation of the real estate market and for the consequent ease of people’s access to otherwise out of reach property (Hines, 2001:217-218):

Ken and his late wife, through their careers in the army, “lived in Cyprus for 3 years and loved the lifestyle over there and promised their selves that when they retire, they’d come and live *somewhere* in the Mediterranean”. When his wife died earlier than anticipated, he started his search on his own:

“I (once) lived in Malta; I was in Malta looking at the properties. but they had just been in Europe and the price of properties were a bit more expensive than what I was looking for. I was in Spain and Portugal but again there house prices were going up.”

The idea of Altinkum, where he had not been before whereas he'd years ago spent a holiday in Marmaris and Kusadasi comes through a friend at work

"...who bought a property in Oracle village. He told me about it. He gave me e-mail address of Turkish homes, I got on their web site, looked at some properties and I thought it was very nice. I looked at Kusadasi and I looked at Bodrum, but I liked Altinkum began then i came here, i found an excellent house for very very a reasonable price so I said "I'll go for this".

Internet had also been crucial, even the sole input provider, in Dana's (61) decision making process. A regular package-dealer of Marmaris for the last 8 years but had no idea in her mind for her destination country except that, in her own words: "I loved the scenery of the country and the people are friendly" her move to Turkey was totally coincidental.

"I'd always intended to go abroad anyway. I didn't want to go old in the UK. (...) I'd always thought of France, not seriously though. I was looking at the internet. I was messing up. I ended up e-mailing one of the agent's here. He contacted me back and we just kept in contact. That was that. (...) I moved in 2004, April. I bought it April. I came over here with nothing. And I sold my house in the UK I had my furniture sold and I took the plane and came over here."

Armand (36) as well provides a showcase of how people's search spaces, under conditions of globalization, go beyond that of their lifetime "activity space", that is, where they have lived and visited often for education, training, work, personal lives and recreation (Hall and Williams,2000:2):

"I was looking on the internet to buy. Obviously in Spain, Croatia, everywhere. Found Altinkum. Oooo! We came. We didn't buy through the internet. We came and looked"

The consecutive narratives of Nathan (43) and Fred (70), one of the youngest and oldest retirees in the sample and whose discontents of their lives in the UK have been referred to in the previous section, exemplify not only migration decisions are taken as an escape route in construction of a "do-it-yourself" biography in the Beckian sense (Beck, 1992:135) but also the short-span of migratory decision making to grab the opportunity in a "run-away world" (Giddens, 1999).

"Coming here was the first holiday I can say. First abroad. In the UK we didn't go to holiday really. Did we? Went to Cornwall, Blackpool, Skegness, Seaside resorts in England. We came here. Fell in love with the place. Sold the house in the UK. Came back to live here. (...) Amanda (the 23 year old step-daughter currently engaged to a local restaurant PR-waiter) started coming here 8 years ago she came home and she brought a video. She filmed every

thing and the first video we saw was walking down here at the night. And seeing the lights and boats and the people- she still got the video now- we watched it and we said we would go on a holiday, but the holiday time was past. Amanda was due to come here on October. Pat and Nichola and Amanda came here. I stayed back in England in the cold, working. On telephone calls they said what lovely time they had under lovely weather. They came back on a Tuesday morning. I picked them at the airport. And on Wednesday we booked for a family holiday... Seven months away. I didn't have a passport. (...) We came on a holiday and bags in the hotel and walked. It was 6 o'clock in the morning. Walked all the way down here. All the way round. All the way back. I was concerned because I heard stories of children harassed. My daughter is quiet tall she has long blonde hair. After two days we knew that it was safe. Safe. We didn't want to go home. Went home, put the sale sign. One year to sell it out and we came back. (...) We're adults. We're married We have children So what we do, whatever it is is our choice. We wanted to come. They didn't want us to come. We didn't want to live in England anymore so we made a decision We had to do it now When Nichola was 8. Because at that age they are like a sponge. If we left it for later maybe she wouldn't want to come. We did not want be sad on a Friday night in 20 years time saying I wish we'd done. ”

“We came in June (*for the first time to Altinkum, even to Turkey*) and we moved in December. One week we were here and we made our minds. I bought the land in June (...) We just liked it. We came to Altinkum. On a Saturday. I arranged to meet somebody. On Sunday he showed me around. On Monday I bought the land. And that was it. When the house was finished we moved out”

One final remark should worth making about the migration decision- making process regarding Didim, is the currently not that significant, but still observable impact of social networks which Massey (1988:280) describe in the context of labour migration as:

“The concentration of immigrants in certain destination areas creates a “family and friends” effect that channels immigrants to the same places and facilitates their arrival and incorporation”

Once migration starts, these networks come to function as causes of migration themselves. (Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000:127) Even though the history of migration in town is quite recent, an interviewee, Jen (35) noted that her parents were also living in Didim and 3 of the interviewee Debby(45), Lily (49) and Marge (61) stated that they had been followed by their adult female offspring and in Debby's and Marge's case, their school age children.

All 3 of the young women concerned had move-in Turkish partners at the time of the interview but except for Lily's daughter, the reason of the move wasn't the intimate relationship involved since it happened afterwards

“She missed me so much. She came over holiday for a week. Went to the UK, packed her things up. Moved over here” said Debby, who was living in her house with her daughter, grandson and her partner, about her 22 years old daughter’s move

Marge and Darryl a provided a similar support to their 39 year old daughter and her two children, 12 and 16:

“And our daughter she was in holiday in Icmeler. She won the Irish Lottery, not a lot of money though. She came out to see us and then stayed a few days. When she went home, she put the house on the market. Sold it and moved out here permanently. She has a Turkish partner now. We had another house here and she lives there with her kids and her partner. My grandson, he’s 12 goes to the primary here and my granddaughter she’s at home. Julia, she doesn’t do anything. She put all her money in the bank and lives on it. It’s not because she met the Turkish guy that she moved out here. She met him afterwards”.

Indeed, the fact that almost all the interviewee reported that they are being continuously asked by their friends and relatives and even by strangers about advice on acquiring property or moving to Turkey and some already narrated accounts of friends or relatives, who following a visit to theirs intended to move themselves, demonstrates a movement of chain migration in which according to Mc Donald and Mc Donald (1964, cited in İçduygu, 1994: 75), in the context of labour migration, “prospective migrants learn of opportunities and are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants ” has already started to emerge and might be one of the determinants of the migratory flows to Didim.

IV.5. Conclusion

In this Chapter, I tried to present the diversity of the British self-claimed retiree to Didim and reveal the complexity of the motivations and meanings associated with migration as well as the decision making process itself under conditions of late modernity.

Theorists of late modernity, Beck and Giddens being among the most prominent of them, emphasize the “individualism”, arising out of the “reflexivity” and the disintegration of traditional structures. In the phenomenal world of high modernity

Giddens argues, individuals confront both the possibility and the actuality of choosing from a wide panorama of behavioural options. (1991:187). Individuals are forced to constitute their “do-it-yourself” biographies. (Beck, 1992:135) Lifestyle choices proliferate while they continuously work on their project of the self. Lifespan becomes structured around “open experiences thresholds” rather than ritualised passages (Giddens, 1991:148). But as argued by May and Cooper (1995: 79) “self-authoring” takes place in social contexts in which there are both obstacles to an opportunities for sovereign self-authorship. In fact say the authors “the exigencies of daily survival”, themselves, “are the forces at work in contemporary society that restrict life chances and social behaviours.”

Despite all their diversity, it can be generalised for the migrants of Didim that they are not of the leisured classes who could freely enjoy the full potential offered by the conditions of late modernity. In fact, as their narratives on their past histories in the UK and reasons to leave demonstrate “the exigencies of daily survival” in a highly competitive job market prevailed in their individual lives even without the former solidarity mechanisms of class or religion but the compensative “holidays abroad”. Nevertheless, the opportunity of migrating itself, which could only come in a world shaped by globalising dynamics from the development of communication and transportation technologies to ideology of free movement of capital and people, can be interpreted as a proof of the availability of options for many less-privileged members of the already affluent societies. In this case, the option seems to arise from the change in the rules regulating the acquisition of property by foreigners in a country in the fringes of the EU border where the scape has already been shaped by international tourism, the economic disparities between the two countries rendering early retirement for the younger cohort or leading an active life “under the sun”, which is one of the images circulating under “*societal scripts of successful aging*” (Mc Hugh and Kevin, 2000:105) for the elderly ones possible with the capital gained from the sale of the property at home and the transnationalisation of the real estate markets with penetration of internet to daily lives.

Indeed, maybe as a result of the limitedness of the options that had hitherto been available to the migrants, the tone of “self-accomplishment” is discernible especially in the migrant narratives about the migration as an “escape route”. Pull factors do not deviate much from those already emerged in international retirement migration literature on mass-tourist zones but “the low cost of property” and “low cost of living” appear as the “most determining” one not of the decision to migrate somewhere nice and sunny but to Didim among the “nice and sunny” places.

Previous touristic experiences, not always necessarily to Didim or even to Turkey, is one of the major inputs in the migration decision making in which most people show a rapid flexibility and high levels of risk-taking behaviour. Internet also provides an important tool expanding people’s search spaces. Patterns of chain migration relying on established networks are also observable.

It can be argued that, despite the short span of the phenomenon, Didim-Altinkum has already got integrated to the “European retirement or in the broader lifestyle migration system” where Turkish coastal towns stand alongside Bulgaria and Croatia at the lower segment of the market; it, in turn stands at the lower segment of the market in Turkey with its appeal mostly to Britons, the national group comprising the majority of the town’s tourists²³ as well.

²³ According to a report of one of the largest tourism magazines Resort, “Didim is the third place – probably in Turkey! No info is provided- that Brits choose for holidays” in line with Turkey which is the third country (cited in The Dydymian 26.04.2005). In fact, due to the figures presented in the report for the year 2004 more than 1/8 of the British tourists in Turkey were to Didim.

Table 8: Foreign Interviewee Profile Table

	NAME	G	AGE	OCCUP. IN (DIDIM)	EDUCATION	ORIGIN (UK)- Latest Location	PROP. IN THE UK	CIVIL STATUS	CHILDREN	TIME IN DIDIM	ANNUAL DURATION OF STAY	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
1	Jill	F	50	Real Estate Employee	Secondary-15	Yorkshire	NO	Divorced-Move in partner-TR	-	2 years	Permanently	Christian-Not Practicing
	İsmet	M	23	Real Estate Employee	College Dropout-20	N.A.		Move in Brit partner	-	2.5 years	Permanently	Muslim-Not Practicing
2	George	M	58	Part time animator	23-BSc in Civil Eng.	W.Sussex	NO	Divorced-Move in British partner	2 S's 22-23 (UK)	3.5 years	Permanently	None
3	Lily	F	49	Real Estate Employee	College-40-BSc in BA	Devon		Divorced-Move in British partner	S-21-UK D-22-Didim D-26-UK	2 years	Permanently	CoE-Not practicing
4	Marge	F	61	Pensioner	Secondary-15	Warwickshire	YES	Married-Brit	D-39-Didim/2GC D-31-UK-2GC	2 years	Permanently	CoE-Not practicing
	Darryl	M	59	Private Pensioner	Secondary-15	Warwickshire		Married-Brit	D-39-Didim/2GC D-31-UK-2GC	2 years	Permanently	CoE-Not practicing
5	Frank	M	70	Pensioner	Secondary-15	Thetford	NO	Married-Brit	S-41-UK	5 years	Permanently	CoE-Not practicing
	Janet	F	67	Pensioner	Secondary-15	Thetford		Married-Brit	S-41-UK	5 years	Permanently	None

Table 8: Foreign Interviewee Profile Table (continue)

	NAME	G	AGE	OCCUP. IN (DIDIM)	EDUCATION	ORIGIN (UK)- Latest Location	PROP. IN THE UK	CIVIL STATUS	CHILDREN	TIME IN DIDIM	ANNUAL DURATION OF STAY	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
6	Andy	M	49	Real Estate Employee-IT	College-drop out-20	Milton Keynes	NO	Divorced- Move in British partner	D-21-UK	2 years	Permanently	Pagan -Practicing
	Eileen	F	47	Real Estate Employee-Manager	A Level-18	Milton Keynes		Divorced- Move in British partner	D-28-UK S-24-UK	2 years	Permanently	Pagan- Practicing
7									2D's 32-30 2 S's 44-26			
	Dana	F	62	Pensioner NOT PARTNERED	Secondary-16	Hull	NO	Divorced	5 GC (UK)	2 years	Permanently	None
8	Paul	M	65	Pensioner Private	Secondary-14	Cheshire - Greece	YES	Married- Brit	3-D's & 1 S (UK) 3GC	3 years	7 months	None
	Aneth	F	60	Pensioner	Secondary-15	Cheshire - Greece		Married- Brit	D-25 (UK)	3 years	7 months	CoE- practicing
9	Maggy	F	62	Pensioner	Secondary-16	Crew/Cheshire N.A.	NO	Divorced- Move in Turkish partner	S-deceased- 40 S-36- UK 3GC	1 year	Permanently	CoE- would be practicing
	Erdal	M	25	Waiter	High school- 17			Single - move in Brit partner	-	5years	Permanently	Muslim- Practicing

Table 8: Foreign Interviewee Profile Table (continue)

	NAME	G	AGE	OCCUP. IN (DIDIM)	EDUCATION	ORIGIN (UK)-Latest Location	PROP. IN THE UK	CIVIL STATUS	CHILDREN	TIME IN DIDIM	ANNUAL DURATION OF STAY	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
10	Peer	M	57	Pensioner-illness	A level-18	Sunderland-France	NO	Single	S-20 (UK)	1 month	Permanently	None
11	Debby	F	45	Travel agency owner NOT PARTNERED	A level-19	Bath	YES	Divorced	S-23 (UK) D-22-Didim	2 years	Permanently	CoE-Not practicing
12	Nathan	M	43	Retired	Secondary-16	Derby	NO	Married-Brit	S-20 (UK) D-9-Didim	1 year	Permanently	None
	Sybil	F	44	Housewife	Secondary-16	Derby		Married-Brit	D-23-Didim D-9-Didim	1 year	Permanently	None
13	Rose		69	Pensioner	Secondary-15	Melksham/Whiltshire	YES	Divorced-Move in British partner	3D-42-40-38 (UK)	1 year	8 months	CoE-Not practicing
	Dazz	M	65	Pensioner Private	Secondary -16	Melksham/Whiltshire St		Divorced-Move in British partner	-	1 year	8 months	CoE-Not practicing
14	Ken	M	61	Pensioner NO PARTNER	Secondary-15	Allan's/Merseyside	NO	Widower	-	3.5 years	Permanently	None

Table 8: Foreign Interviewee Profile Table (continue)

	NAME	G	AGE	OCCUP. IN (DIDIM)	EDUCATION	ORIGIN (UK)- Latest Location	PROP. IN THE UK	CIVIL STATUS	CHILDREN	TIME IN DIDIM	ANNUAL DURATION OF STAY	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
15	Mary	F	69	Pensioner-partner in a boat NO PARTNER	Secondary-16	Lincolnshire	NO	Widower	D -(SiL Turkish)- Didim S(UK) 4GC	2 years	Permanently	CoE-Practicing
16	Kent	M	64	Pensioner	Secondary-15	Colchester	YES	Widower-move in Brit partner Divorced-Move in British partner	S-38 (UK) S-35 (UK) 3GD	1 year	Permanently	Catholic-Practicing irregularly
	May	F	58	Waitress	Secondary-16	Newcastle	NO		D-23(Didim)	2 years	Permanently	None
17	Sarah	F	55	Cafe owner	Secondary-16	London	YES	Married-Brit	-	1 year	1 week/month in London	None
	Gareth	M	58	Cafe owner	Secondary-16	London		Married-Brit	-	1 year	1 week/month in London	None
18	Armand	M	36		Secondary-16	Sheffield	YES	Move in Brit partner	-	2 years	2 weeks every 3 months	None
	Laura	F	46		GSCE-17	Sheffield	YES	Move in Brit partner	S-23 (UK) D-20 (UK)			None

Table 8: Foreign Interviewee Profile Table (continue)

	NAME	G	AGE	OCCUP. IN (DIDIM)	EDUCATION	ORIGIN (UK)- Latest Location	PROP. IN THE UK	CIVIL STATUS	CHILDREN	TIME IN DIDIM	ANNUAL DURATION OF STAY	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
19	Daisy	F	51	Private Pensioner NO PARTNER	Secondary-16	Durham/ Derbyshire	YES	Divorced	D-25 GS (UK)	19 months	2 weeks/3 months in the UK	None
20	Jen	F	35	Retired- Provided by her still on-work lorry driver husband HUSBAND IN THE UK	Secondary-16	Blackpool	NO	Married- Brit- Husband in the UK	D-15-Didim D-10-Didim	2 years	Permanently	None

Table 9: Categorization of the Interviewee According to NS-SEC ²⁴

NAME	G	AGE	OCCUPATION (UK)	Soc2000 (Standard Occupational Classification) Unit Group	Operational NS-SEC Sub category	Analytic Classes
Jill	F	50	NHS Driver	Van Drivers	12.3-Semiroutine technical	6-Semi-routine Occupations
George	M	58	Magistrate	Solicitors and lawyers, judges and coroners	3.1-Higher Professional Occupations- Traditional employees	1.2-Higher professional occupations
Lily	F	49	Pharmacy manager	Pharmacy managers	5-Lower managerial occupations	2-Lower managerial and professional occupations
Marge	F	61	Housewife			
Darryl	M	59	Warehouse operator		12.4-Semi-routine operative	6-Semi-routine Occupations
Frank	M	70	M.o.Defense Worker	NCO and Other ranks in the Army	7.2-Intermediate sales & service	3-Intermediate Occupations
Janeth	F	67	Self-employed curtain maker	Textiles, garments and Related Trades nets	9.1-Own account workers-non professional	4-Employers in Small Occupations
Andy	M	49	Computer Network Security Manager	ICT managers	3.2-Higher Professional Occupations-New Employee	1.2-Higher professional occupations
Eileen	F	47	Bank systems analyst	IT Operations technicians	4.1-Lower professional and higher technical occupations	2-Lower managerial and professional occupations
Dana	F	62	Cashier in a theme park	Leisure and theme park attendants	13.1-Routine-Occupations-Routine sales and service	7-Routine Occupations
Paul	M	65	Sales personnel in British gas	Sales representatives	4.2-Lower professional and higher technical occupations-new employees	2-Lower managerial and professional occupations 2
Aneth	F	60	IT Trainer	Voc. L and ind.l. trainers	4.3-Lower professional and higher technical occupations-trad.l self employed	2-Lower managerial and professional occupations 2
Maggy	F	62	Team leader in food factory	Food, drink and tobacco process operatives	10-Lower supervisory occupations	5-Lower supervisory Occupations

²⁴ Detailed information on the NC-SEC and the categories can be found at www.statistics.gov.uk/methods_quality/ns_sec

Table 9: Categorization of the Interviewee According to NS-SEC (continue)

NAME	G	AGE	OCCUP.n (UK)	Soc2000 (Standard Occupational Classification) Unit Group	Operational NS-SEC Sub category	Analytic Classes
Peer	M	57	Manager at a car factory	Prod.n, works and maintenance managers	6-Higher Supervisory Occupations	2-Lower Professional and Higher Technical Occupations
Debby	F	45	Café owner	Rest and catering managers	9.1-Own account workers-non professional	4-Employers in Small Occupations
Nathan	M	43	Window fitter	Glaziers, window fabricators and fitters	13.2-Routine-Occupations-Routine production	7-Routine Occupations
Sybil	F	44	Housewife			
Rose	F	69	Council worker	Local Gov.t clerical officers and assistants	7.1-Intermediate Occupations-Intermediate clerical and administrative	3-Intermediate Occupations
Dazz	M	65	Tyre maker		12.4-Semi-routine occupations-Semi-routine operative	6-Semi-routine Occupations
Ken	M	61	Glass factory worker	Assemblers & routine operatives	13.2-Routine-Occupations-Routine production	7-Routine Occupations
Mary	F	69	Receptionist	Receptionist	12.6-Semi-routine occupations-Semi-routine clerical	6-Semi-routine Occupations
Kent	M	64	Traffic controller-Royal mail	Postal workers, male sorters, messengers, couriers	10-Lower supervisory occupations	5-Lower supervisory occupations
May	F	58	School Dinner Lady	Kitchen & catering assistants	12.2-Semi-routine occupations-Semi-routine service	6-Semi-routine Occupations
Sarah	F	55	College Manager	Office Managers	5-Lower managerial occupations	2-Lower Professional and Higher Technical Occupations
Gareth	M	58	Recruitment Agency Owner	Career adv. and voc.l guidance specialists	1.2-Higher professional occupations	1.2-Higher professional occupations
Armand	M	36	Drug delivery	Pharmaceutical Dispensers	12.6-Semi-routine occupations-Semi-routine sales	6-Semi-routine Occupations
Laura	F	46	NHS Health care worker	Care assistants and home carers	12.2-Semi-routine occupations-Semi-routine service	6-Semi-routine Occupations
Daisy	F	51	Produce Supervisor	Assemblers & routine operatives	10-Lower supervisory occupations	5-Lower supervisory occupations
Jen	F	35	Hairdresser	Hairdressers, barbers	13.1-Routine-Occupations-Routine sales and service	7-Routine Occupations

CHAPTER V

HOW DO THEY LIVE?

This Chapter devoted to geographical mobilities and various facets of the daily lives and social relations of the Britons in Didim, also provide some hints on their modes of integration and adjustment in this new setting which is in one sense "a tourism destination" in the Mediterranean basin just like the others, "a blend of the local and the global, where the globally familiar increasingly overshadows what has remained of the local novel" (Jaakson, 2004:176); in another, significantly different as migration destination with a specific local and national history as apparent in most realms of the social life.

I'll rely not only on the interviews but also use the extracts from the editorials and the readers' letters of the two English weeklies while trying to present some aspects of the migrant experiences

V.1. Residing and working in Didim as a Briton: Legal requirements versus actual experiences

Warnes et al., (2004:324) acknowledge the salience of the Europeanisation process with consequences like considerable harmonisation of democratic, civil and legal frameworks making daily lives easier for those with a limited command of foreign languages and customs in another country as one of the causes of the increasing scale of international retirement migration in Europe. Nevertheless, defining and finding out actual "residency" or "work" status of the immigrants prove difficult even in migration cases of intra-EU character where free movement and settlement rights of the member country nationals are secured and they are entitled to social

security and some political rights.²⁵ The situation holds even more difficult in Turkey. Despite the ongoing attempts that will eventually end with harmonisation of the national legislation to the EU Acquis, the current regulatory framework regarding foreigners' stay and employment in Turkey does not grant any intra-EU kind of privileges to the Britons in Didim. Meanwhile as it is widely accepted, being nationals of an affluent country they don't face the same difficulties with the third world citizens during their entry or stay in the country.

Residing in Didim

UK Nationals who wish to visit Turkey for less than 90 days may obtain a tourist visa by presenting a valid UK passport at any of Turkey's ports of entry. A £10 visa fee is the only requirement. The rules regarding their residency in Turkey in turn, is governed by Law No. 5683 dated 15.07.1950 on "Residence and Travel of Foreigners". While the Law stipulates that the foreigners who intend to stay in Turkey for more than one month are required to apply for a Residence Permit by filling out a Declaration of Intent form, in accordance with a Decree enacted in 1961 the time threshold is implemented as "three months" for the citizens of "A Group countries".²⁶ The duration of the residency permits issued also differs for the A group country citizens and the others. While an initial permit of 3 years and further permits of 5 years are issued for the former, the latter who should apply to the Turkish Consulate before entry to the country are granted an initial 1 year permit, which is extended twice for 2 years before being eligible for a 5 year permit.²⁷

I should further mention here that during the research, a police official in Aydın who preferred to stay anonymous stated that in accordance with a Ministry of Interior

²⁵ O'Reilly (2004), as an example, in her study of the extent and scale of integration of European migrants in Spain record the self-inflicted informality -in terms of residential or employment status- of a significant number of migrants either through lack of information or for tax-avoidance purposes

²⁶ The original NATO and European Council member countries is later redefined as OECD and EU member countries

²⁷ Detailed information on implementation of the procedure regarding the "residency permits" can be found in <http://www.ankara.pol.tr/html/hizmetler/yabancilar/yuzun.php>

communiqué "A group" country citizens who purchased property in Turkey are almost automatically issued a 5 year residence permit upon confirmation of having sufficient financial capacity to meet basic standards of living (Personal communication, January 4, 2007).

In fact, with the exception of two (a second-house owner couple Armand,³⁶ and Laura,⁴⁶ and Daisy,⁵¹ who has the annual lease of a property) all the interviewee stay in Turkey with 3 or 5 year residency permits and none ever mentioned any problems related to any difficulty in obtaining them. To the contrary, they all provided light accounts of how they travel back and forth to Aydın and how well they are treated by the authorities. The only complaint was that of Frank, 70 and it was about the increasing permit fee which is also affected by the strong Turkish currency

Setting up a Business

In accordance with the quite recent new Foreign Direct Investment Law (No. 4875 dated 05 June 2003) no discriminatory practices apply to foreigners who want to invest in Turkey and the procedures related to establishing a company in Turkey²⁸ are defined by the Turkish Commercial Code in line with the "national treatment" principle.

The interviewee was quite uninformed and uninterested about the "liberal investment climate" that has highly been promoted by the Turkish government. Among the total sample of 20, just one couple (Sarah, 55 and Gareth, 58) and Debby, 45 who holds Turkish citizenship through a former marriage have registered businesses whereas two others George, 58 and Mary, 69 co-owning boats with Turkish people do not have any official rights on the "cruising" companies operating the boats. What was common in all four cases is the total reliance of the Britons on the information provided by the Turkish partner about the legal issues. The reason underlying the reliance in turn is not just the inadequate language abilities of the

²⁸One can visit <http://www.investinturkey.gov.tr/cms/index.php?c=36> for more information about the details of the applicable procedures for establishing a business and operating in Turkey.

migrants but a preconception that the Turkish bureaucracy is a maze that a foreigner can't deal with and can easily be circumscribed with the help of Turkish people. The accounts of Maggy, 62 who used to co-own a restaurant and Lily, 49 who experienced a ruined partnership provide hints on the informality not only of the businesses but of the basis upon which they are formed with the potential dangers arising out the formality:

"I was staying in Queen's Inn Hotel and I've got to know Bulent and his restaurant which was there then. I talked to him; we talked on the phone about the partnership. And last year we went in a partnership. That's why I came out but unfortunately the Council decided to knock the restaurant down"

"I was involved with a Turkish (my partner then) in business and I lost a lot of money then. Tried to get it back but you can't .More or less got it back but it had been a bit hard and frustrating."

Working in Didim

Employment of foreigners in Turkey is regulated by the "Law on Work Permits of Foreigners" (No.4817 dated 27.02.2003) which governs the principles of work permits to be issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security for various categories of foreigners who want to work independently or get employed by a company.²⁹ Article 8 of the Law grants a privilege to the citizens of the EU countries and their spouses in terms of the duration of the permits that are to be issued in line with the other provisions all applicable.

Surprisingly none of the interviewee, even those having registered businesses in Didim does have a work permit or have even made an application. Not just during the interviews but the whole research period, it was noticeable that the "working Britons" is a fact of daily life in Didim but an apprehensive issue while talking about it. On one hand, when I asked whether they knew any expat run businesses or expats providing some services the initial replies were quite cautious: "Yes but I can't tell because they are not allowed to" On the other, the Dydinian was full of adverts like "Tarot reading:-Your questions answered by Merry Stenson", or "Qualified English electrician- Honest, reliable and tidy at his work" , "English husband and wife team

²⁹ All the relevant information on employment of foreigners can be found on www.workpermit.gov.tr

providing an honest reliable service in property maintenance" (the Dydimian, 26.10.2005) "Waiter required" (21.03.2005) "Belly dance lessons with professional British belly dancer and teacher of 12 years." (30.11.2005), "English Microsoft qualified computer specialist" or "an English Avon rep in Altinkum" (17.05.2005) I came across even a reader letter in which a resident was trying to make a market search for a Chiropodist/Reflexologist friend in Dublin who might consider relocating in Didim. (the Dydimian, 30.11.2005) Also those working among the interviewee were talking openly about how they got approached by local business people -particularly the Estate Agents' for recruitment. One among them Lily, 49 stated that it was the fifth Real Estate Agency that she'd been working in two years. The informality of their status also meant breach of the Labour Law in terms of employee rights. They all mentioned long- sometimes during the season as long as 16 hours-working hours, one week of annual holiday etc. Nevertheless, the accounts didn't even imply a sense of complaint. To the contrary, they all mentioned the "unregimented" nature of the work which made work just "part of fun under the sun" as exemplified by Jen, 35 associating her observations of the Real Estate Agents' where her 16 year old daughter is informally employed with the heavenly image:

"When you work here you work differently. You can chat to people. You have a laugh with them. . You can have a cup of tea. You can't do that in other places. It's just different all together (...) The set back life style. You just get up and go for a walk. . You don't have to worry about thing. There's not any pressure on you about anything There's nobody coming on that road and tell you you should do this or to do that. Here there is none of that. "

V.2. Crossborder mobility patterns of the migrants in Didim

In all the academic studies on international retirement migration particular importance is attached to the geographical mobility between the home and host countries. Williams et al., (1997), for example, identify discrete groups within a more general category of post-retirement migrants. Seasonal migrants (snowbirds) who spend variable periods in their host country are distinguished from those who permanently reside abroad following a displacement from their country of origin. Others are classified as "second home owners" or "third age long-stay tourists"

Gustaffson ,as well, (2001,2002) distinguishes between "seasonal" and permanent" migrants while tracing patterns of transnationality in identities and lifestyles.

O'Reilly (1995) in her ethnographic study of the (not just elderly) Britons in Spain, provides an alternative five-fold typology based on sense of commitment and relative orientation to host and origin country, including the distribution of time between these. Thus, she identifies expatriates (permanent, identify with host country); residents (in terms of orientation and legal status, but seasonally visit the country of origin for 2–5 months); seasonal visitors (orientated to the country of origin, and spend 2–6 months at the destination each year); returners (usually second home owners, who visit irregularly); and tourists (identify with the area as a holiday destination). She elaborates the categories further and defines four main groups of migrants (see O'Reilly 2000 for a fuller explanation): Full Residents- who live in Spain all year, Returning Resident- who live in Spain yet return to the home country for one to three months each year (often to escape the heat of the summer); Seasonal Visitors-who live in the home country yet visit Spain for several months each year.(This group usually owns a second home in Spain and Peripatetic Visitors)- who also own a second home and who migrate back and forth regularly between the two countries, having both places as home.

In the sense above, except for 5 all the interviewees in the sample are full residents. The geographical mobilities of some, on the other hand, further confirm the undebatable fact that ease of moving in between places is one of the underlying factors of migrations of voluntary nature.

For 12 of the interviewee in the sample, the house in Didim is their sole and thus, by definition primary residence.³⁰ Among the 7 property owners back in the UK, for the 2, Debby, 45 and Kent, 64 the property is just a property not a “home” anymore. So their mobilities should be described within this majority group.

³⁰ The geographical mobilities of Armand,36 and his partner Laura,46 who are typical "returners" in the sense of the term as used by O'Reilly haven't been considered in this section

4 of these 14 (George (58), Ken (61), Debby (45), Nathan (43)) hadn't been to the UK again once settled in Didim, and two just to sort out things during the settlement process: to sell the car (Peer, 57) or to transfer money (Kent, 64). Another 2, Dana, 62 and Frank, 70 went once during the consecutive 2 and 5 years and were telling with a strong determination that they'd never go again. For the other 4, on the other hand, goings and comings were regular: either for family visits or whenever a need arises like exemplified in Andy (49)'s narrative of his and his partner's visits and Mary (69)'s account:

"The first year we came here we delayed living in Altinkum because Eileen's daughter was having twins. So we went until they were born. First time Eileen went because of their birthday. Second time because her father died. Third time we went because I had to work in the UK for 6 months because our plans all went wrong. And we didn't have enough money to stay here so I went and worked. The last time we went was Christmas together and Eileen's mother was ill. "

"To take the Turkish vet -I took the local vet to England for 2 weeks to spend with my vet-, for Christmas, birthdays, and celebration times and to do some business"

Those keeping their houses in the UK, in turn, show even more diverse mobility patterns, -not always regular and not just between the home and host countries- that worth describing in detail:

Marge, 61 who moved to Didim following her husband Darryl's (59) wish says "I'm still not sure about living permanently." But in the 2 years after the move she "went *home* just once. I was there for July and August last year" she says "For medical reasons. I had an operation"

Daisy, 51 who has moved to a rented flat in Altinkum moves quite regularly in between countries: "I spend 3 months here and then go back to England for a few weeks and come back" and she doesn't have a certain idea how long she'll live like that: "I'll probably return to the UK. Maybe. I don't know. I just do both"

Rose, 69 and Daz, 65 after moved out in April 2005 went at the end of November and returned in April: "We spent 2 months in the UK and then we spent another 2 months in the Canary Islands because of the weather. Because the weather in January and February here is bad. In Tenerife all year rise sun. So that's why we

went there” and intend to do the same again while also visiting Cos once a month to shop in a British food store.

Paul, 65 and Aneth, 60 have a similar mobility pattern:

“We stay from March to November. We are here in summer. We don’t stay in the winter. We go for Christmas to see the children and parents. We make the best use of both countries. Winter there and summer here. (...)We usually go to India in winters. This year we went to America but we usually go to India.”

They, as well, visit the neighbouring Greek Islands occasionally to cater for items that they can’t have in Didim like pork or various British brands, and go to their previously settled Poros to see old friends

Sarah, 55 and Garreth, 58 on the other hand pursue what might be called a “peripatetic lifestyle” between two countries. They are partners of a cafe-book club with two people, a close friend of theirs from the UK who came for a holiday to theirs and decided to stay in Didim. (“I’m still on a probation period” says their partner “I gave it one year. If I don’t like it I’ll probably try Bodrum”) and a Turkish citizen. Gareth also continues his partnership in a recruitment agency in London “We go to London once in a month for a week. Gareth goes to work for business. I go to visit my mother who lives in West Midlands. I go to London and go to W. Midlands and back.”

V.3. Relations and emotional ties with the UK

While all the 5 interviewee with pendulum like movements between the two countries state that they will eventually return to the UK if old age does not allow such a mobile lifestyle or in case some medical situation³¹ regarding themselves or their families back there arises, the rest has so far never been that fluid in their movements nor do they intend to. In contrast, reminding O'Reilly's (2000:96) finding among the Britons of Fuengirola a "myth of (no) return" prevails. Most of

³¹ Health care is one of the features distinguishing Turkey from the other British lifestyle migration destinations in the Mediterranean that are all in the EU and thus the migrants are granted access to the national health services of the host country or at least make use of the E111 system developed for the British tourists in the EU zone.

the respondents have declared that “They are done with the UK” and never intend to return in any cases, even in extremes like the death of a spouse or the frail old age, as exemplifies Nathan,⁴³ whose stepdaughter is with a Turkish man and Ken,⁶¹ whose wife passed away in Didim last year:

"Why be frail and old under the cold? Just be frail and old here. Same thing Even though one of us passes away, Amanda is here with Jimmy so we'll always have a connection And when they have children I'll have grandchildren here so..."

"You know me and my wife used to discuss we're living in a foreign country and I said to her "What are you going to do if I die? "And she asked me. And I told her. We both agreed that's life. Here, it's my home now."

Even those stating that they could think about moving somewhere else outside (like Debby, 45 mentioning Northern Cyprus or Jill, 50 considering Singapore) or within Turkey (like Andy, 49 dreaming of Bodrum, Fethiye or Paul, 65 thinking about Datça) maybe one day in the future, mention it can be anywhere but the UK to where according to Dana, 62 one could only return if "s/he wins the lottery"

Attias-Donfut (2004, 3) emphasizes the importance of the preferred place of burial for determining the level of place attachment since “there is a symbolic importance given to the cemetery in family continuity and a sense of belonging." In that sense except just one interviewee Mary, 69 apparently the most devoted Christian among all who prefers to have her eternal rest in England saying that she'll return home not until but when she's dead, nobody assigns any meaning to what happens to their corps. Nonetheless, the below extract from Ken's, 61 account about his ex-wife's death (the only foreign resident who passed away in Didim as I was informed by the Municipality) and the aftermath gives some hints that this issue currently overlooked by the migrants might include some problematic aspects in a country about the regulations and culture of which they have limited and superficial competence:

"My wife died in Kusadasi. I wasn't toward Islamic cultural ceremony. We had to go to Kusadasi the day after to collect the body. My friend Dilek she took me to Kusadasi by car but first we went to a mosque to buy a coffin. That was a shock. When we went there I saw my wife naked. A shock. According to the custom as soon as the body is washed it's to be buried. And that was again a shock. But what got to me, the hospital I was given a bill. So after burying my wife I had to go to the bank to get the money. My wife was a popular figure in the bank. I seldom went there. As soon as I told them what happened I had my money blocked.

And also the house being on two names I only had 50 % of my wife's share. So that needed to be sorted. And I thought that the estate agents they should inform the clients about what'd happen. Because I know people older than me. They are coming out here to spend their last years here. They should be informed about the Law. I went to a lawyer. One thing he told me, that's what the translator said, I shouldn't have told the bank. I should've just got in withdraw all the money in our joint account I got ripped off by the lawyer. So my friend Rıza, Dilek's husband took me to another lawyer with perfect English. He sorted it out. Apparently that was the first case in Didim where a foreign person died without leaving a will. It took me 4.5 months to sort all this out. And in that time, I'd money in the account which was frozen. The house I had 75 % of it so I couldn't help thinking. Anyway all sorted out now."

In fact, I should mention, for all, the future with all its unknowns is a sensitive issue. The most common reaction among respondents is that they do not think or do not want to know about it. Only a few mentioned enjoying planning for the future or having desires. Even those having young offspring in Turkey like Nathan,43, Jen,35 or Debby,45 when asked what would happen to their children or grandchildren if they discard the idea of return to the UK for good, give ambivalent accounts focusing on the opportunities for the children that might arise of being bilingual. In fact it might be argued that the offerings of the "present" of a "laid back", "easy life" in this foreign land under the sun is so much cherished for the moment that the thoughts of an apprehensive future which can deconstruct "the myth of no return" to the UK are avoided as apparent in Frank (70)'s discourse:

"We sold our house and built this one. We have a little money left. Very very little. And if we had a serious illness it'd be a problem for us. Illness or frailty. Otherwise I'd like to stay here. My friends are all here. If we're not around they come to see us. Our life is here. I like it here. Fridays Jane goes out. I mean 5 or 6 girls together they go out. They go to the hairdressers, they walk around. Once every three weeks they go to Aydın market. And Soke. On the dolmus. Not in cars And they enjoy it. Whereas in England she always stayed at home."

Part of the myth is the eagerness to show off having no interest with the UK which is a common trait among almost all the migrants, especially those without a home there

Except for two –Mary, 69 and Sarah, 55 of whom the former needed to emphasize that it wasn't because she didn't lose all her interest in the UK ("If I am there or I can have a post vote, I will vote. I am not interested but I consider things are not going well and every vote is going to count I think") - none of the migrants intends to vote for the UK elections at all, even those who used to before.

Only Kent, 64 a former member of the labour movement needs a justification:

"I can vote by proxy but I don't think it's right that someone living outside the UK to have a say in the running of the country. If you don't live there u don't have the right to vote. I don't live there so...I won't vote"

For the others it is simply: "Why to bother at all?"

The apathy towards the institutional UK is also discernible in their attitudes towards the "next of the kin" registry highly promoted and encouraged by the British Consulate in Izmir (the Dydimian, 03.01.2005) through announcements in the English weeklies and the internet forums and by the Consul himself during a visit to the town (the Dydimian, 07.02.2005). The forms available in the offices of the newspapers don't take more than 10 minutes to complete. Nevertheless, just 5 of the interviewee, and even not Lily, 49 working in the office where the forms are distributed, got registered. When asked whether there was any particular reason the interviewee told they even have not thought of it at all or decided that it was cumbersome as demonstrated by the below extracts from Mary,69 and Kent,64 :

"Why should I? My family knows where I am. I never thought of registering with them. If any need arises Turkish people will look after me. They know what I need. And my daughter'll be here anyway."

"I thought why would they know where I am. My family knows where I am."

Except for the interviewee who still come and go to the UK regularly, only two declared that they still try to keep up with what's happening there. In the case of Ken, 61, who even follow the local news of where he used to live through the internet, the regular information he obtains seems to be used as a further justification of the migration decision:

"I regularly watch the UK news. I see on television the news and one of the reasons a lot of people come here is because of the political scene in Britain. Because a lot of people are moving against Tony Blair and his policies. A lot of people are, this is what the television says, BNP. They tend to vote for them. I know people that will come up tomorrow will be saying that there would be more immigrants going to Britain Honestly I worked for 38 years and people, immigrants are coming in and they are having more rights than I have. They're all talking about the immigrant population. And these people not working and taking money out of the system which is not right."

Kent, 64 on the other hand is quite apologetical about still being interested in the current affairs in the UK:

"Ehm, yes, I'm, especially about the pensions at the moment, I tend to watch the news, check what's happening on the news, if it's very interesting I follow them on the internet. Politics now, because I don't live now in the UK it doesn't affect me so much but it affects my family"

It can be argued that, not being interested in the current affairs in the UK is one of the discursive strategies of the migrants in construction of "the myth of no return". Frank, 70 for example who spends three hours a day on the internet reading all the major UK newspapers was among the 7 who gave a brief, certain "No" response when asked whether he held an interest about what was happening back home. Also exemplary was Nathan (43)'s account in this sense:

"To be honest now no. I used to when I lived there but now... I watch the news to keep informed but. I sit there and grumble "Look at this Look at that" but then I realise it doesn't affect me because I'm here it doesn't affect me."

Not surprisingly, just a few of the interviewee mentioned buying English newspapers at most once a week whereas all, but one, regularly read either one or both of the English weeklies of the town: The Voices and the Dydimian that provide a few UK news in each issue. While my survey of Voices internet archives of July and August 2006 on number of hits on news stories seems to validate the declared disinterest in the UK³², an extract from an editorial of the Dydimian exemplifies how the home country is symbolically constructed as a place where one should be grateful to leave and feel pity for those s/he left behind:

"Spare a thought for those back home. The temperature has reached 3 degrees, the snow is causing chaos on the roads this is a serious time for all our families. Let's hope they all get through this winter safe and sound" (editorial, 30.11.2005).

Also, almost nothing is missed from the UK or the lives back there or emphasized that it's just minor things like foodstuff that can easily be catered by visitors or seasonal migrants or can easily be negotiated as tells Peer, 57:

³² In all 10 issues screened UK news exclusively had the lowest hit ranking even below news coverage of Turkish home news The most preferred coverage on the other hand, was of "expatriate community news" and those with newsheads with locational reference to "Altinkum -not Didim though.

"The only thing: It's not really important thing. The small things like a salad cream Coleman's mustard. The small things that you can't buy here. You can only buy in the UK. Sometimes you can buy them in France At the end of the day you can either live without it or you can find a Turkish similarity. For example I like a ham but because it's pork based but then in Turkey I can find chicken ham and it's OK. So... "

In fact, just 2 people during the 20 interviews -Jill, 50 who openly talks about her disappointment with the place where "everything and everybody is so different" telling that if money weren't a concern in her life she'd go back to her country, to England and Andy's partner Eileen, 47 -gave hints that the migration destination was not a heaven on earth and the life left behind had some virtues as well, in their consecutive accounts:

"I miss the shops really. You can't buy anything here and ... In the supermarkets you can buy anything from anywhere in the world. Here you can't find anything. The supermarkets but not enough to make me go back. "

"What I miss is honesty. Because I do find that the Turkish mentality is it doesn't matter. It's not a problem. Because they think differently to us. The culture is very different. And I find this very frustrating."

It can further be said that once they opt for permanent residence in Didim the geographical centre of most of the migrants' lives become Didim Nevertheless, the same can not be argued about the social centre of their lives if one explores in depth. In the social space they inhabit the migrants retain or import whatever they feel "of value" in their former lives and in Britain.

Of these left behind in the UK, family and friends are the most prior. Thanks to the developed communication infrastructure, all the migrants keep regular contact with whomever they want to. Indeed, telephone calls, text messages and for the most, online communication with Britain through the internet are indispensables of daily lives. They even try to retain British traditions like sending or giving specially designed cards as long as the postal services prove reliable enough.

"Last year when we came August that was Pat' birthday, then Nichola's birthday and then my birthday and then you couldn't buy what we call traditional English birthday cards. Now you can buy birthday cards, Christmas cards, Easter cards any cards you want to buy"

tells Nathan, 43 cheerfully while not missing the opportunity to remind himself how right he was to leave UK where nothing goes in order:

"The Turkish post works well but the English Post no. Even in England the Post Office loses 6 million letters a year. If they can't manage to deliver a letter there's no point giving them a letter post it 3000 miles away for them to lose it. So we phone them, we text them. We didn't receive any Christmas letters but we had some birthday cards. We text them mostly because if you send them a card before 2 weeks you can't still guarantee that they can get it for the birthday so we text them on the day"

Alongside regular, almost daily communication, those that are loved come frequently. "Visiting friends and relatives tourism" in the sense Williams et. al., (2000:38) use the term is of paramount importance in the migrant lives. Children and grandchildren visit once the school period is over. Friends come occasionally on and off season. They are accommodated in the migrants' places or if they prefer packages they are met everyday during their stay. Even if they are in another resort in Turkey meetings are arranged either in that resort or in Didim.

Another important linkage with the UK is retained through the visual media. Except for Mary,69,-who doesn't own a TV set- all the interviewee have either satellite dishes (the size of the satellite, thus the reception of on-the-air channels in the UK (BBC1-2 and ITV Channel 4 and 5) is an emphasized point in the responses) or at least digitals allowing them access to BBC World and Prime. TV-watching is accounted as an indispensable part of the daily lives except for Debby, 45 and George, 58 and program and channel preferences do not deviate from that in the UK. (It also worth noting that only two of the respondents mentioned Turkish channels Debby,45 with reference to her daughter's Turkish partner living with them and Maggy,62 who discovered that there are movies in English in the CNBC-E). Indeed, I can say within the discursive strategies of the migrants, the soaps and English sports seem to be the only "legitimate" areas of ongoing interest from the UK as they are both available in Didim ("I get more English football here than I did in England". says Frank, 70 whereas Nathan, 43 who's a typical English football fan with a not big enough satellite finds consolation: "You can get English football in French and Portuguese channels. You can't get English commentary but at the end of the day, I know what the play is so ...") and there's nothing to be regretted.

V.4. Housing and home oriented issues and activities

The dwellings of the interviewee reflect a variety ranging from 5 bedroom semi-detached triplexes, to small detached villas and 2 bedroom apartments in compounds. Only one interviewee Lily, 49, living in Didim for 2 years, declared that she changed her initially purchased flat in central Altinkum for a villa in a calmer place. In all, but three cases (i.e. of Frank,70, Paul,65 and Mary,69) the dwelling was purchased as a finished building from a builder either directly or through a real estate agency whereas the only exception that the interviewee has a house specially built for himself is Frank. His account of the process, in turn, also provides hints of why buying a plot and involving in construction personally will not be a preferred option for the migrants of Didim in the near future:

"We had problems. Because I believe everybody that built a house in Turkey have problems. The quality is not the same as in England. The finishing is not same as in England. Especially here in Didim the builders are not good. You have to import from Izmir, from Ankara"

Quality of construction, with the inadequacy of infrastructure (i.e. there are those waiting for telephone connections for more than 2 years, water and power cuts are parts of daily lives like the muddy roads surrounding the houses and scrambling TV channels) or lack of standards in the town, is a common cause of discontent for most of the interviewee. Even in the few cases where a 10 year guarantee on the house was provided by the builder, enforcement of contracts and differing standards prevailing in the two countries were accounted as problematic as exemplified by Mary, 69 and Jill, 50

"I went to the builder who originally built it. And he sent unprofessional people. Because I have a 10 year guarantee on the house. I go down there reminded him the guarantee. I also spoke to an advocate. He was like: "Oh you're threatening us". I said "No. I'm not threatening you. But you're responsible. You must do it." They did it but not properly. In a year's time it was gone again. Incompetence of the builders. And this is again Kurdish people being imported. They don't know what they're doing."

"I think the workmanship is horrendous. Last year two guys came for masonry but the year before they were working in a bar. I just feel anybody can do a house here. In England we have so many regulations, so many standards. Maybe too many. Everything is to be checked, Here oh my god. It's like they 're totally underqualified. But then again. I try to think like It's their way. They do it to each other too."

In fact, even though the buildings are quite new 15 of the interviewee,⁴ emphasizing that it was just minor stuff- stated that they needed some repair/maintenance kind of work in the house. For dealing with that kind of problems in turn, while 3 all male interviewee mentioned they were the DIY kind, the most preferred option is seeking a Turkish friend's help to find the right person to do the job. Nevertheless, as stated by Andy,⁴⁹ the already established underground network of British people of trade ("They just put it right what the Turkish builders don't do correctly. And it's back hand. The inability of the builders to do a job properly is just creating a black market." tells Ken, 61) might eventually get more popular:

"That's very difficult. Because from experience if you have a qualified British plumber you know he'd do the job. My experience in Didim, I've been told it's like that in Turkey but I don't believe that I believe it's in Didim, they come along and say "I can do that job" You trust him that he can do it. And he doesn't do it properly and you get somebody else It's exactly the same. What would you do except for finding a British plumber ? On the whole I'd prefer a Turkish plumber because it's their country and I'd rather give them my money but they don't do the job properly. What choice do you have ?"

It has generally been reported by the real estate agents and the builders in town that swimming pools are gradually becoming indispensable parts of the new-built estates. Two of the interviewee, in fact, have got private and a further three mentioned having common swimming pools. And in all 5 cases the pool is extensively used during the summer season

In fact, the house, indoors and the close proximity, seems to be the major focus of the migrant lives. Most of the interviewee, especially those relatively aged, emphasize the time they spend in the house as a pleasurable experience while talking about their daily lives. For those working on the other hand , not being able to enjoy their house, is a pity as they mention ruefully

Daily domestic chores are mostly done personally Just 4 male - 3 coupled and 1 widower- among the 20 interviewee stated that they used to or still use regular domestic help. While in the case of the widower it was a Turkish female he called his daughter who came out to help for cleaning, the rest used Turkish paid cleaners

(in one case daily and in the remaining two once or twice a week) that they found through mostly local and in just one case, British friends. But as stated by Armand,³⁶ even in that field an underground British economy is emerging:

"We paid £70 to a Turkish woman to clean our apartment. Builder's cleaner and she couldn't...Everybody complains about something. So the English "I'll set a business. Do it properly" Different standards. So that's what they do, cleaning "

14 of them have gardens -even a small spot and a few pots- and gardening is part of their daily pass time. In just two cases, those of George,⁵⁸ and Frank,⁷⁰ a professional gardener hired once a week for further help is mentioned

Reminding Çankaya's (2006:28) observation that " in almost each of the foreigners' house there are more than one cat or dog fed", half of the interviewee have animals: Sally, 50 a cat, Debby,⁴⁵ a tortoise and in the remaining cases dogs, either adopted here or brought from England. Furthermore, 4 of those who don't have animals explained it in a rather apologetical way, a compromise made either because of their "mobile" life styles:

"If you have pets you've to find someone to look after your pets "(Peer, 57)

"No. It's difficult with the way we live. We used to have before "(Paul,65)

"No, we have a dog that comes to be fed everyday. But we can't keep it because we go back to England then. (It is a street dog, it adopted us)" (Rose,⁶⁹ and Dazz,⁶⁵)

or as in Nathan(⁴²)'s case for securing good neighbourly relations

"The dog in the winter bringing mud on the stairs. So we understood. Rather than upsetting the neighbours we made sure that she's looked after and... She knows where we are. It was a street dog anyway. We adopted her here. The neighbours have got children and they were scared. The children wouldn't come so we had to..."

In fact, it worth mentioning that the only account of a confrontation with a local during the interviews was of Andy's partner Eileen,⁴⁷ and it arose initially as a problem regarding the dogs giving hints of differing attitudes of two societies towards having animals at home:

"The situation first arose when we moved to our duplex because we had two dogs. Our neighbours underneath are Turkish and absolutely they hate dogs. So they were continually complaining about The dogs noise, the dogs walking on the floor, barking, their chains' dangling. And there was a particular instance when Allan wasn't here Me and my friend My

friend had a car. She parked outside my building in the spot where my neighbor parked. He wasn't there and it's a big road. He came home and he had to park his car elsewhere He started shouting at Hazel that she was in his parking space. Because I've already been stressed about the antagonism over my dogs I was very upset. Hazel got very angry. Went downstairs and said "I can park anywhere I like. It's not your street" And he violently threatened her. He pushed her down the stairs. There was a lot of shouting, there was a lot of abuse. We intended to go to the police station but I was persuaded by one of our friends not to go in, not to make a complaint, to sort it out. Because they didn't want a confrontation. They didn't want the Turkish man to get into trouble. So we were persuaded not to go. Instead, we all sat down together. He told me what his problems were. I told him what my problems were. That he was intolerant. That he had to accept the fact that someone would live above him . I agreed to take off the dogs' chains, put carpets down on my floor not to wear my shoes in the house and do my best to keep the dogs quiet. After a couple of months the situation calmed down and now everything is fine."

Unlike the common preconception that the British migrants prefer foreigner only enclaves (see the Dydimian, 18.02.2006 for the coverage of a local polemic on the issue), just two among the 20 interviewees Paul,65, living in a housing estate in Hisar neighbourhood and Daisy,51 who holds an annual lease of a flat in a tourist compound in Altinkum stated consecutively that they don't have any local ³³or any neighbours at all. For all the rest, they all have at least one local or German-Turkish neighbour. Indeed, in 4 of the cases most of the neighbours and in another 4 all of them are locals The relations with the local neighbours, on the other hand, are mostly accounted with terms implying exchange of pleasantries and helpfulness on part of the locals with an emphasis on the language barrier as exemplifies Debby,45:

" They are all Turkish. They' are all brilliant. They don't speak English and my Turkish is little but we never ever had a problem. They are lovely. When the water got cut out the other month, they got a spring out there and they filled my cups in there. They were very very helpful and lovely"

A deeper relationship with the local neighbours is mentioned just by two interviewees. While Mary, 69 stated that she regularly has a cup of coffee and eat together from time to time with both her neighbours ; Peer, 57, who moved to his place just 4 weeks before the interview, accounted perceived hints of a future friendship:

"The house next door is Yasar who lives in Didim His brother who lives in Holland owns the house. He comes every day to clean the garden and look after the property. I see Yasar everyday when he comes to do the garden and we have Turkish tea and I have to learn how to

³³ In the interviews with the Britons the term "local" turned out to signify people of Turkish or Kurdish origin living or holidaying in Didim. Nevertheless, the German-Turks emerged as a third separate category under the term

make Turkish tea (...)And there is another guy who bought an apartment behind and I see him and he comes everyday to see how the building is going. And he says "when it's finished come around and I'll teach you how to drink raki." "

On the other hand, 6 among the interviewees all living in estates or blocks where the majority of the neighbours are foreigners, stated that regular socialising with their neighbours is among their daily activities especially during the winter season as discernible in Kent's (64) and Ken's (61) accounts:

"We call in each others' to have a tea, coffee or a drink."

"With the expat neighbours when they come out we socialise with them They like coming to my terrace bringing their booze up with them"

Nevertheless, as Rose,⁶⁹ exemplifies, most of the migrants, at least discursively put specific emphasize that even socialising with the neighbours is not part of a *routine*:

"Up here there are four of us, I mean four families we tend to, do not live in each other's pockets all the time, last night 4 people came and we had drinks on the terrace, had a social evening together. Then maybe we won't do that again perhaps another 2 weeks or more. When we got visitors we don't see them. There is no set routine. "

V.5. Car ownership and traffic

Traffic is one of the realms that the migrants find most difficult to adapt themselves Except for Mary,⁶⁹ spending the summer season cruising on the boat that she co-owns with a Turkish business partner, using the dolmuş for inner city travels and praising the quality of coach network that she regularly uses for travelling within Turkey who says that : "It is wonderful compared with England. Superb. No traffic jams here", all the 14 motor vehicle (i.e. 13 cars and a moped) and the 5 full-time pedestrians unanimously state that "traffic" is an issue in Turkey with the emphasis on the "Turkish drivers "circulating on the roads

Ken,⁶¹, for example justifying his not having a car with an humorous " I value my life too much" carries on his account with the same ironical tone:

"I don't think it's compulsory to have a driving license or at least, there are a lot of people who do not know this. I've always wanted to tell this. 70 million people in Turkey. 70 million different rules. They all have their way of doing things "

Similarly Sarah, 55 replies "There isn't any" when asked about what she thought of the traffic in Turkey even though being a Londoner she was among the five interviewees (Jill 50 and Frank, 70 who had professional careers as drivers, George 58 after 4 years in Turkey and Andy, 49 who was used to daily commutes to London) who said they could cope after all. Andy's account is quite exemplary:

"It is not as bad as the UK. It's hundred times worse in the UK. But, I do find it very nerve breaking driving here because a lot of drivers can't drive. And roads are not brilliant, road signs are not clear but we cope "

For all the rest being part of the traffic is a terrible experience .

"Chaos, Turkish drivers got to be the worst in the whole world. Wherever, I have been , I have been to Mexico, America, India, Spain, these are the worst drivers I've ever met." (Paul, 65)

Reminding an ironical analysis by columnist Cansen (2005) of the deaths of three German pedestrians hit by cars in Alanya on the same day who explains the accidents with the fact that "in Europe whatever the conditions are the pedestrians have the priority on the road whereas the opposite is a "de facto" reality in Turkey" and states that the encounter of people socialised in these opposing traffic cultures might eventually have fatal consequences, the interviewees provide accounts of "crossing the road" as an "adventure" as consecutively exemplified by Dana, 62 and Jen, 35:

"It's mad. Turkish drivers are... When crossing the street, I just make sure the road is very clear."

" I'm most stressed crossing the road. Because they put traffic lights up. They put pedestrian crossings up. But they don't stop. So you're like.. Life and death test crossing the road"

V.6. Shopping, eating out, entertainment

"Commercial exchanges" emerge as the only realm that the migrants overtly and unanimously state that they feel themselves discriminated against through the ongoing multi-tier pricing practices. Andy's partner Eileen's account differs from the others only in terms of the strength of the tone and determination of the speaker:

"I tell them I say them "Don't try to rip me off because I'm English." I tell them in Turkish. They start apologising and most of them will charge me the correct price. But there'd been a few times that I'd been in a shop and in another shop. Two items are the same The prices are so different because one of the shops is on the main street and I shouted at them saying "I'm

not gonna come here again "There are several places in Didim where I'll not go. (Complaining to local authorities) doesn't make any difference. The shops have rules to comply by. They have to display their prices. They're not supposed to double charge. But only one shop in Yenihisar displays its prices. From working in that business I know that English customers are getting ripped off. They're doing it right in front of your very eyes. Most of English people are very gullible because they don't know any better. I think in the past people have tried to complain but it doesn't make any difference. Because the government, or the local government they make rules but they don't enforce them. "

"Commercial exchanges", at the same time, in most cases, constitute the initial medium of contact with the locals. Shops, restaurants cafes, in the migrant accounts are not just facilities where they attend to cater for their immediate needs of goods and services but places of where highly-valued friendships with the locals are established and developed. It worth mentioning here that -almost all male-shop owners, waiters, real estate agents' and bartenders -comprise the whole circle of "Turkish and Kurdish" or "local" friends of especially the interviewee who had not been to Didim as a tourist prior to migration ³⁴

In that frame, the accounts on shopping, eating out or entertainment carry hints of the emphasis on the at least discursively sought after "integration" with the locals and the locality ("My friend's X's shop" "I go to Y restaurant. The owner is a friend of mine" are common and overused phrases), the strategies developed against the vulnerability felt about being cheated alongside the ways of tackling the challenge of living in a small place where one can't find what s/he looks for or s/he is used to:

For food and other daily exigencies Saturday open air market is regularly attended and the supermarkets are preferred to the neighbourhood groceries in order to secure a fair price. On the Saturday market going to the same stall all the time or following a local shopping, have been mentioned as ways of avoiding being cheated. Pork products are told to be brought from Greece or some times ordered to friends and neighbours . Armand's partner Laura (46) who is currently a residential tourist state how important her comings and goings to the UK for the Briton neighbours:

"When we go back to the UK it's like "Can you bring me some bacon ? ""Can you bring me some mugs" or "Gravy" which they are missing. I'll bring them that which we're not missing."

³⁴ For the previous tourists on the other hand, the hotel owners and employee are added to the list.

For clothes or accessories etc. the limitedness of choice in Didim is emphasized. Söke with the outlets, Aydın and İzmir or the M & S in Bodrum are also stated as options while almost all still regularly visiting the UK mention they rather wait till they go because of the size or fashion. Also it worth stating one among the interviewee going to outlets in Milan George, 58 and Debby, 45 opting for internet shopping from the UK.

In most cases furniture has been shipped from the UK. But those who bought in Turkey mentioned larger places like Aydın, İzmir and Söke with the exception of Peer,⁵⁷ who at the time of the interview was indeed at the stage of buying: "All in Didim. Because, it puts money to the local economy. They say Söke is cheaper but then the money goes somewhere else." Nathan,⁴², on the other hand, gives another account how shopping is conceived as a way of having good relations with the locals:

"Furniture is from Kocarli. The man we bought the house off . A Turkish lad working with him he took us to his dad's shop so we went there. A big shop with everything. We'd already looked for furniture in Yenimahalle Didim and it was unbelievable. They said £3 000 for a sofa. When we go to inland the same sofa £ 500. After we picked everything we crossed the road and went to their house. Had lovely lunch. We probably spent enough to keep them going for a month and they were happy. We were offered a lovely price and we were happy. Some people bought less than we had for five times much. It's probably because they got in the first shop they saw. Because they don't know , they know the price in England so... I mean here all the Turkish everybody " My uncle's furniture shop. My cousin's clothes shop, my wife's brother's scooter shop" It's all about making a living. At the end of the day if I need something that his uncle is selling I go to his uncle's shop. Everybody is happy then. We pay for what we want. We're happy. His uncle gives him a good commission. He's happy."

Eating out is the most popular and a regular leisure activity for both single and coupled migrants. Especially in summer when their visitors come, its frequency increases to "every day" Some of the interviewee state having regular places they attend; some, especially those whose settlement history is relatively new mention experimenting. One particular feature is the emphasize put, almost by all, on their avoidance of British-only or tourist enterprises. Meanwhile frequenting the local place (i.e. the bar or pub in the close proximity) plays an important role in creating networks which in turn, can be vital in the migrants' lives as overtly stated by the below extract from a reader letter :

“How close-knit the UK community relays We thank all our new friends for all their support during our hard times.(...) It turned out that I was suffering a stroke My wife like myself unable to speak Turkish telephoned Mr Deniz Polat *the owner of the local* who immediately came to our house (It was 2:30 a-m) he took us both to the hospital and, after some treatment we were sent home. A 9:00 o'clock I suffered a more serious stroke another phone call from Deniz and he immediately took us to Kusadasi and didn't leave us alone (...) Thanks to Deniz and to all our friends from Pat's pantry " (Ian and Margaret Ingram,the Dydimian, 22.03.2006)

While all the interviewee, especially those staying all year long unanimously agree that Didim which is lovely and entertaining in summer turns out to be a rather dull place during winter, two distinct groups appear when it comes to the entertainment looked after. On one end there is the type exemplified by Paul,65 who passionately talks about how the first thing he does on his winter return to the UK is watching a play and how he and his wife enjoyed going to the theatre in the previously settled Poros-Greece. On the other, there are those looking for typical British working class leisure:

"I hope there will be a lot more to do. You got the beach and it's great in summer. We don't have a cinema, bowling alley, bingo. **Somebody tried to start bingo here but it's hardly illegal because it's gambling.** You know all sort of things we do in England isn't here. We have darts in the hotels and there's nothing else to do here. I mean in England you've got like horse racing. All sorts of games going on in clubs and you enjoy as a family. We've started already. We have a pool night on the Wednesdays which was a knock-out competition over the Triton and that got really popular. Man and the woman. You've the chance to win money at the end of it. It was sort of a gathering. We've already talked. We can do a lot of things here." (Debby,45)

It might well be argued that "Triton"- the lobby-bar of the same named hotel turned into a club-scene on Fridays and Saturdays during the winter- function as one of the symbolic boundaries distinguishing two groups of Britons in Didim with probable implications of class identities

"They're trying to get social clubs going. In the winter time at Triton like being in a labour club back home we've got a social event every Saturday night."

says Debby,45 light-heartedly in her account giving hints that socialising in a club setting can provide particularly to the lonely people :

"I've got loads.(of friends) Mostly I suppose through the **Triton** in winter. Winter is very hard, very long. I think they're just friends of friends or friends of friends of friend. I was just going there and speak to people. No problem"

whereas in Sarah(55)'s account Triton is the place where people not of her kind attend:

"I think some of the people are not particularly nice . Sometimes I feel ashamed of my country when I see some of the people that live here. Low rent type of people, drinking , smoking. **The Triton** kind Not the sort of people that we'd be friends in the UK . So there's a lot of people like that. But on the other hand there's a lot of people who feel like us appealed by the nice lifestyle we made friends with. Of our age group. These are the sort of people we'd made friends in the UK."

V.7. Acquiring the host country language: The migrants' competence of Turkish

It is widely accepted that "proficiency in the language or languages of the receiving society has profound effects on economic as social integration, as well as on newcomer well-being" as stated by Hou and Beiser (2006:137). Nonetheless, in almost all literature on international retirement migration (See King et.al.,1998 and Casado-Diaz,2006 for an early and more recent example) or similar lifestyle led mobilities (O'Reilly,2000; Muller,2002a; O'Reilly:2004; Bott,2004) especially in mass tourist zones, it is stated that the competence level of the migrants on the local language is inadequate in most cases ³⁵and that language acquisition is considered by the migrants as a matter of choice rather than a necessary condition for integration.

None among the interviewee, even those with relatively longer length of stay like Frank,70 or George,58 with 5 and 3.5 years spent in Didim and the former being the keenest among the interviewee about being totally integrated to the local community with having a "Turkish man" as his best friend and never getting involved with British only circles; or Debby, 45 who was previously married to a Turkish person, claimed fluency or at least an adequate command of Turkish. Rather, the most common adjectives used were "pathetic" , "poor" ,"very little", "just some words"

³⁵ Also worth mentioning here that in comparative studies on national migrant groups the Britons constitute the less-competent group of local language (Casado Diaz:2006).

Whilst almost every interviewee said they would like to speak more Turkish than they do now, those who aimed for acquisition of the language to a certain level were quite few. Whereas the fluency of the small kids -of one's own or somebody else s/he knows- in Turkish was a point happily mentioned or there existed a willingness to show-off the acquired words like "emlak", "belediye", "zabita" even when talking with other Britons, learning proper Turkish was "beyond the means" for most of the interviewee. Indeed, some told about failed attempts like Sarah,⁵⁵ who with her husband enrolled to a Turkish course in London before moving but found it so difficult, Paul,⁶⁵ and Aneth,⁶² who started taking private lessons but could not find a good enough teacher or Ken,⁶¹; Nathan,⁴³ or Dana,⁶² who got disappointed with the course in the Municipality which to them was "too much." Thus , their current strategy for learning was trying to pick up slowly, just enough to get by.

While talking about different facets of their lives in Didim, almost all the interviewee accounted some instances where they faced a problem that arose out of their inadequate command of Turkish.: water or electricity cuts they couldn't learn about since the announcements were in Turkish, making use of a highly-appreciated help of a local friend for communicating with the police, the doctor, the lawyer; not being able to get involved with the neighbours etc. When I asked directly on the other hand, just a few mentioned facing difficulties caused by their language incompetence as a barrier against involvement with the locals or carrying on with their lives since they think " most people in Turkey they speak enough of English " in Kent's words or feel "they like to speak English if they can. They rather you talk English" as says Marge,⁶¹.

In fact, alongside "old age" and "the difficulty of the language" "Turkish people's eagerness to speak English" has been stated as one of the reasons the migrants referred to, to justify their low-expectations on themselves to acquire the host community language as exemplified by Ken,⁶¹'s account and an extract from a columnist of the Dydimian:

"If I want to speak Turkish I find that the Turkish people prefer English. So I'm lacked very behind "

"You assimilate basic Turkish language for meeting and greeting, for discussing the weather, or the state of your garden or for disputing the accuracy of your bill in a restaurant. On the other hand, you are still British and in tourist areas of Didim you still run the gauntlet of the touting waiters. Also in shops and supermarkets however much you practice your Turkish the shop keepers and check-out girls persist in speaking English when they can. I regard it as a major achievement that in my local supermarket this no longer happens. The check-out girls know that I am English, but as the weeks have grown into months, they have recognised my determination to learn their language, and all their interaction with me are now in Turkish"(Etogo, 2005)

Whilst what I told so far about the "language acquisition" of the Britons in Didim resemble the accounts made of the issue elsewhere (O'Reilly:2004 as an example) the two extracts from the Dydimian -the former of an anonymous reader letter with the pseudo-name "confused" and the latter of an editorial on the strongly discussed "water bills in English" issue provide examples of how the peculiar host country dynamics find repercussions in migrant experiences and of the particular discursive strategies (i.e. which in this case is the "patronising " tone) they develop in response

"I have been trying in many pubs and restaurants this summer, and when I try to use my new found Turkish skills, on many occasions the response is "I don't understand you. I am Kurdish." Now I really don't know the political differences between Turks and Kurds and I have never pursued these questions. But I have to say when this happens to me I am embarrassed and annoyed. After all, I am living in Turkey and the language is Turkish, These people obviously do speak the language so why do they deny it ?"(Anonymous,20.09.2005) Dydimian,23.09.2005)

"May I say Bravo to Mayor Kamacı for getting the water bills sorted out. **We British definitely do not want to take over the Turkish language**, it is just that we like to see what our charges are for the water. At least, on the electricity bills we can see the amount we have to pay and are ready when we go to Tedaş. **Atatürk fought long and hard for a new Turkey and that is how it should remain** but the concerned people should remember, Turkish is a very hard language to come to terms with and we do try, but that anything that helps us British settle in to our new homeland is much appreciated (The Dydimian, 07.07.2006) "

V.8. Relationships with the locals

All the interviewee acknowledge the importance of having a good relationship with the local community and during the interviews keen on demonstrating how well-integrated or at least well-meaning they personally are. In that sense the great number of local friends or the share of the local friends among the friendship is uttered with a pride, the stories of hanging around just with local people are narrated with passion, especially the friendships with local notables is mentioned in a boastful manner:

Mumin Kamaci the Belediye is my friend. (Frank,70)
One of my best friends is the deputy mayor (Ken,61)
The chief of the police is a good friend of mine (George,58)

Almost in all the cases, the name of a local person name is uttered as the one called in need of help. They, without exception feel that they "personally" are well treated and cared about, especially when compared to England.

"The attitudes of people here is life is to be lived, walk around with a smile on his face ,be friendly , speak to people. In England you can spend all day without talking to someone. You can walk around passing 20 people and none of them saying "good morning". If you do they think you'd gone out. In England when sun goes and it's dark no old people are out they don't walk because it's dangerous . Too dangerous. Here you can be blind drunk and someone will make sure you can go home. Will make sure you're safe. It's different. Humanitarian outlook on life. The people." (Nathan,43)

Nevertheless, one can also discern hints of apprehension about the extent of superficiality or genuineness of at least some of the friendships as exemplified by Frank(70) who states he has "loads" of local friends but:

"Close friends? I don't know because I saw some people as close friends but when I go to another restaurant the people... I don't know. Some people know me because I've been here for a long while but..."

While a few of the friendship circles mentioned involve a local female -in all the cases the spouse of a local male friend--, Armand's and his partner Laura's (46) comments on Laura's relations with the spouse of the caretaker of the estate, Rose (probably Gül) demonstrate openly the perceived cultural barriers for establishing a deep relationship with the authentic - i.e. not shaped by the commercial dynamics of tourism- members of the host country:

"This is where the different culture is coming. The men they do go out more often than their wives. Like every time I talk to Rose "Let's go and have a meal together" we're all stuck in her house. She's a Turkish woman and she won't go out. Why ? I suppose it is against their religion. She stays at home, bakes, cooks . But it is against her religion. Her husband goes out she doesn't go out. She don't drink. I can understand that. I can really understand that. But she could come to the community a little bit and talk a little bit. It's like we're invading their country. There's more English here than Turkish. I just wish that they'd come a little bit more communal. Sedat and Rose they're always welcomed into our house. He's got 3 boys 2 of them Istanbul in university and 1 lives here. She's never never coming. Me being an English "Come on Rose Let's go for a girly night out" and she she won't do it ? The men will mingle but the women won't. Why ? Why don't they just jump over that barrier and say: "Enough is enough "I think it's just that culturous thing

that's been brought up in them. And they don't let that barrier down. And I think that's what Rose is all about She's only 40."

The accounts on the other Britons' experiences with the locals and on a general like/dislike of the locals include even more apprehension. Stories are told about Britons cheated by the locals they trusted in property sales or business ventures; or women told lies by love rats and being ripped off. (It was also interesting that a well-known Briton in Didim first alleged to commit suicide and then suspected to get murdered as it was found out that he was involved in some child porn circle (the Dydimian 10.05.2005; the Dydimian 24.05.2005 has been mentioned just by one interviewee even though all the interviewee were asked directly whether they heard of any Britons being victim to a crime not been mentioned by except for one).

In these accounts both the parties involved are given their fair share: The Briton for being naive and gullable; the Turkish of the greed. Nonetheless it is carefully mentioned that the perpetrators of these "brainless" victims are not the local people who are "genuine"; but the outsider. In a few cases the outsider is named: the Kurd.

"The local people are lovely except for I do not like the Kurdish because they are using the young girls who do not have a lot of brains to get a passport and money from them. Not just the young girls but the older women as well. They don't know the difference. And as soon as the Kurds go back to their parts of the country back the better. The Kurdish came here to build and make a nuisance as waiters. Try to sell houses. In England you wouldn't buy a house from a waiter but the lower section, the uneducated ones unfortunately do that. They leave their brains in England. What few they have. I didn't know the distinction between Turkish and Kurdish before coming to Turkey. But I know now. English ladies telling me the sub stories, what happened to them. **And also being warned by the Turkish people.** I heard that from them. I do not have personal experience because I have not integrated with them. I keep my distance" (Mary,69).

While Mary was the only one who scapegoats the Kurd for whatever going wrong in town -the poor building quality, the burglaries, the litter-in her overtly racist account among the -thankfully-few interviewee who were involved in Kurdish-bashing, all those with that explicit dislike were also the ones with a close friendship with some Turkish person and his family and admitted that they had been warned by them.

Taking the English weeklies importance in the migrants' lives ³⁶ into account, it also worth mentioning here that the Britons might also have been informed by the likes of the extract below on acceptable behaviour and the more beneficial part to take in a conflict they don't care, just to get-by in this new land :

"Protests Held in Didim About Burning the Turkish Flag –The Brits who are residing in Didim also held a protest in Altinkum. 30 Brits met at the beach and brought Turkish flags: “We believe that all country flags are holy. For years we have been living in this country peacefully and happily. We can not accept the action that was held against the Turkish flag We wanted to support our Turkish friends and the country Because of that we held this short protest” (...) The Brits have become like us. Their protest has to be seen as a natural reaction Because they share the happiness and sadnesses of the Turkish society. We thank the Brits for their protest” (the Dydimian 04.04.2005)

V.9. Conclusion

In this Chapter, I tried to present the findings of my research upon various aspects of the experiences of the British "retiree" migrants in Didim drawn from the accounts of the interviewee and through the representations of the migrant lives in the reader letters and editorials of the English weeklies' pages.

The heterogeneity of their social backgrounds and different pasts also determine the British migrants' experiences in Didim. Especially those still having property in the UK and those who sold it out to finance the migration, differ widely not only in their geographical mobilities between UK and Turkey but also in their discourses regarding their emotional ties with the former. In the case of the ones who sought an economic escape route through the migration, the theme of "no-return" functions as more than a myth while negotiating their very existences in Didim.

The either discursive or actual unidirectionality of the migration on the other hand, does not imply an eventual assimilation to the host society that is to be expected in the framework provided by the traditional migration literature (Gustafson, 2002). Theirs is the attitude of a sojourner, the social-type Siu developed upon the Simmellian "stranger": "the stranger who spends many years of his life time in a foreign country without being assimilated by it" (Siu,1952:36). Nonetheless, they

³⁶ For most of the interviewee the major source of information on what's going in the town is these papers whereas the "hearsay" ranks the second.

are not after creating a "corner of a foreign field that is forever England" (Broker in Scott (2006:1107) either. Their identities are transnational in the sense Toros, Filippova and Pobeda (2004:835) expresses with a pun: "They are neither "be longing" for the motherland, nor "belonging" to the host country."

Borrowing the term employed first by Clarke (2005:381) their daily lives involves a salient element of regular "travelling-in dwelling" passively through the internet and through the TV, through the cultural content they consume among the furniture and objects carried from home and with regular visitors from there and interactively by phone calls, e-mails, internet orders, post cards, pool nights or quiz nights organized by their ownelves.

But unlike the most lifestyle migrants like the German homeowners in Sweden about whom Muller (2002:443) recorded creating a parallel society since the two societies had isolated domains and only a limited number of often unavoidable contacts or the Britons in Spain upon whom O'Reilly (2002:181) observes that "for the many daily life involves talking to and other British people and vey little interaction with the Spanish", locals are important actors of the social space they inhabit.

As sojourners they are still strategic in what they learn, employing enough behavioural traits to get by without necessarily understanding or accepting the new culture as argued by Furnham and Bochner (as cited in Coates, 2005); nonetheless the conditions in this new migration setting which is so different than the other southern European tourism destinations from physical infrastructure of a "less affluent" country to the home-country citizens struggling for economic survival in the fringes of informality without a social security network or the vast cultural distance especially with respect to gender roles; but also can not be conceived within the boundaries of an otherness associated easily with China (Yeoh and Willis, 2005) or ex-colonies, require their active effort for being able to get by, in a

still ongoing process in which they are guided -not always on the right direction as they've already experienced- by and rely on their relationships with the locals.

In the next Chapter I will make a try to look at the other side of the coin and seek the meaning of this migration and the migrants for the locals of the town.

CHAPTER VI

HOW ARE THEY RECEIVED ? THE MEANING OF THE MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACTS FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

This Chapter aims at exploring the meaning of the ongoing international migration and its impacts upon the locality through the narratives of the locals interviewed. For this purpose, after providing a brief summary of the very few existing literature all found to be on international retirement migration with relevance to local community impacts and individuals' perceptions of these impacts, I'll present and try to analyse the data of the current research on the issue. A conclusion where the meanings of the findings is discussed will follow.

VI.1. Existing literature on impacts of international lifestyle migration for receiving communities

Authors of a recent report on international American retiree migrants to Mexico record that that they could not find any published studies that have examined the perceptions of local residents in areas experiencing substantial inflows of foreign retirees while they comment on the prominent gaps in knowledge in the field that deserve attention since

"Particularly with regard to questions of integration and economic and social impacts", they argue, " the perspectives of local community members are key, as they may highlight how local nationals feel about changes to the types of work that they do, differences over time in the social norms of their communities and the level of retiree integration". (Migration Policy Institute, 2006:64)

So far, what I came across during my literature survey seems to validate the Institute's claims. Not only it was literally impossible to find a study on the perceptions of change or the international lifestyle migrants themselves by the host

community; it turned out that even field works on the social or cultural impacts of the vastly studied "international retirement migration" per-se were quite limited. Thus, the academic literature cited below comprise of several works from varying disciplines to provide at least a broad framework for discussing the issue.

At the interregional level in the US context, Rowles and Watkins(2001) stating that there has been increasing concern with the economic, social and political implications of elderly migration for local communities (ibid 509) summarize the growing literature concerned with the benefits and costs of elderly migration ³⁷

“Positive aspects of elderly migration include: increases in local sales, enhancement of the local tax base, increase in the local capital pool, creation of jobs, development of a pool of talented and committed elderly volunteers, stimulation of service development, and cost effectiveness as a development strategy.(...) Negative consequences, less fully documented to date, include : increasing service demands that may place a strain on existing community services, development of a geriatric population with special needs (resulting in demand for additional services) negative repercussions for other aspects of the local economy, (for example discouragement of industrial expansion), development of a dual economy (high paying professional positions and low-paying service jobs but little in between), increase in housing costs and polarization of the housing market, environmental concerns (traffic congestion, overdevelopment, zoning issues, ad strains on infrastructure) and transformation of the existing local social and political climate” (ibid.:514)

Probably due to the significant and mutually self-reinforcing links between tourism and amenity-seeking migration and the identification of retirement migration as a "means whereby the momentum of property and commercial development of particular tourism areas is extended "(Warnes and Williams, 2006:1269) the local impacts of international retirement migration so far been discussed under the broader category of tourism or resort development. Casado-Diaz 's study (1999) examining the impact of retirement migration on the sociodemographic structure of the population of Torrevieja is titled "Tourism: a Case Study of Torrevieja, Spain". Rodriguez (2001), as well discusses the territorial effects (basically development of the "urbanizations" -the segregated residential blocks along aimed exclusively at foreign clientele- along the coastal Spain) while developing

³⁷ The differences between different forms of elderly migration which are amenity-led retirement migration, "provincial" or "counterstream" return migration and assistance migration each occurring at different stages of the elderly lifecourse should be kept in mind while interpreting the generalisations. In fact, the authors's intention is seeking the differentiation of the impacts of these different types of migratory moves upon field work conducted in three different communities

the concept “residential tourists”³⁸ to address international retirement migration. Also Truly (2002:270) while seeking a life cycle model for international retirement migration similar to that of tourist resort life cycle in the Mexico case records the impacts and the real estate agents' evaluation of different cohorts of retirement migrants:

"North American based developers were flocking to the area constructing more gated communities that catered to the tastes of this new wave of /visitors. Although exact figures regarding the magnitude of construction was not available real estate agents in the area pointed to two major changes in construction: the new gated subdivisions were located farther away from the Mexican village centres and secondly, the new homes were more modern in their appearance and in the range of appliances and conveniences offered. (...)Some respondents did indicate that the appearance of this kind of migrant could not be considered historically unique to the area but that those systemic changes (e.g. emergence of the multinational corporations such as Wal-Mart and Price Club and the accessibility of certain amenities previously not available in Mexico) had removed many of those obstacles that traditionally dissuaded this type of migrant from settling in the area."

Finally Warnes and Williams (2006:1264) in their most recent study summarizes the findings of the existing work in the field: Amenity-led international migration which means inward capital transfers, stimulation of construction industry, increase in consumption spending and generating profits and tax take for the receiving country and destination thereof is either coastal clusters where migrants transform the ethnic composition or dispersed in rural areas of declining population, they argue, can have severe urbanisation and water-demand impacts.

VI.2. A Brief account of the academic literature on impacts of international lifestyle migration to Turkey

As already been mentioned, the phenomenon of "international lifestyle migration" in Turkish touristic zones has so far been studied by urban planners with the exception of the Karakaya and Turan survey (2005a) and thus the impacts were discussed mostly with reference to the terminology of the urban science.

³⁸ Rodrigues defines residential tourists by five elements: constituting a concrete human group (retirees, the elderly); exhibiting different patterns of mobile behaviour (permanent migration, temporary migration or simply mobility); demonstrating a tourist motivation with an individual basis (satisfaction in enjoying free time),with economic dimensions (in terms of consumption, real estate markets and services) and creating territorial effects

The earliest attempt in Turkey belongs to Berkmen-Yakar and Özügül (2003) and upon interviews conducted by 10 permanent "global migrants" of Avanos among the total 14 foreign property owners in the town, the authors discuss the urban impact as such:

"When these information is interpreted in the context of gentrification phenomenon it can be said that the foreign nationals most of them educated and financially secure, locate in the historical dwelling fabric near to the urban centre, deserted by the local users and has undergone an important value loss, they either restore the buildings or intend to do so and a value increase is brought about by these interventions. In this sense it is possible to argue that the settlement is at the initial stage of the gentrification process." The fact that the local users can't protect these spaces and that foreigners can buy for gradually increasing amounts, together with the scarcity of job opportunities, is supporting the migration of the young population out of the region. This, in turn, causes an increase in older population in the town and decrease in younger population and hinders economic development of the region and activities that will come to the region"

They also address another social impact of the phenomenon, "the increase in the cultural variety in the region through interaction between foreign, different cultures" as one of the items under the heading "contribution to the region"

A team of city planners of Gazi University, as well, make a systematic attempt to understand the impacts of the phenomenon in its two interwoven dimensions: acquisition of property by foreigners and international retirement migration In their earliest study focused on the former, Erdoğanaras et.al., (2004:10), stating that "...gradual increase in acquisition of property by foreigners has become one of the most important factors shaping the social, economic and spatial structure of some coastal cities" list the major potential negative impacts as: rapid elimination of agriculture based economic activities in rural areas, increase in urban sprawl and density due to the increase in housing demand in urban areas, increase in speculative demand and development pressure in special protection zones, increase of price levels in the real estate markets and a consequent exclusion of local people from them. "Simultaneously" they report "due to the increase in the foreign settled population particularly in the coastal settlements, this segment might become one of the influential actors of urban formation" (ibid)

Upon their field work on foreign settlers in Alanya and Dalyan, the same authors (Dündar et al., 2005:129) report that the biggest impact of international retirement migration to Turkey is the increase in number of marriages with foreigners, with an emphasis on the unconventional age difference between the foreign

female and the Turkish male spouses.³⁹ Stating that the number of foreigners settled in Alanya exceeded 1500 the authors mention that the community demands the services (i.e. cemetery, church, an information office etc) in line with their own lifestyle from the municipality.

The authors also briefly address the attitudes of the locals:

"The reactions of the local people demonstrate a variety. Small entrepreneurs in tourism sector state that the foreign settlers cause an unfair competition by renting their houses to tourists. Another issue is the tourist preferences for enterprises run by their compatriots, causing great concern for those in the sector. It is possible that the touristic activities and the commercial activities in the settlements might soon be consolidated in the hands of foreigners. Especially in towns of small scale like Dalyan foreigners can gain a determining power in the economic structure. While the youngsters and domestic migrants don't perceive the foreigners as a threat, the elderly and the population segments who are born and bred in the settlement are worried about the increase in the number of foreign settlers. They express their concerns as: "They want to impose their order to us" "(ibid, 130)

In their most recent work, the authors (Tamer-Görer et, al.,2006:11) provide a summary evaluation of the perceived impacts of foreign "retirees" on social, economic and physical environment of the settlements:

Positive Outcomes

- Economic activity generated and new job opportunities developed especially in service sectors)
- Commercial activities continue after tourism season ,
- Increasing number of native people knowing foreign language,
- Mixture of culture and increase ratio of marriage with foreigners,
- Increase in quality of construction.
- Stimulation of services for retired people,

Negative Outcomes

- Destructive impact of speculative expectations on agricultural activities,
- To increase cost of life,
- To increase number of foreign informal workers in the economy,
- To establish commercial business by the foreigners create unjust competition with the local establishments (hotel, bar,resturant etc.),
- To rent houses of foreigners leads to unjust competition and causes financial loss of tourism firms without an official permission and blocking of tourism revenues,
- To sell tourism establishments as second home,
- Speculative practice in real estate market and increasing prices leads to elimination of the local citizens,
- Increasing construction pressure on natural sites (forest, agricultural land, natural conservation zones),
- Increasing urban sprawl and overall density in the built-up areas,
- Physical sprawl of the settled areas increasing cost of infrastructure,
- Dead built environment unused outside of summer season,

³⁹ In a more recent work (Tamer Görer et.al., 2006:9) the authors further emphasize that "especially young men coming from underdeveloped regions of the country have married to elderly foreign women to change their economic position without an effort. "

- To create an unemployed housing stock in the settlement outside the summer season
- To build enclave areas settled by foreigners with in the city and increasing polarization in the social life of the settlement,
- Increasing ratio of foreigner population in the coastal areas lead to decrease native population in the settlement level,
- The degeneration in customs and traditions of the native society,
- To imitate life styles and consumption patterns of foreigners by native teenagers,
- The male persons coming from underdeveloped regions of the country married by elderly foreign females to change their economic position without effort.

Keskinok et al., (2005) , on the other hand, in their report based on "the field study made in Kalkan between 25-27 November 2005, the results of surveys, researches, projects held by different departments of the faculty in previous years, the information and documents obtained from Kalkan municipality, interviews conducted with people of different specialties active in local NGO's and the information obtained from websites of institutions active in Kalkan" (ibid,87) argue that "the speculative pressure on land has increased at such a scale that the commercial activities and productive sectors are affected negatively and a process which will result in the deterioration of touristic accommodation infrastructure has started" while expressing their observation: "the population composition of the settlement is deteriorating to the loss of local people" (ibid, 88) Also they report:

"In the settlement there exist a big number of real estate agents and architectural project office some being foreign companies(...) In some cases the sales are made from English to English (...) An inclination for selling the hotels transformed into residential units has started(...) which will in the long run cause important losses like decrease of employment opportunities, loss of skilled tourism labour and replacement of these jobs by secondary ones like maintenance of residential units or daily cleaning (ibid, 89) It won't be wrong to say that property sales and the real estate market in the town is in the hands of foreigners. It is also observed that alongside this development accelerating the process leading the local people's losing their properties , the tourism income is transferred to the foreigners since the shift towards villa tourism prepares the ground or foreigners (the English) unregistered tourism activities" (ibid,90) On the other hand, it has been learnt that the prominent restaurants and commercial enterprises in the town are under the control of the English and those coming to stay in the villas are guided towards these restaurants and commercial enterprises for their food and other needs and thus their contribution to the local commercial activity is very small.(ibid, 91) (...) Moreover, the local people, lacking the information and guidance to transform the capital they gain from the sale of land, can't transform their accumulation and they erode their long term economic capital buy making expenses on consumption items (ibid,92)" Thus they conclude : " It is impossible to talk about social benefits of this process. In the new economic environment the local people can't gain a new place except for demanding the unskilled jobs in the villas or other premises built on the land they sold. A process of elimination of small commercants from the urban economy is ongoing. The local people are at a point of not getting their share from the tourism cake. The consumerist behaviours cause the loss of the hot money obtained from short-run property sales. Local people losing their property show an inclination towards marginal jobs" (93)

Finally, for the Didim case, Karakaya and Turan (2005b, 2006) attempt to evaluate the potential impact of the foreign residents on the town's economy. In both of the treatises, presenting the results of the previously mentioned survey (Karakaya and Turan, 2005a) the authors draw a rather optimistic conclusion than that of the above authors:

"The income levels of the English is above the findings of the survey results and consequently, their economic contribution to the Didim Region will be more than anticipated. In this context, settlement of gradually increasing numbers of English to Didim will have a positive impact on the socioeconomic structure of the region and will bring about an increase in income levels and employment not only for tourism enterprises but for a variety of sectors, real estate and retail being the most prominent ones. The purchasing power of the English much above the Turkish average will drive a development and vitality initially to real estate and construction and consequently in retail, entertainment and transportation sectors. Added value created by the English and their promotion activities abroad will also be highly beneficial for the country and the region. Moreover, the respectful attitudes and behaviours of the English towards the nature, environment and animals will be adopted by the local people and it will be possible for Didim to become a healthier, prestigious, modern, exemplary town. Furthermore, the survey reveals the fact that in the Didim case the settled foreigners are retired English expecting a better life and thus, invalidates the much discussed recent arguments claiming that "the foreigners are purchasing property in Turkey because of political and strategic aims" Under the light of the findings of this study, the retirement migration phenomenon which is new in Turkey and is developing in other coastal zones of the country should be supported and extended." (Karakaya and Turan,2005b:12)

All the researches referred to above (Berkmen-Yakar and Özügül, 2003; Erdoğanaras et al., 2004; Dündar et al., 2005; Tamer-Görer et al., 2006; Keskinok et al., 2005; Karakaya and Turan, 2005b and 2006) constitute the pioneer academic approaches to a popular issue which has long been on the public agenda and been discussed rather within the frame of "daily politics"⁴⁰ or within the discursive boundaries of sensationalist journalism⁴¹ Also, they have all been of utmost importance for this thesis both as a source of inspiration and providing an initial direction. Nevertheless, it should be noted here that none of the academic accounts provided of either the impacts of the phenomenon or the perceptions of the impacts by the locals relies on statistically valid quantitative studies. Also, the way they relate the phenomenon to the existing literature is rather eclectic. On the other hand, as demonstrated by the rather long extracts cited, neither the results of the

⁴⁰ For recent exemplary accounts See Özkök,Ö (2006), Akyol,T (2006 a-b)

⁴¹ Almost all the journal articles regarding expatriate life cited in the Bibliography might be interpreted under this generalisation

surveys nor the broader conclusions drawn from them are presented with any reference to the methodological limitations-rather, it appears that, non-reflexivity on the research process is a treat common to all the authors whatever opposing dispositions they may have developed towards the issue.

VI.3. The prevailing discourses in ongoing debates in Didim around the international migration and the migrants

Before presenting the results of my own research on attitudes of the locals towards the international migration to Didim and perceived impacts of the phenomenon, I'd like to mention three local polemics around the issue and make a long citation from an author's published diaries expressing her impressions of Didim while she was attending the 3rd International Literature Days held in July 2006, as a panelist, in order to provide a better insight about controversial issues and the broader discourses around which the impact of "foreign settlers" are discussed in the town with the recognition that the everyday discourse of the base of population is not independent of and unaffected by the surrounding discourses (Szuchewyzc,1992,8).

In February 2006, the Dydimian gives an account of a polemic between the Chairman of Didim Architects Chamber and the Mayor: "We are in fact very happy about the British buying property in Didim. They have contributed a great deal to the district's economy. However it is not very good that the British live in separate blocks they carry a separate life in those buildings surrounded by walls. If they have chosen to live in Didim they would be better mixing with the Turkish people, live side by side so that we could share our cultures" says the former and the Mayor responds: "When British people are purchasing property they don't necessarily request to live in separate blocks or areas It is our folk who advertise and sell them property In my opinion there are no consequences what so ever to their living in separate blocks as long as we are all together in public and shopping from the same places That still is a cultural exchange" (The Dydimian, 15.02.2006).

The news of the national daily Milliyet (01.06.2006) tells a story along similar lines. The Mayor, upon an investigation on site withdraws the allegations made by some civil society organisations in town, assuring the public that that "there aren't any British residential sites in Didim that Turkish people are not allowed in".

The Close-Up program of the NTV broadcasted from Didim in July 2006 brings the deep controversy among various local urban actors into surface. In the program, the president of the Association of the Tourism Investors Ulvi Koçak- who is one of my interviewee- argues that the properties sold to foreigners were rented later by their owners -illegally and causing a tax loss on part of the government- so the accommodation at the tourism facilities decreased and that the tourists renting their friends' houses do their shopping from the big shopping centres so they do not contribute to the town. Didim Chamber of Commerce retaliates by organising a press meeting I attended personally in which the Chairperson Hilmi Erbaş comments on Koçak's view:

"I didn't see the program. But according to what has been reported to me, it is a wrong approach to connect the decrease of tourism to the sale of properties. If we set off from this point, the tourism of Spain, Italy, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia would have decreased. This diagnosis is not true, The accommodation of the foreigners at Didim will be beneficial over the long term. Why would it affect the tourism sector badly? Then to what shall we associate the negative conditions of 1996-1997-1998"

Finally, Hęcilingirler (2006b) gives an account of her 2 days in Didim as such:

"22nd July, Saturday "It is impossible to see a Turkish script in hotels, restaurants, bars or streets in Didim. It'd be Ok if it was limited with scripts. There are also flags! It looks like the city is under English invasion. Also as we know from newspapers that the English are being sent water bills in English! We're the guests of the Municipality here. So maybe it'll be rude to tell these in the presence of the Mayor. But not to tell will be betraying our own truths! No way !!!"

(...)

23rd July, Sunday "Today's panel was calmer than the ours. When we mentioned the water bills in English, the English flags, the second-class human condition to which the locals were degraded in their own country because of the privileges granted to the English the climate turned really tense yesterday. Of course, the Municipality is not the sole responsible of all these. According to the Law, foreigner can acquire 5 % of the Aydm province. Had they bought the whole Didim they would have acquired less than the allowance granted by the Law. There are rumours that the English so far has purchased 10-12 thousand dwelling units. The winter population of Didim is 26,000 even do it increases 10 fold in summer. Even though we assume that there's an English couple living in each property, the number is nearly same with Didim's population. Indeed, also their friends invited from the UK have stopped

paying to hotels and restaurants. Because like the Turks in Germany the English don't let their friends to spend any money, they're hosting them in their places. Tourism sector is complaining from the situation. If the English continue to buy property with today's pace, won't they demand to have a say in town's administration? Have you said, by then they'll have been adapted to Turkey? While those who have been living for so long have persistently not learnt to say "Merhaba" or "Günaydın" but Anglicised Didim instead, is there any probability that the process will reverse. In fact has anyone on earth witnessed that the English adapt to a place they enter rather than Anglicising the place? "

In all the overt debates presented above and Hepçilinger's account in which she considers herself as taking part in an ongoing conflict at least two of the four agreed upon characteristics of a "moral panic"- (Erjavec, 2003:84) which are the high concern over the behaviour of a certain group or category of people and disproportionality in the assessment of the threat or danger (the other two being an increased level of hostility and volatility) are identifiable.

The image associated with resident Britons is self-imposed spatial and social segregation -even though the its deliberateness as a strategy is debatable as argues the Mayor- and egoistic drives -like letting their property or hosting their visitors - giving harm to the locality - cutting off the tourism revenues-. A hidden threat implied is "colonisation" or further "invasion" by creating zones not letting the Turkish in and eventually sweeping away all that is Turkish - language the first-, with a certain appeal to a social psyche referred to as the "Sevres syndrome" by its opponents during the long lasting EU debates in the country. It is also worth mentioning that a sense of "fatalistic determinism", in which the "us" is seen as doomed to lose that battle against "Anglicisation", is inherent.

While defining prejudice as opinions or attitudes held by members of one group towards another, often grounded in stereotypes which in turn are fixed and inflexible characterizations of a group of people, Giddens (2001:250) emphasizes that even though some prejudices contain a grain of truth, they are highly-exaggerated. In the context of Didim, the colonial past of Britain which is referred to overtly or a hidden way (i.e.an extreme example was of a middle class couple, male partner of which claimed to be the former public prosecutor of the town, who offered me a lift started -literally- yelling: "They should f..k off immediately. Dirty

colonialists. We haven't forgotten what they did to India. They are calling Didim little England. How dare them" upon learning about my research subject) and the fact that English is the lingua franca of globalisation with certain negative consequences for other languages function as the basic grains of truth upon which the prejudices are constructed.

VI.4. Representations and perceptions of the local interviewee about international migration and its impacts in Didim

The local interviewee, recruitment procedure of whom has been discussed in the methodology chapter in detail, were first asked about their personal or family experiences regarding the impact of migration of foreigners to Didim, second, about their observations on the migration and migrants, third about their opinions towards the issue and last but not the least about the impacts of the migration in the general social environment of the interviewee.

The information regarding the sociodemographic characteristics of the interviewee (Gender,age,marital status, education, location of residence and workplace, job, employment status, their public roles), their settlement history in Didim and sense of belonging to the town (birthplace, locations with which they identify themselves, period of residence in Didim and locations-if any- to which they intend to move) and their political positioning(i.e. in terms of last voting behaviour and the attitude towards Turkey's accession to the EU) were presented in Table 11 on page 168 It is beyond the scope of this thesis to make any class based analysis; nonetheless it worth mentioning here that most of the interviewee are professionals having businesses or casual/seasonal employees that are typical in resort economies.

Even though seeking statistically valid causal explanations is far beyond the boundaries of this research and I highly acknowledge that the methodology and the sampling technique does not allow for generalisations, as the perceptions of a phenomenon or its impacts can vary substantially according to social group or

political standing, I believe reference to these social indicators while reading the citations might give the reader an idea about potential correlations. Gender, age and current job of each interviewee will also be provided in brackets while using citations from the narratives of them.

VI.4.1. Direct impacts of foreigners' acquisition of property and international migration upon the local interviewee

Table 12 on page 179 on the other hand, aims at providing some hints about the accounts of the impacts of foreigners' acquisition of property and/or migration on the interviewee's or their families' lives. Within this frame, information regarding private/family property sold, any intermediary role of the interviewee in property sale, the share of the migrants in his/her clientele, existence of any friendly, more intimate or neighbourly relationships with migrants or any shared activity and the spaces of contact is presented. Though the purposive sampling and the sample size invalidates any conclusions to be drawn, it is still worthwhile to mention these findings since they might challenge some of the rather speculative conclusions drawn by the previously mentioned studies- all sharing the same methodological limitations with this research- and the prevailing prejudices

Only two among the 20 interviewee have declared that any property of theirs or their families was sold to foreigners and contradictory to what was envisaged by Keskinok et.al.,(2005:92) they used the revenue for investing on their businesses. The fact that 14 -5 currently involved in real estate business as an employee or employer and for none of the employers real estate is the sole business activity- of the total have been asked for advice or for an intermediary role by the foreigners about buying property might be interpreted as a hint that "friendships" and/or "trust" has, at least once, been among the issues governing the real estate market in the town

Except for the imam, all the interviewees, not surprisingly in a resort economy, has a significant share of foreigners in their clientele. What is more remarkable

is the contribution of foreign residents especially to restaurants and entertainment businesses off the season.

With the exception of a janitor and imam- who ruefully stated that "it was because he couldn't speak English" all the interviewee declared their involvement in established friendships with or at least having acquaintances among foreign residents, one Erdal (M,41,yatch owner) putting a special emphasis that his best friend is a Briton. These friendships are consummated by regular socialising, home visits and especially in summer where business volume increases by drop-in visits of foreign friend to the offices or shops.

Five of the -all male- interviewee have Briton live-in partners one being an official spouse of 10 years and in all- but one-cases the relationship started during a touristic visit of the female partner. Thus, unlike the common stereotypical representation, the intimate relationship was not a consequence but the cause of the permanent move and at least in these cases emerges as an issue to be discussed through its relevance to tourism.

7 of the interviewee, all residing in Çamlık, Altinkum or Efeler neighbourhoods have foreign neighbours and except for one, Nuray mentioning a relationship limited to occasional greeting, claimed to have good neighbourly relations with drop ins and food and gift exchanges.

Finally, I would like to mention when asked about the geographical and social space of their daily encounters with the migrants, though all the interviewee unanimously replied "Altinkum" they also mentioned almost all the public places from entertainment facilities to the open air market. The friendly relationships on the other hand are mostly established in the workplaces of the interviewee where the migrants attend as clientele or in social gatherings in pubs or bars in the case of young male Even though the levels of interaction with the migrants differ among the interviewee their visibility in the town is indubitable for all the locals.

VI.4.2. The representation of the international migrants and the migration in the locals' accounts

The responses of the interviewee regarding the number of foreign permanent migrants (i.e. those staying all year long) in Didim seems to demonstrate a confusion in people's mindsets which confirm the fluidity of the concept "international retirement migration" with its undefined boundaries covering a number of spatial movements from second house ownership and seasonal migration to the more permanent moves (Casado-Diaz, 2006; Warnes et al., 2006 etc) Moreover, the wide range of upper and lower limits (i.e. from 150 to 5,000) within which the responses differentiated (See Table 10 for frequencies) when considered together with the rather strong discourses prevailing around the issue further reinforces the urgency of a quantified research of the international migration in Didim, as well as in other coastal zones of the country.

Table 10: Local interviewee's estimates on the size of the migrant community

Number of Foreign Permanent Migrants in Town	Number of Interviewee
500<	3
500-1000	10
1000-2000	3
>2000	4

Responses regarding the identities and social characteristics of the migrants indicate a similar variety as exemplified by the following 7 extracts:

Arif (45, M, Jewellery shop employee) provides quite a self- confident account:

"Kışın ortalama 1000. Ama 500 ile 1000 arasında değişiyor. 2-3 ay gelip kalanlar var kışın da. Direkt olarak da kalan yaşlı bir grup var. Yaş derken emekli değil tabii.

Yaşlı... Yaş derken 35 ile 70 arasındaki insanlardan yerleşik olarak yaşayanlar var. Bunlar orta gelirli İngiltere'de Orada iş düzenini kurmuşlar ve bazı gruplaşmış olan gruplar var. Arkadaşlarının tavsiyeleriyle buraya gelen. Mesela ne gibi grup diyelim Mason grubu gibi. O tür gruplar var. Tabii onlar uzun vadede kalmıyorlar. Alıyorlar alacaklarını gidiyorlar. Devir teslim yapıyorlar kendi aralarında. Gelen arkadaşlarına konaklama hizmeti sağlıyorlar. Orta gelirli, yüksek gelirli de var tabii ama ortalama orta gelirli"

"In winter it's 1,000 on average. But it changes between 500 and 1000. There are those coming and staying 2-3 months in winter. And also an elderly group staying permanently. When I say elderly I don't mean pensioner

Elderly... When I say elderly there are people in the 35-70 age group living here permanently. These are middle-income people in England, They established their work there and there are some groupings . Coming here upon recommendations of their friends. Like the Masons group I may say. There are such groups. But of course, they don't stay in the long run. They get what they get and go. They do an exchange among themselves. They provide accommodation services to their friends. They are middle income people. There are high income ones but the average is middle income."

Saime (26, F, Info Desk Officer), on the other hand estimating that in the winter season there are 2,000 foreigners living in the town gives another profile:

"%80'i yaşlı insanlar. Yani 50 yaşının üzerinde insanlar. Emekli olmuşlar. Genelde evli çiftler. Ya İngiltere'de yapacak çok fazla bir şeyi kalmayıp artık tatile yani emeklilik dönemini yaşamak üzere gelen insanlar. Bunun yanı sıra yaşlı İngiliz bayanlar, ama Türklerle Türk genç çocuklarla evli insanlar da bayağı var. Bu şekilde gelen de çok."

"80 % of them are elderly people. I mean people over 50. Retired. Generally married people. You know people who have nothing to do in England anymore and coming to holiday, I mean to live their retirement period. Also, there are elderly British ladies, married to Turks but to young Turkish lads... There are many coming as such ...".

Nazife (32, F, Janitor), grounds her estimate upon her own life conditions:

"İngiltere'den geliyorlar. Yaşlısı da var. Genci de var. Şu pazarı dolaş zaten çoğu İngiliz. Normal insanlar geliyor. Yoksul insan zaten ne işi var ?Bak ben 7 seneden beri ailemi görmemişim. "

"They come from England. Both elderly and youngsters. Take a stroll around the market you'll see most are English. Normal people are coming. What can a poor person do here? Me for example I haven't even seen my family for 7 years."

Zeliha (44, F, Beauty Parlour), in turn, relies on her 20 years life experience in Britain to draw a picture of the migrants:

"Kışın sayılar düşmekle birlikte.. Kış nüfusu sanırım en fazla 500 civarındır. Aynen söylüyorum hayatım. Eğitimsiz, cahil, yani dünyanın hangi köşesinde olduğunu bile çok zor fark eden... Böyle kendi ülkelerinde artık kuruğun son noktası olan kişiler buradakiler Sadece içmeye ve devletten aldıkları o unemployment parasıyla geçinen, içki içmeye gelen tipler. Yaşları da ortalama en gençleri herhalde 55 civardır. Valla kadınlı erkekli bayağı var. Kadın

daha çok sanıyorum. Ama son zamanlarda erkekler de gelmeye başladılar. Çünkü, bugünlerde bizim kızlarla evlenenlerin sayıları arttı. Bakıyorum dövmeli, dövmeli koca koca adamlar küçük kızlarla evleniyorlar. Bizimkiler de onları bir şey zannediyor. İşte evi var ya yazık bir tane burada... Çünkü onlar buraya 30 yıl süreyle ödedikleri o mortgagele bir tanecik evlerini satıyorlar. Çok para ediyor çünkü. Onunla zenginiz zannediyorlar yazık burada. Aynen böyle. Hiçbir abartım yok. Orada £ 300 K'e sattığı evin burada Türk parası karşılığı çok yüksek. Onun işte beşte biriyle bir küçük daire bir şey alıyor. Gerisi de bankada o paranın geliriyle devam ediyor. Genellikle bekar. Tek başına olan çok fazla. "

"While the numbers drop in winter, the winter population is around 500 I reckon. I just tell the truth honey.. Not educated, ignorant, even not aware of on what corner of the world s/he inhabits... Those here are the ones that are at the bottom line in their countries. They come just to drink, living on the dole and coming to drink. I may say there are a lot of males and females. More females I reckon. But, during the last period men also started to come. Because nowadays the number of those marrying our lasses increased. I see tattooed old drakes marrying young girls. Ours give them a lot of credit. Just because the poor thing has a house here... Because to come here they sell their sole property which they paid 30 years of mortgage. As it brings a lot, Poor things they consider themselves rich . Just like that. I don't exaggerate a bit. The Turkish Lira equivalent of the £300 K, the money they get from the sale of the property is too high. With one fifth of that, s/he buys a small flat here. The rest is on bank deposit and s/he continues with the income of that money. Singletons in general... There are many on his/her own."

Even the previous and current Mayors, Mehmet (53, M) and Mümin (47, M), state the groundlessness of their images of the new residents of their town as apparent in their consecutive narratives:

"Daha ziyade eğitim düzeyleri düşük, ekonomik düzeyi de düşük insanlar. Çok büyük oranda İngiliz. İlginç ama gençler de var içlerinde. Ama ne yapıyorlar bilmiyorum. Yani çalışmıyorlar. Malulen emekli midirler? Nedir bilmiyorum. Gençler de var yaşlılar da. Yaşlılar biraz daha ağırlıklı . 65 üstündekilerden ziyade yaşlı derken. Bak mesela benim tanıdığım "emekliyim" diyen ama 50-60 arasında bir sürü insan var. Ama nasıl emekli oldular bilmiyorum."

"Mostly people with low level of education and income. A large proportion is English. It's interesting but there are young ones among them. But I don't know what they are doing. I mean they don't work. Are they on incapacity benefit ? Or what? I don't know. There are young ones and old ones. But the elderly is a bit more. When I say elderly I mean people over 65. Say for example there are a lot of people in the 50-60 age group and saying they are retired. But I don't know how they retired. Couples are the majority"

"Yani ev alıp gidiyorlar. Yaz kış yaşayan ya onu işte tespit edemiyorsunuz işte İki ay geliyor gidiyor. Oniki ay kalan 500 kişi vardır herhalde. Doğru mu söylüyorum ? Siz daha iyi biliyorsunuzdur artık.

Ya insan işte...Kötü insanlar değiller yani, Yalla hiç bilmiyorum ki nedirler, necidirler. Bir Fred var mesela bizim Erdal'larla geliyor, gidiyor. O evlidir mesela. Onun haricinde ismini bilmediğim, hep görüyorum geliyorlar kışın filan. Onlar var, Aile bunlar sonuçta ya ...Ya İngiltere'de gelir düzeyi düşük, örneğin işte belediye çalışanları, işsizlik sigortası alanlar, park bahçe çalışanları , ne bileyim işte o tür... Genelde tabi 50'nin üstünde."

"I mean they acquire a property and go. You can't find the exact number of people living winter and summer. I reckon there are 500 people living here 12 months, Is this right what I say ? You should know better by now.

Oh It's just people. They are not bad people I mean.. I really don't know who they are. There's a Fred for example who hangs around with our fellow Erdal. He's married for example. Apart from him, there are those whose names I don't know., I see them coming here, to my place in winter. These are families mostly. I mean, those whose income levels are low in the UK like council workers, those on dole, park or garden workers, I mean that's the kind. In general though, over 50."

Metin (45, Retired Civil Servant) and his wife Beverly give a more complicated picture of the Britons living in Didim. Beverly's interventions, in particular, also give some clues about "identity" as a continuous process instead of a fixed structure (Baumann, 1990 cited in Pattison and Tavşanoğlu,2002:3) in the case of a 42 year old Briton converted to Islam 10 years ago when married and holding a Turkish citizenship and a Turkish name and who later found herself among a large number of newcoming compatriots in a town she used to be one of the few foreigners in winter for more than 5 years:

"Çoğu emekli. Gençlerden var ama bazıları Ayşe'ler gibi. Ayşe diyorum ama dedesi Yemen tarafından, o yüzden Ayşe. Ayşecikle alakası yok, yani. Onlar mesela genç çift. Çocukları var. Burada okula verdiler. Ama olmuyor tabii, Çalışmaları gerek. Çalışma izinleri yok. 2 yıllık 'residence permit' kapsamıyor çalışma iznini. Onlar mesela dönmeyi düşünüyorlar. Yani; satıp dönecekler. Pek akıllıca bir tercih değildi, yani. Early retirement. Genellikle karışık. Genelde, tabii hepsini kapsamamakla beraber bizim grubumuzdakiler çok iyi insanlar onları dışarıda tutarak söyleyeyim. Burada çok şeyi görüyorum, bazen hatta kendimize de haksızlık yaptığımızı düşünüyorum.(...) İngilizlerin de kötü yanlarını görmeye başladım. Mesela, bu ülkeye bu kültüre geliyorsanız ayrı bir dinde olan bir ülke, müslüman bir ülke, tamâm belki yaşayamıyoruz ama, saygı duymaları gerekir. Değerlerimize. Mesela kendi ülkesinde bile bikiniyle markete gitmez,. En azından bir şort giyersin. Bikiniyle de Migros'a girdiğin zaman, tattooyla göbek dışarıda, bağıra bağıra konuşarak. Tam magandaları var, yani. (In February, under freezing cold sitting outside with shorts.).Vallahî yarından fazlası öyle... 50'nin üzerindeki insanları daha kaliteli buluyorum, tavırlarıyla, giysileriyle. Örneğin yemeğe giderken giydikleri giysilere filan bakıyorum. Sözelimi bizim yemekte insanlar kumaş pantolon, gömlek filan işte beyefendi gibi. İngiliz gentleman'ı vardır ya ona yakın. Ama şimdi gençlere bakıyorum restoranlarda, barlarda filan (youngsters are usually tourists except for the offsprings of the elderly Ben pek kaliteli bulmuyorum yani gençleri özellikle magandaları şey...Bembeyaz çoraplar altta, bembeyaz bir ten, burada tattoo, kabak kafa...(The English people living here don't like the way the tourists walk around, they don't like it). Bizim arkadaşlarımız mesela onları gördüklerinde utanıyorlar:" Biz onlardan değiliz" özellikle vurgulamak gereğini hissediyorlar.dn a way we are more sensitive than the Turkish people. Because they make a bad representation for our country. We're feeling more embarrassed")

"Most of them are retired, There are youngsters too like Ayşe's... I say Ayşe but it's Ayşe because her granddad is from Yemen.., I mean she has nothing to do with Ayşeness. Them for example, they are a young couple. They've got kids. They enrolled them to school here. But it doesn't work of course They need to work. They don't have work permits. Two year 'residence permit' doesn't include work permit. They for example think about returning. I

mean they'll sell and go back. It wasn't a rational decision I mean, Early retirement. In general it's mixed. But in general, not comprising the whole lot, those in our group for example are really good people I'll tell excluding them. I see a lot here and sometimes I even think that we're being unfair to ourselves. (...)But from time to time I started to see the bad sides of the English too. For example, if you come to this country, this cultures- a country with a different religion, a Muslim country. OK maybe we can't live like that but they have to pay respect. To our values. For example even in his/her country s/he can't go to the market with bikinis. At least, you wear a pair of shorts. When you get in Migros in bikinis, with tattoo the belly flagging and talking in a really loud voice... I mean there are full chavs among them. In February, under freezing cold sitting outside with shorts...Really more than half are like that. I find people over 50 more quality in their manners, with their garments. For example, in our dinners people are in no-denim pants, shirts and all like a real gentleman. Close to what you call an English gentleman. But I look at the youngsters in the restaurants or pubs (youngsters are usually tourists except for the offspring of the elderly. I don't find I mean the youth of quality, particularly the chavs. ehm...,White socks down there, a cheesy white flesh, tattoo here, bald head...(The English people living here don't like the way the tourists walk around, they don't like if). Our friends for example get ashamed when they see them ; "We're not of them" they feel the need to emphasize (In a way we are more sensitive than the Turkish people. Because they make a bad representation for our country. We're feeling more embarrassed)

Common themes in the accounts of the local interviewee of the probable causes of migration are the low cost of property and cost of living, the sunny climate, peace and quite of the town and the friendliness of the Turkish people. Arif (45, M, Jewellery Shop Employee) adds the "health benefits of Didim air for asthma sufferers" and the Mayor makes a general suggestion:

"Yani herhalde İngiltere'de dışarıdan ev almak moda gibi bir şey olmuş da " ("probably it is quite in fashion in England to buy property abroad")

In Zeliha's (44, F, Beauty Parlour) narrative "sex" is explicitly stated as a reason driving female migrants to town:

"(...) E burada torunu yaşta şeyi var kadının. İşte bir sürü kısmeti, erkeği var yani. Adam çok burada. Kesinlikle şimdi burada cinsel anlamda bulabilecekleri ortam çok farklı olduğu için buradalar. İnan buna yani... Potansiyel olarak işte işsiz kesimin çok geldiği bir yer İnşaat işçileri burada. İpini koparan burada tabiri caizse. Onlar da onlardan hoşlanıyorlar. Sert erkekler, döven erkekler, Böyle bu tiplerle birlikte olmaya geliyorlar buraya. Vallahi diyorum bak .Benim tanıdığım, bire bir konuştuğum hatunlar var, Bak Bir Maureen var, bir Melanie var. Aslında samimi oldukça isimlerini de söylemek istemiyorum. Hoş değil. Düzgün bir adamla birlikte olmuyorlar. Heyecan, dehşet böyle hoşlarına gidiyor. Çünkü hep alkollüler. Hep uyuşuk beyinleri. Çoğunun öyle."

"(...) Here the woman has a, you know, as young as her grandson. I mean a lot of kismet, men I mean. Men abound here.. Definitely, they are here because the sexual environment they can find here is so different. Do believe this... Potentially this is a place where the unemployed sections prefer. Construction workers are here. All the rootless guys are here I mean. And they like them. Tough guys, woman beaters. They're coming here to be with such guys. I swear. There are lasses I know, I talk one to one. Look there's that Maureen, that Melanie. I don't want to tell their names. It's not nice. They never court with well-behaving

guys, They like the excitement, the terror. Cause they are always drunk. Their brains are always drugged. Most of theirs"

The same theme appears again in another interviewing context. While I was asking Ibo (23, M, Real Estate Employee) the reasons of the migration, a male bodyguard in his late 20's and present in the Estate Agents' where the interview was being conducted, joined the conversation. The long account of the tri-party talk (the bodyguard, Ibo-in bold- and me -underlined-) might give an insight about the genderised and racialised discourse in its purest and abusive form evolved from years of tabloid media exposure to irresistible charm of Turkish men for the tourist women stories (and also about the level of my patience!!!):

" (...)ikincisi cinsellik o da çok önemli

-Onu biraz bana açar mısınız ? Tam olarak ne kastediyorsunuz ?

-İngilizlerde bir inanış var Bilmiyorum doğru bilmiyorum gerçek. Yani genç birinin menilerini kendilerine aldığı zaman işte genç mi hissediyorlar Onun gençliğini mi alıyorlar. Artık öyle bir teknoloji yani teknoloji değil de kelimeyi bulamadım.

-Nereden öğrendiniz böyle bir inanış olduğunu İngilizlerde?

- Herkes söylüyor yani. Ben kitaplarda da okuyorum yani normalde genç biriyle birlikte olursan onun fiziksel elektriğini alırsın. Daha genç hissedersin kendini. Bir de doyumsuzluk olayları da var. Artık oranın erkeklerini bilmiyorum ama bu Türk erkekleri doyumsuz yani adama desen ki orada beş tane hatun var git birlikte ol. Besiyle de birlikte olur. Ama bu İngiltere'de böyle değil Orada genç nüfusun az oluşu da .

-Bence yanlış

-Nesi yanlış? Şimdi Didi'n'i alalım, bakıyorsun 500 tane İngiliz var. 400 tanesi 40 ve 40 yaşın üstünde . Peki nerde bir genç kızla evlenen insan Say san parmakla say ılır y anı.

-İngilizlerin gelme nedeni seks değil yani. Türk yapmasa İngiliz yine geliyordu buraya yani.... 10 sene önce İki üç sene öncesinin gelmesi bu yasanın çıkması. Önceden yabancı uyruklu kişiler Türkiye'de ev alamıyordu. (...). Bu İngiliz gene geliyordu buraya. Belki bu kadar çok gelmiyordu gelmesinin nedeni de işte bu yasa şey oldu. Tamam bu dediğin cinsellik de var. Ben yok demiyorum. Ama gelme nedenleri bu değil bence. Ben mesela Tayland'a gittim. Orada da öyle . Ha oraya giden insanlar onun için gidiyor. Orada parayla zaten yaşlı erkekler genç kadınlarla...Buradaki olay bence bizden de kaynaklanıyor. Yani bu olayın buraya gelmesi... Şimdi dediğin gibi. Genç bir çocuk işte. Görmemiş etmemiş. Köyden gelmiş buraya. Okuması yazması olmayan bile bizden çok güzel İngilizce konuşuyor yani. Gerçekten öyle olanlar var yani.

-Başka illerde yani. Adam İngilizce biliyorsa bir lise filan bitirmiştir Alanya'da Antalya'da filan.. Burada hiç öyle bir şey yok. Adam inşaat işçisi Benden ya da İbrahim'den çok iyi İngilizce konuşuyor.Türkçeyi o kadar konuşamıyorlar.

-Çokluk Kürt bu piyasadakiler. Didim'de çokluk Kürt. Bunu herkes söyler

"(...) The second reason is sexuality. It is also very important

-Would you mind elaborating on this ? What do you mean exactly ?

-The English has a belief. I don't know it's true or real, I mean when they take the sperm of a young person to themselves, then they feel themselves young or take his youth. I mean such a technology or not technology but I could not find the proper word"

-Where did you learn that the English has such a belief?

-Everybody tells it you know. I also read in books I mean normally if you have intercourse with a young person you take his physical electricity. You feel yourself younger. And also there is that unsatisfaction thing . I don't know the men there but the Turkish man are

unsatisfied. If you tell the lad " there are six women over there; go and make love to them" he goes and does it with all the five. But it's not like that in England. Also the fact that the young population is less there...

-I think it's wrong

-How come it can be wrong? Now let's take Didim, you see there are 500 Britons, 400 of them are 40 years old or older. Do you know anybody marrying a young girl- ? You can even count these with your fingers

-The reason that the Brits are coming is not sex I mean. The Brits were coming here even though the Turks don't do this... 10 years ago... The move of the last two three years is because of the enactment of this Law. Before foreign nationals could not acquire property here. (...) The Brits were still coming here. Maybe not at that scale but the reason is that Law. Ok there's this sexuality thing as well. I don't claim it doesn't exist. But, to me it's not their reason to come. Me for example I went to Thailand. It's like that there. The people going there go just because of that. There old men are with young women, the money thing. The event here I think is being caused also by us. I mean the scale... Now it's as you say... Just a young boy. Doesn't have any thing. Came here from the village... Even the illiterate ones speak better English than us. Really there are those like that.

-In other provinces I mean if the guy knows English he at least is a high school graduate. In Alanya or Antalya say... But here there is no such thing. The guy is a construction worker. He speaks better English than me or Ibrahim. They can't speak Turkish that well!

-Most in this market are Kurds. Those in Didim are mostly Kurdish. Everybody can tell you this "

The push factors related to England dominating most of the migrant narratives as discussed in Chapter have been uttered only twice, by Hasan (27, M, Newspaper Owner) and not surprisingly by Beverly-cum-Leyla who's presenting the image of "England as an honest working person's dystopia" but without losing the cynical distance she acquired as a Turkish person:

"(...) Şey de var. Brenda filan gibi. Oradaki hayattan, herşeyden sıkılıp gelmiş. Burada birşeyler yapma düşüncesiyle. Emekli olan da sıkılıp gelmiş. Hiç kimse "Ya benim orada da hayatım güzeldi. Ama ben bir değişiklik olsun istedim" filan demiyor. Hepsi "Lanet olsun. İngiltere'de hayat çok zor, Şu kadar para kazanıyordum. Şu kadarı elektriğe, suya , ıvıra, zıvıra gidiyordu. Elime birşey kalmıyordu. Sadece çalışıp karnımı doyuruyordum. Ondandır sıkıldım geldim" diyor."

"There are also those, like Brenda. Came out here bored of the life there and everything. With the idea of doing something here. Even the retired, they came out of boredom. Nobody says: "Oh I had a good life there too. But I just wanted a change". All are saying: "Damn it ! Life is so hard in the UK. I was earning that much and this amount of it went away for electricity, water and this and that. I was left with nothing in my pocket. I was just working to survive. That's why I got bored and I came"

"England is terrible these days. There is an old man in England. He was a farmer. His house was burgled 11 times by the same guy. But he could not prove.. And on the 11th time he shot the boy. He's still in prison. English people in England work and we have a huge number of foreigners. And we don't like it. The fact is that we're foreigners here. The immigrants here we forget it. Because we don't like them in England. I think that surprises us as well because the Turkish people make us so welcome. Because we hate them, we hate foreigners. We don't like them coming and taking our jobs. But you know if you turn up in England with nothing you get a house, you get your rent paid, you get furniture, job. The government gives you everything. And who is paying for it? The English people working. That's what people don't like. And especially crime and human rights. The criminal has more rights than the poor

person on the receiving end of the crime and that makes people angry. People are fed up with England, they're fed up with crime, they're fed up with working and working just to survive. Because every thing is so expensive. I mean poll tax, council tax. If you are a little lady on your pension you'll have to pay, I don't know even for the smallest house-you can't afford to live in England. If you are a person working and paying your tax properly you can't afford to live in England.(So *the main reason is financial*) Financial and they are fed up with the whole system. They're seeing the country down and down and down."

VI.4.3. Images and representation of migrant lives in the locals' narratives

Beverly, also provides an insider account of the expatriate life ongoing in Didim with constant shifts in her discourse where the locatives "we" and "they" continuously interchange:

"Valla çok yakından günlük yaşamlarını tarn bilemeyeceğim de mesela Fred. Emekliliğin tadını çıkarıyor diyeceğim. Havuzu var önünde. In summer, they go to the beach, they swim, they visit each other. In winter it is more difficult. In winter not a lot really. We go to the shopping, to the market, we go to Aydın, to Soke. Genelde pazarları çok seviyorlar. Didim pazarı, Aydın pazarı, mesela eşim bile onlara takılıyor. They get up late. Watch the telly, the women saw or knit. Because you need something to do in the winter, computers also. In winter everybody moans. Everybody complains about the weather, about the roads, about the council. (Do you talk about the UK ? The elections for example) No, we don't talk about it even in England. It's just.....They complain really like. 'In England we had the cinema, we could go and watch pictures'. They complain in winter about what we haven't got here, about the old life in England. They complain but don't talk about doing anything . They complain about the roads, and the dogs dog protection centre. The English people are very involved in that. A lot of people are involved because there isn't anything, else to do. You need a hobby. Not many of them travel outside Didim. Most of them have got dogs."

"I really don't know their daily lives that close but say Fred, He's having the best of his retirement... He has a swimming pool in the front. In summer, they go to the beach, they swim, they visit each other. In winter it is more difficult. In winter not a lot really. We go to the shopping, to the market, we go to Aydın, to Soke. They like the markets in general. Didim market, Aydın market. For example even my wife hangs around with them. They get up late, watch the telly, the women saw or knit. Because you need something to do in the winter, computers also. In winter everybody moans. Everybody complains about the weather, about the roads, about the council. (Do you talk about the UK ? The elections for example) No, we don't talk about it even in England. It's just.....They complain really, like 'In England we had the cinema, we could go and watch picture'. They complain in winter about what we haven't got here, about the old life in England. They complain but don't talk about doing anything . They complain about the roads, and the dogs dog protection centre. The English people are very involved in that. A lot of people are involved because there isn't anything else to do. You need a hobby. 'Not many of them travel outside Didim. Most of them have got dogs.

To most of the locals, the new residents of the town are not that different from the tourists they have been interacting during the summer for many years. "Excess" in drinking and "self- indulgence" are often mentioned but generally accepted with a high degree of tolerance

Ahmet (41, M), for example, feels the need to fulfill his mission as an imam while commenting on how the migrants spend their time but he adds that it's just all right to him:

"Hoca olarak mı söyleyeyim insan olarak mı söyleyeyim? (Her ikisi de.) Hoca olarak söylememiz gerekiyorsa nefsanî bir yaşayış, dünyevî bir yaşayış, arzu ve istekleri doğrultusunda bir yaşayış... Bu da Allahın talebi değil yani. İnsan olmanın sıfatıyla yaşantıları bence düzgün. *Ne yapıyorlar yani?* Yani valla yaptıkları yeme içme eğlenme başka bir şey yok ki. Başka birşey göremiyorum ben. Ye iç eğlen. *Nasıl eğleniyorlar?* Barda diskoda işte içki, dans..."

"Would you like me to talk as an hodja or as a person (Both) If need to tell as a hodja, a life grounded on the flesh, on this earth, a life oriented by their own demands and desires. And I mean this is not what god demands of us. But as a person, well, their lives are just correct from my point of view. (What do they do you mean ?) I mean, valla, eating, drinking, enjoying. I can't see anything else. Eat, drink . enjoy yourself (How do they enjoy themselves?) In bar, in disco, drink , dance..."

Zeliha (44, F, Beauty Parlour,Istanbulite) is more judgmental in her evaluations, but not only of the migrants but the place, Altinkum itself:

"Valla gördüğüm kadarıyla sabaha kadar içiyorlar, akşama kadar yatıyorlar ya da işte bir kafede, bir barda, emlakçıda filan çalışıyorlar. Kaçak tabî . Çok bir hayatları var diyemem ya. Onlar uyuşmuş tipler çoğu. Burada alkol, uyuşturucu ; burada her şey var biliyorsunuz aşağıda (Altinkum'u kastederek) . Çok kolay buluyorlar. Yani mantar hayatlar. (...) Onları seviyor muyum ? Sevmiyorum da diyemem. Yani sonuçta işte tanrının yaratıklarıdır . Onlarla da iyi geçiniyoruz."

"Valla, as far as I see they're drink till the morning and they're lying till the night or they're working in a cafe, pub or an estate agents'. Clandestine of course. I can't say they've got much of a life. They're drugged types most of them. Here alcohol, drugs ; you know there is everything here down there (Altinkum) . They can find it easily. I mean just hollow lives. (...) Do I like them? I can't say I don't like them either. In the end, they're just creatures of the god. We get on well with them too."

In fact, as I'll try to ground later in this Chapter, in the town, the people's attitude towards the phenomenon of the migration - in most cases linked to the phenomenon of "their acquisition of property"- is not informed by what they think of the migrants or how they perceive the impacts. To them. it's rather a matter of principle. Figen's

(38, F, Jewellery Shop Owner) account of the British migrants' lives also provides an early example:

"Valla benim gördüğüm kadarıyla yani çok birebir ilişkilerim yok ama belli publarda kendilerinin belirlemiş olduğu belli publarda geceleri filan bira içiyorlar. toplanıyorlar, mesela bizim Altinkum'da gittiğimiz bir yer var. Orada hemen hepsini çok sık görüyorum. Kışın da. Bu şekilde yaşıyorlar yani, geceleri publarda gündüzleri sanırım bahçeleriyle uğraşıyorlar. Yani o şekilde bir şey. Ama mesele şeyi duyuyorum. Bazen işte hayvan dernekleri filan kurmuşlar. Kendi çaplarında birtakım örgütlemeler yapıyorlar. Onu okuyorum, öyle bir şeyler de var. Ama şimdi genel olarak ben bu kadar yabancıların burada yaşamasına zihnimce karşı olduğum için, şimdi onların düzgün yaşamaları ya da çok uyumlu olmaları da benim bakış açımı değiştirmiyor. Ben bu kadar İngilizin burada bu kadar yayılmasından rahatsızım. Dolayısıyla biraz önyargılı bakabiliyorum buna. Ama onun dışında gayet şey, yani belli bir çizginin üstünde yaşayan, orta yaşın üzerinde insanlar benim gördüğüm. Özellikle kışın"

"Valla. as far as I see I mean I don't have much one to one relationships but in some pubs, certain pubs that they choose, they drink beer and all. they meet up, for example there's a pub in our Altinkum. I see almost all of them very often. In winter as well. They live like this I mean, pubs at night and during the day I think they take care of their gardens. I mean something like this. But for example I hear that... Sometimes, for example, they set up animal societies and stuff like this. They get into some organizations within their scale. I read this, there is something like that. But, in general, since I'm against, in my mind that, that much foreigners live here, the fact that they live proper lives or that they adapt well doesn't change my point of view. I'm uncomfortable that that much English spread out here. So I can look at this a bit with a prejudice. But apart from this, I mean I see they're quite I mean they're people over the middle age, living above a certain line... Especially in winter"

The image of the migrant distinguishes from that of a tourist in the consecutive narratives of Kerem (35, M, businessman) and Mehmet (53, M, Chemist) both drawing a picture of people with their own material and moral concerns, worries and sensitivities:

"Didim'in tozuyla toprağıyla uğraşıyorlar. Her gün ev temizliyorlar. Belediyenin yapacağı yolları bekliyorlar, Çoğunun zamanı onunla geçiyor. Güneşlenmeye gidiyorlar, geziye çıkıyorlar sağa sola gidiyorlar . Arkadaşlarını ziyarete gidiyorlar. Evlerini seviyorlar. Bu insanlar bizim gibi değiller yani. Evlerini seviyorlar. Kendi aralarında da vakit geçiriyorlar . Türklere de karışıyorlar. Çok zamanı olanla arkadaşlık ederler. Kendi komşuları, yabancı ya da yerli fark etmez. En çok kimin zamanı varsa onunla zaman geçirirler. Çünkü bizim şu anda herkes çok yoğun olduğu için zannedersem fazla zaman geçiremeyiz. Ama herkesle kendi aralarında da Türklere de ...Karışık."

"They are dealing with the dirt and dust of Didim. They clean the houses everyday. They're waiting for the roads that the Municipality'll construct. Time of most of them is spent with this. They go sunbathing, to excursions, go this or that place. They go to visit their friends. They love their home. These people are not like us I mean...They love their home. They spend time among themselves, they mix with Turks too. They make friendships with people who have much time. Their neighbours. It doesn't matter whether they are Turkish or foreigners. They spend time with whom that have the most time. Because us, because everybody is very busy at the moment I think we can't spend much time. But they spend time with everybody. Among themselves, with Turks as well... Mixed."

"Ya onların da sıkıntıları var bildiğim kadarıyla. Yani ben ilişki kurmak istediklerini düşünüyorum. O ilişkilere kuşkuyla yaklaşıyorlar onu da biliyorum. Bir güven sorunları var. Güven sorununun yaşamalarının nedeni yine bizleriz. Yani genellikle çift fiyat söyleniyor. Çok suistimal ediliyorlar"

"As far as I know, they've got worries too I mean I think they want to establish relationships. But they are a bit dubious about that relationships, I know this as well. They've got a problem of trust. And the cause that they're experiencing this trust problem is us again. I mean in general people are double pricing. They are being abused so much."

Only Hasan (27, M, newspaper owner) gives a account fully informed that "the migrants" don't comprise a single, monolithic group but different kinds of people from different backgrounds, lifestyles and preferences. After giving detailed information about the clandestine workers and the type of work that the Britons are involved he adds:

"Çalışmayanlar da işte tatil yapıyorlar. Hiçbir şey yapmıyorlar. Kimin nereye gittiği biraz bölünmüş. Mesela Bizim Ora kahveye yaşlılar ve eğitim seviyesi olarak daha alt kesim gidiyor. Oranın sandalyeleri filan bile bizim köy kahveleri gibidir yani. Adam yabancı hissetmiyor kendini orda. Yani Valentine'deki gibi o şık sandalyeler filan "Ne biçim yer burası" demiyor. Yani o kendini orada rahat hissediyor. Mesela Valentine'in müşteri profili , işte ne kadar sosyetikse Didim'deki İngiliz, biraz daha şey. Ama Valentine'e yaşlılar çok gitmiyor, biraz daha işte orta yaşlı çocuklu filan aileler... Gençler de gidiyor oraya. Yerleşim en çok Çamlık ve Altınkum. Yeşilkent'te de biraz var. Apollon'un orada da var ama rakama vurulursa Altınkum'un onda biri dğildir yani. Triton daha çok gürültücü takımın gittiği yer. İçip içip sapıtır. Hani bu yaşlı kadınların gittiği yerdir Triton. Birisini bulmak için filan gidirsiniz. (Alaycı bir tarzla) Bizim genç arkadaşlar oraya takılıyor işte. Olio'dakiler de buradaki İngilizleri beğenmeyen İngilizlerin gittiği yer. Farklı İngilizlerin...(yine alaycı bir tonla) Bizim M. abi gibi. En genelde bakarsan Türk'e göre daha fazla çıkıyorlar dışarı ama çoğunluk evinde de epey vakit geçiriyor. Yazın hele yerleşik Altınkum'a hiç gelmiyor. Kendi lokalitesi içinde Bizim Ora bara gider. Rising Sun a gider. Türkler de öyle gerçi. Çünkü yazın burası garip bir yere dönüşüyor. ,,

"Those they don't work well they are holidaying. The do not do anything. Well it's a bit divided where people frequent. For example to Bizim Ora cafe the elderly and the section with lower education attend. The chairs there are like those in our village cafes you know. The guy doesn't feel himself as an alien. I mean not like those elegant chairs and all like in Valentine. He doesn't feel like "Wow! What a place is this ? " The customer profile of Valentine , I mean how high society can an English in Didim be but- it's more... But the elderly don't go to Valentine that often, a bit middle aged, families with children and the like. Youngster as well they go there. The settlement areas are mostly Çamlık and Altınkum. There are some in Yeşilkent too. There are also some around Apollon (Hisar mahallesi) but if you quantify it's not even one tenth of Altınkum. Triton is the place where mostly the lousy ones frequent. He drinks and drinks and gets out of order Oh triton is the place where those old ladies go. You go to find someone. (In a cynical manner) Our young friends hang around there too. Those in Olio. It's the place where the English who doesn't appreciate tile English here. The different English (again cynically) Like our bro M. If you look in the broadest manner they go out more than the Turkish but the majority spends some time at home too. Especially in summer the residents never come to Altınkum. S/he is in his/her own locality. Goes to Bizim Ora, goes to the Rising, Sun. Turks are like that too, in fact. Cause in summer this turns out to be a weird place."

VI.4.4. How the locals perceive the broader impacts of the retirement migration?

I asked the local interviewee about impacts of the international migration their town is currently experiencing in order to have an understanding of how they perceive the change and how they relate it to their own lives. The unfortunate fact that there hadn't been any previous studies conducted in Didim about the impacts of or residents' attitudes on domestic or international tourism development or residential domestic tourism which had gradually transformed an agricultural town to a resort starting from the midst of the 60ies, renders it almost impossible to make any comparisons or even to discern the relevance of the impact stated to the phenomenon (international migration) under scrutiny. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study perception of the impact and the meaning associated to that perception matters more than the impact itself and thus, even in cases where actual fact is overshadowed by fiction, the accounts of the interviewee haven't been overlooked.

VI.4.4.1. The environmental / physical impacts of international migration through the locals' accounts

"Betonlaşma", which means at the connotative level a lot more than its direct translation to English "concretization" implies, functions almost as a cliché in the locals' discourses to explain the environmental / physical impacts of the migration. But it's highly recognised that the recent construction boom is not "the initial" but "a further" step in the - which has already been experienced- transformation of a rural village to an urbanised tourism resort. Concretisation is used as a synonym for the physical sprawl and thus, the degradation of the natural environment but also signifies development and growth bringing material wealth and thus is a matter of continuous trade off as exemplified by the discourse of Erdal (41, M,yatch owner) one of the two born and bred Dydimians in my sample:

Yani şimdi Didim'de yabancılar mülk almaya başladığında üç yıl dört yıl içinde o kadar bir betonlaşma yani o kadar bir gelişme oldu ki yani ben şimdi 41 yıldır Didim'de yaşıyorum; bunun 10 yılı çocukluk çağı; 10 yaşındaki Didim'i özlüyorum şu anda... Didim'in her yeri beton yani çok çabuk gelişti. Yani bu kadar. Benim gördüğüm eski Didim'i özlüyorum ben bu halini gördükten sonra... Kooperatifleşmenin başladığı dönemde bir şey oldu. 85 yıllarında bu

kooperatifleşme başladı. Benim özlediğim yıllar 70 yılları. 85'lerde betonlaşma başladı. 95-96'da bu durdu. Yani Didim'de işte bu kooperatifleşme özellikle Ankara'dan Denizli'den memur kısmı işte yer aldılar kooperatifleşme başladı. O belli bir seviyeye geldi, durmuştu. Ama son 5 yıldır da İngilizler... Yani Didim'de "Böyle yer var mı ?" dediğimiz yerler ev oldu. Ben bugün 4 yıldır 5 yıldır gitmediğim bir tarafa gittim. O kadar dolmuş ki ben "Burası orası mı ?" diye kendime sordum. O kadar çok gelişme, çok büyük... Betonlaştı, çevre kirliliği... Yani bu kadar betonlaşma çok fazla. Bugün gene bir arkadaşla bir konuşma geçti. Didim'in batı kısmı mera diyc geçiyor. Şimdi mera olan vasfının değiştirilmesi biraz daha zor.(...) iste turizme açıldıktan sonra bu meranın bir kısmının vasfını kaldıracaklar. Turistik tesisler yapılması için açacaklar. Onu konuşuyorduk "Bak ne kadar işte buralar mera olarak kalmasaydı şimdiye kadar buralar da dolacaktı. Ama şimdi mera vasfı kalkınca buralar da aynı şekilde olacak"

"Now in Didim, when the foreigners started to buy property in the last three four years there has been such a concretisation I mean such a development, I mean I've been living in Didim for 41 years; 10 years thereof being childhood; now I miss the Didim of the times when I was 10. Everywhere in Didim is concrete, I mean it developed so rapidly. I mean this much. After seeing this scene I miss the old Didim that I saw. Something happened when the period of cooperatization started. This was started in around 85. The years I miss are the 70s. In the 80ies the concretization started. It stopped in 95-96. I mean in Didim this cooperatization, especially the public officials from Ankara and Denizli started to buy land and it started. This had come to a certain level and stopped. But in the last 5 years the English... I mean even the places we weren't aware of became all houses. I went to a place today that I hadn't been for the last 4-5 years. It was such full that I asked myself: "Is this there?" So much development, so big. Concretized, environmental pollution. I mean that much concretization is so much. Today we had a talk with a friend. The Western Didim is "meadow" in the development plan. Now it's more difficult to change the " meadow" status (...) When they open it for tourism⁴² development they're gonna change the status of some of this meadow. We were talking that: "You see if these areas did not stay as meadow by now they'll also be built up but when they change the meadow status here around it will be like that "

Metin(45, M, retiree) also provides an account of the current concretization with a trade-off where the balance is for the Britons by comparison:

"Valla, çok yoğun şekilde inşaat yapıldığı için her tarafın betonlaştığını görüyorum. O var ama şunu da söyleyebilirim ondan önce, yani inşaatlardan önce de Didim öyle yeşillik bir yer değildi. Zaten çok ikinci konut vardı. Yani hani kamu kurumlarının kamplarına karşı çıkılır ya oralarda yöneticilik yapmış biri olarak söylüyorum, gördüğüm zaman "Allahtan onlar varmış" diyorum. Yoksa oralarda kooperatif olacaktı. Kooperatiflerin iğrençliğini görüyorsunuz yani. Onbeş gün bir ay kalınan bir yer için o kadar para ödemeye...Yani İngilizler hiç değilse yerleşiyorlar."

"Valla, since there's so much construction going on I see that everywhere is in a process of concretisation. That's it but I can say that before that, I mean before the constructions, Didim wasn't such a green place. There were already too many second houses. I mean, you know people are against the holiday facilities of public institutions, I can say as somebody who administered one of them, when I see I say "Thanks god there were those" . Cause otherwise, that areas would be cooperatives as well. You see how disgusting are the cooperatives. To pay that much for staying 15 days a month. I mean at least the Brits are settling themselves"

An interesting issue I'd like to mention maybe a bit out of context here is the "taken for grantedness" in people's mindsets of the not just determining- but even

⁴²Didim was recently announced as a "tourism zone" and a new tourism development plan was prepared accordingly

irresistible- power of the market forces on the development of the built-in environment against the plans as exemplified by Hasan's (27, M, newspaper owner) account of the recent urban growth:

"Belediye'nin sağ tarafı var ya Akbük yolunda Hisar mahallesi, Cumhuriyet oldu şimdi. Didim'in o tarafa doğru büyümesi öngörülüyordu. Çünkü sanayi bölgesi o tarafta Sanayi'ye doğru büyür kent diye düşünülüyordu. Adliyenin arka tarafları. O taraflar hiç akla gelmiyordu. Oraya Oracle üç tane site yaptı. Herşey değişti. O bölge doldu şimdi. Şehir sanayiye doğru değil de o tarafa yönlendi. Yerli yabancıya yönelik kooperatifleşme bitmişti zaten. Şimdi tüm inşaatların hedefi İngiliz.

"You know the area to the right of the Municipality on the Akbük road: Hisar neighbourhood now called Cumhuriyet. It was envisaged that Didim would grow to that direction. Cause the industrial zone is there. It was thought that the town would grow to the industry. The area back to the Justice Hall. No one thought about that area. Oracle built three sites there. Everything changed. That area is full now. The town went not towards the industry but there. The cooperatisation aimed at the domestic alien has already finished. Now the target of all the construction is the Brits."

Even the Mayor Mümin (47, M), who has the authority and responsibility of regulating the physical development of the town through plans and authorisations states that:

"(Göçün fiziksel etkisi) Yapılaşma anlamında var. Herkes İngiliz ev satacağım diye çok fazla inşaat yapıldı. Bu İngilizler burada ev almasalardı bu kadar çok inşaat yapılmayacaktı yani. Yapılaşma anlamında bir yoğunluk var yani. Onlardan dolayı."

"(The physical impact of the migration) exists in terms of the buildings. Too many buildings are constructed cause everybody wanted to sell houses to the Brits. I mean if these Britons didn't buy houses here, there wouldn't be that much construction. I mean there's a density in terms of buildings. Due to them"

Thus, concretization about which everybody complains is considered as an inevitable process that can only be constrained by physical limits, not a problem that can be addressed by local public policy instruments:

"Zaten betonlaştı betonlaşacağı kadar. Sonra daha fazla olmaz."

"It has already been as concretised as it can be. Then it won't be more"

says Ali (26, M, real estate employee), one of my interviewee who has a strongly positive attitude towards the foreigners' acquisition of property and the migration

but can't help mentioning that Didim was more beautiful before the mushrooming of the houses.

On the other had, the increase in the quality of the built-in environment - at least the housing sites and the houses- is generally mentioned:

"Nihayetinde, yabancıların mülk alımından sonra çok güzel siteler, çok güzel kompleksler, çok güzel yapılar yapıldı burada. Bu iyi bir şey."

"In the end after the foreigners' acquisition of property very beautiful sites, very beautiful complexes, very beautiful buildings are built here. This is something good" says Bilal. (M,29,restaurant owner)

Hasan (27,M, newspaper owner) tells the difference through a comparison:

"Türke yapılan siteler çok basitti. En ucuz şekilde nasıl imal edilirse öyle iki üç oda işte. İngilizlerinki 5 kat daha lüks. ,,

"The sites built for Turks were so simple. Built in the cheapest way. 2-3 rooms. Those for the English are 5 times more luxurious."

According to Arif (45,M, jewellery shop employee), the improvement is not just in terms of luxury, the builders try to implement better environmental standards as well:

"Mesela Didim'in gelişmesi açısından çevrenin düzenlenmesi İngilizlerin kendi kaldıkları bölgelerde evlerde bu dubleks olsun, apart dışı olsun bu tip şeylerde çevreye daha düzgünlük verilmesi İngiltere'deki şartlara uymaya çalışmaları yani standardın yükselmesi"

"For example, in terms of Didim's development; arrangement of the environment, in the areas, houses where the British stay, either duplexes or outer apart in these type of things better design of the environment, the efforts to conform to the standards in the UK, I mean the upgrading of the standards"

It is noted that by the interviewee that at individual level the migrants are more sensitive to their own living space. Zeliha (44, F, Beauty Parlour) acknowledges that:

"Ha İngilizin evi daha süslü, daha temiz, daha bakımlı oluyor dışarıdan. Bahçesinde yeşilliği oluyor. İşte arsa almışsa orayı ekip biçiyor. O anlamda örnek oluyor mu ? Belki"

"Ok. The house of the Briton is better decorated, cleaner, better kept from the outside. With greenery in the garden. If s/he buys a plot s/he does gardening. Do they become a good example on this ? "

But at the end of the day, as expresses Ömer (22,M,hassleboy of a restaurant) the overall impact on the natural environment is negative:

" (...)Bahçelerine ağaç, mağaç dikiyorlar ama oradaki koca bina da bir sürü ağacı mahvediyor."

"(...) They plant trees and all in their gardens and all but the building over there itself ruins a lot of trees"

The gradual increase in the insufficiency of the infrastructure in the face of rapid growth and the chaotic building- site scene due to the amount of ongoing construction are facts upon which there exists a consensus among the interviewee. Nuray (38, F, Chemist) gives a brief account of the dilemma:

"(..)Birden bire büyüdük. Köydük. Köyün yavaş yavaş büyümeye çalışan hali. Hala daha inşaatlaşma görüntü olarak çok bozukluk veriyor. Ama inşaat bitmeden de ne yol olur ne bir şey olur. Çünkü yapıyorsunuz inşaat olduğu sürece arabalar bozuyor. E böyle bir lüksümüz yok yani yapıp bir daha yapalım."

"(..)We grew immediately. We were a village. A kind of village trying to grow with a slower pace. Still the construction causes a terrible scene. But before the construction finishes there can be no roads or anything. Because you build roads and while there is construction the vehicles destroy. I mean we don't have such a luxury to build and rebuild again"

It is also widely accepted that the migrants are even more exposed to - since the problems related to infrastructure are even more serious in the new-developed neighbourhoods where they usually reside- and thus more sensitive towards these issues. But the perceptions on their influence upon the Authorities vary as exemplified by the opposing accounts of Kerem (35,M, Kurdish, Businessman) and Zeliha (44, F, Beauty Parlour):

"Bence biraz daha düzen getiriyorlar. Biz on defa Belediyeye gitsek sesimiz çıkmaz ama on tane onlardan gittiği zaman daha farklı oluyor."

"I think they bring some order. Even though we go to the Municipality for 10 times our voice is unheard but when 10 of goes it is getting different"

"Fiziksel çevrenin kalitesinin yükselmesi için , birşeyler yapmaya çalışıyorlar açıkçası...Ama onlar istedi diye birsey de yapılmıyor. Hiç bir yaptırım güçleri yok çünkü bizimkiler onları çok fazla ciddiye almıyor."

"Frankly, they do try to do something for improvement of the quality of the physical environment. However nothing is being done just because they wanted. They've got no power because ours don't take them that seriously"

VI.4.4.2. Economic impacts of international migration through the locals' accounts

In the town, where almost all the economy used to rely on general recreational tourism and which had already had its share from the second-house boom that had affected all the Turkish coast except for a few localities, the most important economic impact associated with foreigners' purchase of property and the consequent retirement migration is the explosion of the construction and real estate sectors considered as the drive- albeit one time according to some of the interviewee- of the urban growth through its spill-over effects . On the other hand, as anticipated by Akis et al., (1996 cited in Harrill, 2004:255) exploring residents' perceptions regarding tourism development in the context of Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, the further change in local structure resulting from the change in economic status⁴³ related to the new dynamics affect people's views of the issue. It is often noted in the town that the actors who benefited the most from this windfall after which " the value of a typical dwelling which was £8000 in 2002 increased to around £40,000 in 2006" were those " who had nothing to lose"- "sıfır olup da kaybedecek bir şeyi olmayanlar"- almost always referring to the outsiders who used to work in low-skilled construction or tourism jobs before turning into de-facto real-estate intermediaries once the Law changed and a new route of opportunity opened up. Established friendships with loyal tourists of the town or intimate relationships with Britons were the tools to success in this

⁴³ Though I don't have any official confirmation or couldn't reach any data, I should mention here that during the initial phase of the research I was often told that the original Dydimians, who are themselves migrants from Kavala region constitute only a minority (around 7,000 in 26,000 of 2000 census) in the population and they lost their dominance in the economic life of the town during the tourism-boom. For example a hotel owner recorded that among 150 hotels operating in Didim only 2 of them are owned by original residents whereas number of commercial enterprises owned by them is about 15 and thus most of the Didim natives are wage owners.

process. Hasan's (27, M, Newspaper Owner) narrative on the rather arbitrary transnationalisation process of the real estate market in town also provides hints on transformation of the economic structure.⁴⁴

"Çünkü bu satış başladığı zaman peynir ekmek gibi ev gidiyordu yani. (...) çok profesyonel bir şekilde gelişmediğini biliyorum. O yasa çıktıktan sonra işte e burada herkesin zaten, İngilizler burada yaşamıyor da olsa, İngiliz'le bağlantısı vardı. Adamlar buraya 5 aylığına filan geliyordu. Yani 5-6 ay burada İngiliz oluyordu. Dolayısıyla bir arkadaşlık, bir çevre var. Yasa çıkınca, İngilizin parası var. Bizim Türkün de çevresi var : "Hadi şunu yapalım" böyle gitti yani... İngiliz olmasa zaten olmazdı. Mesela başarılı olanlara bir bakın. A. şirketi , karısı İngiliz; X şirketi, D. İngiliz... D olmasa S dondurma satıyordu teknelerde. Hani yok yaptığı iş kötüydü demiyorum da o hayatta yapamazdı yani. (...)Mesela Q şirketi., S'ler inşaatta amelelik yaparlardı. İngiliz ortağı, bağlantısı sayesinde , onlardan bir tanesi evli İngilizle, onlar, M Emlak - onlar ortaklık yaptılar özel ilişki yok da. Ama İngiliz karısı veya sevgilisi olanlar daha başarılı oldu mesela ...M Emlak 96'dan beri iş yapıyor. Q onu kat kat geçti. Emlakçılık yapan ilk başta "müteahhitlik de yapayım" diye girmede, Emlakçılık da yeni bir sektör onun için. O da emlakçı değil zaten. Garsonken emlakçı olmuş. İşte D de burada rehberdi. Emlakçılık burada herkese yeni bir sektör. İnanılmaz bir para kazanıldı bu süreçte. Yeşilkent'te evler £ 20,000 di. O evler İngilizlere £ 45,000'e satıldı. Adam bir evden 60 milyar kar etti mesela o ilk zamanlarda. Bankasında 1 trilyonu biriktirince de ; " Evi de ben yapayım. Daha çok kazanayım" dedi. " Sermaye birikti. Sonra da müteahhitliğe geçildi. İşte Z öyle, Q öyle. Hiçbiri doğrudan müteahhitliğe girişmedi. Önce emlakçılık sonra...Genel böyle. After sale'e daha yeni yeni giriliyor. After sale yapan şirketler daha yeni yeni kuruluyor. Geçen sene kışın kuruldu ilk şirket. Emlakçı yapıyordu kendi after sale'ini. Talep iyice arttıkça yetişemez oldu emlakçı.(...) Ya satarken böyle bir vaatte bulunulmuyor ama o satış işlemi profesyonelliğe dayanmadığı için "Oh my friend. Ask whatever you want" şeklinde. Alıyor İngilizli discoya götürüyor, bara götürüyor, yemeğe götürüyor. Böyle satılıyor ev. Ayakçı emlakçı 1000 i geçer. Bütün site bekçileri emlakçıdır mesela. İlk başlarda işte yanaşılıyordu bunlara "Ya işte şu evin sahibiyle bir kontak kur. Evin fiyatını biraz düşürt" filan diye. Eline biraz harçlık verince de mahcup mahcup" Ya sağol abi" diye... Şimdi "Ben de bir milyar isterim abi" yapıyor, Onlar da artık İngilizceyi öğrenip kendileri satmaya çalışıyorlar. Garson zaten emlakçı. Bağımsız çalışıyor. Anlaştığı emlakçılar var. Sistem artık oturmuş durumda. "

"Cause when this purchase started houses were sold like cheese and bread.(...) I know that it has not developed in a professional way. After the Law was enacted, you know here everybody had connections with the English even though they didn't live here then. They used to come here for 5 months. I mean there were Brits here for 5 -6 months. Thus there's a friendship, a network. When the Law was enacted, the Brit has money and our Turkish has a milieu: "Come on let's do this". It all went that way. It couldn't happen at all without the English. For example look at the most successful ones B company, his wife is English, X company, D is English. If it wasn't for D S was selling icecream in the boats. I don't wanna degrade his job but what I mean is he could never do this.(...) Q company. The owners were construction workers. Thanks to the English partner, the connection, one of them is married to a Brit, them... M company they made a business partnership there wasn't a private relationship. But those with British wives or girlfriends were more successful. M company is in business since 996, Q company much oversucceeded it. The ones in real estate business didn't initially intend to get into construction business. Real estate was a new sector to him. He wasn't a real estate guy as well but turned into a real estate agent when he was a waiter. Even D was a tour guide hear. Real estate is a new sector hre to everybody. Incredible money was earned in this process. The houses in Yeşilkent valued £ 20,000. They were sold for £ 45,000 to the English. The guy had a profit of TL 60 billion on a single house in the initial phase and when he had a deposit of TL 1 trillion in the bank he said " I'll build the house and

⁴⁴ All company and people names are coded for confidentiality reasons

earn even more" Capital accumulated first and then they entered into building sector. Like Z , like Q None of them directly started building. First real estate then... In general. After-sale is quite new. The after-sale companies are recently set up. The first one was established last winter. The real state agents' used to do their own after-sale. But when the demand increased drastically they couldn't catch up with it,(...) Of course they don't make any such promises while selling but since the sale transaction doesn't rely on professionalism "Oh my friend. Ask whatever you wanf'kind. Takes the Brit to disco, to pub, to dine out. That's how the house is sold. The mobile real estate agents are more than 1000. All the wards in complexes are estate agents for example. Initially people were approaching them: "Come on contact the owner of this house and arrange a discount" . And when they give him a small allowance they were thanking in a shy manner. But now they say " Well I want a 1 billion as well" . They also try to learn English and arrange the sale on their own. Waiters are already estate agents. They work independently. They have deals with Estate Agents'. The system is established now"

The newly gained power is symbolised by driving a jeep as I heard the phrase "The boy who was earning a minimum wage in my place is on a jeep now" more than once in the field while people were telling success stories of others achieved either through business or "intimate relationships". Erdal (41, M), himself a born and bred Dydimian, draws a picture of the natives in the vitalised economy;

"Didim'de şimdi, yani Türkiye'nin hiçbir yerinde şu anda Didim'deki son model arabaları görmek mümkün değil. Herkes zengin şu anda Didim'de ... Herkes şimdi... Birileri ev yaparak zengin oldu. Birileri arsa satarak zengin oldu. Birileri işte eve malzeme satarak zengin oldu. Mobilyaydı, bilmem neydi. Yani Didim'de şu anda fakir insan yok. İnşaat işçisi bile şu anda para...Ben şimdi Didim'de inşaat yaptırıyorum. Şimdi Didim'de işçi bulmakta zorluk yaşıyorsun. Bulduğun da astronomik fiyatlara çalışıyor. Çünkü iş her zaman var. Daha önce böyle değildi. Ya şimdi inşaat yapanın yanında çalışan eleman da geldi. Genelde doğudan geliyor. (...)Didim'in şimdi yerlileri, tabi yerli olmanın avantajı, mal mülk sahibi olduğundan ekonomik zorluğu yok. Onun içinde tabi birbirine bağlı olma zorunluluğu hissetmiyor. Ama doğudan gelen insanlar burada bir şeylere sahip olmak için daha sıkı, yani birbirlerine daha bağlılar. Didim'in yerli insanların da böyle bir bağlılık yok. Yer satarak para kazandıkları için bizim buranın yerlisi işyeri açma düşüncesi çok hakim değil. İşyeri sahiplerinin % 60'ı % 70'i doğulular. Çünkü onlar işyeri açma gereği duymuyorlar. Buranın yerlisi de yer sattığı için çok iş yapma gereği duymuyor. Müteahhitlik sektöründe Didim'in yerlisi pek yoktur. Genel olarak Doğulu"

"In Didim now, nowhere in Turkey you can see the brand new cars you'll see in Didim. Everybody is rich in Didim now. Somebody got rich by building houses. Somebody by selling land. Somebody else by selling material for the house. Furniture or that kind of stuff ...Now there isn't any poor in Didim. Even the construction worker is earning money... Now for example I'm having a building constructed. It's hard to find a worker now in Didim. Those you find ask for enormous amounts of money. Because there is always a job opportunity. Before it wasn't like that. The worker came with the builder Generally they come from the east. (...)The natives of Didim , as the advantage of being a native, don't face any economic hardship because they've got property. So, naturally they don't feel the need to be attached to each other. But the people from the East they are more attached to each other, with tighter ties. There isn't such an attachment in Didim's natives. Since they earn money by selling land the idea of setting up an enterprise is not dominating. 60-70 % of the enterprise owners are

those from the East. Because they feel the need to open up a business whereas the native doesn't feel the need because he sells land. There are hardly any natives in building sector. Generally those from the East."

Kerem (35, M), a Kurdish builder who owns a Real Estate company with 4 branch offices in the UK, makes a comparison between the Didim before the property rush of foreigners and of today while giving an account of the gains from which everybody in the town benefited:

"(...) Ben Didim'in eski halini biliyorum. Doğru dürüst yolumuz yok. Ekmeğimiz olmadığı günleri biliyorum Buradaki esnafın çoğunu tanıyorum. Kış olurdu burada insanlar geçimini zor sağlardı üç ay dört ay. Yazı zor beklerdi O da turist geldi mi gelmedi mi ? O da yarısı gelmezdi en ufak bir politika, ya da yanlış bir demeçle o da şey olurdu giderdi. Yok deprem olurdu . Yani insanların halini çok iyi biliyorum ben. Araba yoktu eskiden doğru dürüst Didim'de. Saysan belki 13-14 tane araba vardı. Şimdi herkes en güzel arabalara biniyor. En güzel binaları yapmaya çalışıyor. Ne güzel işte. Bunlar güzel şeyler. Yani herkes yarışıyor. Rekabet var. Bir yerde gidip 20-30 milyara ev alıyordun. O evde oturmak mümkün değildi ki yarım yamalak ne sıvası var ne birşeyi var. Şimdi gidersin en güzel evler. İnsanların yaşam standartları yükseliyor. Ben hayret ediyorum yani şikayetleri varsa. Ha çalışmaktan şikayet ediyordur. O oluyor. Yoğunuz çalışıyoruz. Ben eskiden restoran çalıştıyordum. Hala da çalıştırıyorum İstanbul restoran. 12-13 senedir. Kışın eskiden İngiltere'ye giderdik. "İşte birşeyler yapalım. Kışımız boş geçmesin" Sezon kapanırdı. 6 ay boşsun. Ne yapacaktık ? İngiltere'ye giderdik. Çalışmaya çalışırdık. Şimdi insanların hepsinde para var. Didim Belediyesine gidin. Çok büyük bir yatırım oluyor. Burada çoğu esnafın kapattığını bilirim ben. Marangozu olsun, elektrikçisi olsun. Fayansçısı olsun. Şimdi herkesin durumu iyi. Herkes para kazanıyor. Manavına kadar "

" (...) I know the old times of Didim. We didn't have even proper roads. I know days that we didn't have a piece of bread. I know most of the commercants here. In winter people could hardly afford their lives for three four months. Could hardly wait for the summer and then whether the tourists will come or not. Half of them just didn't come at all in a slight political or a false declaration then the hopes dissapeared. Or an earthquake.I mean I know how the people were. There weren't cars in Didim before. If you counted there were maybe 13-14 cars. Now everybody are driving the best cars, trying to build the best buildings. It's good. These are good things. I mean everybody is competing. There is competition. You could buy a house for 20-30 billion. But it was impossible to live in that house without a plaster or nothing. Now you go and see the best houses. Life standards of the people are improving. I can just feel astonished if they've got any complaints. But s/he can be complaining of working. This is in fact the case. We're busy working. Before I used to run a restaurant I still do .İstanbul restoran. For the last 12-13 years. In the past in winter we used to go to England. "Let's do something . Don't waste the winter. When the season was over, you were unemployed. What would we do? We used to go to England and tried to work. Now all the people have got money. Go to Didim Municipality. There's a huge investment going on. I know most of the commercants closed down here. Carpenters, electricians, tile makers. Now evertybody is allright. Everybody earns money. Even the greengrocers"

Almost all the interviewee acknowledge the business and job opportunities created by the construction boom and the consequent migration which has added

an impetus to the town economy in a way by extending the tourism season from summer to all year long:

Bilal (29,M), another Kurdish entrepreneur running an Indian restaurant alongside a Real Estate Office where all the customers are foreigners says:

"Bu yasa çıkmadan önce Altınkum'da ve Yenihisar'daki sektörlerin çoğu kepenk kapatacak duruma gelmişti, işsizlikten işin olmamasından... Bu yasayla bütün sektörler canlandı. Herkesin bir şekilde bütçesine bir katkı sundu .Cebine para girdi. Herkesin cebinde para oldu. Kendimi örnek vereyim. İki kıştı işletmemi açıyorum. Çok büyük çapta gelir getirmiyor ama önceden 5 ay yatıyorduk, ana sermayeden yiyorduk.2 yıldır kısmen ana sermayeyi tüketmiyorum. Haftada en azından Pazar ihtiyacım çıkıyor, evin masrafları çıkıyor, mekan açık kalıyor, tadilat istemiyor. Yani bir katkı sunuyor."

"Before this Law was enacted most of the sectors in Altınkum and Yenihisar were at the edge of closing down, because of the low degree of business . With this law all the sectors were revitalised . It contributed to everybody's budget in some way. Let me give myself as an example . For the last two winters I'm opening my enterprise. It doesn't bring that much but before we used to lie for 5 months, to live on our capital. For the last two years I partially don't consume evade my capital. At least I can earn my market expenses, the expenses of home, the place is open so it doesn't need any preparatory work. I mean it definitely makes a contribution "

In fact, his is not an extraordinary case as state Metin (45, M) and Beverly (42, F, housewife)

"Artısı var" ,Burada yeni iş alanları açılıyor. Bu alımlardan önce, bir 5 yıl önce yılbaşı akşamı eşimle bir yere gitmek istiyoruz. Altınkum'a limana indim arabayla. İnanın bence zifiri, simsiyah. Yılbaşı akşamı ya. Gidecek bir yer yok. Bastık Kuşadası'na gittik. Bir sürü alternatif filan. Yılbaşı gecesi bile zifiri karanlık bir yerdi burası şimdi 00..!! Her taraf ışıl ışıl.İşletmelerin ömrü uzadı. In winter there was nothing in Altınkum just cats and dogs. Now the bars and restaurants are open all year. There are lots of new places. A lot better."

"It has a positive impact" say "New fields of activity have started here. Before those purchases, some 5 years ago, we wanted to go somewhere with my wife to celebrate the new year. I drove here to the Altınkum port. Believe me it was totally dark. The new years' eve : Can you imagine ? "Nowhere to go!! I We just drove to Kuşadası. A lot of alternatives there. This was a place which was totally dark even on the new year's eve ! But now wow! Everywhere is lively. The life of the enterprises lengthened!!! In winter there was nothing in Altınkum just cats and dogs. Now the bars and restaurants are open all year. There are lots of new places. A lot better."

Final citation I'll make is from Mehmet (53, M), the former Mayor who makes a more systematic explanation of the money injected to the local economy:

"Ekonomik hayatı, tabi ki alışveriş ettikleri yerde filan ekstradan bir para bırakmaları sözkonusu. Çünkü çoğu zaten bu parayı burada kazanmıyor. Maaşı ya da bir şekilde İngitere'den getirdikleri parayı harcıyorlar. Dolayısıyla istihdamla ilgili bir sıkıntı yaratmış

değiller. İstihdamda bir sıkıntı yaratmadan ek bir para girişi aslında bir artı katkı. Sezonu da uzatıyor. Yani yaza indeksli bir ekonomik hayatı kışa da taşıyor."

"On the economic life of course in places that they shop they leave an extra money, cause most of them do not earn the money here. They are spending their pensions or the money they brought from the UK. So they have not created a problem on employment. Additional money input without creating a problem on employment is in fact a positive contribution. They also prolong the season. I meant it extends. an economic life indexed to summer to winter"

The resulting increase in prices in the real estate market and the general cost of living is considered as a negative consequence of the foreigners in the town. On the other hand, it is also acknowledged that the residential areas affected by the boom are the neighbourhoods that had hitherto been preferred for 'holiday homes' and there exists a double –even more- tier price system in the town discriminating between the local Turks, Turkish tourists, German-Turks, foreign residents and foreign tourists. Moreover, the unsustainability of a growth based on construction and real estate sectors causes concerns for the future. Figen (38, F, Jeweller) who's strongly against the phenomenon states:

"Parasal anlamda tabi insanlarda bir açlık olduğu için. Bu bir yerde onların gözünü boyadı. Ama bu gelip geçici bir şey aslında. Sanırım bunun farkına varacaklar günün birinde. Bana göre zaten bu çita düşmeye başladı, Bana göre bu sene önceki sene olan satışlar yok. Bu öteki yıllarda daha fazla düşecek,"

"In monetary terms, of course since people had that greed, this had flashed their eyes. But this is a temporary thing you know. I think one day they'll understand. To me, the limits have started lowering. The sales of last year don't exist this year. This is gonna drop further during the coming years"

The worries are not only associated with the value-blind "demand and supply" rule of the market, the Britons realising their capital gains are also blamed as exemplified by the narratives of Nuray(F,38,chemist) and her husband Bora (40, M) -his lines underlined-

"İngiliz buraya ilk geldiğinde 20 bin GBP'a ev aldı. Sonra bu rant yükseldi. Adam 20'ye aldığı evi bir başka İngiliz'e 40'a sattı. Şimdi adamın burada bir anda 20 bin GBP İngiltere'de 5 sene kazanamazken bu parayı burada bir gün içinde ya da birkaç gün içinde bu parayı kazandı. Kendisine bir rentabilite getirdi. Kendi kendine bir emlakçı oldu bir nevi. Böyle bir sürü de zaten emlak işlerini de kendileri yürütmeye başladılar. Didim'de birkaç tane isim geçiyor zaten. (Tabi başlangıçta bir para girdi.Emlakçılara, inşaat sektörüne... Ama belli bir süreden sonra bu para çıkmaya başlayacak. Çünkü bir İngiliz Altı tane ev alan insanlar var, üç ev alan insanlar var. Bunun ticari düşünüyor. 75 GBP'ye kiraya veriyor. Artık haftalık mı aylık mı bilmiyorum ama. ..E bu para İngiltere'ye gidiyor sonuçta.) (*Kendileri burada ama*) (Ailesi çoğunlukla orada.İngiltere bunu hesabını bile yapıyor . Bu gelen paraların müfettişler tarafından takibi sözkonusu. Çünkü İngiltere'den buraya para çıkışı

oldu. Ama istemiyor sonuçta hükümet bunu. Bir şekilde takip ederek kısıtlama yoluna gidiyor. E onlar da bir şekilde bu parayı yerine koyma yolu bulmaları gerekiyor."

"The Brit when s/he first came here bought a house for £ 20 K, Then this rent increased. S/He sold the house s/he bought for 20 for 40 to another Brit. "Now somebody gained £20 K here in a day or a few days, the money he couldn't make in England in five years. Provided him/herself a rentability. S/he became a real estate agents' on his / her own in a way, A lot like this they started to run their own real estate businesses. There are already a few names mentioned in Didim, Of course, at the beginning there was a money input. But after sometime that money will start going out. Because a Brit. There are people who bought 6 houses, 3 thouses. thinking on commercial terms. Renting for 75 GBP. I don't know whether on weekly basis or monthly but... In the end this -money goes to England 'ye kiraya veriyor. Artık haftalık mı aylık mı bilmiyorum ama... E bu para İngiltere'ye gidiyor sonuçta.) (*But they live here themselves*) (Mostly their families are there) England is even calculating this. It is also an issue that the money that came here is investigated by inspectors. Because there was an money exit from England to here. But in the end, the government doesn't want this. Tries to restrict pursuing it in some way. And them, they have to find a way to put that money back "

A more serious concern is the recent entrance of big multinational players⁴⁵ -to which the local economic actors hasn't had much experience with during the tourism development - to the real estate market. Scared of an undetermined future Hasan (27, M,newspaper owner) expresses his worries as such:

«Bir de 4-5 ay önce Parador geldi. Onun da etkisi muhakkak var. En az 1000 ev satmışlardır burada. Onlar şöyle çalışıyorlar Dolduruyor bir uçak. Bir hafta adamın yanından ayrılmıyor. Parador burada ofis açmadan önce problem yoktu. Çünkü sonuçta Paradorun getirdiği müşteri arada onlar olmasa bu piyasayı belki hiç düşünmeyecek⁴⁶. Paradorun ofis açması acaba aklında ev almak olan ortalama İngiliz doğrudan oraya mı çeker ? Emlakçılarm çoğu müteahhit de olduğu için Parador'dan bir zarar görmüyorlar şimdi. Ama Parador müteahhitliğe de başlarsa ne olur ? Onu bilmiyorum işte. Bir de bir büyük İngiliz şirketi daha geliyormuş. Didim'in durumu şu anda büyük sermayeyi kaldıracak vaziyette değil. En büyük yerel emlakçılar bile daha personelinin oturtamamış. X şirketi mesela Didim'de bir vaka. Ama S'yle D ayrılırsa X bitti. Bu kadar büyük kazanç sağlayabilen bir şirket bile karı koca ilişkisine dayanıyor.

« And some 4-5 months ago Parador came. It of course has had an impact. They might have sold at least 1000 houses here. They work like this. Packs a plane. He doesn't leave the guy for the whole week. That wasn't a problem before Parador set up an office here. Because the client Parador brought here maybe would not even think about this market if it weren't for Parador. But Parador's office here will it directly attract the average Brit who thinks about

⁴⁵ Unlike for example Antalya-Belek, tourism development in Didim has been of more accidental and arbitrary nature and most of the tourism enterprises in the sector are of small and medium size. To state that there aren't any McDonalds or Burger King franchises - which is a sign of mass tourist resorts - and just a couple of 5 star hotels might give the reader an idea about the existing economy of tourism. On the other hand, a recent tourism development plan envisaging construction of a marina, golf course and star rich facilities has been approved and big- preferably- international capital is sought for development on State Land to be allocated.

⁴⁶ Similarly, Casado-Dias (2006:1329) in the case of Costa Blanca, Spain notes the growing importance of participation hi organised visits - so-called inspection visits- of Real Estate Agents' as a medium of prior connection to the area.

buying property here ? Since most of the real estate agencies are also builders they haven't been harmed by Parador yet but what's gonna happen if Parador starts development business as well. I don't know that to be honest. Also another large British company is said to be coming. The situation in Didim can't handle big capital at the moment. Even the largest local real estate agencies don't even have established human capital. X company for example is a case in Didim, But it's over if S and D have a divorce. Even a company which had tremendous gain depends on the relationship between the husband and the wife. "

Indeed when the same issue came up while interviewing İbo (23, M, real estate employee, live-in partner of a 50 year female Briton) who also expressed a similar concern about the large multinationals on a more general level:

"Tesco gelirse bittik. Bir de şey var onlarda B&Q var ya Koçtaş gibi, B&Q gelsin kimse Koçtaş'a gitmez B& Q'ya gider. Ben yurtdışında da gördüm. İşte Tescoyu görüyon:"AaaTesco" .Hemen Oraya gidiyor. Gerçekten böyle. Orada duyulduğu için ismi."

"If Tesco comes here we're done. They've also got this B&Q, like Koçtaş. If B & Q comes nobody goes to Koçtaş but to B& Q. I saw it in abroad. When s/he sees Tesco:"Oh! Tesco", s/he immediately goes there. Really. Since the name is known there"

It is also widely believed that local competition for the migrant contingent is almost impossible with a British entrepreneur, not necessarily as large or as famous as Tesco. For example Nuray (38, F, Chemist) tells :

«En basiti mesela Judy'nin annesi perde diyor. İçerdeki perdecii vergisini veriyor, kirasını veriyor iş yapamıyor. Judy'nin annesi torbalarla perde taşıyor. İngilizlere. Kendi aralarındaki o iç döngülerini kendileri hallediyorlar yani. »

"As a simple example, Judy's mum saws curtains. The curtain maker inside pays his tax, his rent but he can't do business whereas Judy's mum delivers curtains in bags. They handle the internal circulation among themselves on their own"

The increasing awareness of the foreign residents about the unfair trade practices the tourists would not care which Saime (26, F, info-desk officer) states as :

"Çünkü İngilizler de artık bir şeylerin farkına varmaya başladılar. Onlar da Yenihisar'dan alışveriş yapmaya başladılar. Migrostan Gimadan alışveriş yapmaya başladı. Sonuçta bu insanlar salak değiller. Yani : "a burada arkadaşımın marketi var. Buradan alışveriş yapayım" değil "nerede ucuz var oradan alışveriş yapayım" diyorlar. Çifte fiyat elbette ki var. Bu üç Liraysa pound karşılığı 5 Liraya satmaya çalışıyorlar. Ama İngilizler de bunun farkında. Yenihisarda zaten yılın 12 ayı bütün dükkanlar açık. Esnaf biraz daha memnun bu durumdan. Alışveriş yapıyorlar çünkü. Ekonomik girdi var. Ama yukarıya var. Altınkum'a yok"

"Cause the English started to notice things. They also started to shop from Yenihisar, from Migros, Gima. Cause at the end, these people are not idiots either. I mean rather than "Oh my mate has a shop here Let me buy from there" they say "I'll go and shop wherever the prices are better." Of course there's doublepricing. If this is 3 Lira they try to sell it for 5 Lira as a £ equivalent. But the English are aware of this too. In Yenihisar all the shops are open all

year. The commercants are more content of the situation. Cause they shop. There's economic input. But to there Yenihisar not to Altinkum"

is resented -sometimes overtly sometimes in a hidden way- as exemplified in Figen's (38, F, jeweller) accounts

"Adamlar Cumartesi pazarını bile öğrenmiş.Gidiyorlar pazara arabalarıyla yiyeceklerini alıyorlar. Yani bir şekilde bunlar kendi içlerinde örgütlenmeye başlamışlar bile. Yani emlakçıya gitmeyin sizden para alır, bilmem kime gitmeyin, sizden komisyon alır. Yani böyle bi şey."

(...)

"...Benim eşim Arçelik bayisi ondan çok iyi biliyorum. Orada mağazada, bütün malların fiyatları, şeylerin üzerinde asılı. Asmaya başladık daha doğrusu. Artık bu insanlar komisyonu falan herşeyi öğrenmeye başladılar. Burada etiketin üzerinde yazılı olan parayı ödemek istiyor insanlar. (Daha iyi değil mi?) Tabi ki çok iyi. Bilinçlenmeye başladı insanlar. Şimdi ne oldu? Komisyonla onla bunla burada vurgun yapan insanlar da bitecek. Bitsin de zaten. Yani insanlar görsün eğriyi doğruyu."

"The guys even learnt the Saturday market. They go to the market with cars and buy their food. I mean in a way they have already started to organise among each other. I mean don't go to the estate agents' . He gets money from you, don't go to this person he takes commission on you"

(...)

"...My husband is an Arçelik dealer. I know really well through him. There in the shop the prices of all the commodity is hung. We started to hang, to be more fruitful. These people started to learn commission and everything. They want to pay the money seen on the label (*Isn 't it better ?*) Yes of course better. The people started to get more awareness. Now what happened? those people hitting jackpots though commission and all will also stop. In fact let it stop. I mean let the people see the clear picture.

alongside the emerging alternative economy:

"Hareketlendirdi ekonomik hayatı. Ama kendi aralarında bir iktisadi alternatif hayat oluşmaya başladı. Kesinlikle bak göreceğiz bunu. Bu böyle daha da ilerleyecek. Bu insanlar, benim duyduğum,) yani konuştuğum birkaç kişi işte burada emlakçı açtı mesela, bir tanesi pub açtı, bunlar görün bakın yarın bu şekilde çoğalmaya devam ederlerse marketini açacak, klubünü açacak, yani bence bu şekilde bir örgütlenme olacak. Çok da masum olduklarını düşünmüyorum açıkçası."

" It became a drive for the economic life. But also an alternative economic life started among their own selves. Absolutely we'll see this. This is gonna move further. These people, I heard I mean a few people I talk they set up an Real Estate here, another one opened a pub. Those, you'll look and see if they proliferate here like that they'll set up their markets clubs, I mean, according to me there will be such an organising. And frankly I don't think that they're that innocent."

Neither the citizenship of the owners –since they’re exclusively Turkish British partnerships- nor the levels of formality of the proliferating businesses in town advertising themselves as “British run- are easily identifiable. Nevertheless, it is highly believed that the Britons do and will do better business by taking advantage of “localism” ties as Arif (45,M, Jewellery shop employee) overtly states:

“Bazı, yani çoğuişkoluna, şu anda kendi adları olmasa dahi bir Türk alıp yanlarına işkollarına yöneliyorlar bu da otomatikman piyasayı engelliyor. Ne gibi engelliyor? Diyor ki ben New Castle’lıyım bu pubı işletiyorum. Bütün NewCastle’lıları oraya toplamaya çalışmak gibi. (Sizce hemşerilerini mi tercih ederler müşteriler ?) %75’i tercih eder. Siz de yurt dışında bulunmuşsunuz. Bir Türk restoranı olunca en azından bir Türk kahvesi içmek için oraya gitmeyi istersiniz.”

“In some, I mean in most fields of activity, though not with their own name at the moment, but taking a Turk to their side, they start aiming at fields of activity and this automatically hinders the market. How does it hinder? S/he says I’m from Newcastle and I’m running this pub. Like trying to gather all the Newcastlians there. (Do you think the customers’ll prefer their locals?) 75% do. You’d been abroad yourself. When there is a Turkish restaurant you want to go there at least to have a Turkish coffee”

At this point, I should also mention the amazement I felt upon the unawareness of literally everyone in Didim– regardless of nationality and including the town officials and the Mayor- about the futher liberalisation, since 2003, of the Turkish legislation on investment by and employment of foreigners in Turkey according to which once made the necessary filings there are not any restrictions for citizens of particularly the EU countries to conduct business on the same grounds with the Turkish nationals. Thus, it is taken for granted – both by the locals and the foreign residents that- the only way for the foreigners to get into the market is finding a Turkish partner. And the beneficiaries of these partnerships established in a totally different economic environment about the written or hidden codes of which they are not equipped enough, are not always the Britons. Reis (40, M, Informal beach owner) tells a different story with a special emphasis on age and gender:

“(…)Burada şu an çalışan şöyle. Resmi olarak değil de çoğu iş yerine ortaklar. Parayı veriyor mesela bizim Türke.Çoğu bar restoran bunlarla ortak çalışıyor. Sonradan tabiri caizse bizimkiler bunları belli bir süre sonra şutluyorlar. Parayı kaptırıp kalıyorlar ortada. Bilhassa bu yaşlı kadınlar . Bu gençler evlenelim diyorlar. Getiriyorlar buraya . Parayı alıyorlar, iş yerini açıyorlar. Ben net konuşurum yani. Allah doğruyu sever. Kadın 60-70 yaşında Yürüyemiyor yani. Bunun neyini seveceksin ? Belli bir süre geçtikten sonra merdiven olarak kullanıyorlar. Ondan sonra tekmeyi vuruyorlar “

“(…)Here those working here are like that. Not officially but they’re partners in most businesses. For example s/he gives the money to our Turk. Most of the bars and restaurants are working in partnership with those. Then after some time, if it can be put this way, ours just kick them out They are left just like that the money all gone. Especially these elderly ladies. These young lads say:” Let’s get married”. Bring the women here, take the money, open the enterprise. I speak directly. God loves the truth. The woman has 60-70 years of age. She can’t even talk. How can you love her? After a period of time, the lads use them as a stairway and them kick them out”

The foreign people with trade are also part of the alternative economic scene but they, as tells Hasan (27, M, Newspaper owner) are also prone to the danger inherent in working informality in an unknown business environment:

"(...)Elektrikçiler filan da tavsiyeyle çalışıyorlar. Mesela John Key marangoz. Orada marangozmuş. Ben burada da bir kaç iş yaparken gördüm. Jacky'nin kocası Malcolm elektrikçi. Bir tane adam vardı. O adamcağızı da tokatladılar. O bayağı bayağı müteahhitliğe bile başlamıştı. Bir İngiliz ev yapmıştı. İç dekorasyon yapıyordu işte bu boya badana, kırık dökük işleri filan... E bunların hepsi tabi kayıt dışı.."

"(...)Electricians and all they work upon recommendation. For example John Key is a carpenter. He was a carpenter there. I saw him here doing a number of jobs. Malcolm, Jacky's hubby is an electrician. There was a guy. *They cheated that poor man out of his money.* He even started building work. He built a house for a Brit. He was doing interior decoration, painting, repairing etc. Of course all these are informal...."

Informally employed Britons are also common features of all the Estate Agents' in Altinkum. Most of the restaurants and bars, on the other hand, make commission based deals with the residents to attract their circles to the place. Hasan (27, M) gives a detailed account of the meaning of keeping a British employee in the businesses aimed at a foreign clientele:

"1000 tane filan yazın İngiliz çalışıyordur Didim'de. Bunun 800 ü de burada yaşayan yerlidir. Kışın çoğu çalışmıyor ya da parttime çalışıyor çünkü kışın emlakçıda o kadar yoğunluk yok. İngiliz gelmiyor. Üst seviyelerde İngiliz kullanan yok. Daha çok e-mail cevaplamak, müşteri geldiği zaman onu gezdirmek. Ama müşteriyi gezdirirken de o İngilizin yanında bir Türk gönderiliyor yani. İngiliz ne biliyor musunuz ? Müşteri geldiği zaman o işyerinde şirin görünsün diye. İşyerinde İngiliz olsun, gelen İngiliz de "A bak burada vatandaşım var » diye güven duysun. Yoksa herkes İngilizce biliyor yani. Biraz o gelen kişiye güven versin diye."

"Around 1000 Brits work in Didim in summer and 800 are the natives living here. In winter most don't work at all or work on part-time basis because in winter there's not much in the Estate Agents' cause the Brits don't come . There isn't anybody using the Brits for high-level jobs. Mostly for replying e-mails, accompanying the client to the site. But when s/he goes with a customer a Turk is also sent with him/her. You know what the Brit is ? Just to appear cute when the customer comes to that office. Let there be a Brit in the office and the coming Brit feels trust "Oh ! Here there's a compatriot of mine!" Or else, everybody speaks English you know. Just to inject trust to the coming person."

Currently, it might be argued that the foreigners in the town's economic scene are under the control of the locals. In fact, they are used as part of a marketing or – not always legitimate or socially acceptable- business strategy either through employment and deals or through partnerships by Turkish or Kurdish entrepreneurs. For the Britons as well this is the only way to survive in an unknown economic scene full of opportunities but also threats. Hasan (27, M) says:

"Şimdi bunların işine geliyor Türkle ortak çalışmak. Çünkü Türkün getireceği avantajlar da var. Adam burada 5 sene yaşadıkdan sonra Türk'e ihtiyacı olmayacak ki ...Daha bunlar buraya yeni geldiler. 2003 te geldiler. Daha üç sene olmuş. Bu adam burada 10 sene yaşadıkdan sonra Türke hiç ihtiyacı kalmayacak. Türk olmadan her bir işini yapacak. İki taraf da birbirini iyi kullanabildiği sürece ortaklıklar iyi gidiyor. Bir güven ilişkisi yok ama "Ben İngiliz ortağıma güveniyorum" diyen varsa yalan söylüyordur. İngiliz de pek güvenmiyor"

"Now it is also beneficial to them to work in partnership with the Turk. Cause there are advantages that the Turk'll bring. After living here for 5 years the guy won't need the Turk at all. They're just new here. They came in 2003. Just three years. After living here for 10 years the guy won't need the Turk at all S/he will do everything without the Turk. While the both parties make good use of each other the partnerships go well. There isn't a relationship of trust though. Whoever says" I trust my English partner" is definitely lying. The Brits don't feel that much trust either..."

Nevertheless, the future with all its uncertainty or even worse with pessimistic prospects that the current advantages held as natives, and thus the control will be lost is narrated with the focus on worries and serious concern as exemplified by Erdal (45,M, yach owner):

"(...)Şimdi burada inşaat malzemesi satan da bir İngiliz olacak. Müteahhit de İngiliz olacak. Yani bu gelen para bize girmeyecek. Sonuçta bir İngilizize girecek. Yani şu andaki ekonomik çark 5 yıl sonra tam tersine dönecek. Ekonomik sorun olacak. Fakirleşme olacak. Fakirleşmeyle birlikte, her türlü sorun onunla birlikte gelir zaten. Kargaşa da çıkabilir. Ben seziyorum. Çıkabilir. (...) İşimize ekmeğimize ortak olduklarını gördüğümüz anda bunun tepkisini göstereceğimize inanıyorum yani .. Bir huzursuzluk kesin çıkacak. İngilizlerin baskın olduğu bu iş kollarında "

"Now here, the person selling the construction material will be a Brit, the Builder'll be Brit. I mean the money coming won't enter to our pockets. In the end it will go to a Brit. I mean the current wheel of the economy will work backwards. There will be an economic problem. There will be pauperisation. With pauperisation... All problems come with that. There can be a disorder. I feel. There can be. (...) When we see them sharing our jobs, our bread I believe we'll react... There will certainly be an unrest. In the field of activities that the Brits dominate."

One of the symbols associated with the threats inherent in the future is "being employed by a Briton" Nuray (38, F), the chemist, tells:

"E yarın birgün belki bizim çocuklarımız onların yanında işçi konumuna da düşebilir. Şimdi ben burada esnafım ama benim yarın öbür gün dükkanımı Başka bir eczacı yan tarafıma dükkan açar. Ben burada iş yapamaz hale geldiğimde n'olucak ? Benim kendi çocuğum belki onların yanında ya da ben onların yanında çalışma durumuna düşeceğim. İleriye dönük böyle sonuçlar doğabilir yani..."

"Maybe tomorrow or another day our children can fall to the status of an employee in their places. Now I own a shop but say another chemist opens up just near me. What's gonna happen when I can't do business here? My child or my ownself will fall to being an employee in theirs. There can be such consequences in the future"

Our dialog with Ibo (22, M), who's currently an employee, upon his pessimistic views of a future where all the businesses will be taken over by Britons exemplifies not only the confusion of an individual mind but the employment of the symbol rather as a cliché without much prior thought:

(Sen çalışan olduktan sonra patronunun milliyetinden sana ne ?) Bunlar için tabi Türkiye'nin Anayasasının filan da değişmesi lazım. Şimdi yani oradaki insan haklarıyla buradaki insan hakları tartışılmaz. Mesela orada İngiltere'de, Jean anlatıyor mesela, patronuna afedersin küfür ederek de çekip gidebiliyor yani. Ama ertesi gün iş bulabiliyor... Ama burada öyle değil yani. Sesini çıkartamıyorsun (Peki sen çalışan olarak hangi durumu tercih edersin yani ?) Patronlar onlar olduğu zaman Anayasa değişmezse yine bir şey olmayacak ki (En azından bir takım davranış biçimlerini taşımayacaklar mı ?) Kültür biz zaten görüyoruz şu anda .

"(What is it to you the nationality of the owner as long as you are an employee?) Because for these the Constitution of Turkey should also change. I mean, now you can't discuss the human rights here and there. For example there in England, Jean tells one can leave by swearing at his/her boss but the next day can find a new job. But here it's not like that. You can't dare to speak. (OK you as an employee which situation would you prefer?) But unless the Constitution changes their being the bosses won't change anything (Won't they import some codes of behaviour at least ?) Oh the culture, we've already been seeing at the moment."

The two among my interviewee Nazife (32, F) and Hatice (22, F) who are currently employed by Britons- the former as a freelance cleaner the latter as a waitress- , on the other hand, articulate appreciation and content when talking about the employment relationships they inhabit in their consecutive narratives

"Türkle aynı değil. Türkler çok karışıyor. Bunlar karışmaz. Ek de para veriyorlar bahşiş filan. Bizim Türkler "İşte şunu yap, bunu yap". Sen zaten bu işte profesyonelsin. her şeyi biliyorsun."

"They're not the same with the Turks. Turks intervene too much. These don't. They also give additional money. Tips and all. Our Turks are like: " Do this, do that". You're a professional in this job. You know everything."

"Türlere göre mesela insan haklarını gözetiyorlar. Yani normal, başka bir işte mesela otursan göze batar. Ama işin olmadığı sürece bunlar zaten senin sürekli oturmanı istiyorlar." İşin olmadığı sürece otur "diyor." "Ayakta bekleme yani Beklemeye gerek yok"(...)Burada ben çalışıyorum. Beni el üstünde tutuyorlar. " Hatice otur. İşin yok. Otur yani şey yapma. Yardımcı olayım." Mesela yani servis yapmak, bulaşık yıkamak, buraları temizlemek benim görevim. Ama bir bakıyorum. Kapatırken biz dükkanı Sue geliyor, eşi geliyor, Andrew geliyor- belki tanıyorsunuzdur. Çok iyi bir insan- Geliyor hemen katlamaya, masaları toplamaya yardım eder. Ama bu Türklerde yok."

"When compared to the Turks they regard the say human rights. I mean in a normal, in another job for example if you sit yourself it's an issue. But as long as you don't have something to do these they want you to sit yourself "Sit yourself as long as you don't have a job to do. Don't wait standing. There's no need"(...)Here I work. They treat me "Hatice sit yourself. You don't have a job. Sit do nothing. Let me help you" For example I mean serving, washing up and cleaning are my jobs. But I see that when we're closing Sue comes or her husband or Andrew-

maybe you know him a really nice person- He comes and helps to clean the tables, to fold. But Turks don't have these”

Another issue of discussion along the similar lines is the impact of foreigners' acquisition of property and migration on the existing tourism economy and consequently, future of the town as a tourism resort. Most of the regular tourists of the town, it is argued, are now home owners and once they changed into home owners either keeping them for holiday or residing in permanently their contribution to the town economy drops significantly. The holiday home owners or friends and/or relatives of the residents occupy a significant part of the already limited plane seats from the UK which would otherwise be sold to tourists who'd spend more and thus, be more beneficial to Didim. Moreover, it is said, the house owners let their houses through the internet and/or from the UK so cause a leakage in the tourism revenues of the town. Though not all the local actors share the same view about the scale and the impact of the informal letting practices⁴⁷, in the social atmosphere of summer 2006 where the drop in tourist arrivals was a national issue, provincial department of Ministry of Finance issued a declaration for the foreign house owners in the city of Aydın to inform them that letting meant tax evasion and thus an offence with serious legal consequences.

It is a fact that the retiree migrants of the town create a tourism mobility which Williams et., al,(2000:38) explore in depth under the name "Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR)" tourism. On the other hand, both the residents' and this new category of tourists' patterns of consumption are different than that of a conventional tourist with less use of services like hotel accommodation and organised tours or less traditional tourist-kind shopping causing an anxiety for some business people. Reis(40, M) a private beach owner tells how this affects his business:

Genelde ev alan bir daha plaja gelmiyor. Yani gelip de yatak almıyor. Balkonunda yahut havuzunda yahut gelir şurada açıkta yatar.Yani masraf yapmıyorlar. Aynı bizim yerliler gibi yani. Yemeğe gelsin. Ama gelip de yatak için masraf yapmıyor.

⁴⁷ In fact, Didim-Altınkum is one of the cheapest holiday destinations marketed in the UK and it doesn't sound reasonable that a tourist of that segment prefers hiring a villa and paying a high-season flight ticket instead of booking a package tour where everything is included

In general who buys a house doesn't come to the beach again. I mean don't come and hire a deck chair. S/he sunbathes in his/her balcony, swimming pool or lays just over there. Just the same with our locals. They come to dine. But don't come and spend money for the deck chair.

Arif (45, M) a jeweller, tries to give a broad interpretation of this imminent danger not only to his business but to the national interests as well:

"Mesela siz ne kadar altın mavi göz alabilirsiniz? Yani sirkülasyon olmalı ki her alanda olduğu gibi, çünkü gıda satmıyoruz belki gıdayı etkilemeyecek, çünkü yemek zorunda insanlar ama şu anda vermiş olduğumuz doğa, güneş, harika bir plaj fakat hep aynı insanlar faydalanıyor. Diğer insanlar faydalanmadığı için yeni para girişi olmuyor. Hep aynı kısır döngüyle dönmüş oluyor. Bu gün yeni bir yüzün gelip de atıyorum bir mal alması yeni bir sermaye demektir. Çünkü eski yüz zaten burdadır. Devamlı sermaye harcıyordur. Önemli olan yeni kapitaller Zaten turizmin amacı bu değil midir. Temelinde, kökünde yatan şey ülkemizi ya da uğraştığın işi dünyaya tanıtmak değil midir? Amaç diğer bir ülkede kendini tanıtmak olduğu için Türkiye burada otomatikman geri kalmıştır."

"For example you how many golden Fatima's eye can you buy? I mean there has to be a circulation cause we're not selling food, maybe it won't affect them cause people are obliged to eat but at the moment what we offer is the nature, the sun, a wonderful beach but it is always the same people that are benefiting from these. And as other people don't benefit there isn't any new money input. It's always the same vicious circle. Today a new face here shopping means new capital. Cause the old face is already here, continuously spending capital. More important is the new capital. Isn't this the aim of tourism indeed. The underlying motive isn't it promoting our country or our job in the world? Since the aim is promoting yourself in another country, Turkey automatically stays behind in this"

As, exemplified by the public debate between the Tourism Entrepreneur's Society and the Chamber of Commerce which I previously mentioned, the locals are divided among themselves about the relationship between conventional tourism and the new mobilities experienced. I've also been told more than once during the research that each foreign resident in town is a new medium of promotion for Didim and many fulfill that function by creating an interest in their old social circles in the UK, which turns into tourist demand within the course of time.

It is much beyond the scope of this research to seek a cause and effect relationship between the migration and the related VFR tourism and the tourist volume in the town. Furthermore, it is still early to draw any generalised conclusions first due to the recentness of the phenomenon and secondly to the exceptionality of 2006 for the Turkish tourism. Nevertheless, the warning of the former mayor, Mehmet (53, M) about a potential transformation of the towns' economic structure because of the

environmental deterioration caused by mushrooming of houses; and which is a serious concern that should be addressed at policy level, worth mentioning here:

"Bu genel birşey. Yabancı filan diye bakmıyorum. Şehirleşme açısından Didim'de 2. konutların bu kadar çok olması turizm olgusunu öldürüyor. (...)burası sadece hizmet sektörüne yönelik, ki o da turizm. Böyle bir kenti konutlara yönelik bir planlama ya da yapılaşma anlayışıyla dönüştürdüğünüz anda, yani hizmet sektörünün gereklerini ortadan kaldırdığınız anda kısa vadede inşaat sektörünün getireceği bir canlanma yaşanmakla birlikte nasıl olsa bir tıkanma yaşanacak ve bir çöküş olacak. Ama bu sadece yabancılarla ilgili bir şey değil. Zaten bizim başımızda var olan bir bela. Sadece emeklilerin son günlerini geçireceği bir kente doğru hızlı bir gidiş var. Yani bu işin ekonomik yönü göz ardı edilerek hızlı bir yapılaşma içinde. Ama bu İngiliz olmuş, Türk olmuş hiç fark etmiyor. Fiziksel çevre üzerinde bir baskı var. Ama İngilizlere bağlı değil. Bu zaten vardı. Süreci hızlandırıyor yalnızca. (...) Dilerim öyle olmaz. Ama gidişyle yani ikinci konutların baskısıyla bitmiş bir turizm. Şimdi var olan otellerin bile büyük oranda konuta dönüşme zorunluluğu olacak. Dönecekler. Dolayısıyla turizmden ziyade bir ikinci konut ve emekli kenti ortaya çıkacak. Ben bunun örneğini söyleyim. Akçay. Gidişat öyle gözüküyor"

"This is something general. I don't see it as "foreigners" or anything. In terms of urbanisation, the abundance of second houses in Didim kills tourism (...) this is a service town, which is tourism. When you transform such a town with a planning or building perspective with the focus on residences or the moment when you disregard the requirements of the service sector, a dynamism driven by the construction sector will end in a bottleneck and there'll be a collapse. But this is not only related to foreigners. This has long been a threat to us. There's a development towards being a town where the retiree will spend their last days. I mean it is in a rapid development phase while the economic aspects are disregarded. But it doesn't matter a bit whether it is for the Brits or Turks. There's a pressure on physical environment. But it is not related to the Brits. This pressure had already been there. This is just accelerating the process. (...) I hope it doesn't evolve that way. But this course lead to a future in which tourism is finished because of secondary houses. Even the existing hotels end up with conversion to residential units. They will. Thus a second house and retiree town rather than a tourism resort will be the destiny. Let me give an example: Akçay. It seems like the course is towards that direction

VI.4.4.3. Impacts of international migration on social relations through the locals' accounts

If while discussing meaning the migratory moves for the town's economy the most used metaphor is the temporal extension of the tourism, from summer to whole year long; the meaning thereof in social life is the extension of tourism this time in space: from Altinkum to the whole town. Thus the perceptions of the impacts differ between those on Altinkum and on the neighbourhoods of Didim that hadn't been previously touched by tourism:

“1986’ dan beri buraya İngiliz turist geliyor zaten. Biz yadırgamadık sonuçta yerleşimciyi. 6 ay geliyordu. Şimdi 12 ay kalıyor. ,,

“Here, British tourists have already been coming since 1986. In the end we didn't find the residents odd. They were coming for 6 months, now they are staying for 12 months”

says Hasan (27, M) probably meaning Altinkum while saying Didim. The Mayor (47, M) tells ,on the other hand, that the story can't be reduced to temporal dimension while mapping the town in its totality:

"(...) Burada turistler var ama. Şimdi bu turistler pazardan alışveriş yapıyorlar artık. Pazara gidiyorlar, şehir merkezine gidiyorlar. Şehir merkezindeki en ücra köşelerdeki lokantaları ya da çay ocaklarını biliyorlar. Turist olarak geldiklerinde sadece buraya gelip Altınum’a gidip gidiyorlardı. Yani şimdi farklı. Didimliler gibi her ortamda görüyorsun yani. Gittiğin her yerde İngiliz görüyorsun. Köpeğini gezdiren İngiliz görüyorsun. Artık buralı oldular yani."

"(...) There are tourists here but...Now these tourists are shopping in the open air market. They go to the market, they go to the city centre. They know the restaurants or tea houses in the remote parts of the city centre. When they were coming as tourists they were just coming here (Apollo temple) going to Altinkum and leaving. I mean now it's different. You see them in every environment like a Didimian. Wherever you go, you see Britons. You see a Brit taking his/her dog out. I mean they became "of here" now . "

The impact of "their becoming of here" at its current stage does not mean for most of the locals being in social interaction with them. Feign (38, F), for example, who personally have regular customers and a few friends argues that the migrants' impact on the social life of the locals is rather through indirect means of acculturation which Berry (1984 in Greenland and Brown, 2005:375) defines "as the process by which culturally diverse groups adjust to each other" like the change the migrants impose upon the commercial facilities and the entertainment culture of the town:

"Valla sosyal anlamda onlar benim gördüğüm kadarıyla kendileriyle ilişki halindedir. Yani tabii ki Türk arkadaşları var, ama bunu genellediğimiz zaman %70 kendi içlerinde arkadaşlık kuruyorlar. Sosyal anlamda bana göre mesela benim hoşuma giden şey, şimdi ben çok uzun yıllardır burada yaşadığım için, iki üç senedir mesela çitayı yükselttiler bence. İşte bir giyim tarzları, mesela işte bir kafe açıldığı zaman "Aa bu İngilizin hoşlanacağı tarzda yapılsın. işte mesela daha temiz olsun, daha sey olsun, mesela dikkat ederseniz değişik değişik kafeler açılmaya başladı. Kışın hiçbir yer açık değilken, iki senedir restoranlar barlar açık tutuluyor. İşte İngilizler gelirse filan diye. İşte o anlamda bir artıları filan oldu. Çünkü burada yaşayan halkın zaten böyle bir kültürü filan yok. Yani işte geceleri dışarı çıkalım, geceleri yemek yiyelim, bir bara gidelim filan gibi. Bunlar hep yavaş yavaş oturuyor Didim'de. Bunlara İngilizlerin katkısı olduğunu düşünüyorum ben"

"Valla. Socially as far I see. they are in relationships with each other. I mean of course, they've got Turkish friends but if we generalise it 70 % they set up friendships among themselves. Socially for example, to me, the thing that I like is, since I've been living here for so long, for the last two three years say, they increased the standards. Say the way they dress or for example when a cafe shall be opened : "Oh let's decorate it the way the Brits would like, let's make it more I mean cleaner. For example if you notice a variety of cafes started to be opened. While nowhere was open during the winter for the last two years restaurants and bars are kept open Just because in case the English would come. In that sense they had a positive contribution. Because the people living here they don't have such a culture. I mean like going out, eat outside or go for a drink. These are just being settling. I think the Brits have a contribution for this. "

The Turkish friends it is stated by the locals are usually people in service business (like hoteliers, restaurant owners or waiters, bartenders shop owners etc.) that were met during previous touristic visits or after migration. Local real estate people are indispensable of the friendship circles of the foreigners first since "friendship" is among the sales strategies and second acting as an intermediary in every sphere of life turns into a part of after-sales service for the migrants who end up in a totally foreign land. Hasan (27, M, Newspaper owner) tells:

"Emlakçı yapıyordu kendi after saleini. Talep iyice arttıkça yetişemez oldu emlakçı. Buradaki ev alan İngilizin mantığını anlamak da çok zor. Evinin anahtarını kaybediyor. Emlakçıyı arıyor: "Ben anahtarını kaybettim" diye. Yetişemiyorsun. Bir de verilen hizmet artık o kadar abartılı boyutlara gelmiş ki. O İngiliz sana artık senin yaşam sebebin oymuş gibi davranıyor. Yani "Hizmette sınır yoktur" artık burada acayip. Adam o kadar şımarmış ki : "Tüp istiyorum" ya... Evi satın aldığı emlakçıyı arayıp tüp istiyor. Tüpçüyü aramıyor. Seni arıyor. Sen tüpçüyü arıyorsun. Ya satarken böyle bir vaatte bulunulmuyor ama o satış işlemi profesyonelliğe dayanmadığı için "Oh my friend. Ask whatever you want" şeklinde. Alıyor İngilizli discoya götürüyor, bara götürüyor, yemeğe götürüyor. Böyle satılıyor ev."

"The real estate agents' used to do their own after-sale. When the demand increased tremendously they couldn't manage keeping up with. S/he loses the key to his/her house and calls the Estate Agents': "I lost the keys" It is impossible to keep pace with. In addition the service offered is such exaggerated that the Brit starts treating you as if s/he was your reason of living. I mean "There's no limit in service" is a truth in Didim. The chap is so spoilt that he can't order an LPG container himself. He calls the Estate Agents' that he bought the house to order an LPG container. Not the seller himself. You call them. It's not that any such promises are made while selling the house but since the methods are not professional but " Oh my friend. Ask whatever you want kind" S/he takes the Brit to disco, to pub, to dine out. That's how the houses are sold."

It can further be argued that the gist of the discourses of the interviewee on impacts of migration on social relations would almost be the same if the issue we discussed was "tourism" per se. The long extract from Erdal's narrative is a good example of that. Also worth noting how "adjustment" to acculturation, discussed in the migration literature as an issue relevant to the migrant or minority groups with

stresses thereof (Greenland and Brown,2005:375) is narrated as a process creating stress for the host-community:

"Öncelikle hepsi aynı derecede memnun olunacak şekilde değil. Mesela tabi onlarla birlikte belli başlı ahlaki gelişmeler pek mutlu olunamayacak şekilde değişiyor. Bu çocuklanımızı etkiliyor. Mesela Türk geleneklerine şeylerine ters davranışları var. Sokakta öpüşmesi mesela. Bizim Türk şeyi alışık değil. (Ama burası zaten bir turistik yer) Biz de ister istemez onlara uyum sağlıyoruz. Ama işte bu iki üç yıldır birdenbire çok hızlı değiştiği için kendimizi buna alıştıramadık. Birdenbire değişti. Altınkum tamam. Altınkum yıllardır bi İngiliz şeyi var. Ama benim yaşadığım Hisar mahallesi. Ben hala oraya köy diye söylüyorum yani köyümüz diye söylüyorum. Bir köyde böyle bir gelişmenin kısa zamanda olması ... (Altınkumdaki değişim Hisar mahallesine) Eskiden yansımazdı. Şimdi yansıyor Çünkü orada evler yapılmaya başladı. Bu da iki üç yıl içinde olan bir olay. Yani çok eskiye dayanan bir şey değil. Hisar mahallesine sadece mesela turist geldiğinde harabeleri ziyaret için gelir orada sınırlıydı o turizm olayı. Ama şu anda öyle değil. Şimdi Hisar mahallesinin her tarafında yabancılar ev yaptı, şey yaptı. Yani çok kısa zamanda. (...)çok alışılmamış bir şeyle yayıldı. (...)Yani şimdi Hisar mahallesi ona alışık değil. Altınkum tamam. Altınkum alışık ama Hisar mahallesinde yaşayan insanların çoğu Altınkum'a yılda bir defa iki defa gelen insanlar. Hisar mahallesinde bu gelişme çok kısa sürede olduğu için insanlar buna biraz (Tepkili mi ?) Yani tepkili tabi ... ama zaman içinde... (Tepkinin altında yatan size göre...) Kültürel uyumsuzluk muhakkak. (...) (İyi de bunlar yasli başlı adamlar) Yasli ama Şimdi devamlı kalanlar yasli başlı da Bunlann tabi en büyük şeyi gelip giden aile bireyleri, çocuklan filan yıl içinde devamlı gidip geliyorlar. onlarla birlikte değişiyor tabi sadece burada kalan yaşlılar ister istemez şimdi buradaki şeyleri görünce halkın tepkisini görünce uyum sağlama temayülü gösteriyorlar. Onlann gelip gidenleri... Mesela kışın pazarda açık seçik birini görmek çok normal bir şey değil. Tabi şu anda alıştık. Üç senedir alıştık. "

"I should start saying that not all of them are of the kind to make us happy at the same. level. For example, of course with them, some major moral developments are changing in a way that can't make you that happy. This affects our children. For example they have behaviours opposite to Turkish customs. Kissing in the street for example. Our Turkish thing is not used to. (But here this is already a touristic place) Either happily or not we're adapting to it. But we couldn't adopt ourselves since it has change immediately, so rapidly in the last two three years. It changed just like that. Altınkum is OK. In Altınkum for years there is this British thing.. But Hisar mahallesi where I live. I still call it a village I mean I say "our village" Such a development in a village in such a short time...(Didn't the change in Altınkum have repercussions in Hisar?) Before it didn't have. But now. yes. Because houses have started to be built there. And this is a phenomenon of the last two years. I mean not something with an history. The tourist I mean the tourism in Hisar was limited with visits to the ruins. But it's not like that now. Now everywhere in Hisar neighbourhood the foreigners built houses, they did...! (...) in an unused pace. I mean now Hisar neighbourhood is not used to it. Altınkum is OK. Altınkum is used to it but the majority of the people living in Hisar are people who come to Altınkum just once or twice a year. Since development in Hisar has happened in such a short time the people are a bit...(Reactionary?) I mean reactionary of course but within the course of time (What is the reason under the reaction do you think?) Cultural incompatibility of course. (...) (But these are elderly people) Elderly but now the ones staying permanently are elderly but. Of course the most important thing thereof is their regularly coming family members, their children they come out regularly during the year, so it changes with them.. Of course the elderly staying here, in a way, now when they see the reactions of the people here they show a tendency to adapt themselves... Their visitors. For example, it's not normal to see somebody dressed in an exhibiting way in the market in winter. Of course we're used to it now. We've been used to in the last three years"

The vast cultural distance (i.e. the accumulation of multiple cultural differences going from surface-level habits and practices to core values and beliefs (Triandis. Kashimo and Shimoda 1986 in Phalet and Hagendoorn, 1996:134) between the British and Turkish societies, the former being highly individualistic and the latter supposedly collectivistic, is the major cause of concerns and the potential conflicts according to the local interviewee. Nuray's husband's (40) narrative provides a good account of difference in norms of the two groups governing social behaviour even rendering, according to him, residential segregation inevitable:

Bilal (29,M), a Kurdish entrepreneur and politician and apparently the most optimistic of the interviewee telling: "İki farklı kültürün birleşmesi sıkıntı yaratmaz. İki farklı kültürün iyi yönleri alınıp, iyi sentez oluştuktan sonra iyi bir gelecek vaat edeceğini düşünüyorum." ("The combination of two different cultures doesn't create a problem. I believe that as long as the good aspects of both cultures are taken and a good synthesis is made, it'll promise a good future") when talking about the social impacts of migration, provides a lighter example of differing behavioural patterns in his family's relationship with the British neighbours:

"Anadolu mutfağına özgü bir yemek yapıldığında sarma gibi yolluyoruz. Tabi tabaklar boş geliyor o ayrı bir konuda da. (Gülüyoruz) Onlar da öyle bir alışkanlık olmadığı için . Ama onlardan da şeker geliyor çocuklara İngiltere'den."

"When something special to Anatolia, like stuffed vine leaves are cooked we send them. But of course, the plates remain empty, but this is another issue (We laugh together) Since they don't have such a habit. But chocolate comes to the children from England."

Another striking example of the cultural distance of the migrants and the locals is the emphasize put on the "church" (and thus religion) by the latter to express tolerance or dissent as demonstrated by the consecutive narratives of the imam and the bodyguard whereas as I've already discussed previously it is not an issue at all for the former

"Yani ben isterim ki burada bir kilise olsun. Burada yaşıyorsa, burada ev almışsa, burada vergi veriyorsa ibadethanesini de yapmak zorundasın"

"I mean, I wish that there exists a church here. If s/he lives here, bought a house here, pays his/her tax here you have to build his/her temple"

"Kendi Kiliselerini kuracaklar. (E kursunlar) Neden kursun? (Almanya'daki Türkler cami

kuruyorlar ya) Neden Didim ? (Peki ne olur yani. Ne zararı olur kilisenin?) Burada ben mesela benim şey olarak hani ne diyorlar ona onun şeyi vardı. hani müslümanı (Misyonerlik) ha misyonerlik olarak. Mesela buradaki gençlerin çoğu evleneyim İngiltereye gideyim. Hemen hemen hepsi öyle yani. (...) Burada bir misyonerlik neden olsun Neden bizim Müslümanlığımız, neden yozlaşalım ki ? Bizim bir kültürümüz var E müslümanız."

"They are going to establish their church (And so ?) Why to let them do ? (Cause the Turks in Germany have their mosques) Why Didim? (What's gonna happen?) Here me, for example I can't the word yes as missionaries. There will be missionary activities. I mean most of the youngsters here are like let me get married and go to the UK Most of them are like this I mean(...) Why would there be missiorerism here? Why our Islam, why would we get degenerated? We've got a culture. We're Muslims"

Nevertheless whatever vast the cultural distance is, it is not possible to talk about Didim within the terminology of the global city discourse as an "agglomeration of totally distinct social spaces in the same geographic area that do not overlap with each other and that have no cultural referents." (Sassen, 1991 in Pries, 2001:53) The locals acknowledge that they do inhabit the same "social space" (i.e. everyday life and concentrated social interlacing coherence networks (Elias, 1986 in Pries 2001:52) and social institutions that structure human life (Pries,2001:52)) with the migrants. Thus, even though similar to what Pries argues a process related to globalisation eroding the exclusive embeddedness of geographic and social space is being experienced it is not like two "very different social spaces with no relationship to one another and which previously excluded each other in geographic terms gets stacked within one and same geographic space" .

The British contingent is, if not anything else. a clientele -supposedly with higher purchasing power due to their citizenship of a country that's among the most affluent in the world- in Didim either the local residents compete for or compete against. And in both case they do have a direct impact on the life in Didim. Hasan (M, 27, newspaper owner) associates the differing attitudes of the commerçants towards the migrants and the locals to the "general excessive interest inherent in us towards the foreigner" whereas Saime (28, F, info desk officer) emphasizes the "overdoing" in their consecutive narratives:

"Ben bakkala gittiğimde adam "Hasan hoşgeldin" der öbürüne "Ooo my friend how you doing? Take a seat" Hani ne bileyim bir köye şehirden biri geldiğinde köyün bütün kızları ona bakar ya bu da o muhabbet herhalde"

"When I go to the grocery, the guy says " Welcome Hasan" to the other he's like " Oh my friend ! How you doing ? Take a seat" I mean it has to be something like when someone from the city comes to the village all the village girls look at him"

"Buradaki İngilizlere davranış şekilleri aslında hiç de...Çok yardımsever, aşırı yardımsever bir davranış sözkonusu. Normalde İngiltere'de böyle birşey yok. Yani kimse kimseye dönüp bakan insanlar değiller. Bir problemin olduğunda bile yardımına koşacak insan fazla yok. Ama burada, geldiklerinde onlardan koparabilecekleri, fayda sağlayabilecekleri , para konusunda girdi sağlayabileceğini düşündüğü insana çok fazla şey var. İlgi var. Markete gidiyorlar. "Sepeti ben taşıyım" İşte rafa uzanacak İngiliz : " Sen dokunma ben alırım. Zahmet etme" tarzında birşey var Ama samimi değil. Kesinlikle değil. Sosyolojik yapı olarak da insanları çok fazla yalancılığa , ikiyüzlülüğe itiyor. O yüzden şey görmüyorum yani."

"The modes of behaviour towards the English here , in fact , are not really... Very helpful, over helpful behaviour I might say. Normally there is no such thing in England. I mean they are not the kind of people looking at each other on the street. There isn't much people that'll run to help you even if you have a problem. But here, when they come there's so much attention to the person that they think that might be benefited or provide a monetary input. They go to the market. "Oh I can carry the basket" Say the Brit will try to reach stock" Oh do not touch. I'll take it for you. You don't bother yourself" There's that kind of thing here. But it is not genuine. Absolutely not. In terms of social structure , it drives people to too much lies, to hypocrisy. For that I don't see it that ..."

The excessive attention the migrants receive, which all the interviewee unanimously associate with commercial interest rather than traditional Turkish hospitality proves almost problematic in terms of the feelings it causes on the locals:

Figen (38, F, jeweller) provides a personal account in which the boundary between those who accuses and who is accused is blurred:

"Bize bu kadar hak tanınmıyor, bunlara tanınmış olan haklar. Bir restorana ya da bir gimaya gittiğinizde dahi adam bizden öncelikli muamele görüyor. "Buyrun,buyrun,buyrun,ne yersiniz? " Bir restorana gidin. Siz orada bir saat beklersiniz ama bir İngiliz beklemez. Neden? Çünkü biz fakir bir halkız. Özellikle Didim'de gelir seviyesi çok düşük olduğu için, insanlar bir yerde paradan dolayı. Yani buradaki İngilizle iyi hizmet verirsem, bu bana bir şekilde geri dönecek. Nası dönecek? Bahşiş bırakacak, senin restoranına daha sık gelecek. Ben bile bu dükkanda aynı şekilde çok kalabalıkken burası, ister istemez ama, bir Türk geldiğinde eğer tanıdığımса diyorum "Bi dakika, bi şurayı halledeyim." Neden? Yani memnun olsun, ve beni bir kez daha tercih etsin. Yani bana genellikle paraya dayalı gibi geliyo bunlar "

"We aren't granted as much rights; I mean the rights granted to them. Even when you go to a restaurant or to Gima the guy is treated as of higher priority than us. " Come on, come on , come on What would you like to eat" Go to a restaurant you wait there an hour but a Brit doesn't.. Why ? Because we're a poor nation. Especially in Didim, since the income level is too low, I mean ,the people in a way because of the money... I mean if I serve the Brit here well then it'll return to me in some way. How will it return ? S/he will leave a generous tip, will come to your restaurant more often. Even me, in this shop , in the same way, when it is too crowded , deliberately or not when a Turk comes if s/he is my acquaintance I say "Just a sec.

Let me deal with this first" Why? Because I mean let me make him/her content so that s/he chooses me again. I mean all this is related to money"

The privilege enjoyed by the Britons means "turning into second class citizens in one's own country" for Hatice(22, F, waitress) and Nuray (38, F, chemist) and the latter tells that this feeling is shared by almost everybody in town:

"(...)Artı bir de kendi memleketimizde biz Türk olarak ikinci sınıf vatandaş durumuna düşmemeliyiz. Çünkü bir şey var çocuklara ileriye dönük geleceğin Didim'i kompozisyonu veriliyor. Çocuk şunu yazıyor: "Ben bankaya gittiğimde en önde İngilizlerin olmasından, notere gittiğimde – tabi bunları annesi babasından duyuyordur- önümde İngilizlerin olmasından, esnafların önce onlara yönelmesinden rahatsızlık duyuyorum" diye daha şimdiden bir düşmanlık tohumu atılıyormuş gibi bir olay var. "

"(...) And also we shouldn't turn into second class citizens in our country. Because there's this the schoolkids are told to write an essay on "Didim of the Future" And the kid writes: "I feel discontented that when I go to the bank the Brits are on the front, when I go to the notary -of course s/he hears these from his/her parents - the Brits are in front of me , that the tradespeople serve them first" ...I mean there's that situation that even now the seeds of hostility are being planted"

When this "conflict of interest" is combined with the existing cultural distance, the locals' perception of the migrants- whose migratory move itself is a show-case of their individualistic values which Phalet and Hagendoorn (2001:132) list as "autonomy, hedonism and stimulation" ,- or of their social impacts emerges as far away from the general indifference of the Spanish or the French public to the foreign lifestyle migrants that usually ends with marginalisation of the latter. ⁴⁸

Within that frame, even details like sartorial codes- which O'Reilly also mentions as an element of the symbolic boundaries the resident migrants draw between themselves and the tourists (2000:29) changes from being a light matter to be laughed at to a cause of dissent which the Mayor tells as :

Ya bunlar şimdi daha serbest insanlar, rahat yaşayan insanlar. Bizim toplumumuzla aynı doğrularda ya da aynı fiziksel ortamlarda yani... Bazı insanlarda tabi ki rahatsızlık yaratıyor yani. Yani rahat insanlar, serbest insanlar Şehir içinde filan yani böyle çok açık gezmeleri bile bazı insanlar tarafından yadırganıyor. Bizim kurallarımızı...

I mean these are freer people., people living freely. Not in the same line of truth with our society or in the same physical environment I mean, it, of course creates some kind of

⁴⁸ Though the issue has not been addressed adequately in the relevant literature O'Reilly (2004) and Buller and Hoggard (1994) give inherent hints of a local community indifference with such an outcome.

discontent in some people I mean people at ease, free people. In the city I mean their wandering around half dressed is irritating some people. Our rules ...

Imam in this sense, gives an exemplary account of the dissent trying to give everybody (i.e. us, them, winter, summer) his/her fair share

"Görüntü olarak da hoş değil, giyim olarak. (Bizlerden farklı mı?) Valla bizimkilerin de aşağı kalır yani yok da...Öyle yani. Bence çok iticiler. Cumartesi günü şu Pazar yerini gezmenizi isterim. Hiç gördünüz mü ? Ama kışın herkes normal , herkes kapalı."

"In summer it's not nice, I mean in terms of garments (Are they different than us ?) Valla ours are not that different them but Anyway I mean. I think they're so compulsive. I'd like you to have a stroll in the open air market on Saturday. Have you ever seen it? But in winter, everybody is normal, normally dressed"

This dissent is aggravated especially when it comes to the modes of self expression which might affect us, with a specific emphasis on "some of us"

"Ne bileyim bizim Türk kültüründe çok fazla rahatlık , açık giyinmek ya da ne bileyim sokak ortasında öpüşmek bu tarz şeyler çok fazla olmadığı için bu konuda birazcık yozlaşacağını düşünüyorum. O yüzden de endişelerim yok değil. Zaten burası çok açık ona. Burada yaşayan insanlar çok açık. Çünkü Didim'in yerlisinden bahsetmiyorum. Doğudan buraya çok fazla göç var. (...) Bu insanlar her şeyden vaz geçmiş, kişiliğini, kimliğini kaybetmiş insanlar ve ne tarafa çekersen o tarafa gidiyor. Geldiklerinde ilk önce barda garson olarak başlıyorlar. Normalde babasının yanında bacak bacak üstüne atamayan insan burada saçlarını boyamaya kadar gidiyor. (...) Böyle bir anda bir kültür değişimi yani hoş değil. Kimliğini kaybetmiş çok insan var ve bunun da zarar vereceğini düşünüyorum. (Saime , 28, Info desk officer)

"I mean since in our Turkish culture there's not much freedom like getting half dressed or kissing each other on the street, in that aspect I think it's gonna cause a kind of degeneration. In that sense I can't say that I don't have any worries. Cause here, it is so open to that kind influence. The people living here are so open. Because I'm not talking about the natives of Didim There's so much migration here from the East(...) You know this people, they are people rejecting everything, people who lost their identities, their characters and they go to any direction you drag them. When they come here they first start as a worker. People who normally can't sit freely in front of his father cross the limits such that they start dying their hair. (...) Such a cultural change, I mean, is not nice. There are a lot people losing their identities and I think it's gonna cause some harm"(Saime, F, 28, info-desk officer).

Hatice (22 ,F, waitress) goes even further along similar lines:

"Burada ahlak zaten bozuk. Belki onlar gide gele oldu. Belki de bizim kanımızda vardı. Onu bilemiyorum. (...)Ben onların taklit edilmesinden rahatsızım. Açılıp açılmaması sorun değil. Taklitçilik var. Bizim ülkemizde baştan beri bir taklitçilik var. Nedense biz üretmeyi değil taklit etmeyi seviyoruz. Genelimiz böyle yani."

"Here morals are already low. Maybe it happened because of their comings or goings. Maybe we had it in our blood. I don't know. (...) I'm not at ease that they are being imitated. It is not a problem that somebody is half dressed or covered. There is imitation. Since the beginning, there is this habit of imitating. For some reason we don't like producing but imitationg. Most of us in general is like this"

The most imminent danger perceived in this frame comes from the sexual promiscuity associated with the British female finding it's extreme expression in Ömer's account of the small kids in his British ! sister in law's school:

"İngiltere'de genellikle 13-14 yaşındaki kızlar artık bir nevi kadınlaşıyorlar. Türkiye'de de mesela buradaki mesela benim baldızımın gittiği okula gidiyorum Gördüğüm kızların hepsi burada sahilde bizim Türk erkeklerle . 12-13 yaşındaki çocuk kızdaki ne yapsam diye uğraşmaya çalışıyor. İşte sahilde ...Onlar bizim biraz terbiyemizi bozdular. Onlar bozuyorlar çünkü çok aşırı derecede zıplıyorlar. Okulda gördüğüm bütün yabancı kızlar hepsi burada... Türkler de onlara çok özeniyor. Onların peşinden gidiyorlar. Bir tane İngiliz, yanında üç tane Türk kıza."O yapıyor Ben de yapıcım"" (22, M, hassle boy)

"En England girls of 13-14 year of age are in a way getting like women. Here in Turkey for example, I sometimes go to the school of my sister in law. All the girls I see there are here on the beach with our Turkish boys. The 12-13 year old boy is making an effort on the girl. I mean on the beach...They lowered our morals. They lower because they provoke extremely. All the foreign girls I see at school they are all here. The Turks envy them so much. They just follow them. A Brit with three Turkish girls. "She does it. I will as well"" (22, M, hassle boy).

VI.5. Attitudes of the locals towards the migrants and migration

If one needed to summarise the gist of the locals' accounts regarding the migration, the migrants and the impacts of migration within the confines of one word it would definitely be "ambivalence", which is highly discernible in the intermingling of the positive and negative elements. Even in the accounts told with the strongest determination, content and discontent, envy and dissent, a sense of power and a sense of victimisation, the wish for and the anxiety about change, even a love-hatred relationship with not only the migrant but also with what is conceived as "us" co-exist. Especially in the emerging themes like "becoming second class citizens in Turkey" or "not being granted the same rights with them", what lies behind the worries and concerns is not "the migrant" him/herself but one might argue the fragility shared at the nation level towards globalisation.

As early as 1980's Magnarella observes the tendency of the Turkish national psyche towards demonising the other. To him, against the fact that the country was economically deprived when compared to oil-rich neighbours and Europe and

"being a proud people, many Turks were quick to develop and accept conspiracy theories to explain these observed differences. Why else would they be in such a comparatively dismal condition ?" (Magnarella,1981:193)

The legacy, even reinforced within the course of the two decades within which the country's relationship with the outside world, has undergone a drastic transformation, still prevails as apparent not only in the thought that "one day might come when the Brits will not let us in Didim" but also even in accounts associating simple daily details of migrant lives like "learning the saturday market" or "going to places of interest by dolmuş instead of using excursions" with their "getting organised among themselves against us".

Also especially with respect to impacts of migration on social relations, most locals' accounts revolve around the probable negative influence on those among us: mostly the poor, the rural outsider, sometimes directly pointing at the Kurd. In that frame one senses at least in some of the cases, the migrant functions as a mirror which reflects the image of a national self identity with its certain fractures.

It worth noting in that aspect the only 3 interviewee with the most positive attitudes towards not only the migrants and the migration but also the more controversial issue of property acquisition of foreigners were the two Kurdish business people and the Imam, representing in one sense the weakest links of the modernist nation state project of Turkey: the ethnicity and religion. Also meaningful is the fact that these three were also the strongest supporters of Turkey's accession to the EU with probable implications of the salience of "identity" politics in people's standings

For the others whose overall attitudes towards the migration ranging from indifference of the least affluent in the sample to the apparent xenophobia (i.e. in the sense of a dislike and hostility to the foreigner (Epstein-Lewin and Levanon, 2001) and which probably is product of the nation state nationalism combined with

illiberal values (Taras, Filippova and Pobeda, 2005)) it can be argued, signs of apprehension and doubt were also discernible in their comments on the EU-Turkey relationships.

It is much beyond the scope of this thesis to perform a systematic discourse analysis but it also worth mentioning here a few of the emerging discursive elements and patterns which all deserve an in depth exploration in a future study.

In most of the accounts where the interviewee felt the need for justification -in some cases it was just a matter of principle on "milliyetçi" or "ulusalçı" but in either sense "nationalistic" view points- the references were made to the outer world. Whilst the more positive standings were justified with utterance of: "the mosque in the middle of London", "our citizens in Germany" "to the world we're not living in War, but in peace"; negative standings were accounted on either personal experiences of visa queues in EU member country embassies or the -sometimes misinformed- perceptions of other countries' protective policies. In that respect, it was also interesting to observe that the times of the Turkish liberation war or even before, provided a frame of reference not only for condemning the foreigners who since then "has had their eyes on our land" "the land that our ancestors watered with their blood" and "are taking with their money what they couldn't get by blood then " but even in lighter accounts of friendly relationships with the migrants as exemplified by the short extract from Metin's wife Beverly (42) who identifies with the Turkish:

"They say why can't the council make the announcements in English. And I say Because it's Turkey. If you want to understand you have to learn Turkish. You haven't conquered Turkey. You are just lucky that so many people speak English. Don't expect it as a right. The police doesn't speak English, the firemen don't speak English . The lady on the counter doesn't speak and she does not have to. Remember Gallipoli "

VI.6. Conclusion

In this Chapter, I tried to present the international migrant and the migration with all its perceived impacts through the local interviewee's accounts.

"To state the obvious but to be clear" borrowing Clark's words, Didim, like

everywhere else, is not a "pure" locality but a "product of continual and contested material and discursive practices of numerous people and institutions they create" (Clark, 2005:311). Thus, it worth mentioning, especially taking the methodological confines of study, whatever told about in this Chapter does not reflect more than the ideas of the small and the rather purposive sample intervieweed and as such can't be generalised to the whole population of the town.

Nonetheless I will still argue that a pattern marked with ambivalence and resembling Yumul's (2007:38) observation on contemporary Turkish society in the context of the international businesses, is discernible in the overall experience of the town with this new phenomenon

"It is easy to produce and become attached to discourses of nationalism that fosters foreigner antagonism; it probably provides psychological confort. But it is true that international companies are not dispensed with when confronted with the facts of life. The mutually exclusive positions in statements, these will be intermingled in real life. The attitude and the behaviour are contradictory. "

The case of my interviewee Ömer, 22 a former JDP voter shouting abuse at the Prime Minister "who sold the land we took by blood to foreigners" and "gave residence permit to them which will consequently kill tourism" but whose English girlfriend -that he emphasizes they are religiously married- and her family in Didim - with whom he's residing- call him Jimmy - with his "English name put by the Irish when he was working in Kuşadası" and intending going to England - where according to him "there are more foreigners than the English since the majority of the English have already run away" but still believes that he, as a person who has been working 16 hours a day since his childhoos might make a fortune in the land of those lazy people who knows nothing but the booze , is just an exaggerated but still a typical example of the confusion, ambivalence and contradiction experienced by the locals while they are trying to find strategies of adoption, accomodation and collaboration or in other words re "negotiating their identities" (Tucker, 2003 cited in Hall and Tucker 2004) in the face of the international migration in their town.

Table 11: Socio-demographic characteristics, “sense of belonging to place” and political standing of the local interviewee

Name	G	A	Birthplace	Locationa Identity	Previous Residence	Period of Residence in Didim	Any Intentions to Move	Edu.n	Location of the Dwelling	Location of Workplace	Job/ Employment Status	Last Voting Beh.r	Att. Towards the EU
Ömer	M	22	Aydın	Aydın	Kuşadası	4 years	England	Secondary	Yeni mah.	Altınkum	Hasleboy Employee	AKP	Against
Ahmet	M	41	Kastamonu	Kastamonu	Kastamonu	13 years	No	Voc. High	Yeni mah.	Yeni mah.	İmam State Employee	AKP	Strongly for
Meliha	F	22	İzmir	İzmir	Muğla	4 years	Yes	High school	Efeler	Altınkum	Waitress Employee	CHP	For
Reis	M	40	Erzurum	Erzurum	Erzurum	28 years	No	Priary	Cumhuriyet	Altınkum	Infomal beach Owner	MHP	Strongly for
Saim	F	26	Söke	Aydın	Mersin	5 years	İzmir or Antalya	University	Efeler	Cumhuriyet	Info desk/ Turkish İnst.tor	CHP	For
Ulvi	M	36	Konya	Didim	Aydın	14 years	No	University	Altınkum	Altınkum	Hotel owner	CHP	Against
Ali	M	26	Söke	Didim	Söke	10 years	No	Voc. High	Altınkum	Altınkum	Real Estate Employee	N.A.	N.A.
Erdal	M	41	Didim	Didim	Didim	Bom & bred	No	Secondary	Hisar	Altınkum	Yatch owner	CHP	Against
Nuray	F	38	İzmir	Didim	İzmir	11 years	No	University	Efeler	Altınkum	Chemist	CHP	N.A.
Nazife	F	32	Mardin Savur	Mardin Savur	Mardin Savur	13 years	No	Literate	Yeni mah.	Yeni mah.	Infomal Janitor-sells Pancakes	N.A.	N.A.
Bilal	M	29	Mardin	Mardin	Aydın Ortaklar	6 years	No	University	Çamlık	Altınkum	Bar and Rest. owner, Real Estate Agent	DTP	Strongly for

Table 11: Socio-demographic characteristics, “sense of belonging to place” and political standing of the local interviewee (continue)

Name	G	A	Birthplace	Locational Identity	Previous Residence	Period of Residence in Didim	Any Intentions to Move	Edu.n	Location of the Dwelling	Location of Workplace	Job/ Employment Status	Last Voting Beh.r	Att. Toward s the EU
Mumin	M	47	Didim	Didim	Didim	Born & bred	No	High school	Cumhuriyet	Hisar	Mayor and rest. owner	CHP	For
Zeliha	F	44	Giresun	İstanbul	England	4 years	Marmaris or Bodrum	University	Efeler	Efeler	Beauty Parlour Owner	N.A.	Indifferent
Figen	F	38	İzmir	Karşıyaka	Söke	5 years	No	High school	Altınkum	Altınkum	Jeweller owner	ANAP	Against
Mehmet	M	53	Ankara	Didim	Ankara	26 years	No		Hisar	Yeni mah.	Chemist	CHP	Against
Metin	M	45	Düzce	Düzce	Bolu	15 years	No	University	Çamlık	Çamlık	Retiree-İnfomal English Instructor	N.A.	N.A.
Kerem	M	35	Diyarbakır Ergani	Diyarbakır	Milas	19 years	No	Priary	Yeşilkent	Altınkum	Builder-Real Estate-Restaurant Owner	DTP	For
Ali	M	45	Samsun	İstanbul	Bodrum	15 years	Yes	High school	Altınkum	Altınkum	Jeweller-Employee	N.A.	Strongly Against
İbo	M	23	Ankara	Ankara	İstanbul	2.5 years	No	High school	Çamlık	Altınkum	Real Estate Employee	N.A.	N.A.
Hasan	M	27	Balıkesir	Didim	Cyprus	20 years	Bodrum	University	Cumhuriyet	Altınkum	Owner of the Voices Paper, Estate Agent	CHP	For

Table 12: Impact of International Migration on the Local Interviewee's and their Families' Lives

Name	Job	Any Personal or Family Property Sold	Formal or Informal Role as an Intermediary in Property Sale	% of Foreigners in the Clientele	% of Settled Foreigners in the Clientele	Established Frindship with Foreign Settlers	Frequency of Friendly Contact	Experience in/of an Intimate Relationship with a Foreigner	Foreign Neighbours/N eighbourly Relationships	Spaces of Contact with Settled Foreigners
Ömer	Hassleboy Employee	No	Yes-to fiancée's family	99	45-50% off season. Have reg. customers	Yes-loads	More than once a week	Has a British fiancée with whom he met during her visit as a tourist.	None	Work, private life
Ahmet	İmam State Employee	No	No	None	None	None	None	None	None	Altinkum, offices of
Hatice	Waitress Employee	No	Yes	99	50	Yes-2	Everyday	Ex-boyfriend left for an elderly Briton	Yes, good relationships	Work, Altinkum
Reis	Informal beach owner	No	No	100	5-10	No- has acquaintances	None	Sons are involved in regular tourist chasing	No	Market or Altinkum, restaurants or bars
Saime	Info desk/ owner	No	Was asked for advice	100	100	No- has acquaintances	Occasional	No	No	At work or in Altinkum
Ulvi	Hotel owner	No	Was asked for advice by hotel customers	70	None	Yes	Every two weeks	No	No	Tourism Soc.City Council

Table 12: Impact of International Migration on the Local Interviewee's and their Families' Lives' (continue)

Zeliha	Beauty Parlour owner	No	No	25	10	Yes 5-6 people	Once a week	No	No	Bars and cafes
Figen	Jeweller	No	Yes	100	30	Yes-5 people	Regular drop-ins to her shop	No	No	Work, bars and cafes
Mehmet	Chemist	No	No	3-5	3-5	Yes 2-3	Regular drop-ins to his shop	No	No	Work, bars, cafes, markets all town
Metin	Retired public official	No	Yes	Unofficial Turkish instructor 100	100	Yes 30	At least 2-3 times a month; wife every week	Married to a Briton for 10 years	No	Work and bars and restaurants
Kerem	Builder and real estate agent, restaurant owner	Yes- invested in business	Yes officially involved	100	10	Yes Most of the Britons living here	Regular drop-ins to his office or restaurant	Has a live in same age Scottish partner	Yes 2-3, good neighbourly relations, visits, exchange of food etc.	Work private life, neighbourhood, bars, cafes
Arif	Jeweller employee	No	Yes	90	30	Yes more than 500	In regular contact with 350—400 friends	No	Yes, all the neighbours; good neighbourly relationships	Work, pubs, restaurants
İbo	Real estate employee	No	Yes	100	0	Yes 60-70	2-3 times a week with 10-15 friends	Has a live in British partner 27 years his senior	Yes, 2 foreign neighbours	Work private life, pubs and cafes
Hasan	Owner of the Voices paper , estate agent	No	Yes, now officially involved	100	100	Yes 20-30 friends	2-3 times a week with 10 friends on occasional terms	Has Scottish girlfriend	No	Work, private life, pubs, bars, restaurants the forum sites

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I aimed at providing an initial insight into a quite recent phenomenon, Northern European immigration to Coastal Turkey through exploring its causes and consequences within the context of a particular locality, namely Didim. After attempting at developing an understanding of the social setting within which the phenomenon is being experienced, I tried to elaborate three aspects of the migratory move namely the causes and the meaning of the move through the migrant narratives; the new social spaces created in terms of everyday practices of the migrants and the interactions with the locals; and the meanings of the changes for the locals. A descriptive ethnographic approach was adopted; nevertheless I thought the case of the British migrants and the members of the local community in Didim might have further implications about as a modest example of the ways that broader and structural changes under the conditions of late modernity and globalisation are impacting individuals and communities; and how people are reacting, devising new strategies for coping and for challenging.

In that frame the major findings of the study with their relevance to the hypothesis can be summarised as follows:

Despite the recentness of the phenomenon, Didim Turkey has already become "an established destination" of the retirement and the more broader lifestyle migration moves of the British. The fact is apparent not only from the -uncertain- number of migrants settled but also from the acquired number of property, the gradual increase of internationally owned business in town and the ongoing interest on part of their friends, relatives and acquaintances in Britain as reported by the migrants and the already transnationalised real estate business. Already having had a long reputation in the British tourism market as a "mass tourism zone" and an established tourism infrastructure (i.e. tourist oriented facilities, English speaking service employee and

a local population experienced in living with tourism), the town offers all the "economy of comfort" envisaged by the literature on tourism induced mobilities as one of the important factors in migrants' decision making process. As such, once the ban on foreigners' acquisition of property in town due to its status as a "second degree military security zone", reflecting a change in the perceptions of national security, was lifted; previous experiences with tourism and personal (i.e. friendship or more intimate) relationships established with tourists have played an important role in transnationalisation of the real estate market in town and determined the process.

Secondly, the characteristics of the European -almost exclusively Anglophone migrants in Didim demonstrate a greater variety than that found by the previous "retirement migration" studies that have so far framed the discussions around the phenomenon both in the locality and in Turkey as a migratory move of the elderly. It is indeed a "retirement migration" especially through the meaning associated to it by the migrants themselves but it includes actors much younger than that covered by the IRM literature developed elsewhere. Consequently, "*the opportunity of early retirement*" due to the discrepancies in the real estate prices and "cost of living" of the UK and Turkey emerges as one of the most important factors affecting the migration decision. Likewise, alongside the "more complex social psychological motivations like excitement, experience, leisure... and the projection of an individual's identificatory experience beyond what are perceived as the restricting confines of his or her own country" as envisaged by the IRM or more general lifestyle led migration literature (King, 2002:90) that are all discernible in the migrant narratives, there are also visible hints of serious economic considerations. Affecting both the younger and elderly migrants alike, these considerations are not of determining power in, just "where" to migrate but in "where -being able to"-migrate.

The third finding is strongly linked to the second. The "life chance" found in this new land to secure a space of their own, where one does not need to work anymore or at least not under the regimented conditions of the highly competitive UK job market and where one can enjoy a set-back lifestyle under the sun away from

financial worries is highly appreciated by the migrants, who had definitely not been among the leisured classes of their affluent country.

The most-welcomed opportunity offered by Didim-Turkey rendering an -otherwise impossible- retirement under the sun or an early retirement migration and thus, an escape from the much resented life back home accessible also provides an explanation -though probably partial - of the rather accidental and more rapid nature of the decision-making process about the destination of migration which can be discerned in some migrant narratives. For some others, on the other hand, previous - mostly repeating- touristic experience is the source of prior contact with the area in line with the most cases reported by the IRM or residential tourism literature. Nevertheless, it might be argued "experiences" gained as an international tourist - not necessarily to Didim or to Turkey and the rather *"taken for grantedness"* of what a Mediterranean tourist resort would be like, is an important input of the migratory decision making process which is also facilitated by the internet.

Another finding of this research is quite contradictory to what's reported by most of the available literature on IRM or other tourism-induced modes of migration in tourist resorts. The migrant lives in Didim are not segregated from the local community. Even though they are not granted the legal and social rights they would enjoy in another EU country, in Didim where they easily settle with resident permits (i.e. the ease on the other arising from their being affluent country citizens), they are encouraged by the locals to informal partnerships or paid employment without the necessary papers which some accept with pleasure. Also, maybe due to the recentness of the migration, the social spaces within which the migrants conduct their daily lives are without close boundaries. They shop locally, they all have highly appreciated local friends to whose help they rely upon in any unexpected case.

Their relationships and emotional ties with the UK are quite eclectic. One important finding of this study is the salience of some elements retained from the pre-migration times in the daily lives of the migrants. Despite their apparent indifference to the institutional UK and lack of interest in returning even after death, they are

keen on and thanks to the recent transportation and communication technologies, able to keep whatever they feel of value through the friends and relatives tourism from the UK, the online communication and virtual networks they are involved, the cultural content (say Eastenders and Premier League matches) they are regularly consuming.

Nonetheless, as predicted in Hypothesis 3, their lives are also marked with the peculiarities of Turkey with a GDP under \$ 5000, with the lack of adequate infrastructure and with a vast cultural distance. In that sense, it is found, an ambivalence and confusion that is continuously negotiated are the hidden themes of the migrant narratives and accounts in Didim.

In that frame, it is found, the same "cultural distance" also underlies the locals' perception of the migration and its impacts. Except for the common understanding of the migration as a "temporal and spatial extension" of tourism in Didim, the locals appear as far from being a homogenous group in their accounts of the migrants, migration and its impacts on "economy" and "environment" of and the "social relations" in the town. In that sense migration, or rather acquisition of property by foreigners is identified either as a cause of environmental deterioration and urban sprawl or as an opportunity for better urban planning and improvement of the poor infrastructure; current economic benefits in terms of the money input to the town and job opportunities are acknowledged but also concerns of a future in which the control might be lost to the foreigners. The quality they imported to town and town's commercial and social life is cherished whereas their behavioral codes or modes of self expression especially through its potential impact on "some" of "us" – reflecting the latent ethnical tension between the Turkish and the Kurdish in the town- raise concern. In short, the discourses demonstrate a wide variety from "neoliberal" to "xenophobic"- mostly constructed with elements borrowed from the prevailing nationalistic discourse in the of the country rather than reflecting references to personal experiences or individual reflections-; nevertheless the ambivalence felt towards a new phenomenon is the common feature, in all the local narratives.

Thus returning to the hypothesis, it holds true that while “for the British migrants, the migratory move to Didim is a strategy devised to react to the broader social and cultural changes impacting their lives; the meaning of the same move for the locals of Didim is a change impacting their lives which requires devising new strategies for coping and for challenging.”

The co-habitation of the British migrants and the locals, two groups of people from countries of different affluence levels and with a significant cultural distance, in the social setting of migration transgressing the boundaries of the already established context of international tourism, as the last point to mention, shapes the daily life in Didim through the new social spaces being constructed and identities being constantly re-negotiated.

This study has been the first of its kind in terms of attempting to address the phenomenon with a qualitative approach definitely in Didim and within my knowledge in Turkey. The vast literature on retirement migration especially those with a focus on Europe and the few attempts made in Turkey have of course been of valuable help however as acknowledged by all the authors (Andersson,2002; Casado-Diaz,2006; Huber and O'Reilly,2004; Warnes et al., 2004 among many others) in this rather applied field, each destination zone even within the same country and each national migrant group in the same location has its specific characteristics and different modes of existence and thus worth exploring per se beside the search for general trends. Also if the peculiarity of Turkey in comparison with other traditional zones of lifestyle migration at the European scale that are either within the EU boundaries or has ex-colonial histories with home countries of the migrants is taken into account, it can easily be said that it started almost from scratch. Thus alongside those that are my own, it bears all the weaknesses arising from this situation Even the research design has been the outcome of existing circumstances in Didim in which official reports, records or written documents barely existed nor systematically archived and thus needed actual on hand effort on my part to grab some information from piles of raw data or through memoirs or

personal archives of people to have an understanding of the social setting of the phenomenon to be explored and some quantitative data. Also, the fact that the migratory moves in Didim and migrant lives were quite recent and for then undocumented, had rendered to determine a well defined research question impossible at the beginning and instead of focusing on an "aspect" of migration, I tried to make a preliminary assessment of a few aspects within the confines of a descriptive approach with the apparent outcome that none of them could be explored in adequate depth.

Nevertheless, the study can be considered as an initial attempt the findings of which can further be developed into more comprehensive work with a focused approach on the emerging themes and also it might be argued that the case provides a modest example of the what Smith (2001) refers to as the global-local interplay in the shaping of places, the interaction of the peculiarities of localities in the globalisation process within which international migration is an agent and consequence.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A : Property Acquired by Foreigners in Didim (Breakdown by Country) –according to GD TDLR, 2006 Sept. 27

Country	# of Property	# of Owner	# of Plot	Total Area of Plot (m2)	Number of Land with housing unit	Total Area of (m2) # of Land with housing unit	# of ousing units	Total Area of Housing units (m2)	Total Area (m2)
Germany	163	168	50	97 982	10	3 423	103	13 505	114 910
U.S.A	3	4	0	0	0	0	3	84	84
Austria	22	18	10	2 367	0	0	12	1 459	3826
Denmark	8	9	2	592	0	0	6	309	901
Finland	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	125	125
France	4	5	1	10 000	0	0	3	271	10 271
the Nerherlands	9	12	3	1 234	0	0	6	1 055	2 289
UK	2 709	3 830	179	94 745	61	16 770	2 469	210 823	322 338
Ireland	163	238	18	5 265	2	15 167	143	15 049	35 481
Spain	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	129	129
Sweden	2	3	0	0	0	0	2	31	31
Switzerland	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	198	198
Italy	4	5	0	0	0	0	4	281	281
Canada	1	1	1	236	0	0	0	0	236
NCTR	5	5	4	1 387	0	0	1	2	1 389
Lituania	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	40	40
Norway	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	205	205
Russian Fed.	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	37	37
New Zealand	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	165	165
Greece	6	6	0	0	1	247	5	614	861
TOTAL	3 110	4 316	268	213 808	74	35 607	2 768	244 382	493 797

APPENDIX B : Companies with international capital in Didim

Name of the Company	District	Sector	International since*	Foreign Partner **	Equity (YTL)
ROYAL OTTOMAN	Çamlık Mah.	Hotels-Restaurants	22.04.2005	HOLLAND	1.000
VIP HOMES	Çamlık	Real Estate	16.03.2005	FRANCE	1.000
AJ CONSTRUCTION	Efeler	Construction	30.03.2005	UK	5.000
H-M COMPANY	Çamlık	Construction	03.05.2005	UK	5.000
KEYSTONE TUR.	Çamlık Mah.	Real Estate	21.07.2004	UK	5.000
ABSOLUTE TURİZM	Altinkum	Trade	07.12.2005	UK	20.000
COCOS İNŞ	Altinkum Mah.	Construction	15.06.2005	UK	20.000
DİDİM URD	Yenimahalle	Real Estate	20.12.2004	UK	20.000
EGE GÜNEŞİ	Altinkum Mah	Construction	09.06.2006	SİNGAPORE	20.000
KOCA OAKES TUR	Altinkum Mh.	Hotels-Restaurants	25.05.2005	UK	30.000
21 ST. CENTURY	Çamlık Mah.	Construction	07.03.2006	DENMARK	50.000
AEGEAN HILLS TUR	Çamlık Mah.	Hotels-Restaurants	05.04.2006	UK	50.000
BRITANNIA TURİZM	Çamlık Mah.	Communications	21.06.2005	UK	50.000
D.H.TUR.	Altinkum Mh.	Hotels-Restaurants	05.05.2005	UK	50.000
DİDİM ALHANLAR	Yeni Mah.	Trade	28.03.2006	UK	50.000
DİDİM EML.İNŞ.	Altinkum Mah.	Real Estate	19.07.2006	UK	50.000
H.VE H. TİC	Efeler Mh.	Construction	08.04.2005	UK	50.000
KEY INVEST İNŞ	Efeler Mh.	Construction	06.06.2006	UK	50.000
MAVİ KUŞ	Çamlık Mah.	Trade	13.03.2006	GERMANY	50.000
N.E.D. TUR	Altinkum	Hotels-Restaurants	14.02.2006	UK	50.000
STAR LTD.ŞTİ.	Altinkum Mh.	Trade	11.10.2005	UK	50.000
SUN-SEA TURİZM	Çamlık Mah.	Construction	09.05.2006	UK	50.000
TEKİNDAĞ İNŞ.	Altinkum Mah.	Real Estate	04.07.2006	DENMARK	50.000
TOTER TURZ.	Çamlık Mah.	Trade	30.06.2005	UK	50.000
YEŞİL DİDİM	Çamlık Mah	Real Estate	10.08.2006	UK	60.000
MÇD	Hisar Mah.	Other Services	27.06.2006	UK	75.000
SUN ESCAPE	Efeler Mh.	Real Estate	05.07.2005	UK	75.000
AEGEAN SHORES	Fevzi Paşa Mah.	Real Estate	02.02.2006	UK	80.000
OYES HOMES	Altinkum	Construction	13.07.2006	UK	80.000
ADO EMLAK	Çamlık Mah.	Real Estate	17.08.2006	IRELAND	100.000
ANADOLU VE ADA	Yeni Mahalle	Trade	29.03.2005	UK	100.000
BETTY'S İNŞ	Altinkum Mh.	Construction	24.05.2006	UK	100.000
BLUE BİRD İNŞ	Çamlık Mah.	Construction	13.03.2006	UK	100.000
DİDYMA HOMES	Altinkum Mh.	Trade	25.05.2006	UK	100.000
GLOBAL BUG	Yeni Mh.	Construction	25.09.2006	UK	100.000
IRISH HOMES	Altinkum Mah.	Real Estate	19.09.2006	UK	100.000
JNS GRUP EMLAK	Efeler Mah.	Real Estate	30.12.2005	UK	100.000
LETS ALTINKUM	Çamlık Mah.	Real Estate	08.08.2006	IRAN	100.000
MANDALYA PROP	Çamlık Mah.	Real Estate	06.04.2006	UK	100.000
MGH LTD. ŞTİ.	Çamlık Mah.	Communications	05.06.2006	UK	100.000
PARADOR PROP.S	Fevzipaşa	Real Estate	03.05.2006	UK	100.000
PREMIER HOMES					
MAN	Altinkum	Real Estate	20.05.2005	UK	100.000
TIP-TOP					
HAVUZCULUK	Yeni Mah.	Pool Cleaning	16.11.2005	UK	100.000
ALTIN EVLER İNŞ.	Yenimahalle	Construction	04.07.2006	HOLLAND	140.000
ALTINKUM TM.YP.	Çamlık Mah.	Trade	09.08.2001	GERMANY	140.000
VALIAN	Çamlık	Manufacturing	05.09.2005	UK	150.000
AKBÜK DEV.T.	Cumhuriyet Mh	Real Estate	08.12.2005	UK	200.000
DİDYMA LEISURE	Altinkum	Rent A Car	19.07.2005	UK	200.000
GÖMENOĞLU	Yenimahalle	Trade	21.09.2006	UK	200.000
DOĞANGÜNEŞ	Altinkum Mah.	Hotels-Restaurants	21.09.2006	HOLLAND	500.000
EŞİN İNŞ.	Efeler	Construction	06.07.2006	GERMANY	1.000.000
MANAZDA TURİ	Altinkum Mh.	Trade	06.09.2006	IRELAND	3.000.000

Source: General Directorate of Foreign Investments, Undersecretariat of Treasury, as of October 2006

APPENDIX C : Marriages with Foreign Citizens in Didim (1/7/2004-2/7/2006)

	Year	Year of Birth-Female	Nationality	Year of Birth-Male	Age Difference (F M)	Origin of the Turkish Spouse
1	2004	75	UK	77	2	Kemah
2	2004	69	UK	81	12	Kahta
3	2004	84	UK	81	-3	Hınıs
4	2004	79	UK	81	2	Adana
5	2004	61	UK	74	13	D.Beyazıt
6	2004	86	UK	71	-15	Söke
7	2004	58	UK	63	5	Didim
8	2004	81	UK	80	-1	K.Pınar-Konya
9	2004	78	UK	76	-2	İkizdere
10	2004	42	UK	67	25	Beşiri-Siirt
11	2004	82	UK	85	3	Ceyhan
12	2004	49	UK	73	24	Reşadiye-Tokat
13	2004	44	UK	74	30	Söke-Didim
14	2004	85	UK	85	0	Söke
15	2004	73	UK	65	-8	Afyon-Cay
16	2004	83	UK	80	-3	Halfeti-Ş.Urfa
17	2004	54	UK	76	22	Tokat
18	2004	86	UK	84	-2	Hınıs-Erzurum
19	2004	70	UK	78	8	Yunak-Konya
20	2004	72	UK	86	14	Korkut-Muş
21	2004	71	UK	82	11	Halfeti-Ş.Urfa
22	2004	81	UK	81	0	izmir
23	2004	77	Ukraine	54	-23	izmir
24	2004	72	UK	79	7	Ş.Urfa-Bozova
25	2004	80	UK	82	2	Malazgirt-Muş
26	2004	79	UK	83	4	Dazkırı-Afyon
27	2004	60	UK	76	16	Çankırı-Orta
28	2004	82	UK	78	-4	Merkez-Corum
29	2004	78	UK	68	-10	Şişli-İstanbul
30	2004	82	UK	83	1	Halfeti-Ş.Urfa
31	2004	73	UK	73	0	Tarsus-Mersin
32	2004	76	UK	77	1	Merkez-Diyarbakır
33	2004	86	UK	84	-2	Merkez-Yozgat
34	2004	51	UK	66	15	Keçiören-Ankara
35	2004	60	UK	84	24	Alaca
36	2004	62	UK	78	16	Söke-Aydın
37	2004	62	UK	77	15	Nizip-G.Antep
38	2004	79	UK	80	1	Babadağ-Denizli
39	2005	69	Turkish	63	-6	Elbistan-Maraş
40	2005	62	UK	80	18	Horasan
41	2005	56	UK	78	22	Diyarbakır
42	2005	62	UK	79	17	Söke
43	2005	89	UK	83	-6	Ş.Urfa
44	2005	63	UK	77	14	Çarmık-Diyarbakır
45	2005	78	UK	78	0	Salıhlı-Manisa
46	2005	52	UK	79	27	Cicekdağı-Kırşehir

	Year	Year of Birth-F	Nationality	Year of Birth-M	Age Difference (F M)	Origin of the Turkish Spouse
47	2005	65	UK	74	9	Merkez-Trabzon
48	2005	66	UK	82	16	Merkez-Diyarbakir
49	2005	71	UK	76	5	Soke-Aydm
50	2005	85	UK	79	-6	Merkez-Diyarbakir
51	2005	62	French	58	-4	Smapasa-Afyon
52	2005	51	UK	78	27	Ardahan
53	2005	82	UK	83	1	Bergama-Izmir
54	2005	63	UK	79	16	Diyarbakir
55	2005	68	UK	66	-2	Didim-Aydm
56	2005	81	Turkish	59	-22	Ankara
57	2005	68	UK	86	18	Eleşkirt-Ağrı
58	2005	80	Turkish	72	-8	Izmir
59	2005	69	UK	82	13	Polatli-Ankara
60	2005	75	UK	79	4	Didim-Aydm
61	2005	75	UK	81	6	Diyadin-Ağrı
62	2005	83	UK	77	-6	Diyarbakir
63	2005	64	UK	81	17	Aydm
64	2005	84	UK	78	-6	Bozkır-Konya
65	2005	60	UK	70	10	Kızıltepe-Mardin
66	2005	63	UK	84	21	Diyarbakir
67	2005	73	UK	82	9	Güroymak-Bitlis
68	2005	57	UK	72	15	Didim
69	2005	64	UK	81	17	Çarmık-D. Bakır
70	2005	82	UK	79	-3	Polatli-Ankara
71	2005	61	UK	82	21	Korkut-Muş
72	2005	77	UK	81	4	Aydm
73	2005	69	UK	73	4	Bor-Niğde
74	2005	65	Hungary	73	8	Turgutlu-Manisa
75	2005	60	UK	80	20	Güroymak-Bitlis
76	2005	82	UK	80	-2	Ahlat-Bitlis
77	2006	62	UK	80	18	Seyhan-Adana
78	2006	67	UK J	82	15	Diyadin-Ağrı
79	2006	80	UK	83	3	Söke-Aydm
80	2006	82	German	70	-12	K.Yaka-Izmir
81	2006	68	UK	80	12	Tarsus-Mersin
82	2006	86	UK	86	0	Aralık-Iğdır
83	2006	52	UK	66	14	K.Eli-Merkez
84	2006	87	UK	87	0	Söke
85	2006	66	UK	76	10	Merkez-Eskişehir
86	2006	50	UK	52	2	Kulu-Koçiyi
87	2006	63	UK	73	10	izmir-Kiraz
88	2006	73	UK	79	6	Didim-Aydm
89	2006	44	UK	50	6	Konak-Izmir
90	2006	84	UK	82	-2	Selçuk-izmir
91	2006	72	Polish	54	-18	Şarkışla-Sivas
92	2006	66	UK	74	8	Didim-Aydm
93	2006	84	UK	82	-2	Didim-Aydm

	Year	Year of Birth-F	Nationality	Year of Birth-M	Age Difference (F M)	Origin of the Turkish Spouse
94	2006	72	UK	54	-18	Şarkışla-Sivas
95	2006	66	UK	74	8	Didim-Aydın
96	2006	84	UK	82	-2	Didim-Aydın
97	2006	74	UK	77	3	Meriç-Edime
98	2006	83	UK	85	2	Didim-Aydın
99	2006	40	UK	77	37	Ergani-D. Bakır

Source: Didim Municipality- Marriage Registrar

**APPENDIX D: Questionnaire For The Semi Structured In-Depth Interviews-
For Foreigners**

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- 1) Sex:
- 2) Age:
- 3) Nationality:
- 4) Marital status:
- 5) How many children do you have ?
- 6) Household Information

Relation.	Age	Sex	Educational Background	Job/ Oc. Status	Soc. Security	Income
Him/herself						
Others						

- 7) Last full time / Main job (Both of the respondent and the respondent's partner)
- 8) Age at leaving full time education
- 9) Do you feel yourself belonging to any religion ? If yes, are you practicing ?
- 10) Where did you use to live back home? Have you still got a property there?
- 11) Some information on the life back home (Family, social security, lifestyle, community, solidarity etc)
- 12) Since when have you been living in Didim ? In which part ? What kind of housing ? Do you stay permanently ?

**REASONS BEHIND THE MOVE – PULL & PUSH FACTORS & THE HISTORY
OF THE RESPONDENT AS A TOURIST**

- 13) Why did you decide to leave your country in the first place ?
- 14) When did you first hear about Turkey ?
- 15) Why did you choose moving to Turkey ?
- 16) Did you consider any other countries ?

- 17) Which ones ?
- 18) How did you make your decision about Didim ? Have you considered any other places in Turkey ?
- 19) Had you been to Didim before ? When ? On a package tour or independently ? Had you been to Turkey before ? On a package tour or independently ? Which places in Turkey ? When ?
- 20) If money weren't a concern at all where would you like to spend your life ?

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HOME COUNTRY AND THE OLD LIFE

- 21) How many times have you visited your country since you moved to Didim ? For what reason ?
- 22) Have you received any visitors from your country since you moved to Didim ? Who came ? When ?
- 23) How do you retain your relationships with your family, relatives, previous friends etc ?
- 24) How have their reactions been when heard about your decision to move ?
- 25) How do they evaluate your decision now ?
- 26) Have you ever been asked for advice by anyone in your country about acquiring property in or moving to Turkey ?
- 27) Do you have an interest about current affairs in your home country ? If yes, how do you catch up with these ?
- 28) Do you have a satellite dish / digital ? Which channels do you usually watch ? What kind of programs ?
- 29) Will you vote for the home country elections ?
- 30) Did you register yourself with the the consulate of your country ? (If YES Skip Q.31)
- 31) Why not ?
- 32) Is there anything you miss from your previous life ? (Even the smallest things like a brown sauce count)
- 33) Would you ever consider returning home or moving to somewhere else ? Under what circumstances ? (Death of a spouse, frail old age needing special care etc)

PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEW LIFE AND THE LOCAL AND COMPATRIOT
COMMUNITY – BEFORE THE MOVE & CURRENTLY

- 34) What were your preconceptions about Turkey before the move ? About the people, the quality of life, the services ? How were your previous experiences ?
- 35) What were your preconceptions about Didim ? How were your previous experiences ?
- 36) Have your experiences after the move altered or confirmed your preconceptions ?
- 37) What kind of life you dreamt of having here ? Have your dreams come true ?
- 38) How many foreign permanent residents are there in Didim – just an estimate- ? How do you evaluate the trend ? Do you think the trend will continue ?
- 39) What do you think about the expat community in Didim ? What kind of people they are ? How do they spend their lives ? What do they talk about ?
- 40) How do you locate yourself within the expat community ? (Do you consider yourself as part of this community ?)
- 41) What do you think about the tourist flow in summer ? What kind of people are coming ? How does the city life change during touristic season ? How are you affected at all ?
- 42) What do you think about the locals ? How do you think your relationship with them evolve within the course of time ?
- 43) What do you think about the locals' opinions on the foreign residents ? How are their attitudes towards foreign residents ? Are they happy? Do they have any complaints do you reckon ? On what basis?
- 44) Do you know any expat run businesses ? Or expats providing some services ? Have you had any use of them ?
- 45) Have you had any relations with local authorities ? What kind ?
- 46) How do you think you're treated by the local authorities ?
- 47) Do you feel any kind of discrimination in Didim or in Turkey ? Any animosity ? How do you react in such cases ?

DAILY ROUTINES , LEISURE, COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES & SOCIAL
RELATIONSHIPS

- 48) How do you spend your time ? What is your daily routine? In summer ? In winter ?
- 49) Do you have a garden ? (If NO – Skip Q.50)
- 50) Are you involved in gardening ?
- 51) Do you have any pets ?
- 52) Do you use domestic help ? If yes, how frequently ? How did you find that person ?
- 53) Have you ever needed repair / maintenance work in the house ? If yes, how did you find the person ? Have you been satisfied with the quality of service ?
- 54) Have you got a car ? Any other vehicle (a moped, bicycle etc) If no , do you intend to buy one ?
- 55) What do you think about the traffic ?
- 56) Since you moved to Didim, have you travelled within Turkey ? Where ? Do you intend to travel ? To which parts of the country ?
- 57) Where do you shop ? Your food ? Your clothing ? Durables or house accessories ? Books , magazines etc ?
- 58) How often do you eat out ?
- 59) Are there any restaurants / bars/ cafes where you regularly attend ? Why do you prefer these places ?
- 60) What nationality are the owners ?
- 61) How are their customer profiles ?
- 62) Do you belong to any voluntary association or a social club ? (If no Skip Q63)
- 63) What is the member profile ? Are the majority locals ? Are they foreigners ?
- 64) Have you got any local neighbours ?
- 65) Any relationship with your neighbours ? Locals ? Expats ?
- 66) Did you have any friends in Didim before moving here ?
- 67) Have you got any local friends ? How many ? How did you get to know them ?

- 68) How many friends have you got in Didim ?
- 69) What nationality is the majority of your friends ?
- 70) How often do you see them ? How do you spend your time together ?
- 71) Except for your partner, to whom do you feel yourself closest in Didim ?
- 72) To whom would you call in case you require some kind of help?
- 73) What is your major source of information about what's happening in Didim ?
- 74) Do you consider yourself informed enough about the rules and regulations in Turkey ?
- 75) Do you consider yourself informed/ equipped enough about ways/means of solving everyday problems in Turkey ?
- 76) Do you consider yourself informed enough about culture, traditions, norms or values in Turkey?
- 77) Which newspapers do you read ? Do you read either of the English weeklies that are published in Didim ?
- 78) In case you need some information to whom/ which source would you rely most?
- 79) Have you got internet connection at home ?
- 80) How often do you use the internet ? For surfing ? For writing e-mails ?
- 81) How 's your command of Turkish language ?
- 82) Does language create any problems in your daily life ?
- 83) Do you intend to learn Turkish ?

SECURITY ISSUES & COPING MECHANISMS

- 84) Is your property insured ? In Turkey ? Back home ? Do you have insurance against robbery , earthquake ? _
- 85) Do you have health or life insurance in your country?
 Yes _____ Do they cover your health expenses in Turkey ? Wholly or a percentage ?
 No _____ What do you intend to do if any need arises ?
- 86) Have you ever been victim to a crime or misdemeanour in Didim ? How did you react ?

- 87) Do you know or heard of any foreigners who have ever been victim to a crime or misdemeanour in Didim ? How, within your information, have they reacted ?
- 88) Have you ever experienced any confrontation with anybody? (If yes) With whom ? How did the situation evolve?

ABOUT THE FUTURE

- 89) How do you think your life will evolve in the near future ? In 5 years time ? In longer term?
- 90) How do you think the expat life in Didim will evolve in the near future ? In 5 years time ? In longer term ?
- 91) What kind of place will Didim be in the near future ? In 5 years time ?
- 92) What do you think of Turkey's future with the EU?

**APPENDIX E: Questionnaire For The Semi Structured In-Depth Interviews-
For Locals**

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFO

1. Place of birth ?:
2. Where do you feel yourself belonging to ?
3. Marital Status:
4. Number of household
5. Number of Children ?
6. Household Diagram

Closeness to the interviewee	Age	Sex	Education (Last school grad.d)	Occupation/ Employment Status	Social Security	Income ⁴⁹
Him/herself						
Others						

B. RELATIONSHIP WITH DIDIM

7. For how many years have you been living in Didim ?
8. Where did you use to live before Didim ?
9. Why did you move to Didim ?
10. Do you intend to move somewhere else from Didim ? Where ?
11. In which neighbourhood do you reside ?
12. In which neighbourhood is your Office ?
13. Have you or your family got property in Didim ? (If No. Skip to C)
14. Does your house belong to you or your family ?
15. Does your Office belong to you or your family ?
16. What other property have you got ? In which parts of Didim ?

⁴⁹ The question was omitted with the most interviewee

C. DIRECT IMPACT OF THE FOREIGN SETTLERS OF DIDİM ON HER/HIS LIFE

17. Has any property of yours or your family's been sold to foreigners (If No Skip to Q.20)
18. How did you sell the property?
19. How did you or your family use that Money ?
20. Has any foreigners who want to buy property in Didim asked for your opinion or wanted you to act as an intermediary?
21. Do you have any friends among the foreign settlers of the town ? How many ?
22. How often do you see them ?
23. What is the share of foreigners in the clientele of your Office/ of the Office you work ? What is the share of foreign settlers in this?
24. How are your relationships with the regular foreign settler clientele ?
25. Do you have any foreign neighbours? How many ?
26. Do you or your family have any relationship with your foreign neighbours?
27. Are there any foreign pupils in the school your children are attending ?
28. Do your children have any friends among the foreign children in the school or in the neighbourhood? How are their relationship?
29. Are there any activities you conduct with foreign settlers? (Membership to foundations, associations, societies or recreational activities)
30. (In the broadest manner) where do you meet the foreign settlers, come together, establish or develop relationships?

D. PERCEPTIONS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOREIGN SETTLERS OF DIDİM

31. How many foreigners are there living in Didim ?
32. Who are they ? What kind of people ? (Where are they from? How old they ? Which class do they belong?)
33. What do they do? How do they spend their time? How do they live?
34. Why do you think they might have chosen Didim to settle ?

35. Are you content that foreigners are buying property and settling in Didim? Why ? Why not?

36. How do you think it (Foreigners buying property or settling in) affects the physical environment in.Didim ?

37. How do you think it (Foreigners buying property or settling in) affects the social relations in.Didim ?

38. How do you think it (Foreigners buying property or settling in) affects the economic life of Didim?

39. What kind of place will Didim be in 5 years from now ? In 10 years ?

POLITICAL DISPOSITION

40. Did you vote for the last elections? For which party?

41. What do you think of the relationship between the EU and Turkey ?