

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: EVALUATING THE IMPACTS OF TOP-DOWN PROTECTED AREA GOVERNANCE ON LOCAL LIVELIHOODS – THE CASE OF THE TURKISH VILLAGE OF KAPIKIRI

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This study evaluates the positive and negative impacts of strict protected area designation on the livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of a resident community living within the boundaries of a protected area, and explores how these impacts are distributed across different community groups. The study also examines whether strict protected area designation compensates for a decrease in traditional income by increased tourism. A case study analysis was conducted in the Turkish village of Kapıkırı, where two centuries ago, modern settlement began among the ruins of an ancient Greek city. The area's rich cultural and natural heritage resources and biodiversity prompted the Turkish government to designate it with strict culture-protected area status in 1989, and with nature-protected area status in 1994. The study involved conducting a household survey with a representative sample of households, interviews with different community groups, and interviews with officials at various levels of protected area governance. The study reveals that the Turkish government did not balance strict culture-protected area status with residents' socioeconomic development needs. An inflexible, to changing circumstances

non-adaptive legal framework of cultural heritage conservation did not accommodate residents' development needs, prohibiting them any change on their built structures. Conversely, the broader nature-protected area status, intended to conserve the area's natural heritage resources and biodiversity, provided for the continuation of a traditional cultural landscape and encouraged tourism, creating a demand for tourism services and establishments. Increased demand in tourism combined with fines not high enough to deter illegal construction, however, did not discourage particularly business owners from building illegally. While business owners expanded their business capacity and increased their income, being able to absorb the costs of illegal activity, most farmers vulnerable to regional economic and agricultural influences, lacked finances to build or renovate illegally and provide new housing for subsequent generations. The case of Kapıkırı points to a pressing need for long-term conservation and development strategies that address the unique and changing dynamics of local socioeconomic contexts. Protected area governance in Turkey needs to adopt a conservation policy that is pluralistic and responsive to changing local socioeconomic needs and environmental conditions; one that meets the needs of local communities while preserving heritage resources for generations to come.

Keywords: Protected areas, protected area governance, conservation, cultural heritage management, local communities, livelihoods, local development, tourism.

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GOVERNANCE ON LOCAL LIVELIHOODS –
THE CASE OF THE TURKISH VILLAGE OF KAPIKIRI

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Dedication

In loving memory of my father Ekrem Yılmaz,
a relentless advocate for the rights of the disadvantaged

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List of Abbreviations

BR:	Biosphere Reserve
CBD:	Convention on Biological Diversity
EC:	European Commission
EPASA:	Environmental Protection Agency for Special Areas
EU:	European Union
GDCHM:	General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums
GDF:	General Directorate for Forestry
GDNCNP:	General Directorate for Nature Conservation and National Parks
GEF:	The Global Environment Facility
ICCA:	Indigenous/Community-Conserved Area
ICDP:	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
ICOMOS:	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN:	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MAB:	UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme
MCT:	Ministry of Culture and Tourism
MEF:	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
NGO:	Non-governmental Organization
RCC:	Regional Conservation Council
SAC:	Special Areas of Conservation (EU)
SCC:	Superior Council for Conservation

SEPA: Special Environmental Protection Areas
SPA: Special Protection Areas (EU)
WB: World Bank
WCMC: World Conservation Monitoring Centre
WCPA: World Commission on Protected Areas
WDPA: World Database on Protected Areas
UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNEP: United Nations Environment Program

Chapter 1: Problem Status and Scope of Study

Protected areas are being recognized by nearly all nations as a fundamental instrument for the conservation of biodiversity. There is general agreement among most nations on the importance of setting aside land for the protection of their natural and cultural heritage resources from threats such as pollution, illegal activities, overgrazing, urban expansion, and unsustainable plant and animal resource extraction. By signing the first global agreement on the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), these nations also became members of the International Union for Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) World Commission of Protected Areas (WCPA), which plays a guiding role in the creation of protected areas. Today, there are more than 100,000 protected areas around the globe that cover approximately 12.5% of the Earth's terrestrial surface (Chape, Spalding, & Jenkins, 2008; Lockwood, Worboys, & Kothari, 2006).¹

The IUCN defines protected areas as “clearly defined geographical spaces, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values” (Dudley, 2008, p. 8). As the definition implies, protected areas encompass both natural and cultural heritage resources, since a separation of culture from nature seems somewhat artificial. Today, it is widely accepted that human populations have been shaping nature and, in turn, nature has been shaping humans and their culture. Protected areas in tropical countries are predominantly natural

¹ As of 2010, 168 out of 193 countries signed the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) that came into force in 1993. Retrieved from <http://www.cbd.int/convention/parties/list/>. The CBD is the first global agreement on the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, and serves as a blueprint for nations. The World Commission of Protected Areas (WCPA), which acts as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)'s program on protected areas, has over 1300 members from more than 140 countries (Lockwood, Worboys, & Kothari, 2006).

environments but include strong cultural links to communities. Protected areas in other parts of the world also display significant cultural heritage sites and in many countries, particularly European, protected areas encompass whole landscapes that include towns and villages (Lennon, 2006).

While the IUCN has been playing a guiding role in establishing predominantly nature protected areas, countries have been using the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, known as the Charter of Venice, as a fundamental reference for developing cultural heritage conservation policies (Lennon, 2006). In addition, UNESCO's World Heritage program has been successful in 'securing' the conservation of globally significant cultural heritage resources to some extent. However, the conservation of cultural heritage resources largely depends on how individual countries judge resource significance, as well as how they prioritize them in terms of economic and societal needs.

The idea to create protected areas had its origins in the first national park established in the U.S., Yellowstone National Park in 1872 (Chape et al., 2008). According to this early approach, 'pristine nature' needed to be protected from harmful human actions. Thus, protected areas needed to be either 'isolated repositories' free from any human presence or, in cases where human presence was allowed, they needed to be protected from any harmful human activity (Lockwood et al., 2006). Historically, protected areas have for the most part been state-governed and managed in a top-down manner. Local communities were either required to relocate, or, in cases where they were allowed to live within the park, they faced a number of restrictions on their use of resources (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995).²

² For definitions of the terms 'community' as well as 'local community' please refer to the Glossary section.

The effectiveness of protected areas in terms of their success in conserving biodiversity and reducing deforestation has been addressed in both policy and academic literature. However, the consequences of their impacts on the livelihoods of resident communities that live within or around their boundaries have received less attention (Brockington, Duffy & Igoe, 2008; Coad, Campbell, Miles, & Humphries, 2008; Pimbert & Pretty, 1995; Sodhi, Acciaioli, Erb, & Khee-Jin Tan, 2008). The exact number of local communities living within or in the vicinity of protected areas is not well known. It is estimated that human populations inhabit somewhere between 70 and 90% of these areas worldwide. Given the number and extent of the world's protected areas, these figures indicate these establishments likely affect millions of people (Brockington et al., 2008).

Starting in the late 1990s, with the recognition of more pluralist approaches promoted by major international development organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (WB), this trend has shifted to a certain degree. Consequently, there has been a growing understanding that protected areas cannot be seen in isolation from their resident human populations whose histories encompass hundreds, if not thousands of years. Human inhabitants, because of their dependence on natural resources, have shaped most of what we see today as 'pristine nature.' Many local communities have also been dependent on their lands for spiritual reasons. Increasingly, conservationists and development practitioners have been questioning the extent to which lands that have been thought of as 'pristine' are in reality pristine nature (Chape et al., 2008; Lockwood et al., 2006; Posey, 1999). In addition, more and more conservation and development practitioners are drawing attention to the importance of the rights of local residents, and believe that the successful conservation of natural and cultural heritage resources can only be

achieved with the cooperation of local people (Brechin, Wilhusen, Fortwangler, & West, 2002; Brockington et al. 2008; Pimbert & Pretty, 1995).

Even with the acknowledgement of human impacts, there is widespread agreement among conservationists and development practitioners that certain key areas rich in biodiversity, and areas inhabited by threatened species, need to be protected under ‘strict protection rule,’ meaning no human activity is permitted. Conservative or ‘protectionist’ conservationists, such as Brandon, Redford and Sandersen (1998, p. 2), express their belief that there be “limitations on sustainable use as a primary tool for biodiversity conservation.” These authors believe that not all resources can be preserved through sustainable use, and that “without an understanding of broader ecosystem dynamics at specific sites, strategies promoting sustainable use will lead to substantial losses of biodiversity.”

It is increasingly recognized in the conservation and development arena that, in addition to other social, cultural, economic and political factors, the type and quality of protected area governance plays an important role in balancing the conservation of natural and cultural heritage resources with the wellbeing of human residents (Lockwood, 2010). Countries increasingly recognize inclusionary, communicative and deliberate processes as more effective approaches to conservation and improving the wellbeing of resident communities of protected areas.

A positive outcome of an increased concern for resident communities has been the relatively recent notion of protected areas as tools for local economic development through the promotion of (eco) tourism. Numerous sustainable tourism development programs have been implemented in individual protected areas around the world and suggest potential successes in conservation and an improvement in livelihoods. More recently, the establishment of 580 Biosphere Reserves (BRs) (managed by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural

Organization's [UNESCO] Man and the Biosphere Programme [MAB]) in 114 countries represents a significant effort towards the rational and sustainable use and conservation of the resources of the biosphere, as well as the improvement of the overall relationship between humans and their environment (Mose, 2007).³

In spite of these positive developments, many resident communities in protected areas still face a number of negative consequences of strict and/or top-down protected area governance. Studies on protected area impacts on the wellbeing of resident communities have been limited. Perhaps this is related to the recent concern for the rights of human inhabitants of protected areas. The majority of studies have either analyzed the negative (costs) or positive (benefits) results or impacts protected areas on local communities (Brockington et al., 2008; Coad et al. 2008; Igoe, 2006), whereby a major concern has been the livelihoods of local people. Very few studies have attempted to measure the net impact of protected areas on the livelihoods of local people (Ferraro, 2008). Similarly, very few studies have analyzed how various segments of a community, such as women, men, business owners, wealthy and poor households, have been impacted differently.

Among the limited research on protected area impacts on resident communities, it was observed that the quality of protected area governance with respect of the social and economic wellbeing of resident communities has received little attention. Furthermore, no study could be identified with a focus on the housing and/or development needs of resident communities. In addition, no study could be located focusing on the complex effects caused by overlapping boundaries of two (or more) different protected area designations.

³ Retrieved on August 30, 2011, from <http://www.unesco.org>

Research Questions

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the impacts of protected areas on the livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of resident communities. More specifically, the study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the impacts of national protected area governance and top-down decision-making on the socioeconomic wellbeing of resident communities?
2. What are the positive and negative impacts of strict protected area designation on the livelihoods and socio-economic wellbeing of resident communities? Does strict protected area designation compensate for the loss of traditional income through increased tourism?
3. How are these impacts of strict protected area designation distributed across community income and social groups?

Hypotheses

1. Strict protected area designation has a net negative impact on the wellbeing of resident communities in the short run. However, in the long run, the net negative impact is offset by an increased income from tourism, and the sustainable use of land and natural resources.
2. The distribution of the costs and benefits from protected area designation among groups is a matter of power dynamics within the local community. More powerful groups or individuals benefit more from protected area designation than less powerful groups or individuals.

Significance of Research

First and foremost, the study is important because of its applicability to other protected area contexts in Turkey and other parts of world, where protected area residents are impacted by

restrictions on their use of land and resources. The study estimates that there must be hundreds of local communities in Turkey, affected by protected area designation, given the variety and high number of designations in the country.

Second, the study is important because it utilizes a broad approach, examining both a local community impacted by top-down protected area governance and protected area designation, and decision-making processes as well as legislative and organizational aspects of national protected area governance. The study, therefore, provides a comprehensive picture on how top-down decision-making may impact a local community.

Third, the study represents a case where a local community is impacted by both nature- and culture protected area designations, governed and managed by two different ministries. The study analyses the complexities that arise at the community level as a result of dual protected area status. It also reveals the legislative and organizational complexities resulting from dual protected area governance.

Fourth, by examining a local community's perceptions on protected area governance, and decision-making processes at levels of protected area governance, the study provides insight on the differences in understanding between protected area residents and the Turkish government on matters of conservation and development.

Fifth and last, the study assesses the impact of protected area designation on tourism and livelihoods, and thus intends to make a meaningful contribution to the literature on the potential of protected areas to improve livelihoods through tourism.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature review will begin with an introduction into debates that happened over the last two decades regarding the recognition of the rights of indigenous and local communities living within protected area boundaries. This is followed by background information on the governance aspects of protected areas, and legal and institutional framework of protected area governance in the Turkish context. Lastly, the literature on protected areas and their local socioeconomic impacts is reviewed.

Background

Evaluating the impacts of protected areas on the livelihoods of local populations involves understanding the link between conservation and development in the context of protected areas (Furze, de Lacy, & Birkhead, 1996). Before examining this link, it is useful to clarify the term “livelihoods.” Fisher, Maginnis, Jackson, Barrow and Jeanrenaud (2008) and Sunderlin et al. (2005) define the term as the ways in which people make a living; the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means for living.

Linking conservation and development. There is widespread agreement among conservationists around the world that protected areas play a crucial role in the conservation of biodiversity, however not without consequences (Brockington et al., 2008; Lockwood et al., 2006). A large share of protected areas around the world, about 70 to 90%, are inhabited by human populations, whose livelihood depends on protected area resources. It is no coincidence that these areas have been established in so-called developing countries, as many of these countries -particularly those along the equatorial zone- are extraordinarily rich in biodiversity. This implies that the majority of protected area inhabitants are particularly vulnerable to any

consequences that arise from protected area restrictions (Brockington et al., 2008; Coad et al., 2008; Furze et al., 1996).

There has also been a growing acknowledgement among conservationists that over thousands of years, most of the earth's terrestrial surface has been shaped by human activity (Cronon, 1996; Posey, 1999). As pointed out by McNeely (1996, p. ix), what many believe are "truly natural" habitats, are in fact "cultural habitats." Humans have sustainably used their natural resources for survival, and thus have a stake in the conservation of their natural resources. It is therefore widely accepted that conservation in the broadest sense, but also in the context of protected areas, can best be achieved by acknowledging the rights of local people, gaining their support by involving them in decision-making and incorporating their traditional ecological knowledge into conservation strategies (Berkes, 2007; Fisher et al., 2008; Furze et al., 2008; Lockwood et al., 2006). It is believed that traditional ecological knowledge can compliment scientific knowledge, as it is based on long-term observations of nature (Berkes, 2007).

It follows that conservation has become an activity pursued not only by biologists, ecologists, and other experts specialized in the natural world, but also by development practitioners. The field of conservation has become one that is inextricably linked with development. The link is, however, a conflicted one, and it is a complex task for the conservationists, governmental officials, scholars and others involved in this field to find strategies that reconcile them. One difficulty lies in the fact that development can mean different things to different people. A national government official can have a very different idea about development than a farmer who lives in a rural area. The way people think about development

may influence the nature of development strategies implemented. It is therefore important to take a closer look at the term.

Development theorists have examined the meaning of development and how it has been implemented around the world. Providing a holistic framework, Sen (1999) argues that development should be seen as a process of expanding the real freedoms people enjoy. These freedoms constitute economic opportunities, political freedoms, social facilities, transparency guarantees and protective security. According to his approach, the expansion of these freedoms needs to be viewed both as a primary end, and as the principal means of development. It follows that poverty is the deprivation of basic freedoms. Sen's (1999) holistic approach to development is a departure from narrow views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes, or with industrialization, technological advances, or social modernization.

In line with Sen's (1999) view of development, Rapley (2007) points to a shift in the paradigm of development theory that started to emerge during the last two decades, marked by increased environmental concerns and calls from post-development theorists for decentralized development that integrates local communities into development planning. These post-developmental tendencies emerged because of criticisms of the destructive nature of mainstream development on the environment and traditional societies. Theorists such as Wolfgang Sachs, Arturo Escobar and James Ferguson criticize the proliferation of a uniform, Western model of development around the world (Rapley, 2007).

In their effort to link conservation and poverty reduction, Fisher et al. (2008) also challenge the dominance of the free-market and economic growth models of development for having retarded the implementation of proper sustainable development. These authors point out

that the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) suggested combined efforts focusing on the three pillars of sustainable development: economics, social development and the environment. However the past two decades have experienced the dominance of the economics pillar because of the belief that if the economy is developed first, this will lead to positive social and environmental changes.

These concerns about positive social and environmental change call for a shift in our understanding of development and ways it is pursued. This need for a shift was expressed by Elizabeth Dowdeswell, former Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995: “First our fundamental definition of development must change. It can no longer be regarded as merely a problem of modernizing traditional societies. It should not be a mere duplication of the energy and resource-intensive development path pursued by the developed countries. It has to recognize local circumstances, potential for internally generated growth, the contribution of traditional institutions and knowledge. It has to be inherently geared towards sustainability” (Furze et al., 1996, p. 9).

Towards more social justice in conservation and development. The importance of local participation and an increased acknowledgment of local traditional knowledge for the sake of better conservation were also being increasingly articulated by conservationists starting in the early 1990s. The formal recognition of local rights materialized during the 1992 World Congress on Parks and Protected Areas held in Caracas, Venezuela. This recognition is regarded as a benchmark in conservation policies because it encouraged approaches that promoted greater local participation and sustainable use of resources (McNeely & Miller, 1984).

Since the early 1990s, these people-centered strategies have been known as community-based conservation (CBC), community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) or integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs). The assumption is that local communities, who have depended on natural resources for hundreds of years, have accumulated a considerable amount of traditional ecological knowledge of their surrounding environment and resources, and have a stake in the sustainable use of these resources. Therefore, they would be willing to support and comply with conservation/protected areas management restrictions. The ideal scenario or outcome would be the sustainable use of natural resources by the local population. Thus, increasingly more conservation strategies that recognize local rights and local traditional knowledge have been pursued by conservation and development practitioners, and promoted by major large-scale environmental protection agencies (Berkes, 2007; Wilhusen, Brechin, Fortwangler, & West, 2002). In an attempt to eliminate trade-offs that arise from the implementation of such strategies, considerable efforts have also been put into linking conservation and poverty reduction (Fisher et al., 2008).

Strategies that strive for the best possible win-win outcomes for both nature and people are a departure from top-down processes that sometimes result in situations of social conflict caused by either the removal of local people from their native lands; fear and violence exercised by enforcement officials on local people; or restrictions on local people to access the resources they have always depended on (Fortwangler, 2003). Furthermore, a large number of studies have revealed that changes to the use of natural resources can lead to a worsening of these habitats and even a reduction in biodiversity (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995). For example, Igoe (2004) showed that the relocation of Maasai herders due to the establishment of protected areas on the African savannah resulted in even further decay of these habitats. Oppression still continues to some

extent in many protected parts of the world, but as mentioned earlier, there has been a general agreement among scientists and policymakers that top-down processes do not lead to the achievement of best possible outcomes for both nature and people (Brockington et al., 2008; Igoe, 2004).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that community-based strategies are not without pitfalls. Such strategies involve numerous complexities. First, such efforts occur in very different contexts. The social, cultural, economic and political settings are very different. Second, generally such efforts are nested in a multilevel, multi-scale structure. Most local communities are linked to various levels of government, and also to the market economy. Usually, international conservation and development organizations are involved in such efforts. In many cases, local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and local universities are also involved. Third, these actors have multiple interests and objectives. Therefore, such strategies require substantial efforts and skills of stakeholders involved, as well as sufficient financial resources (Berkes, 2007; Wilhusen et al., 2002).

Protected areas and their governance. With about 70 to 90% of protected areas containing human populations, their governance and management is not only a matter of conserving biodiversity, but also one of dealing with the livelihood problems of these inhabitants (Furze et al., 1996).

Here, a clarification of the difference between the governance and the management of protected areas might be needed. While the governance of protected areas is about power, authority, responsibility and accountability, exercised by organizations and individuals, their management concerns the resources, plans and actions that are a product of applied governance (Borrini-Feyerabend, Johnston, & Pansky, 2006; Lockwood, 2010). Graham, Amos and

Plumptre (2003) provide a more explicit definition of protected area governance: "... the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken on issues of public concern, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say" (pp. 2-3). It should be pointed out, however, that governance should not be equated with government, and that governments, while acting as key players in governance, are not the only possible players (Plumptre & Graham, 1999). As highlighted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997), governance also includes civil society and the private sector. All three players are critical for sustaining human development. While the state creates a conducive political and legal environment, the private sector generates jobs and income and civil society facilitates political and social interaction. Because all three actors have their weaknesses and strengths, the promotion of constructive interaction among all three is crucial for achieving good governance.

Graham et al. (2003) identify seven important governance decisions to be made about protected areas:

1. Determining where a protected area is needed, where it should be located, and what type of status it should have;
2. Determining who is entitled to have a say about matters relevant to the protected area;
3. Creating rules about the land and resource uses allowed inside the protected area, and establishing zones for different levels of access and use;
4. Enforcing the agreed upon zoning and rules;
5. Deciding how financial and other resources will be spent to support specific conservation and sustainable development activities concerning the protected area;

6. Generating revenues, for example, by selling permits and generating fees, taxes and in-kind contributions, and deciding how those are distributed and used, and;
7. Entering into agreements with other parties to share or delegate some of the above powers or to decide about matters relevant to the protected area.

The governance setting of a protected area determines who employs these decisions, powers and responsibilities, how they do so, whether the protected area is effective in conservation, whether it is able to share fairly the relevant benefits and costs among all stakeholders, and whether it has the support of local communities, politicians and the broader society. It follows that the governance setting depends in larger part upon formal mandates, institutions, processes and relevant legal and customary rights. It is a highly complex phenomenon where decisions may also be influenced by history and culture, access to information, basic economic outlook and many other factors. Therefore, it is impossible to develop a single governance approach applicable to all circumstances (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Inclusionary processes in protected area governance. Over the last few decades, protected area governance has been predominantly state-based and top-down in nature. In more recent years, countries have begun to develop more just models of protected area governance; models that respect the rights of their indigenous peoples and local communities. A series of international conferences and initiatives contributed to the adoption of more just conservation governance, with indigenous peoples in particular playing a key role.

Protected area governance first became a major focus at the international level at the 5th IUCN World Parks Congress held in Durban, South Africa in 2003; delegates from around the world gathered to discuss, recognize, examine and celebrate a diversity of governance types and

the meaning of good governance in protected area contexts. Shortly after the Congress, the parties to the CBD gathered at their seventh conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and strengthened the innovative recommendations developed in Durban, identifying governance as one of the key elements of their Programme of Work on Protected Areas. The most important international treaty on biodiversity had recognized that the concept could play a powerful and positive role for conservation and equity. Within a few months, the concept became one of the primary concerns of protected area managers. Protected area governance has since then been an important theme at international meetings such as the IUCN World Conservation Congresses in Bangkok (2004) and Barcelona (2008) (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006; Lockwood, 2010).

Lockwood (2010) explains how these dynamics have been the result of several political, social and environmental influences. First, demands for respecting the rights of indigenous and local communities have gained political momentum because of the widespread recognition that, in many parts of the world, protected area establishment and management has caused displacement and disadvantage (Brechin et al., 2002; Brockington et al. 2008; Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; Phillips, 2003). In more than 85% of all protected areas, indigenous people and/or local communities were forced to give up their lands, leave their villages, and move to other places (Brockington et al., 2008; Hess, 2001).

Second, some developing countries have been unsuccessful in applying the top-down model of protected area governance. Many protected areas failed to achieve their objectives because of capacity deficits, and non-cooperating behavior of local communities engaged in unsustainable extraction of resources, poaching and sabotage (Brechin et al., 2002; Cumming, 2004; Stevens, 1997; Brockington, Duffy & Igoe, 2008).

Third, with increased levels of education, enhanced communication and mobility, better informed citizens express their wish to participate in decisions that affect their lives, including the designation and management of protected areas (Lockwood & Kothari, 2006). In many countries, government protected area agencies have, while retaining ultimate authority, opened their decision-making processes to wider stakeholder input. Major international NGOs, such as Conservation International (CI), The Nature Conservancy (TNC) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) have increasingly involved indigenous and local communities in their initiatives, cooperating with governments, the private sector and local NGOs (Lockwood, 2010).

Fourth, over the last few decades, more governments around the world have been pursuing a neoliberal agenda delegating responsibilities from government agencies to communities and individuals. This policy environment has led to the emergence of more powerful and significant NGOs, and private and community-based environmental actors. Within such a model of governance, governments maintain control by ‘governing at a distance.’ That is, they provide funding and other forms of support on the condition that actors satisfy government objectives, accountability mechanisms and performance standards (Dean, 1999; Lockie, Lawrence, & Cheshire, 2006; Lockwood, 2010).

Finally, it is now widely accepted by conservation practitioners that many protected area problems require a landscape-scale response. Thus, by addressing the wider connectivity of protected lands, governance must consider issues that cross the boundaries of protected areas into the surrounding matrix of forestry, agricultural, fishery, urban and other uses (Sandwith & Lockwood, 2006; IUCN, 2005). State agencies governing specific territories increasingly face the challenge to engage with and influence policy responses across complex transboundary

arrangements and networks that involve the state, local communities, private actors and NGOs (Lockwood, 2010).

These influences result in power being distributed across multiple organizations and individuals with some previously centralized functions increasingly devolved to ‘lower’ governance levels. It is within this broad climate of emerging concerns for efficiency and equity that the new governance awareness about protected areas and the policy innovations that it introduced can best be understood. Here, the ‘type’ and ‘quality’ of protected area governance are the two major topics of such policy innovations (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Types of governance for protected areas. Four main types of governance were accepted by conservation and development practitioners beginning at the 5th IUCN World Parks Congress (2003), based on which party holds the main decision-making authority for the protected area and who is responsible and can be held accountable for it: government protected areas; co-managed protected areas; private protected areas; and indigenous/community conserved areas (ICCAs) (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Government protected areas. In this type of governance, a governing body such as a ministry or a park agency reporting directly to the government, holds the authority, responsibility and accountability for managing the protected area, and determines its conservation objectives (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories) and management rules. Reflecting the trend towards increased decentralization, more and more sub-national or municipal governing bodies have assumed responsibility of the management of protected areas. In most cases, the government owns the protected area land and its resources or implements different strategies of acquiring the land that needs to be protected. Once land is transferred to the state, landowners lose their rights to use of their land. In some cases, the state retains full landownership and/or

control of protected areas, but delegates their management to a parastatal organization, NGO or a private operator or community (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Co-managed protected areas. This more democratic type of governance model is becoming increasingly common. In this model, various actors together make and enforce decisions, employing complex processes and institutional mechanisms to share management authority and responsibility. The actors can be different levels of government authorities (from the national to the regional to the local level), representatives of indigenous peoples and local communities, user associations, private entrepreneurs and/or landowners. Actors recognize the legitimacy of their respective entitlements to manage the protected area and agree on subjecting it to a specific conservation objective (such as the ones who distinguish the IUCN categories) (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Two subtypes of co-management are *collaborative management* and *joint management*. In *collaborative management*, a national governmental agency, which acts as the formal decision-making authority, typically collaborates with other partners, such as indigenous groups or a local community. Collaborative management evolved as a formalized management strategy linking local communities and governments. Well-known cases of collaborative management have been established between Australian aborigines and the Australian government (Armitage, Berkes & Doubleday, 2007). Potential benefits of collaborative management include more appropriate, more efficient, and more equitable governance, and the improvement of numerous processes and functions of management. In *joint management*, various actors formally share decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability. For both subtypes, reaching consensus on protected area regulation and management matters results in a more successful partnership (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006). It should be noted that there is a continuum of

possible co-management arrangements in the degree of power sharing (Borrini-Feyerabend, Pimbert, Farvar, Kothari, & Renard, 2004).

Besides *collaborative management* and *joint management*, a more recently employed type of co-management of protected areas has been the *adaptive co-management* (Armitage et al., 2007). As the name implies, the adaptive co-management approach brings together aspects of adaptive management and co-management conservation approaches. Briefly, adaptive management is the implementation of policies as experiments. It promotes learning-by-doing in a scientific way to deal with uncertainty (Lee, 1999). The approach involves the integration of project or program planning, management and monitoring to provide a framework for testing assumptions, learning and adapting (FOS, 2008). Similar to Lindblom's (1959) successive limited comparisons, adaptive management can be described as an incremental and iterative process. The merging of *adaptive management* and *co-management* approaches as *adaptive co-management* may represent an important innovation in natural resource governance under conditions of change, uncertainty, and complexity (Armitage et al., 2007). Key features of adaptive co-management include a focus on learning-by-doing; integration of different knowledge systems; collaboration and power sharing among community, regional and national levels, and management flexibility (Olssen, Folke, & Berkes, 2004). Olssen, Folke and Berkes (2004) define adaptive co-management as flexible, community-based systems of resource management tailored to specific places and situations, and supported by and working with various organizations at different scales.

Private protected areas. In this type of governance, private landowners make and enforce decisions. A private protected area refers to a land parcel owned by individuals, communities, corporations or NGOs and managed for biodiversity conservation with or without formal

government recognition. Landowners can pursue conservation objectives because of their sense of respect for the land or their desire to maintain its beauty and ecological value. Utilitarian purposes, such as gaining revenue from ecotourism, can be additional incentives or even the ultimate aim. In all cases, landowners hold authority for managing the protected land and resources (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Indigenous/Community-Conserved Areas (ICCAs). In many parts of the world, indigenous people and local communities have been conserving their natural and cultural resources for centuries with their own sustainable use methods. Over thousands of years, human populations around the globe have adapted their lifestyles and livelihood strategies to the challenges and opportunities presented to them by their surrounding natural environment. They have managed, modified, often conserved, and even enriched their environments. In many cases, community interaction with the environment has generated a sort of symbiosis, which is sometimes referred to in the literature as ‘bio-cultural units’ or ‘cultural landscapes/seascapes.’ These communities have interacted with their environment in pursuit of a variety of objectives and values (spiritual, religious, security related, survival related). Even though they have not intentionally conserved biodiversity, their interaction with their environment resulted in the conservation of ecosystems, species and ecosystem-related values. In this sense ICCAs comprise “natural and modified ecosystems including significant biodiversity and ecological and cultural values voluntarily conserved by indigenous, mobile and local communities through customary laws or other effective means.” In ICCAs, authority and responsibility rests with the communities through a variety of forms of ethnic governance or locally agreed upon organizations and rules. These forms and rules of customary law can be very diverse and extremely complex. For example, land and/or some resources may be community owned and

managed, but other resources may be individually owned and managed, or managed on a clan basis (Baird and Dearden, 2003). Different communities may also have rights over the same lands at different times. In general, ICCAs depend upon the willingness of governments to allow communities manage their land. In this sense, the territorial reserves of indigenous peoples living in voluntary isolation represent a unique ICCA example (Borrini-Feyerabend, Pimbert, Farvar, Kothari, & Renard, 2004; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

The global protected area framework. International protected area organizations and programs have played a central role in developing best practice standards and strategies for conserving natural and cultural resources. International efforts have also increased national governments' awareness of the need for protected areas, facilitating the creation of communication networks among national programs. This has enabled the establishment of several major international institutions, conventions, and agreements that have assisted in developing worldwide conservation efforts. Among these international organizations and efforts are the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and its World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA), and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The IUCN's WCPA seeks to promote the establishment and effective management of a worldwide representative network of terrestrial and marine protected areas (Lockwood, 2006).

IUCN's framework of protected areas. In the early 1970s, the IUCN was documenting growth in the number and extent of protected areas. However the collection and analysis of

information about these areas revealed confusion over the meaning of terms such as *national park* and *natural reserve*. Thus, the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas decided to develop a system for categorizing protected areas. In 1978, ten categories were proposed based on management objectives. Phillips (2007) points out that these early categories, such as *national park*, *strict nature reserve*, *fauna and flora reserve*, and *reserve with prohibition for hunting and collecting*, reflect the “pristine nature without any human presence” approach to conservation of the time with little regard for the rights of local communities, living within the boundaries of protected areas. Over the next two decades, the IUCN categorization of protected areas transformed into one that recognizes the importance of community involvement in the management of protected areas. This six-category system of protected areas was published in the *Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories* in 1994 (IUCN, 1994) (see Table 1).

The *Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories* were developed to create a common understanding of protected areas both within and between countries, and remains the basis for the international classification of protected areas. It therefore facilitates uniform national reporting and inter-jurisdictional comparisons. A central principle of the guidelines for the selection and management of each category is that categories should be defined by the objectives of management, rather than the conservation importance of an area or the effectiveness of management in meeting those objectives (IUCN, 1994). For each category, the IUCN guidelines provide the following elements:

- A definition that outlines the broad biophysical and cultural characteristics and the overall management objectives for each category;
- Management objectives that give more detail on specific management issues, such as indigenous and local use, resource use, public access and recreation; and

- Guidance for selection that specifies the parameters that should be considered when designating a protected area to a category, such as size and naturalness.

Table 1

IUCN Protected Area Categories

<i>Category Number</i>	<i>Category Title</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
1a	Strict nature reserve	Protected area managed mainly for science
1b	Wilderness area	Protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection
II	National park	Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation
III	Natural monument	Protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features
IV	Habitat/species management area	Protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention
V	Protected landscape/seascape	Protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation
VI	Managed resource protected areas	Protected areas managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems

Note. Adapted from IUCN (1994)

The land and resources in any of the six categories can be owned and/or directly managed, alone or in combination, by government agencies, NGOs, communities and private parties. The lower the category number, the more restrictions apply to human actions (Lockwood et al., 2006).

Category I areas represent the most pristine or ‘untouched’ natural environments. They are the most strictly protected class of protected area, with human intervention generally restricted to scientific research and low-intensity passive (non-motorized) recreation. Category II areas represent archetypal national parks similar to the U.S. National Parks. These parks

generally exhibit a high degree of ‘naturalness,’ but they often allow for higher levels of human use than Category I areas, particularly with respect to tourism and associated infrastructure and facilities. Categories III and IV are designed to protect a more specific, limited range of values than Categories I and II. Consistent with the conservation of these values, they may also allow for a greater degree of human intervention than Categories I and II (Lockwood, 2006).

Categories V and VI are less strictly protected areas that specifically regard human’s use of natural resources and their interaction with their natural environments. These two categories reflect an increased worldwide trend towards recognizing indigenous peoples’ and local communities’ rights and their sustainable use of natural resources.

According to the World Database on Protected Areas’ (WDPA) 2009 records, 15% of the total number of protected areas, and approximately 35% of the total area of protected areas with IUCN status are Category V and VI reserves. These figures suggest a trend in the recognition of community rights in the management of natural resources. It should however be mentioned that the use of these protected area categories has been the subject of considerable debate. While supporters advocate for their importance within the protected area system, opponents have criticized their inclusion, arguing that such protected area categories do not give sufficient weight to biodiversity conservation (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006; Lockwood, 2006).

A further point to mention is that surrounding social, economic and political factors influence protected areas and their inhabitants. There is a growing trend among conservation and development practitioners to adopt a more comprehensive approach to protected area governance. This approach includes fine-tuning the prohibitions enforced within protected areas to ecological needs, and allowing all human activities compatible with conservation; evaluating economic growth and development processes in and around protected areas, especially those that

threaten ecosystem integrity or wildlife populations; building the capacity of stakeholders, particularly local or indigenous communities; empowering local stakeholders to play an active role in governing protected areas and providing incentives through benefit-sharing; and providing sufficient support, including financial support, towards ecological and socioeconomic goals (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006).

Quality of protected area governance. Another significant factor in balancing the protection and use of resources is the quality of governance of protected areas. Good protected area governance requires an understanding of what is meant by 'good governance' and the development of associated mechanisms to assess performance and provide a basis for improvement (Lockwood, 2010). Improving the quality of governance requires establishing criteria, principles and values to guide action; however, Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2006) comment that not much research has been done on this subject. Lockwood (2010) argues that the reason for this is the acceptance among conservation and development practitioners that good protected area governance requires a multi-level and collaborative approach that makes novel demands on governance institutions and policy.

Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2006) report that principles for good protected area governance were first laid out during the 5th IUCN World Parks Congress. Inspired by the UNDP's principles of good governance and sustainable human development, the principles reflect this organization's concern for human rights and the promotion of public involvement in environmental governance (UNDP, 1997).⁴ These principles recommend that both protected

⁴ As stated in UNDP (1997), *good governance* is "participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources." In the same source *human development* is defined as "expanding the choices for all people in society. This means that men and women – particularly the poor and

area systems and individual protected areas engage in participatory governance evaluation processes (Abrams, Borrini-Feyerabend, Gardner, & Heylings, 2003; Graham et al., 2003). Borrini-Feyerabend et al., (2006) point out that this is probably the best approach, as only the relevant social actors can fully understand and define what constitutes good governance in a given situation. Proposed governance principles for protected areas are listed in Table 2.

To provide guidance for governance quality assessment, and in response to the need for appropriate methods to evaluate the effectiveness of protected area governance, Lockwood (2010) developed a framework for protected area governance evaluation, based on the Hockings et al. (2006) management effectiveness framework. Lockwood (2010) suggests that such a framework should explicitly relate to management effectiveness. Thus, governance assessment and management effectiveness are linked in his framework through the notion of *governance effectiveness*, constructed as a combination of governance quality, institutional capacity and a supportive context (see Figure 1).

vulnerable – are at the center of the development process. It also means ‘protection of the life opportunities of future generations ... and ... the natural systems on which all life depends.’ This makes the central purpose of development the creation of an enabling environment in which all can enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.”

Table 2

Proposed Governance Principles for Protected Areas based on UNDP (1997)

<i>Governance principles from Graham et al. (2003)</i>	<i>The United Nations principles upon which the governance principles are based</i>
Legitimacy and voice	<p><i>Participation</i>: all men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.</p> <p><i>Consensus orientation</i>: good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.</p> <p><i>Subsidiarity</i>: this is not a UN principle but a principle of the European Union (EU), stating that decisions should be taken at the level closest to the issues at stake taking into account relevant capacities.</p>
Equity	<p><i>Equity</i>: all men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing.</p> <p><i>Rule of law</i>: legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.</p>
Direction	<p><i>Strategic vision</i>: leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.</p> <p><i>Embracing complexities</i>: the historical, cultural and social complexities in which the long-term perspective is grounded are understood and taken into account effectively</p>
Performance	<p><i>Responsiveness</i>: institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders</p> <p><i>Effectiveness and efficiency</i>: processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.</p>
Accountability	<p><i>Accountability</i>: decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organization and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.</p> <p><i>Transparency</i>: transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.</p>

Note. Table adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2006)

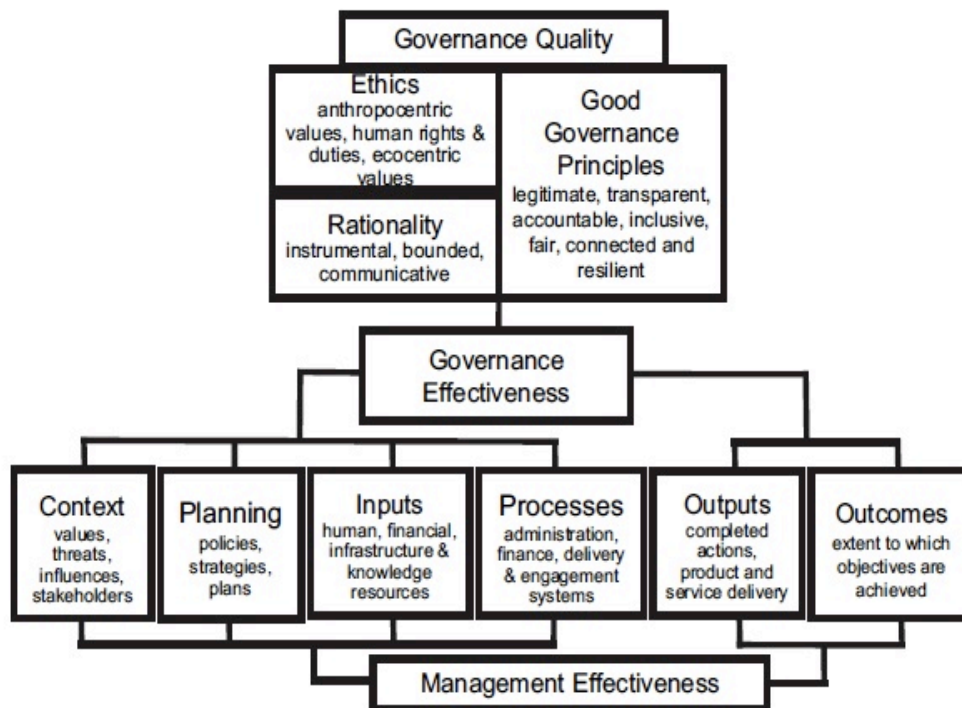


Figure 1. Framework for Governance Effectiveness based on Lockwood (2010). Ethics, Rationality, and Good Governance Principles play a leading role in the Governance Quality and therefore the Management Effectiveness.

With the help of this framework and based on ethical and rational considerations, reviews of governance principles from a variety of contexts, an expert panel process, and field tests with natural resource management (NRM) and protected area governance authorities, Lockwood (2010) characterized good protected area governance according to a set of seven principles: legitimacy, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, fairness, connectivity and resilience. The framework, governance principles, and related performance outcomes provide a platform for assessment of governance quality for an individual terrestrial protected area, a network of several protected areas, or a national protected area system (see Table 3).

Table 3

Good Governance Principles and Performance Outcomes based on Lockwood (2010)

<i>Principle</i>	<i>Outcome</i>
Legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governing body is conferred with a legal or democratically mandated authority • Stakeholders freely accept governing body's authority • Governing body has long-standing cultural attachment to some or all of the lands within the protected area • Governing body acts in accordance with its mandate and purpose of the protected area(s) • Governors act with integrity and commitment
Transparency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance and decision making is open to scrutiny by stakeholders • Reasoning behind decisions is evident • Achievements and failures are evident • Information is presented in forms appropriate to stakeholders' needs
Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governing body and personnel have clearly defined roles and responsibilities • Governing body demonstrates acceptance of its responsibilities • Governing body is answerable to its constituency ('downward' accountability) • Governing body is subject to 'upward' accountability • Levels at which power is exercised (local, sub-national, national, international) match scale of associated rights, needs, issues and values
Inclusiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All stakeholders have appropriate opportunities to participate in governing body's processes and actions • Governing body actively seeks to engage marginalized and disadvantaged stakeholders
Fairness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholders, office-bearers and staff are heard and treated with respect • There is reciprocal respect between governors from higher and lower level authorities • Decisions are made consistently and without bias • Indigenous peoples' and human rights are respected • Intrinsic value of nature is respected • The distribution (intra- and intergenerational) of benefits and costs of decisions and actions are identified and taken into account
Connectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governing body effectively connected with governing bodies at different levels of governance • Governing body effectively connected with governing bodies operating at same governance level • Governing body's direction and actions consistent with directions set by higher-level governance authorities
Resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governing body has a culture of intentionally learning from experience and absorbing new knowledge • Governing body has flexibility to rearrange its internal processes and procedures in response to changing internal or external conditions • Formal mechanisms provide long-term security tenure and purpose for the protected area(s) • Governing body utilizes adaptive planning and management processes • Governing body has procedures to identify, assess, and manage risk

Protected area governance in Turkey. The Turkish government has been the sole governing body of the country's protected areas, thus all protected areas in Turkey are 'government protected areas.' The Turkish Republic has a highly centralized governance system, also reflected in the governance of conservation and protected areas. Decentralization and more autonomous regional/local governments have always been a sensitive issue mainly because of political concerns. As a consequence of persistent regional socioeconomic inequality and pressures from the European Commission (EC), and other organizations such as the UNDP and the WB towards decentralization, the government has taken steps towards allocating more autonomy to the local level of governance.

NGOs (domestic and international) and universities have been active in conservation efforts, but not involved in official protected area governance and/or management. These parties have been involved in the implementation of conservation projects, awareness raising and capacity-building efforts, and providing consultancy services for the government. International organizations, such as UNESCO, the UNDP and the EC, have also been involved in conservation. UNESCO has been governing ten World Heritage Sites and a Biosphere Reserve (BR) in Turkey. The UNDP recently implemented a conservation and development project, the Eastern Anatolia Tourism Development Project, in Eastern Anatolia. The aim of the project was both the conservation of local heritage resources and local economic development through increased tourism. An overarching purpose was to diminish socioeconomic disparities between Turkey's eastern and western regions. The private sector's involvement in conservation efforts has been limited. However, more and more large, well-known companies are getting involved in conservation efforts mainly through sponsorship, particularly those initiated by international NGOs or development organizations.

Institutional and legal framework. Two ministries, the Ministry of the Environment and Forestry (MEF) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) are the main governing bodies of conservation in Turkey. Under the MEF, three agencies, the General Directorate for Nature Conservation and National Parks (GDNCNP), the General Directorate for Forestry (GDF), and the Environmental Protection Agency for Special Areas (EPASA) are responsible for governing and managing eleven different protected area designations. Under the MCT, the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (GDCHM) has been primarily in charge of cultural heritage resources governance and management. While the MEF's task has been primarily the conservation of biodiversity and natural heritage resources and the governance/management of nature-protected areas, the MCT's responsibility has been principally the conservation of cultural heritage resources and the governance/management of culture-protected areas.⁵

Conservation of biodiversity and natural heritage resources. The MEF's mission is the governance of nature conservation, wetlands and wildlife management, and the management of protected areas under Law No. 2872 on Environment, and Law No. 2873 on National Parks. The main unit within the MEF responsible for governing and managing protected areas is the GDNCNP. The MEF's GDF also plays an important role in protecting the nation's forests in and outside of protected areas. The MEF also has responsibility for controlling and managing hunting

⁵ During the final stages of this study, in July 2011, organizational and legislative changes to protected area governance were implemented after the re-election of the political party AKP during general elections in 2011. The MEF was split into two ministries: the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, and the Ministry of Forestry and Water Works. The roles of the former MEF were transferred to the Ministry of Forestry and Water Works. This new organizational structure also introduced legislative changes, and the MCT's decision-making power over its protected sites designation was transferred to the MEF. This legislative change means a loss of power of the independent RCCs. Instead, a commission within the MEF will take on decision-making power over all nature-protected areas. It is suspected by a large group of Turkish conservation professionals that the commission will act in line with the interests of the pro-development mindset of high-ranking ministry officials. Officials of both ministries remarked that particularly strict conservation status had been relatively effective in preventing development to encroach on valuable habitats. But with a shift in power, these areas will likely become open to large-scale infrastructure development such as dam construction.

practices under Law No. 4915 on Hunting. Working under Law No. 2873 on National Parks, the MEF's GDNCNP governs and manages Nature Reserve Areas, National Parks, Nature Parks, and Natural Monuments.

Law No. 2873 on National Parks protects terrestrial protected areas, while marine and coastal areas are protected under the Regulation on Special Environmental Protection Areas (SEPAs). Governed and managed by the MEF's EPASA, SEPAs are areas of international ecological importance, particularly sensitive to pollution and natural resource degradation. These areas are protected under a regulation based on the 1976 Barcelona Convention for Protection against Pollution in the Mediterranean Sea. Since the establishment of the EPASA in 1989, 15 SEPAs have been established (OECD, 2008).⁶

Aside from these protected area statuses, the MEF also governs and manages the following designations: Wildlife Conservation Areas; Protected Forest Areas, Genetic Conservation Forests, Seed Stands, and Ramsar Wetland Areas. In addition, the ministry manages UNESCO's Biosphere Reserve in the northeast of Turkey. Table 4 provides a complete list of all protected area categories in Turkey.

Turkey's protected area system was established based on the IUCN's universal framework for establishing protected areas. There are currently a total of 235 protected areas that have corresponding IUCN categories. These cover about 5.3% (40,342 km²) of the country's territory, double the territory protected in 1990. However, this share of protected land is well below the 10% target set for 2010 by world governments including the Turkish government, through the CBD (OECD, 2008). In addition to protected areas that have corresponding IUCN

⁶ Retrieved on October 18, 2011 from the Environmental Protection Agency for Special Area's website: <http://www.ozelcevre.gov.tr/Default.aspx>

categories, 3.1% of Turkey's terrestrial area is protected by the MEF's additional protected area categories mentioned above (GDF, 2009).

Table 4

Turkey's Protected Areas as of March 2012

<i>Type of Protected Area</i>	<i>Corresponding IUCN category</i>	<i>Governing Institution</i>	<i>Number of sites</i>	<i>Size of Area ('000 ha)</i>	<i>% Total Area</i>
Nature Reserve Areas	I	MEF	31	47	0.08
National Parks	II	MEF	41	879	1.10
Nature Parks	V	MEF	42	81	0.10
Natural Monuments	III	MEF	106	6	0.01
SEPAs	IV	MEF	15	775	1.54
Ramsar Wetland Areas		MEF	13	195	0.25
Protected Forest Areas		MEF	57	395	0.51
Genetic Conservation Forests		MEF	214	32	0.04
Seed Stands		MEF	339	46	0.06
Wildlife Conservation Areas		MEF	81	1227	1.58
Natural Sites		MCT	1272		
Archaeological Sites		MCT	10132		
Historic Site		MCT	153		
Urban Site		MCT	248		
Urban Archaeological Site		MCT	31		
Other sites (overlapping)		MCT	436		
World Heritage Sites		UNESCO	10		
Biosphere Reserves		UNESCO	1		

Note. Data retrieved from the MEF, MCT, and UNESCO's online resources.

Conservation and use strategies for the protected areas governed and managed by the MEF are outlined in *long-term management plans*. Any development of recreational and/or tourism infrastructure must meet the requirements laid out in these plans, and must be approved by responsible governing bodies. However, the majority of protected areas lacked adequate long-term management plans for years after their designation. As of the end of 2011, long-term management plans had been developed for two-thirds of national parks, half of nature parks, and a third of SEPAs. But even if parks had long-term management plans, the implementation of

strategies laid out in these plans was not carried out properly or entirely lacking. Enforcement of restricted activities has been almost absent, and in many cases, generally lacked resources and qualified staff (Şekercioğlu et al., 2011).

Conservation of cultural heritage resources. The MCT primarily governs and manages the conservation of cultural heritage. The framework for conservation was laid out in Law No. 2863 (1983) on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, and has been amended several times.⁷ Amendments have broadened responsibilities at the local level as part of structural reforms for increased decentralization. For example, in 2004, municipalities became the responsible bodies to preserve and restore historic buildings, implement conservation plans, and provide guidance and assistance to the public. Amendments also require collaboration with professional organizations, NGOs, universities and encourage active public participation in the process of conservation.

Broadly, the Ministry's GDCHM is in charge of cultural heritage resources governance and management. It coordinates the tasks of 34 Regional Councils for Conservation (RCCs) acting in various parts of the country, that answer to the Superior Council for Conservation (SCC) (S. Eren, personal communication).

The SCC determines guiding principles for the conservation and restoration of immovable cultural and natural property, establishes coordination between RCCs, and assists the Ministry in the implementation of principles. RCCs are autonomous groups of experts from a variety of fields such as archaeology, architecture, art history and urban planning. While not affiliated with the Ministry, experts are appointed by it. Experts from related governmental institutions also take part as members. The councils are the decision-making bodies on issues of

⁷ Information on legislation was retrieved from <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr>.

conservation at the regional level, but decisions are made in accordance with the principles of the SCC. Major responsibilities of the RCCs include registering and classifying cultural and natural assets to be conserved, deciding on amendments requested on management plans, determining the boundaries of areas with cultural and/or natural heritage resources in need of protection, deciding on the level of conservation of cultural and natural monuments, and determining the registered status of cultural and natural heritage resources that have lost their conservation value.⁸ The RCCs supervise the five categories of protected sites (Table 5).⁹

Table 5

Protected Sites Governed and Managed by the MCT

<i>Category</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Archaeological Sites	Areas (of settlement) that display above ground, underground or underwater cultural assets, dating back to civilizations from prehistoric to more recent times
Natural Sites	Natural heritage areas, above ground or underwater, that, due to their rarity, certain special characteristics, or aesthetic appearance are of exceptional value
Historic Sites	Areas that need to be protected with their surrounding natural setting, because of their importance in national history
Urban Sites	Areas that display integrity in their fabric as a result of a harmonious combination of urban form, traditional characteristics, artistic and architectural style. These areas also reflect a specific period's socioeconomic, socio-cultural structure and life style
Urban Archaeological Sites	Areas that display a combination of an archaeological and urban fabric

Note. Retrieved from the MCT's website: <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr>

⁸ Local directorates of the RCCs implement technical and administrative tasks.

⁹ The term 'site' (translated into Turkish as 'sit') was adopted by the MCT, based on the UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), where a 'site' was defined as "works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view." The MCT adopted this definition for its archaeological sites, but also used the term for natural, historic and urban contexts. The term 'site' is used here to differentiate MCT governed protected areas from those governed by the MEF.

As they are the focus of this study, natural and archaeological sites are examined below in more detail. Natural and archaeological sites can have first-, second- or third-degree protection status, depending on the conservation value of the resources. First-degree sites can only be used for scientific purposes, and thus need to be preserved. Any type of intervention or new construction is forbidden. Second-degree sites allow renovation (in case there are inhabitants) and the construction of recreational and basic infrastructure, however only with special permission by RCCs. Third-degree sites allows construction within the framework and conservation principles of conservation-intentioned development plans inspected and approved by RCCs. RCCs determine first-, second- or third-degree protection status and protected area boundaries based on professional officials' field reports. All technical and administrative work in support of RCCs is the responsibility of governmental officials working for the provincial conservation offices of the Ministry.

In Turkey, it is very common that different protected area categories overlap. For example, many archaeological sites are situated in a natural habitat of exceptional value. The MCT governs and manages a total of 419 sites with overlapping protected site status. But there are also many cases where protected area designations governed and managed by the two ministries, MCT and the MEF, overlap. Such overlaps generally impact local residents, as they slow down formal procedures as a result of power conflicts among agencies.

Protected Areas and Their Socioeconomic Impacts

Overview of studies. Studies on the impacts of protected areas on the social and economic wellbeing of human populations living in or adjacent to protected areas have been relatively recent. There has been increased concern for the consequences of protected area designation on human populations in the last decade, particularly because of a rise in the number

of cases of rights violations of inhabitants of protected areas. Depending on the type of protected area designation, that is the level of restrictions, the quality of protected area governance and management, and local environmental, economic, and social conditions, the establishment of protected areas has led to various consequences for human inhabitants (West & Brockington, 2006).

A widespread concern is that protected areas will reduce local economic welfare by restricting land use choices and restricting community development opportunities, thus increasing poverty. Apart from safeguarding ecosystem services such as water supplies, non-timber forest products, or the regeneration of fish stocks on which local economies depend, protected areas might increase local incomes by generating a new tourism sector, new local job and business opportunities, or new infrastructure investment by central governments (Sims, 2010).

The literature on the socioeconomic impacts of protected areas focuses primarily on forest protected areas in tropical countries. This is due to a widespread concern for global warming as a result of deforestation, forest degradation, and a concern for the loss of biodiversity caused by human actions. Based on the likelihood that the majority of protected areas inhabit human populations, it may be inferred that protected area establishment in one way or another impacts millions of inhabitants. While some conservation and development practitioners believe that the establishment of protected areas should not harm the lives of human inhabitants, others believe that protected areas should actually contribute to the wellbeing of inhabitants by reducing poverty and fostering socioeconomic development (Coad et al., 2008).

Studies on the socioeconomic impacts of protected areas have examined both the perceived and actual negative (costs) and positive impacts (benefits) of protected area

establishment on local livelihoods. Various studies have tried to quantify the net impact of protected areas on local inhabitant communities. Studies have also looked into the distribution of the positive and negative impacts of protected areas among different groups of community members. Furthermore, attitudinal studies have focused on how inhabitants perceive the establishment of protected areas, as well as protected area governance and management.

Perhaps the most serious negative impact discussed in the literature is the displacement of inhabitant communities. It is estimated that since 1970 between 900,000 and 14.4 million protected area inhabitants have been displaced Geisler (2003a, 2003b). Brockington and Igoe (2006) found that most of this displacement happened in African, South and South East Asian, and North American countries having top-down, strict government control. Fewer cases were documented in South and Central America, Europe, countries of the former Soviet Union, Australia, and most of the Caribbean and Pacific.

Displacement of communities due to the establishment of protected areas can have serious consequences on people's wellbeing such as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property, and social disarticulation (Cernea, 1997). While it is widely accepted among conservationists that a reduction in human population density within protected areas can reduce pressure on species and ecosystems, the literature reports cases where the displacement of local people has resulted in negative effects for protected areas. Igoe (2004) reports the negative consequences of displaced Maasai herding communities on the park ecosystem of the Tarangire National Park in Tanzania, and explains that Western national park-style conservation can be incompatible with East African savanna ecosystems and Maasai resource management practices. A recent study by Robson and Berkes (2011, p. 844) in Mexico's Oaxaca State also showed that

when farmers abandoned their farmlands to seek jobs in urban areas, this resulted in “a gradual loss of the forest-agriculture mosaic, leading to localized declines in biodiversity, despite (or because of) extensive forest resurgence.”

Furthermore, displaced inhabitants can hold negative attitudes or even resentment towards conservation and protected area management. For example, Hulme (1997) reports that in Uganda families allowed resettling in the Lake Mburo National Park in 1986 following their eviction in 1983, feared being re-evicted and thus killed the wildlife in the park in order to eliminate the park’s conservation value. In addition, displaced people, who farm or graze cattle, often exert more pressure on the land where they have been relocated, causing a faster degradation of the lands surrounding a protected area. Another risk is that a scarcity of land can cause farmers to switch to more intensive agricultural techniques or crops. This can have serious consequences on the quality of the soil, leading local people to grow less-nutrient demanding crops, which also have less nutritional value (Coad et al., 2008).

Other negative consequences of protected areas can be changes in the human inhabitants’ rights to use their land, restricted access to resources people depend on, and human-wildlife conflicts that happen because of increasing human populations encroaching on the habitats of wildlife. Positive impacts of protected areas can be listed as the safeguarding of ecosystem services; and benefits directly gained from the management structure of protected areas, such as tourism, payments for ecosystem services, Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs), and protection from external threats (Coad et al., 2008). However, the negative impacts (costs) of protected area establishments to local livelihoods have gained more attention over the last decade or so, as a result of the serious consequences faced by communities in different parts of the world (Brechin et al., 2002).

Relevant literature. After having provided an overview of the studies on the local impacts of protected areas, the most relevant literature can be outlined as follows:

1. Protected area governance and socioeconomic impacts;
2. Protected areas, tourism, and local livelihoods;
3. The distribution of positive and negative impacts of protected areas; and
4. Protected areas, tourism and local socioeconomic impacts in Turkey.

Protected area governance and socioeconomic impacts. Studies that address protected area governance with respect to the wellbeing of inhabitant human populations have been scarce. This might be related to the fact that protected area governance has only recently gained attention by the international conservation and development community, and the development of principles and criteria that would help improve protected area governance is still continuing (Lockwood et al., 2006; Lockwood, 2010).

The emerging literature on the social impacts of protected area governance has examined cases of UNESCO governed BRs' in Europe and other regions; protected areas that are part of the EC Natura 2000 network; and country-specific protected area designations.^{10,11} Studies have

¹⁰ The concept of Biosphere Reserves (BRs) was developed within UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme. BRs are nominated by national governments, and assessed by a UNESCO Advisory Committee for Biosphere Reserves. These protected areas serve to combine three functions: 1) a conservation function to preserve genetic resources, species, ecosystems and landscapes; 2) a development function to foster sustainable economic and human development; and 3) a logistic support function to support demonstration projects, environmental education and training, and research and monitoring related to local, national and global issues of conservation and sustainable development. Retrieved on August 2, 2011 from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/man-and-biosphere-programme>

¹¹ The Natura 2000 Networking Programme is the centerpiece of EU nature and biodiversity policy. It is a EU-wide network of nature protection areas established under the 1992 Habitats Directive, which (together with the Birds Directive) forms the cornerstone of Europe's nature conservation policy. The aim is to assure the long-term survival of Europe's most valuable and threatened species and habitats. The network comprises Special Areas of Conservation (SAC) designated by Member States under the Habitats Directive, and Special Protection Areas (SPAs), designated under the 1979 Birds Directive. Natura 2000 is not a system of strict nature reserves where all human activities are excluded. Most of the protected land is privately owned, and the goal is to ensure that future management is sustainable, both ecologically and economically. Retrieved on August 2, 2011 from http://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/index_en.htm

therefore been highly context-specific in nature, however a number of overarching and universal issues arise.

As laid out in the earlier background section, the importance of pluralist solutions and a consideration of human rights in conservation and protected area governance is being widely accepted by the international conservation and development community (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995; Berkes, 2007; Paavola, 2007; Lookwood et al., 2006). Besides these major points, the literature on the social impacts of protected area governance highlights the following issues (Schliep & Stoll-Kleemann, 2010; Méndez-Contreras, Dickinson, & Castillo-Burguete, 2008; Dimitrakopoulos et al., 2010; Evans, Brown, & Allison, 2011; Heylings & Bravo, 2007; Mbile et al., 2005; and Wallner, Bauer & Hunziker, 2007):

- Organizational and institutional inefficiencies and weaknesses (as well as ineffective policy coordination and insufficient park authorities) in protected area governance and management. For example, in the case of BRs, weak vertical linkages between the UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) institutions and national authorities;
- A lack of communication between governing bodies and the local level, and a lack of attention of governing bodies on community practices and economic potentials; and
- A lack of alternatives presented to local communities affected by protected area governance to improve their livelihoods.

In a study by on the Ría Celestún Biosphere Reserve in Mexico, Méndez-Contreras et al. (2008) addressed differences in understandings of the meaning of conservation, and a lack of communication on the use/non-use of resources between local community and governance officials. Community members reported that they did not understand why their use of resources

was prohibited, as these resources had sustained them for centuries. According to community members, the restrictions on the use of resources were unjustified. They also complained that reserve officers were not familiar with community problems and issues, and were not able to offer alternative livelihood opportunities as a compensation for restrictions in the use of BR resources.

The importance of sufficient and appropriately trained personnel, finances, and political backup in local implementation is also emphasized by Schliep & Stoll-Kleemann's (2010), who compared three BRs located in Central Europe and interviewed various stakeholders and levels of governance. The authors conclude that success in conservation in the context of BRs depends on the experts' ability to effectively communicate the MAB program's objectives to all concerned. The authors also noted that active participation greatly depends on the political culture and level of socioeconomic development.

More tangentially related to this study, but worth mentioning is a group of attitudinal studies that sought to assess protected area residents' and visitors' level of environmental awareness and their perceptions of the quality of protected area management. Studies of protected areas in Greece showed that residents were generally supportive of the establishment of protected areas, and presented relatively high levels of knowledge on environmental issues (Dimitrakopoulos et al., 2010). Residents were also sympathetic to forms of participatory management and the management of protected areas by local authorities, rather than the central government. There was also a tendency among respondents to support self-sufficiency of protected areas (Dimitrakopoulos et al., 2010).

Respondents of two protected areas in Italy did not show equal levels of support for protected area establishment (Bonaiuto, Carrus, Martorella, & Bonnes, 2002). Residents

involved in local economic activities showed more negative attitudes toward nature-protected areas and higher degrees of regional identity and place attachment than residents involved in ecological and pro-environmental activities. Vodouhê, Coulibaly, Adégbidi, & Sinsin (2010) stress the significance of knowing local residents' perceptions of park management to prevent potential conflict situations between local residents and park management. The authors argue that knowing resident perceptions could help park management staff to involve local communities more effectively and improve their awareness about conservation within the park.

Another group of studies attempted to investigate the more pluralistic and modern governance styles of adaptive governance, co-management, and adaptive co-management, respectively (Evans et al., 2011; Heylings & Bravo, 2007; and Mbile et al., 2005). These studies emphasize the potential “messiness” of organizational and institutional processes while transitioning from top-down governance systems to more pluralistic forms of governance (Evans et al. 2011). However, they indicate that with the right legal framework and institutional setup, it is possible to establish successful pluralistic forms of protected area governance over time (Heylings & Bravo, 2007).

When, for example, Evans et al. (2011) examined the potential for adaptive governance in two adjacent marine protected areas along the coast in southern Kenya, they concluded that adopting adaptive governance in Kenya or any other developing country context is unlikely to be an easy process of learning from and responding to environmental and social feedback in a context of constant change and uncertainty. Institutional, sociocultural and political factors influence each phase of both local and state decision-making. Traditional styles of governance will continue to dominate and will impinge on the potential for adaptive governance in the future. The study points out that in processes of governance reform towards more adaptive

management in developing country contexts, such institutional, sociocultural, and political issues would need to be addressed.

The functioning of co-management or participatory governance in practice was the subject of Heylings and Bravo's (2007) study that examined the co-management regime of the Galapagos Marine Reserve. With the institutionalization of the co-management process, i.e., its integration into the legal system, real change started to happen in the dominant governance paradigm for resource management in Ecuador. Therefore, an important lesson was the role the legal system played in institutionalizing the co-management process. The authors emphasize that this lesson could be transferred to other co-management initiatives as it proves to be a crucial factor in engineering institutional change and in maintaining the resilience and credibility of such innovative institutional arrangements.

The effectiveness of the progressive adaptive co-management regime in terms of both conservation and the social and economic wellbeing of inhabitant communities was examined in a national park in Cameroon by Mbile et al. (2005). Villagers were participating in the management of the national park and were allowed to use natural resources in order to maintain their livelihoods. The adaptive co-management scheme seemed to work for both residents and nature. However, the study noted the outward migration of park residents, which might have been an important factor in stabilizing natural resources within the park.

Changes in land use rights due to protected area establishment. Apart from restrictions on the use of resources, protected area designation generally comes with changes to land use rights of residents, which can have a significant impact on local land management. The nature of changes to land use rights may vary with the individual characteristics and management of each protected area.

For centuries, small communities around the world have had significant control over land or resource use (WRI, 2005). Landownership has been passed from one generation to the next and in many areas ownership has not been officially registered. Communities often develop unwritten rules of landownership and even establish their own laws concerning land use governed by traditional institutions that partition the ownership and use of local landscapes (Coad et al., 2008).

With protected area designation, land use rights are typically taken over by the governing body, in most cases the state. The power of community institutions to control land use is dissolved. Residents may lose their right to farm or build housing on their land or sell it to others. While countries may implement compensation programs for lost land use rights, unofficial landownership systems make it difficult for governments to implement these programs. In many cases, this may lead to serious consequences for the wellbeing of communities, as they may find it difficult to meet their housing needs for future generations.

The establishment of protected areas can also seriously impact protected area residents' traditional farming practices, as designation might reduce the amount of land available for agriculture or might allow certain farming could actually while restricting others. Reducing the amount of land available for farming could actually increase land degradation in smaller areas within, or bordering the protected area. This happens as farmers opt for more intensive agricultural methods, or may concentrate livestock on limited amounts of land (Bedunah & Schmidt, 2004). For example, a park program in Argentina asked residents to surrender their rights to grazing and abandon ranching in exchange for titles to smaller parcels of land within the park that could be used to serve tourism (Aagesen, 2000). Other programs may require for the

implementation of organic crop production practices and may restrict or ban the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides (Coad et al., 2008).

The loss of land use rights not only impacts the quality of lives of protected area residents, but may ultimately impact traditional community structures. Conflict within the community may follow, as some individuals may opt for the illegal use of land (Abakerli, 2001; Ostrom, 1990). Moreover, strict enforcement oftentimes leads to tensions between communities and protected area management, causing communities to act in protest or hatred (Méndez-Contreras et al., 2008).

According to Coad et al. (2008), it is likely that more restriction produces better conservation outcomes than less restriction. However, Bedunah & Schmidt (2004) argue that the transition from community to state control of protected area land without effective enforcement can lead to a situation whereby neither old nor new rules apply, resulting in destructive land use and negative livelihood consequences. More effective solutions are needed that balance conservation and land use such as socially ‘just’ compensation programs or protected area governance/management that allows the sustainable uses of land.

Protected areas, tourism and local livelihoods. The 5th IUCN World Parks Congress acknowledged that tourism and recreation provide considerable economic and social benefits to protected areas and their communities, creating a greater appreciation for cultural and natural heritage. In fact, Bushell, Staiff & Eagles (2007) argue that tourism in and around protected areas should be a tool for conservation, based on the following advantages tourism may bring to protected areas:

1. Tourism can be a tool to build support and raise awareness of many important ecological, cultural, sacred, spiritual, aesthetic, recreational and economic values of protected areas;

2. Tourism can generate much-needed income for the conservation of protected area resources;
3. Tourism has the potential to contribute to the quality of life of local communities, supporting their rituals and traditions, and recognizing local traditional ecological knowledge;
4. Tourism within protected areas can provide employment for local inhabitants, and a market for local goods and services;
5. Tourism also generally leads to improvements in infrastructure, health facilities, as well as awareness, and education for the provision of ecosystem services such as clean water and air. All of these may positively impact inhabitant communities. These benefits can result in positive attitudes toward conservation; and
6. Tourism can also significantly decrease illegal activity such as illegal logging or the collection of resources within protected areas, due to increased security measures taken by protected area management, and visitors frequenting previously desolate areas.

Therefore, tourism seems to be an ideal tool for accomplishing the twin goals of conservation and livelihood improvements in protected area contexts. The IUCN classification system permits tourism in all categories of protected areas except *Strict Nature Reserves* (Category Ia), which only allow the scientific use of resources (Scherl & Edwards, 2007). However, it is also crucial that protected area governance and management carefully monitor tourism, and be aware of the degree to which tourism development can be allowed in specific protected area contexts (Bushell & Eagles, 2007). Uncontrolled and poorly managed tourism can result in over visitation and the excessive development of tourism infrastructure, causing irreparable damage to protected area resources and negatively impacting the wellbeing of local

communities (Nepal, 2002). Thus, tourism planning and management must take place with sufficient understanding and respect for social and cultural contexts (Furze et al., 1996; Honey, 1999; Pedersen, 2002). Conservation and development practitioners agree that the ultimate goal should be a specifically designed form of tourism in content, modes of transport, accommodation, activities undertaken, and associated services in order to make a positive contribution to the protection of natural and cultural heritage and to local communities, as well as providing an educational role for the public (Bushell et al., 2007).

The concept of sustainable tourism, and with it alternative tourism research, emerged as a response to mass tourism starting in the 1980s. By this time, tourism was increasingly regarded as an industry that had not always operated with the best interests of local people and the resource base in mind. The concept of sustainable tourism demands that all tourism, recreation, and leisure activities comply with the principles of sustainability. The purpose is to ensure that tourism policies should no longer concentrate on economic and technical necessities alone, but rather emphasize the demand for an unspoiled environment and consideration of the needs of local people. This ‘softer’ approach places natural and cultural resources at the forefront of planning and development, instead of as an afterthought (Fennell, 2008).

The alternative tourism sphere comprises two types of tourism, socio-cultural tourism and ecotourism. Socio-cultural tourism includes, for example, rural or farm tourism, where a large portion of the touristic experience is founded upon the cultural milieu that corresponds to the environment in which farms operate. As an extension or outgrowth of alternative tourism, ecotourism has grown as a consequence of the dissatisfaction with conventional forms of tourism, which have, in a general sense, ignored social and ecological elements of destinations in

favor of more anthropocentric and profit-centered approaches to the delivery of tourism products (Fennell, 2008).

Ecotourism involves a type of tourism that is less socio-cultural in its orientation and more dependent upon nature and natural resources as the primary component or motivator of the trip. Ecotourism has been widely championed as an ideal form of tourism within and around protected areas. Fennell (2001), drawing on 85 separate definitions of the term ecotourism and his personal experiences, developed the following definition: “Ecotourism is a sustainable, non-invasive form of nature-based tourism that focuses primarily on learning about nature first-hand, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally oriented (control, benefits and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas, and should contribute to the conservation of such areas.”

Bushell et al. (2007) observe that the relationship between tourism development and the conservation of natural heritage resources is stronger today than in the past given the greater emphasis internationally, nationally and locally on sustainable tourism practices. However, governance and management issues regarding tourism still persist in protected area contexts, including a lack of training, capacity, capital, and rapid decision-making among community and protected area partners. In addition, conflicts at the local community level caused by envy, dominant community members, and challenges faced in terms of authority to make decisions also affect the implementation of successful tourism practices. Scherl and Edwards (2007) stress the participation of local and indigenous communities in all stages of tourism development. They argue that the further a tourism development model diverges from genuine community participation, the more likely it is that most positive impacts would be accrued outside the local area, and most negative impacts borne locally.

Among the literature on protected areas, tourism and resident communities, several studies investigate the links between protected area governance, tourism and livelihoods. On a broad level, these studies confirm the view that tourism development within protected areas can lead to positive socioeconomic outcomes for local and indigenous inhabitants, given the successful implementation of governance and management that includes residents in decision-making (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999; Liu, J., Ouyang, Z., & Miao, H., 2010; Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Pessis & Guidon, 2007; Sims, 2010). On a more specific level, these studies emphasize the following issues related to tourism and development in protected area contexts:

- The importance of *institutional* structures that make it possible for residents to participate in protected area management (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011);
- The *quality of protected area management* and the extent to which investments in tourism infrastructure are made within the protected area (Sims, 2010);
- *Institutional mechanisms* which help local communities benefit from tourism, such as training courses in touristic guiding or providing lodging (Sims, 2010);
- *Community development* or *capacity-building* in all phases of the planning and establishment of protected areas (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999);
- A healthy *dialogue* and *partnership* between local communities and park management (Fortin & Gagnon, 1999); and
- *Fostering awareness* among local inhabitant communities of natural and cultural resources through education to ensure conservation (Pessis & Guidon, 2007).

An early study by Fortin & Gagnon (1999) looked into the socioeconomic impacts of tourism at two national parks in Quebec (Canada) using a social impact assessment method. The authors identified impacts on resource management, the local economy, the tourism industry, on

the involvement and participation of local actors, and on the social organization of neighboring communities. The significance of these impacts varied according to the community and the actors involved, and the results point to the fundamental role of the government, and park management in particular, in the process of local community development. According to the authors, tourism development does not always lead to an improvement in the economic situation of the local population because jobs are generally seasonal, blue collar and low wage. Furthermore, imposed restrictions on certain uses of resources may lead to hostility of the local population towards park management. The authors conclude that in order to ensure that negative impacts are diminished and positive impacts enhanced, community development must be considered central to all phases of the planning and establishment of protected areas. In the same way, local communities need to improve their partnership with national parks, establish a dialogue to discuss common concerns such as tourism development within the park, and improve their knowledge of their social and environmental setting to better handle anticipated changes due to increased tourism.

The significance of community development in the form of investment in tourism infrastructure and the provision of training courses in touristic guiding and lodging was also highlighted by Sims (2010) as a major factor fostering successful tourism development in protected area contexts. Focusing on a strictly protected area system in Thailand, her study revealed an increase in consumption and decrease in poverty despite less land available for agriculture among residents after strict protected area designation. It also confirmed increased livelihoods through tourism in the strictly protected area system, and therefore indicates that strictly protected areas can have a positive socioeconomic impact despite reducing the amount of land available to communities for agricultural use. It was presumed that strictly protected areas

attracted sufficient tourism or infrastructure benefits to offset the opportunity costs of reduced agricultural production or natural resource extraction, while weakly protected areas did not.

Nyaupane and Poudel (2011) found that small-scale and locally owned ecotourism businesses may enhance the livelihoods of people living around protected areas. In a study on the Chitwan National Park in Nepal, the authors examined the links between biodiversity conservation, livelihoods and tourism. They identified empowerment; capacity building; economic benefits; biodiversity conservation and environmental services; and amenities development as the five overarching themes linking the concepts of biodiversity conservation, livelihoods and tourism. Their results indicate that tourism has the potential to change local people's attitudes towards conservation and reduce people's dependence on natural resources.

Focusing on the conservation of indigenous cultural (archaeological) heritage in the Serra da Capivara National Park in Brazil, Pessis and Guidon (2007) show how the implementation of educational campaigns on archaeological heritage can have positive impacts on the attitudes of protected area residents towards the heritage that surrounds them, as well as lead to an increase in tourism. The study examined how a science-oriented NGO and a public utility organization succeeded in promoting archaeological heritage conservation, and ensuring the continuity of research in the region. The authors report how a widespread educational campaign on indigenous cultural heritage of the park sparked an increase in ecological and archaeological tourism. The campaign also contributed to additional income-generating activities such as the training of park guides, the production of traditional handcrafts and the provision of transportation and accommodation services. The authors suggest developing a formal and informal heritage education strategy that addresses the public's lack of awareness of the value of indigenous cultures. Their effort also showed that tourism minimizes illegal activities such as hunting,

deforestation and vandalism within park boundaries. These dynamics justify the creation of other protected archaeological sites, which, with the help of the media, also have the potential to raise awareness among residents and the general public.

The concept of rural tourism is also an important consideration as a large portion of protected areas is situated in rural areas. Rural tourism studies show that this type of tourism can have important socioeconomic benefits for the local community, such as the creation of new jobs in tourism businesses, additional income opportunities through the production of traditional arts and crafts, and local food products, the use of unused and/or abandoned buildings, intercultural exchange among residents and tourists, and an opportunity for residents to reevaluate their heritage (Iorio & Corsale, 2010). Rural tourism has the potential to create socioeconomic development and regeneration of rural areas, in particular those affected by the decline of traditional agrarian activities. Studies also indicate that rural tourism mitigates emigration from rural areas and generates benefits that diversify the economy. This occurs through the cultural exchange developed between urban and rural areas, and by adding new value to rural life (Cànoves, Villarino, Priestley, & Blanco, 2004; Iorio & Corsale, 2010; Paniagua, 2002; Yagüe, 2002). The traditional life ways still present in many rural areas around the world, many in protected areas have been important for attracting tourists in search for authenticity (Urry, 2002).

Rural tourism studies stress that several factors might potentially influence the stimulus for rural development (Getz, Carlsen, & Morrison, 2004; Iorio & Corsale, 2010; Lachov, Stoycheva, & Georgiev, 2006; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sharpley & Sharpley, 2002), including

- Lack of finances available for residents wanting to establish a business or planning to enlarge their business;
- Lack of professionalism of family businesses;

- Lack of potential business growth due to low entry barriers in tourism attracting people with no relevant training;
- Lack of significant increases in new local tourism jobs from lack of demand, or because family businesses might not want to increase their business beyond the subsistence level;
- Lack of innovative spirit among residents involved in tourism; and
- Lack of potential to attract tourists. Thus, simply providing accommodation facilities does not guarantee demand.

Iorio and Corsale (2010) point out that not all examples of rural tourism face such challenges. However, they suggest that the notion that tourism can make an important contribution to rural incomes must be treated with caution, and that in order to strengthen the potential benefits of rural tourism, government subsidies and policy implementation may be required.

The distribution of positive and negative impacts of protected areas. Based on their economic status, gender, age, and ethnicity, different resident groups living in protected areas may be impacted differently. For example, restrictions on the use of resources will naturally affect inhabitants dependent on these resources. Wealthy inhabitants will likely have more power and thus a stronger political influence than poor individuals. Historically, wealth has been an important factor for individuals in gaining political power. Within protected areas, wealth has been a contributing factor influencing inhabitants' decisions whether or not to establish a tourism business. While providing an alternative source of income for residents, earnings from tourism have not always been equally distributed among them. Wealthy households have been able to increase their income to a greater extent than poor households (West et al., 2006). The poorest

groups in rural communities often lack the necessary skills, knowledge, and resources to participate in tourism-related businesses (Forstner, 2004).

Protected areas may also impact women differently than men. In many protected areas, tourism is a complementary activity to other traditional activities such as farming. In many developing countries with unequal gender roles, women take on a significant share of daily livelihood tasks in addition to childcare and managing households. It is also generally the women who produce and sell local food products and handcrafts to visitors.

A study by Abakerli (2001) on the small fishing village Atins at the border of the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park in Brazil, revealed that the mismanagement of the protected area, in combination with imbalanced local and national power dynamics, led to both environmental disruption and the social exclusion of Atins residents. Tourism was in the hands of powerful non-resident individuals and villagers were not able to compete with these outside companies, thus excluding them from tourism. Furthermore, their livelihoods were impacted when outsiders started to use motorboats in service of tourism, and employed aggressive fishing practices. Abakerli (2001) concludes that a uniform ideology of protected area governance has been destructive in the context of developing countries because of very different social-ecological dynamics in different localities. These dynamics need to be considered before the designation of any protected area.

Overall, studies indicate that protected areas have the potential to reduce local poverty if a context-specific sustainable tourism development strategy is implemented. However, tourism might also lead to an increase in local inequality.

The net socioeconomic impacts of protected areas. Conservationists believing in socially just conservation strategies find it important to obtain empirical evidence on the net

socioeconomic impacts of protected areas on the wellbeing of human inhabitants (Brockington et al., 2008; Ferraro, 2008). As outlined earlier, studies have typically focused on either the positive or negative socioeconomic impacts of protected areas. Only a few studies have attempted to obtain quantitative evidence on the net socioeconomic impacts of protected areas. Reasons for this scarcity have been the relatively recent concern with local livelihoods in protected areas, and the overall difficulty of data collection.

Quantifying the socioeconomic impacts of protected areas requires collecting data on consistently measurable socioeconomic outcomes before and after protected area establishment, as well as of covariates (characteristics that affect protection and outcomes) and control populations that can remove the confounding effects of other factors unrelated to the protected area (Ferraro, 2008). Additional obstacles include addressing the emigration and immigration that result from protected areas, and the distributional impacts within and across communities. Changes in cultural and spiritual outcomes, such as the loss of political autonomy, will be difficult to measure, as might any option value lost with the establishment of the protected area (Brockington et al., 2008; Ferraro, 2008; Sims, 2010).

Studies that attempted to quantify the net gains or losses from protected area designation have generally focused on specific protected areas around the world, and have used cost-benefit analyses or attitudinal surveys. For example, in a study on the net benefits of the Massola National Park in Madagascar, as a result of the implementation of a sustainable community forestry program, Kremen et al. (2000) found net benefits for the local community. Ferraro's (2002) study of the costs and benefits of the Ranomafana National Park in Madagascar found a significant discrepancy between the costs the local communities incurred due to protected area establishment and the benefits of the protected area on a national and global scale. Similarly,

studies by Carret and Loyer (2003), and Northon-Griffiths and Southey (1995) on entire protected area networks in Madagascar and Kenya revealed that while the local, regional and national levels incurred management and opportunity costs, the global level benefitted from biodiversity conservation and ecotourism. The literature on the net gains or losses of protected areas on local communities, therefore, concludes that protected areas provide net global economic benefits, but unless community conservation programs are implemented at the local and national levels, it is these levels, particularly in developing countries and for the rural poor, who bear the costs of protected areas.

Protected areas, tourism and local socioeconomic impacts in Turkey. Among studies conducted in Turkey, the studies by Diler (2004) and Oktik and Öztürk (2007) were identified as being directly relevant to this study. Diler (2004) and Oktik and Öztürk (2007) conducted two complementary studies in protected areas within the province of Muğla. Because of its rich natural and cultural heritage resources, Muğla has the largest amount of land protected of all provinces in Turkey. The studies intended to explore the extent of socioeconomic problems within protected sites resulting from the current legislative framework, and weak organizational as well as institutional structures.

Diler (2004) interviewed 1,529 participants of various ages, occupations and both genders directly or indirectly affected by natural and archaeological sites and registered monuments in 84 different locations within the province of Muğla. His study intended to seek interviewees' views and perceptions on the governance of these protected sites and on conservation policy in general. Another goal was to explore the inhabitants' level of awareness of the importance of cultural heritage conservation, as well as to learn about their expectations and suggestions on the conservation of cultural heritage.

His findings showed that the majority of participants lacked knowledge of the history of cultural and natural heritage resources they were living among. Participants expressed a wish to learn about these heritage resources via workshops or courses offered by the local government. The majority also lacked knowledge of the term “sit” used by the MCT to describe a site rich in cultural and/or natural heritage resources in need of protection.¹² About a third of the interviewees had low levels of education and associated the term with bans, an ordeal, unjust treatment, or an area closed to development and agriculture. As education levels increased, interviewees used expressions such as “protection”, “a place that needs to be protected” or “cultural heritage” to describe the term “sit.”

Interviewees living within the boundaries of a protected site, or within in a property of historic importance perceived governmental procedures on conservation (decision-making by RCCs) as a problem. However, the majority of participants lacked sufficient knowledge of support or compensation programs offered by the state for citizens impacted by conservation. Participants were also not well informed about their rights and legal procedures concerning conservation. Only 40% of participants had some knowledge about governmental procedures on matters of conservation at the local and regional level (Diler, 2004).

Interviewees saw themselves as the guardians of cultural and natural heritage rather than as destructive entities causing problems for conservation. They placed equal value on various cultural heritage resources belonging to different eras or civilizations and expressed the belief that cultural heritage resources needed to be protected with an equal degree of concern to all resources. According to Diler (2004), these responses indicate that communities had adopted a

¹² Definition retrieved from <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/belge/1-77085/eski2yeni.html>

universal conservation awareness, without being knowledgeable about international conservation agreements.

Diler's (2004) findings show that a majority of respondents was against uncontrolled development within the boundaries of protected sites. Interviewees believed that development would damage their environment and harm their cultural heritage resources. Some respondents excluded housing development as traditionally "young men are not able to marry" without a house of their own. Overall, respondents regarded controlled development that avoids heritage resources as a best solution. Many interviewees noted that more development would cause tourism increase, and with it the number of jobs. However, some interviewees remarked that it would be the wealthy that would benefit from a policy allowing development, not the poor.

Diler's (2004) study showed a general awareness among respondents of the need for the conservation of cultural and natural heritage resources. Respondents believed the state had been successful in conservation, but indicated that heritage cannot be protected by the state alone, and that local residents play an important role in the protection of sites and resources. Participants also noted that educating and training protected area inhabitants about natural and cultural heritage resources, as well as on sustainable practices could achieve successful conservation.

Oktik and Öztürk (2007) provide complementary insights to Diler's (2004) study. Their work focuses on the socioeconomic aspects of five protected sites (within the province of Muğla) chosen as suitable for the implementation of resource (or area) management projects. One of these sites was the historic district of the city of Muğla, and the other four sites were village or small town settlements that were known for their natural as well as cultural heritage resources. Issues considered were the livelihoods of resident communities, their overall quality of life, how they related to their environment, and their future expectations.

Residents living in the historic district of Muğla indicated discomfort with the way conservation policy was implemented. Frustration was expressed related to official procedures such as obtaining construction permits and financing and implementing restoration projects. The restoration process was identified as very costly and time-consuming, making it difficult for business owners to run their businesses. Therefore, many owners of historic buildings unable to meet these requirements left their buildings to deteriorate. Problems of injustice between wealthy and poor residents were also articulated. While wealthy residents were able to invest in their property, poor residents unable to restore their property were accused of violating protective measures. Overall, the residents' impressions were that the local government was ineffective in properly implementing restoration projects and solving residents' restoration problems. A serious consequence of this deficiency was a high amount of dilapidated houses in the historic district. This led to a lack of housing and retail space, resulting in increased rents. For these reasons, the majority of residents preferred that their properties not have conservation status (Oktik & Öztürk, 2007).

Oktik and Öztürk's (2007) findings on three villages located in or around protected sites within the province of Muğla were also not very positive. Villagers' perceptions about the governance and management of conservation in their area were negative. Residents living in sites with strict conservation status complained about not being able to use their land. Villagers owning land with protected status near the seashore did not think that protection was necessary. In all three villages, residents reported declining livelihoods, unemployment and a lack of infrastructure (mainly sewage) as major problems. They reported that earnings from crops were depressed as a result of a nationwide shift towards industrial agriculture, and keeping livestock was also not very profitable. As a result of a lack of opportunities, villagers were facing

difficulties making ends meet. They wished they could compensate for the loss in income by engaging in tourism.

Oktik and Öztürk (2007) conclude that the majority of residents felt discomfort regarding current conservation policy. Local residents were facing difficulties meeting their housing and/or renovation needs. Economic problems arising from high farming costs and low crop prices made it hard for residents to improve their livelihoods, and better care for their children. Furthermore, certain policies regulating the sale of food items made it difficult for villagers to sell locally produced food products. Because of a lack of training and economic means, villagers had not been able to participate in tourism at the desired level. The majority of villagers believed that their village had tourism potential, but thought it had not been successful in participating in tourism. Therefore most villagers were pessimistic about their future, and complained that the local and national governments had not presented an effective solution.

Another study that looked into socioeconomic impacts of protected area governance and management in Turkey is by Alkan, Korkmaz, McGill, and Eker (2010). These authors conducted an attitudinal study with villagers of two national parks located within the province of Isparta in western Turkey. Residents reported a loss in income from traditional activities due to restrictions on the use of land and water, and bans on hunting within national park boundaries. Villagers had no hope that state authorities would develop and implement a tourism development plan for the park. The majority of the local population perceived the establishment of the national park as unnecessary.

The study also revealed that park resources, such as lakes and forests, continued to be impacted negatively by anthropogenic influences since protected area designation 38 years ago. Even though park lakes were considered the most important resources, they were seriously

polluted. Conservation measures proved insufficient as the lakes continuously faced pollution from a canal carrying contaminated water from nearby settlements.

Alkan et al. (2010) conclude that protected area residents incurred the costs of park designation, as the government had fallen short in providing local residents alternative sources of income. The authors note that the reason a tourism development strategy was not implemented was due to problems with the implementation of the parks' long-term management plans. Until the 1970s, the state outsourced long-term management plans to foreign experts, but these plans proved to be difficult to implement, as foreign experts did not have in-depth knowledge about the socio-cultural dynamics within potential protected areas. The management of recreational facilities was also contracted out to the private sector. This was a major problem, because few companies showed interest in managing facilities in protected areas, mainly due to a lack of visitors.

The authors conclude that in Turkey protected area designations have disregarded the presence of village settlements causing frustration among villagers. For successful conservation that regards the rights of residents, they suggest careful analysis of potential areas to receive protected status, the inclusion of local residents and other stakeholders in the planning process of protected areas, the adoption of planning principles and a consistent approach to planning, the implementation of a larger variety of recreational activities, and the use of sustainable tourism development. The authors emphasize the role of protected area management in raising awareness among residents about their natural and cultural heritage resources, and the benefits that living in a protected area might provide to their community and environment. The authors also stress that local residents need to be informed in a clear manner about restrictions on the use of land and

resources, alternative options concerning the use of land and resources or sources of income, government compensation programs and their legal rights.

Studies by Cengiz (2007) and Kelkit et al. (2010) also looked into protected area governance and management in Turkey, but primarily in relation to tourism potential and ecotourism development. These authors point to the ecotourism potential of two national parks in Turkey, the Karagöl-Sahara National Park and the Gallipoli Peninsula Historical National Park, drawing attention to serious protected area management problems in both protected areas. According to Cengiz (2007) the most pressing problems faced by protected areas in Turkey arise because of a lack of interaction among local people, governmental organizations, universities and civil society. More attention should be directed to the needs of local inhabitants, and local people's awareness about their natural and cultural heritage resources should to be raised. Proper protected area management and the development of long-term management plans for all protected areas are therefore crucial. Kelkit et al. (2010), suggest that NGOs play more active roles in park management. The authors propose that innovative park services and effective park management strategies be developed in cooperation with residents, within the framework of ecotourism principles.

Contribution to the Literature

The present study contributes to the literature on protected area governance and socioeconomic impacts, because of its broad approach to examining the socioeconomic impacts of protected area designation at the local community level, and then looking into the legislative, institutional and organizational aspects of top-down protected area governance, and then explores how these affect local communities. No study could be located that adopted a broad

approach that would deliver both the local community aspect as well as the governance aspect of protected areas.

The study is also significant because it provides new evidence on the impacts of strict culture-protected area designation on the livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of resident communities. In Turkey, and likely in other parts of the world, depending on their cultural heritage value, many archaeological and historic sites are protected under various levels of culture-protected area designation, which can impact the housing/development needs of local communities living within or nearby these sites. The strictest form of culture-protected area designation prohibits communities from making any changes to the ancient and modern built cultural heritage, let alone the construction of new structures (such as housing, shelter for livestock, or tourism facilities). Such strict conservation measures can have serious consequences on local communities' development needs, impacting their social and economic wellbeing.

The study also examines the impacts of competing protected area designations, in this case two overlapping protected area designations to conserve the area's cultural and natural heritage resources, governed and managed by two different ministries. Both designations incorporate a local community impacting their socioeconomic wellbeing. The study, therefore, provides insight into the positive and negative impacts of both culture- and nature-protected area designation, examining the links between protected area designation, tourism and livelihoods. The study then assesses the combined socioeconomic impacts of both protected area designations, governed and managed by two different governmental institutions.

Finally, the study contributes to the literature that investigates how protected area impacts are distributed across different community groups, and explores the extent to which these groups benefit from tourism as a means to compensate for the loss of income from traditional livelihood

activities restricted by protected area designation. The study will thus examine the links between protected area designation, tourism and the socioeconomic wellbeing of protected area residents.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The single-case study approach for this study focused on the Turkish village of Kapıkırı, lying in the southwest of Anatolia.¹³ In addition to extensive fieldwork in the village, the study involved data collection at the local, regional and national levels of protected area governance in Turkey. Interviews were also conducted with various local and nonlocal conservation and development practitioners, including a local NGO and archaeologists who did extensive research in the area.

Why the Village of Kapıkırı?

The case of Kapıkırı makes an interesting case study because of the presumed conflict between overlapping culture- and nature-protected area designations. Modern village settlement that occurred among the ruins of the ancient city of Heracleia threatening its integrity, prompted the MCT to conserve areas around the ancient city (that included modern settlement as well as a predecessor city Latmos) with strictest culture-protected area designation (*First-degree Archaeological Site*) in 1989. This designation banned villagers from making any changes to the historic and contemporary built cultural heritage. In 1989, the MCT had also designated Lake Bafa and its shoreline with *First-degree Natural Site* designation to protect lake habitats. This designation did not include modern village settlement, but farmland. Since it had no impact on villagers' farming activities, this designation is not the focus of this study. With the intention of protecting more extensive areas around the lake to facilitate recreational uses and encourage tourism, in 1994, the MEF announced these areas of approximately 11,842 hectares as the *Lake*

¹³ The single case study approach is based on Yin (2003).

Bafa Nature Park.¹⁴ Nature Park designation corresponds to the IUCN’s category V protected areas, defined as “natural areas that display landscape characteristics rich in flora and wildlife, and serve recreational purposes.” This nature-protected area designation allows the construction of recreational infrastructure only within the framework of a long-term management plan. Both culture- and nature-protected area designations had encircled the modern village settlement, impacting villagers’ socioeconomic wellbeing (see Figure 2).

Another aspect that makes the village a worthwhile case to study is that as a consequence of strict cultural heritage resources management and other factors, the village has maintained its traditional and authentic character and remained in an early stage of development. This fact, along with its rich cultural and natural heritage resources, has transformed it into a tourist destination, creating economic opportunities for villagers. The question arises as to what extent villagers have been able to benefit from tourism.

Although ministry officials could not provide the exact number, whether living among ruins in culture-protected areas or in nature-protected areas, most protected areas in the country likely involve resident communities, which indicates the likelihood of similar conflicts in many other parts of the country. These factors make the village an interesting and worthwhile case to study as it is anticipated that the outcomes of this study can be applied to similar contexts.

Table 6

Protected Area Designations with Respect to their Impact on Villagers

<i>Type of Protected Area Designation</i>	<i>Impact on Villagers</i>
First-degree Archaeological Site (1989)	Village settlement
First-degree Natural Site (1989)	Farmland
Lake Bafa Nature Park (1994)	Village settlement & Farmland

¹⁴ Retrieved on March 7, 2012, from http://www.milliparklar.gov.tr/DKMP/mp/t_park.pdf

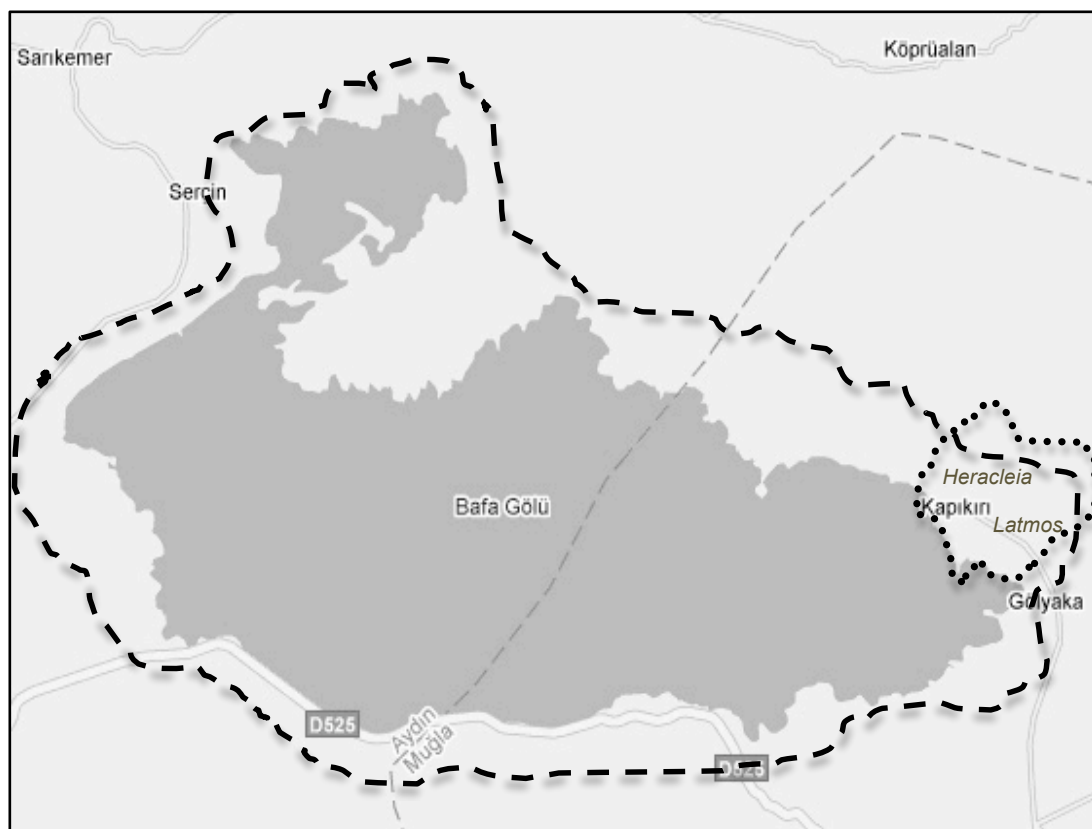


Figure 2. Protected Area Boundaries Surrounding the Village of Kapıkırı. While there are seven other settlements around Lake Bafa, Kapıkırı is the only settlement in the area that was encircled by two different protected area designations: The area encircled by the dotted line represents culture-protected area designation (First-degree Archaeological Site of the MCT) incorporating the ancient cities Heracleia and Latmos. The dashed line encircling Lake Bafa represents nature-protected area designation (Lake Bafa Natural Park of the MEF). In 1989, the MCT had also designated 250 meters from the lakeshore with First-degree Natural Site designation, not shown here, which had no impact on villagers livelihoods. Adapted from MEF (2008).

Theoretical Framework

Before fieldwork, a theoretical framework was developed for the study site that laid out all relevant factors playing a role in the livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of resident communities impacted by protected area designation (Figure 3).¹⁵

¹⁵ Theoretical framework developed based on Mayer and Greenwood's (1980) framework model for analyzing a policy problem.

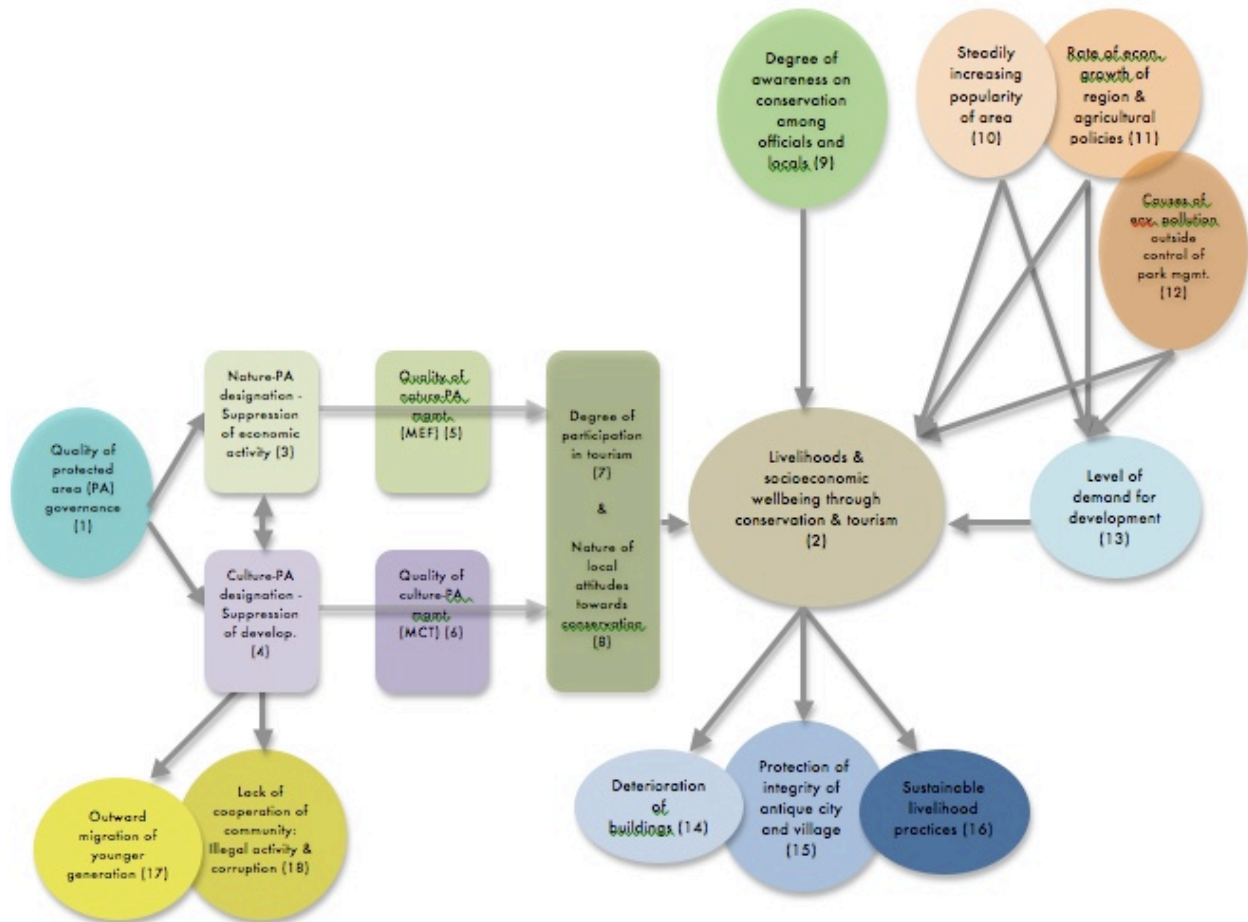


Figure 3. Theoretical framework developed based on Mayer and Greenwood's (1980) framework model. Variables identified and numbered from (1) to (18) are the following: (1) independent variable; (2) dependent variable; (3) implementation variable 1; (4) implementation variable 2; (5) enabling variable 1; (6) enabling variable 2; (7) bridging variable 1; (8) bridging variable 2; (9) adjunct variable; (10) constraint variable 1; (11) constraint variable 2; (12) constraint variable 3; (13) constraint variable 4; (14) latent consequence 1; (15) latent consequence 2; (16) latent consequence 3; (17) unintended consequence 1; (18) unintended consequence 2.

The framework rests on the assumption that the *quality of protected area governance* and *protected area designation* impact the *livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of resident communities* as a result of potential restrictions on the use of land and resources, or as a result of the conservation of protected area resources, which for many protected areas can lead to an increase in tourism, thus an improvement in livelihoods. The framework therefore identifies

quality of protected area governance as the independent variable, and *livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of local communities* as the dependent variable (see Figure 3).

The villagers in this case study were impacted by top-down protected area governance in two different ways; first by strict *culture-protected area designation* in 1989 because of the ruins of Heracleia, then by *nature-protected area designation* because of the lake habitat in 1994. In other words, the state had implemented two different but overlapping protected area designations around the village of Kapıkırı to conserve both natural and cultural heritage resources. These two different designations suppressing development and economic activity therefore represent the implementation variables of this study, specific administrative strategies adopted to carry out a policy or program (see Figure 3).

Nature- and culture-protected area designation can only become effective through quality nature and culture-protected area management. Successful nature- and culture protected area management can lead to or enable *increased participation in tourism* (for example, through the implementation of sustainable tourism development strategies) and/or result in or enable a change in *local attitudes towards conservation* (for example, through awareness raising efforts). Therefore, *nature- and culture protected area management* are enabling factors (see Figure 3).

When residents increasingly find ways to participate in tourism, this impacts their livelihoods and their socioeconomic wellbeing. Likewise, when residents adopt positive attitudes towards the conservation of their heritage resources, this will likely have a positive impact on the overall integrity of the village and foster tourism. Therefore, *increased participation in tourism* and *local attitudes towards conservation* are *bridging factors*, or intermediate outcomes that must occur as prerequisites to the attainment of the policy objective (see Figure 3).

An auxiliary action the state might take to enhance the effectiveness of protected area designation could be *raising awareness about conservation among government officials and residents*. This action represents an adjunct variable/factor that offers an alternative explanation for variations in the livelihoods of local communities (see Figure 3).

The study also identifies three environmental factors which impact the local community, over which the state has no control: the *steadily increasing popularity of the area*, which resulted in an increase in tourism throughout the 1990s and early 2000s; the *rate of economic growth of the region and agricultural policies*, which had particularly significant impacts on the resident population during the late 1990s as villagers lost their major livelihood activity of growing cotton as a result of price drops and increased production costs; and *causes of environmental pollution outside the control of park management*, which is the pollution caused by the Menderes River carrying polluted waters into Lefe Bafa (see Figure 3).

The *level of demand for development* (new housing, businesses) is a *characteristic of the villagers* of Kapıkırı relatively unchangeable within the duration of protected area status, and impacts their livelihoods and wellbeing. All three environmental factors mentioned above affect the level of demand for development (see Figure 3). As a consequence of increased tourism, an increasing population and livelihood needs, the level of demand for development had steadily increased throughout the last few decades, but was not met as a result of protected area designation.

The theoretical framework also points to secondary effects of protected area designation, or effects that occur outside the implementation of protected area designation. Such effects can be either *unintended* or *latent consequences* of the policy, in this case protected area designation. Unintended consequences can occur when side effects flow directly from the fact that a course of

action was taken (protected area governance), but not intended by the state. The suppression of economic activities and development as a result of both nature- and culture-protected area designation can have two unintended consequences: 1) that the community will not cooperate with conservation agencies or follow the law because of a need for new housing and businesses, resulting in illegal construction and corruption, and 2) that the younger generation in the village will migrate to other towns or cities because of better living conditions and opportunities (see Figure 3).

Latent consequences happen when side effects flow directly from the fact that the policy objective, in this case, protected area designation, was successfully carried out. The achievement of improved livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing can have three latent consequences. One latent consequence can be that the village and its ruins retain their integrity, as a result of strict conservation policies prohibiting any changes to built structures. Strict cultural heritage management laws can also cause modern built structures to deteriorate over time, leading to a run-down effect of the village, a second (negative) latent consequence. The third latent consequence can be that as a result of an increased awareness in nature conservation residents adopt sustainable livelihood practices.

Steps of Data Collection

Data collection was carried out in a sequence from village to sub-provincial (Milas) to provincial (Muğla) to national level (Ankara). Details on data collection such as the research methods used and parties interviewed are given below, and summarized in Table 7.

The village level. Data collection at the village level was conducted in three phases. The first phase was a two week visit to the village in August 2010 in order to become familiar with the site, its surrounding, its residents, their livelihoods and problems related to conservation.

Participant observation and 24 informal interviews with different groups of villagers, such as female and male farmers, retired farmers, pension owners and tourists (foreign and domestic), were conducted during this stay. In addition, a pilot study that involved interviewing five senior residents above age 50 was also done during the stay. Semi-structured interview questions formulated before the visit were posed to these residents and responses recorded. Senior interviewees were chosen based on their ability to provide accounts of their lives in the village both before and after protected area designation.

These formal and informal interviews revealed that actual circumstances and problems related to protected area governance and management were different than anticipated before visiting the village. It was anticipated that the Lake Bafa Nature Park designation had restricted villager's use of land and natural resources. In many parts of the world, protected area residents face restrictions on their use of various natural resources, their use of protected area land for grazing purposes, or their use of fertilizers and pesticides. In Kapıkırı, however, the Nature Park designation did not have a significant impact on the livelihoods of villagers. Instead, interviews with villagers revealed that First-degree Archaeological Site designation had a significant impact on their development needs. According to Law No. 2863 of the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets, First-degree Archaeological Site status is intended to preserve cultural heritage resources of archaeological sites and does not permit any intervention, either new construction or restoration and renovation. Villagers reported feeling significantly restricted due to the strict protection status of cultural heritage resources. Therefore based on the responses of villagers and personal observations, initial semi-structured questions posed were revised in preparation for the second phase of the study.

The second phase of the study was a six-week stay in the village throughout October and part of November 2010. In order to investigate the consequences of First-degree Archaeological Site designation, the revised interview questions were posed to different groups of villagers. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample of farmers and retired households (27 women and 20 men; approximately 30% of all households in the village). Households with members participating in tourism such as producing handcrafts and taking tourists on boat tours, were asked an additional set of questions. Twenty family members (15 men and 5 women) participating in a total of 10 businesses (eight pensions, the village restaurant, and the village teahouse) were then interviewed with a partially different set of questions. A separate set of questions was posed to 16 young villagers between the ages of 16 and 30. Finally, village governmental officials, such as the '*mukhtar*' (the elected head of local government of the village), and the MCT ticket booth official were interviewed with a separate set of semi-structured interview questions that were based on the nature of their occupation. Throughout the entire stay informal interviews were conducted with both foreign and domestic tourists (see Appendix A).

After an evaluation of villagers' responses, the completion of interviews with governmental officials at different levels of protected area governance, and an evaluation of the dynamics between conservation, tourism and livelihoods, the need for more specific and quantifiable data arose. Therefore, a household questionnaire (survey) was developed to provide data on the extent of protected area impacts to the local community, as well as the relationship between conservation, tourism and the wellbeing of villagers. Questions were posed on the following themes: 1) demographics; 2) livelihoods; 3) the extent to which residents benefit from tourism; 4) how residents perceive their natural and cultural heritage, and what they regard as

positive and negative impacts of protected area designation in the area; and 5) how residents experience protected area governance and management. The questionnaire consisted of multiple-choice, dichotomous yes/no, and ordered-rank responses, though a number of open-ended questions were also posed to provide further insight on issues within the scope of this study. A third weeklong visit was organized to the village in the summer of 2011, and a representative sample (a total of 25 of households, about 20% of all households) of both farmers (active and retired) and business owners was interviewed (see Appendix B).

The sub-provincial level (Milas). At the sub-provincial level, the town of Milas, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following state officials involved in the conservation of natural and cultural heritage of the area:

- The park manager who, along with other protected areas around the town Milas and Bodrum, was overseeing the Lake Bafa Nature Park. The park manager represented the Milas Nature Protection and National Parks Office, which reports to the Provincial Directorate of the Environment and Forestry (a regional office of the MEF);
- The director of the sub-provincial local conservation office of the MCT in Milas. The director is responsible for the management of cultural heritage in the subprovince. He also serves as the director of the Archaeological Museum of Milas; and
- A native of Kapıkırı who serves as an agricultural engineer for the Subprovincial Government of Milas' Division of Agriculture.

The provincial level (Muğla). At the provincial level, the city of Muğla, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following state officials governing protected areas within the province of Muğla:

- The leader of the RCC of Muğla, which reports to the Higher Conservation Council of the MCT; and
- A senior archaeologist who works for the Muğla Office of the Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets (under the direction of the MCT).

The national level (ministry level, Ankara). At the national or ministry level, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following state officials involved in the governance of protected areas:

- An urban and regional planner of the MEF's GDNCNP;
- The coordinator of the Higher Conservation Council that reports to the minister of the MCT; and
- An urban and regional planner of the MCT's General Directorate of Investments and Operations.

Apart from these interviews conducted at different levels of governance, the following persons were also interviewed formally or informally on matters of protected area governance in Turkey:

- The leader of a local NGO called EKODOSD, which has been working on issues of conservation around Lake Bafa; and
- A scholar (professor of archaeology) at the University of Muğla, who in the past played different roles in protected area governance in various parts of Turkey, and is currently developing and leading local resource management projects.

Lastly, data collection also involved the examination of the following documents related to protected area governance in Turkey:

- The legislative framework of protected area governance in Turkey;

- The long-term management plan developed for the Lake Bafa Nature Park, the Lake Bafa Long-term Management Plan (put in force by the MEF's GDNCNP in October 2008);
and
- Official records belonging to the MCT and MEF that document the process of protected area designation in the study area, and also document problems with the local population related to illegal construction.

After the completion of the data collection phase, all qualitative data obtained from recorded interviews and field notes was transcribed and translated into English. Text analysis involved reading through all material collected, identifying categories and concepts that emerged. These categories were then grouped under major themes. In addition, quantitative data obtained from survey questions were also analyzed with the help of excel tables and graphs, and integrated into the qualitative findings (see Appendix C).

Table 7

Steps of Data Collection

<i>Political level and sequence of data collection</i>	<i>Research methods used and parties interviewed</i>
Village level: Phase 1 (August 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participant observation - Informal interviews with various groups (24) - Semi-structures interviews with senior villagers (5)
Village level: Phase 2 (October – November 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-struct. interviews with farmers (27 women, 20 men) - Semi-struct. interviews with 10 business (15 men, 5 women) - Semi-struct. interviews with 16 young villagers - Semi-struct. interview with the mukhtar - Semi-struct. interview with the ticket booth official (MCT) - Informal interviews with tourists
Village level: Phase 3 (September 2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Household questionnaire posed to farmer households (22) - Household questionnaire posed to business owners (3)
Subprovincial level (October – November 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Park manager of the MEF - Director of local conservation office (MCT) - Official of the Division of Agriculture - Local NGO leader
Provincial level (October – November 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - President of the Regional Conservation Council - Senior archaeologist at the provincial office for conservation - Scholar (Professor of Archaeology)
National level (November 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Planner, Nature Protection & National Parks (MEF) - Coordinator, Superior Council for Conservation (MCT) - Planner of the MCT's Tourism division - Legislative framework - Long-term Management Plan for Lake Bafa Nature Park - Other relevant official resources

Chapter 4: Context, History and Heritage

This chapter describes the local and regional socioeconomic context of the study site, followed by a brief settlement history of the area, as a basis to understand the need for conservation. The final section portrays the site's cultural as well as natural heritage resources that received protected area status, and considers threats to their conservation.

Socioeconomic Context

The local socioeconomic context. The village of Kapıkırı lies in the west of Turkey, about 50 km to the Aegean coast, at the northeastern corner of Lake Bafa. It is politically part of the subprovince of Milas, which is subordinated to the province of Muğla. The Beşparmak Mountains (or Mount Latmus in Antiquity) rise about 900 m in a NW-SE direction, along the northeastern shores of Lake Bafa, to the east of the village (see Figure 4). Their peaks form a zigzag structure, hence its Turkish term “beşparmak” which means “five fingers.” The current village occupies a portion of the ancient Greco-Roman city of Heracleia. About two centuries ago, a group of nomades settled among the ruins in simple huts; this settlement has grown into today's village of Kapıkırı (personal communication with villagers; Distelrath, 2009).

Kapıkırı has a current population of 350 in 120 households. The village's population has not changed much since 1985; it experienced an increase of about 10% since the year 2000 (M. A. Yıldırım, personal communication). The average number of children per family was 1.7 in 2011. Table 8 indicates education levels of the local population of Kapıkırı in 2011, based on the study sample in which the average age of men was 51, and women 60. Among the men

interviewed, 41% were senior villagers, age 51 and older, and 59% were below age 51. Among the women interviewed, 61% were age 51 and older, and 39% were below that age.



Figure 4. Map of the Lake Bafa area, showing the silting evolution of the Latmic Gulf due to the alluvium deposited by the Meandros River during Antiquity (Source: Gaba, E.; Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World).

Table 8

Education levels of local population in percentages

	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>High school</i>	<i>University</i>
Males (age 21-30)	3	77	9	11
Males (age 31-50)	0	67	17	16
Males (age 51 and older)	9	87	0	4
Females (age 21-30)	14	76	7	3
Females (age 31-50)	0	83	17	0
Females (age 51 and older)	24	71	0	5

The majority of Kapıkırı villagers make a living by keeping livestock, mainly cows, for milk production and sale. Livestock also serve as a longer-term investment. Since the fall of 2010, the number of villagers engaging in fishing increased significantly due to an increase in Lake Bafa's fish populations. While women have been mainly occupied with the feeding and milking of cattle, men have been engaged in fishing (personal observation). Villagers also grow a variety of crops such as vegetables (potatoes, onions, green beans and okra), fruits (citrus fruits, pomegranates and figs) and corn, but mainly for their own use. Corn is processed and used as fodder for cattle during winter months. A few villagers produce wheat, barley, oats, and watermelons to be sold in local markets. Almost all village households own orchards of olive trees on average 6 hectares in size providing additional income.

Until the early 1990s, villagers migrated between a winter settlement (the current settlement of Kapıkırı) and a summer settlement located at the lakeshore about 1.5 km west of the village. The abundance of water for cotton cultivation was the main reason for the seasonal migration. When the water infrastructure was improved in the original settlement, villagers abandoned their seasonal ritual. Another important factor in this change was that starting in the early 1990s villagers no longer grew cotton as a result of significant price drops and increasing

costs of fertilizers and pesticides since the 1990s. Another typical economic activity villagers abandoned is beekeeping; only a few village households now actively engage in beekeeping.

Since the 1970s, tourism provides villagers with additional income opportunities. Because of its unique location, history and extraordinary landscape, the village has been a destination perhaps more for foreign tourists than Turks. The increasing number of tourists in the 1980s encouraged several local families to establish businesses (simple restaurants and tea houses) serving the growing numbers of visitors. Today, eight pensions (that also serve as restaurants) and two restaurants serve foreign and domestic visitors. Local families run all tourism businesses. For the last two decades, tourism has also been benefitting a large share (about half) of village women, who sell traditional handcrafts, olive oil soaps, and honey, all their own or local production. Some women also offer short walking tours within the village to show visitors important sights. Some of the local fishermen have also been participating in tourism by cooperating with pension owners to offer boat tours on the lake. They have also been selling some of their daily catch to the local businesses. Pension owners and their family members primarily offer hiking tours.

Until 1997 the state provided primary education in a school building built on the ruins of the ancient agora. With the introduction of state reforms that extended mandatory primary education to eight years, and because of the small number of children in Kapıkırı the school was closed. Since then, primary school children attend school in the nearby town of Bafa, 9 km from the village. The old school building is currently not used and is deteriorating. However, the mukhtar has plans to restore the building and create a visitor center. In terms of health services, a medical doctor and nurses provide health services in a local clinic in Bafa for surrounding

villages. At present, the nearest well-equipped hospitals are in the nearby towns of Milas and Söke.

The regional socioeconomic context. The village is part of the province Muğla covering a total area of about 13,338 km². In 2010, the province had 12 sub-provinces, 49 municipalities, and 396 villages with a total population of nearly 820,000 (TUIK, 2010) (see Figure 5). About half of the total population lives in the province's rural areas. In comparison to the average literacy rate in Turkey of 88.1% (2006), Muğla has a relatively high literacy rate of 95%.¹⁶

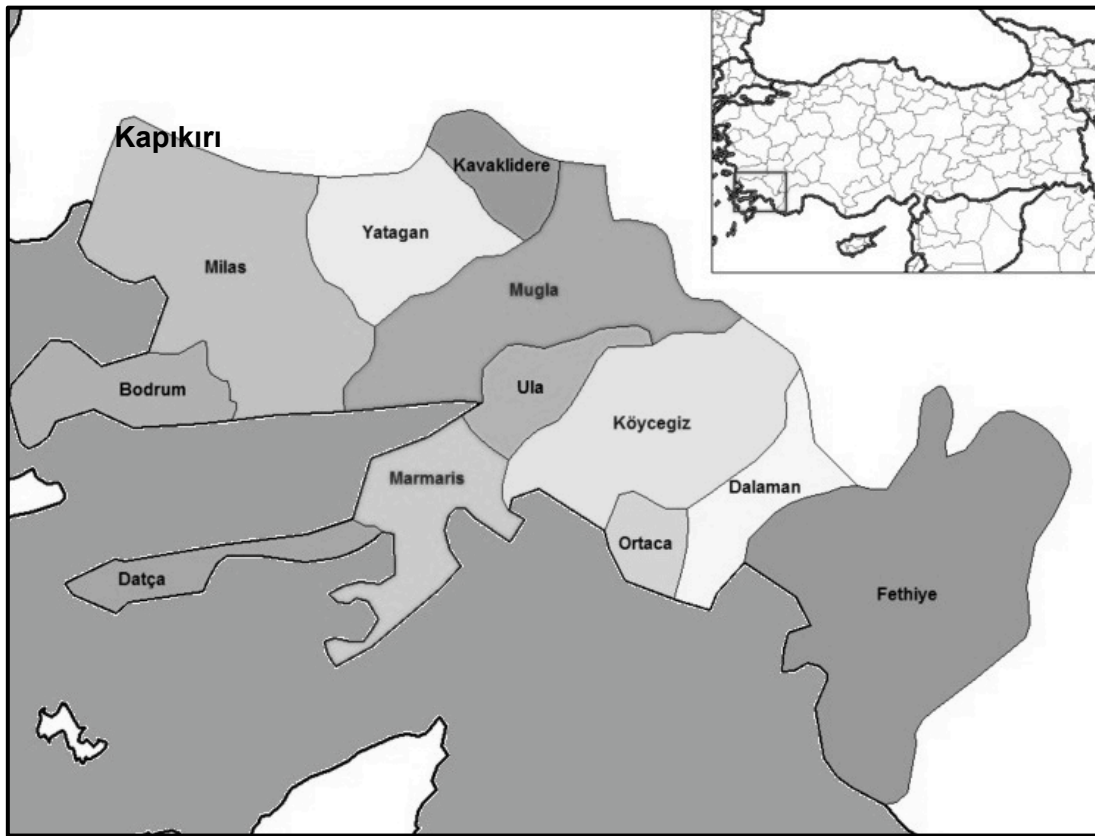


Figure 5. Political Map of the Province of Muğla

The province has a 1,124 km long coastline along the Aegean and the Mediterranean Seas, and mountainous hinterland areas. It therefore experiences both subtropical coastal climate,

¹⁶ Information retrieved on September 15, 2011 from the Turkish Statistical Institute's website link: <http://nkg.tuik.gov.tr/en/goster.asp?aile=3>

as well as continental climate, and receives more precipitation than other provinces. It is therefore extensively forested and rich in flora; about 67% of the province is covered with forests. While most of the province displays calcareous and sedimentary rock formations, certain areas contain metamorphic formations (Oktik & Öztürk (2007)).

The province has several famous tourist destinations, such as the towns of Bodrum, Marmaris and Fethiye. About three million foreign tourists, and even more domestic tourists visit the province's tourist destinations each year. Tourism started to flourish in the 1980s, after the Turkish government introduced highly profitable incentive programs within the framework of Law No. 2634 to Promote Tourism. Since then Muğla's coastal tourist destinations have grown significantly, providing job opportunities for the rural workforce with generally lower educational achievement levels than the urban workforce.¹⁷

While the majority of the province's towns have lost much of their authentic character, many rural areas and villages, such as Kapıkırı, still retain traditional lifestyles. The fact that the tourism industry has significantly increased, particularly along coastal areas, has affected the province's traditions and social structure. While rural populations and former nomadic communities (yörük) living in hinterland areas still display traditional lifestyles, more contemporary cultural values have increasingly been adopted throughout the province (Oktik & Öztürk, 2007).

Until the 1990s, there was widespread production of tobacco and cotton, which was a major source of income for residents. However, when quotas were placed on the production of tobacco, and cotton experienced significant price-drops, farmers switched to animal husbandry as a major source of income. Olive growing constitutes another major source of income for

¹⁷ Information retrieved on September 15, 2011 from the website of the Provincial Government's Directorate of Culture and Tourism: <http://www.mugla-turizm.gov.tr/tr/anasayfa.html>

residents. The area to the south of Lake Bafa, in proximity to the case study site, is well known for its olives and the production of extra virgin olive oil. Other provincial areas produce a variety of other agricultural products such as honey, almonds, citrus fruits (oranges, lemons, tangarines, grapefruits), greenhouse vegetables and sweetgum.¹⁸

History

The study site's historical significance goes back to prehistoric times, as nearby Mount Latmus was one of Asia Minor's holy mountains. From prehistoric to the Middle Ages, its peaks served as a cult site for weather, rain and fertility deities. In antiquity, the mountainous terrain was known as *Latmia*, and formed the northwestern corner of the region of *Caria*. Caria shared natural borders with the regions Ionia in the northwest, Lydia in the north, Phrygia and Pisidia in the east, and Lycia in the southeast (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005).

Heracleia's territory covered areas along the northern, eastern and southeastern shores of the Gulf of Latmos. Until late antiquity, Lake Bafa was part of the Aegean, forming a gulf towards the Latmos area. Apart from Heracleia, other antique cities such as Miletus, Priene, Myus, and Pyrra were also established along the shores of the Gulf of Latmos. Over the centuries alluvium deposited by the river Meandros ('Menderes') eventually cut off the gulf from the Aegean, leading to the formation of today's Lake Bafa (see Figure 3). This had the consequence that Heracleia lost its significance as a harbor city (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005).

In his travelogue *Travels in Asia Minor* published in 1775, the English antiquarian Richard Chandler provided the first historic accounts on the study site. He describes Heracleia's location as "romantic," its city walls enclosing "a mixture of naked, wildly towering boulders of rock with deep abysses and caves from which perhaps stones were extracted" (Chandler, 1971).

¹⁸ Information retrieved on September 15, 2011 from the website of the Provincial Government: <http://www.mugla.gov.tr/>

The well-known German archaeologist Theodor Wiegand conducted the first scientific research at Heracleia. Wiegand excavated nearby Miletus at the beginning of the 20th century, extending his research eastwards to include the Latmus area. He published his findings in a series of Miletus publications beginning in 1913 (Distelrath, 2011).

After a long break, the archaeologist Dr. Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat resumed research in the area in 1974. Peschlow-Bindokat of the German Archaeological Institute and her team conducted surface analysis on the territory of the Greek city and its predecessor of Latmos as well as over a larger territory that included surrounding prehistoric, Byzantine and Ottoman settlements (A. Peschlow, personal communication).

Areas northeast of the village exhibit signs of settlement dating back to the Neolithic Era. About 160 rock paintings were documented and published in the late 1990s by Peschlow-Bindokat as the first known examples from western Asia Minor. While petroglyphs are common in eastern and southern Anatolia, rock paintings are not, with the only examples in eastern Anatolia. The distribution of the rock paintings around the peak supports its ritual use to worship a weather god. According to Peschlow-Bindokat (2005), these unusual rock paintings describe an Aegean culture unique to the Latmus area, but influenced by inland cultures. Painters preferred to work in red on the niche-like weathered walls of rocks; the main subjects are humans. Most paintings depict men and women in couples, or groups of humans, formed by couples and/or families. Chalcolithic ceramics and tools of stone, obsidian, and bone are found in proximity to the lakeshore indicate that prehistoric settlements were nearby.

The discovery of a Hittite hieroglyph inscription east of Heracleia a decade ago indicates that about 2000 years BC, Latmus was part of the Hittite Empire, and suggests that the extent of the Empire reached the shores of the Aegean. Apart from the prehistoric rock paintings, this

inscription is one the most important archaeological discoveries in Anatolia over the last several decades (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005).

Latmos was established about 1000 BC but replaced with the newly founded city of Heracleia circa 300 BC. Both cities were almost side-by-side along the southern slope of the Mount Latmus. Wall fragments and construction material from the former city of Latmos were used for the creation of Heracleia. Not much remains of Latmos, except the lower portions of walls and the foundations of ancient dwellings on bedrock. Given its more secluded location and its very poor condition, the city is not easy to identify. It is suspected that Latmos was established during Ionian (Greek) colonization. Ionians colonizing Asia Minor expelled Carians from their settlements along the shore.¹⁹ These exiled Carians escaped to the Latmus area, and created a new settlement on the southern slope of Mount Latmus. These Carians took advantage of the rocky, secluded, and not easily accessible landscape by building their houses among large boulders.

The 7th, 6th and 5th centuries marked a period of alternating Persian and Greek rule, until Alexander the Great invaded Asia Minor and ended Persian rule in 334 BC. After the death of Alexander and the fall of his kingdom after 323 BC, the Macedonian commander Pleistarch established rule over most of Caria. He founded the new city of Heracleia as the capital of his kingdom adjacent to the old settlement of Latmos. Latmos was abandoned and used as the necropolis of the new capital (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005).

¹⁹ The name *Caria* was derived from its inhabitants, the Carians, who during pre-Hellenistic times lived along the coast, but were expelled to hinterland areas with the invasion of the Greeks. It is not known, whether the Carians were natives of the region. Another group of inhabitants called the Lelegs are also mentioned in ancient literary sources. Whether they are identical to the Carians is not known. The Lelegs' primary area of settlement was the peninsula of Halicarnassus, but it is also known that they settled around the area of Miletus. Their unique settlement structure and inscriptions that describe the relationship between Carians and Lelegs suggest that these were distinct groups of people with different identities. According to these inscriptions, Carians were masters and Lelegs their servants. In an epigraphic inscription from Hellenistic times, Lelegs are described as Carians' slaves (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005).

Heracleia flourished during Pleistarch's rule as a center of trade because of its convenient location at the easternmost end of the Gulf of Latmos. It was well connected to surrounding settlements through a network of paved roads. The city was a typical Hellenistic city with its regular grid of streets. An impressive 6.5 km city wall is one of the best examples of antiquity, and is still in relatively good condition. During Pleistarch's rule, the city's main sanctuaries, the Temple of Athena and the sanctuary of Endymion, were also built. Endymion was a mythical figure and regarded by the people of Heracleia as the founder of their city.

After Pleistarch's death, the Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemaies of Egypt alternately ruled Heracleia. When the Romans defeated the Seleucids at Magnesia ad Sipylum in 190 BC, Heracleia became an independent city. The 2nd century BC was a period of prosperity for the people of Heracleia. During that time, the agora, the largest level area inside the city was built. Other public buildings, such as the city hall (bouleuterion), the theater and the gymnasium located to the east of the agora, also date to the 2nd century BC (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005).

The city lost its independence, and soon after, its significance in 129 BC, when Caria became part of the Roman province Asia. Only a few major structures such as the bath (thermae) and a water reservoir were built during the Roman period. In comparison to the nearby cities of Miletus and Ephesus, Heracleia had few Roman buildings, and like Priene retained its original Hellenistic character. This aspect of Heracleia makes it special in the history of urban planning (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005; Distelrath, 2011).

The period of decline continued throughout Late Antiquity and into the Byzantine period. The coastal areas of Caria and its mountainous hinterlands such as the Latmus benefitted from the arrival of monks who fled Sinai and Egypt and found refuge in the area during the mid-7th century AD. These monks transformed the area into a monastic center with an abundance of

churches, fortresses, settlements and fresco-decorated caves at higher elevations. Subsequent Byzantine settlement did not have a destructive impact on the ruins of Heracleia (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005; Distelrath, 2011).

In the 11th century, Byzantine emperors tried to secure lands threatened by Turkish invasion. Many settlements and monasteries including those of Herakleia added fortification but monks soon began abandoning the area. After the Seljuks conquered Asia Minor in the late 13th century, Heracleia, lands around Milas, as well as the Latmos region came under Turkish rule (Peschlow, 2005).

The cultural landscape of the Beşparmak area started to transform with the beginning of Turkish rule. Many former Byzantine settlements around Mount Latmus remained abandoned, but because of the availability of water, nomads (yörüks or Turkmens) eventually started to use these areas for seasonal settlement and grazing areas.²⁰ During Ottoman rule, permanent settlement reappeared in the area driven by climatic conditions, economic and political circumstances. In the early 19th century, a group of nomads settled among the ruins of Heracleia, and what was initially a group of huts transformed into the current village settlement Kapıkırı.

The Need for Conservation

Cultural heritage resources. Twenty years of extensive archaeological surface research lead by Peschlow-Bindokat, highlighted the need of preserving the ruins of Heracleia and the earlier Latmos. Peschlow-Bindokat noticed the slow but steady destruction of Heracleia's ruins as the modern village settlement expanded (A. Peschlow, personal communication). Latmos was not affected by modern development. Correspondence with the MCT in the 1980s resulted in protected site status for both antique cities (MCT records). As noted previously, an area that

²⁰ A nomadic lifestyle was common in Anatolia until the late 19th century (Höhfeld, 2005)

includes the territories of Heracleia and Latmos were encircled with First-degree Archaeological Site status in 1989. The culture-protected area also includes two Byzantine monasteries and their fortifications to the west and south of the village. It does not include the prehistoric rock paintings mentioned above as these were discovered after protected site designation. The cultural heritage resources of the protected site are governed and managed by the MCT's GDCHM. Even though this protected site status bans all forms of construction and renovation, the ministry never presented villagers an alternative solution.

Peschlow-Bindokat (2005) and Distelrath (2011, p. 106) identified the below listed cultural heritage resources as needing preservation based on their "original substance." Distelrath (2011) argues that because the heritage value stems from original substance, if it is damaged or destroyed, then the heritage value is threatened or lost. Figure 6 is a map showing the city center of Heracleia with particular heritage resources and the distribution of modern Turkish development relative to these resources.

The city walls. The city walls built during Pleistarch's rule are among the most impressive examples of the Greco-Roman world, and one of the best-preserved antique wall systems of Turkey. Parts of the walls remain intact to their full height, and therefore represent excellent examples of antique fortification structures. The 2 to 6 m high and 2 to 3.30 m thick walls were built across a rocky landscape with towers spaced 75 m apart. The walls are threatened by the construction of modern buildings that cover or butt up against the historic structures. In the past, villagers also used wall fragments in the construction of new houses and as markings for grazing areas (Distelrath, 2011).

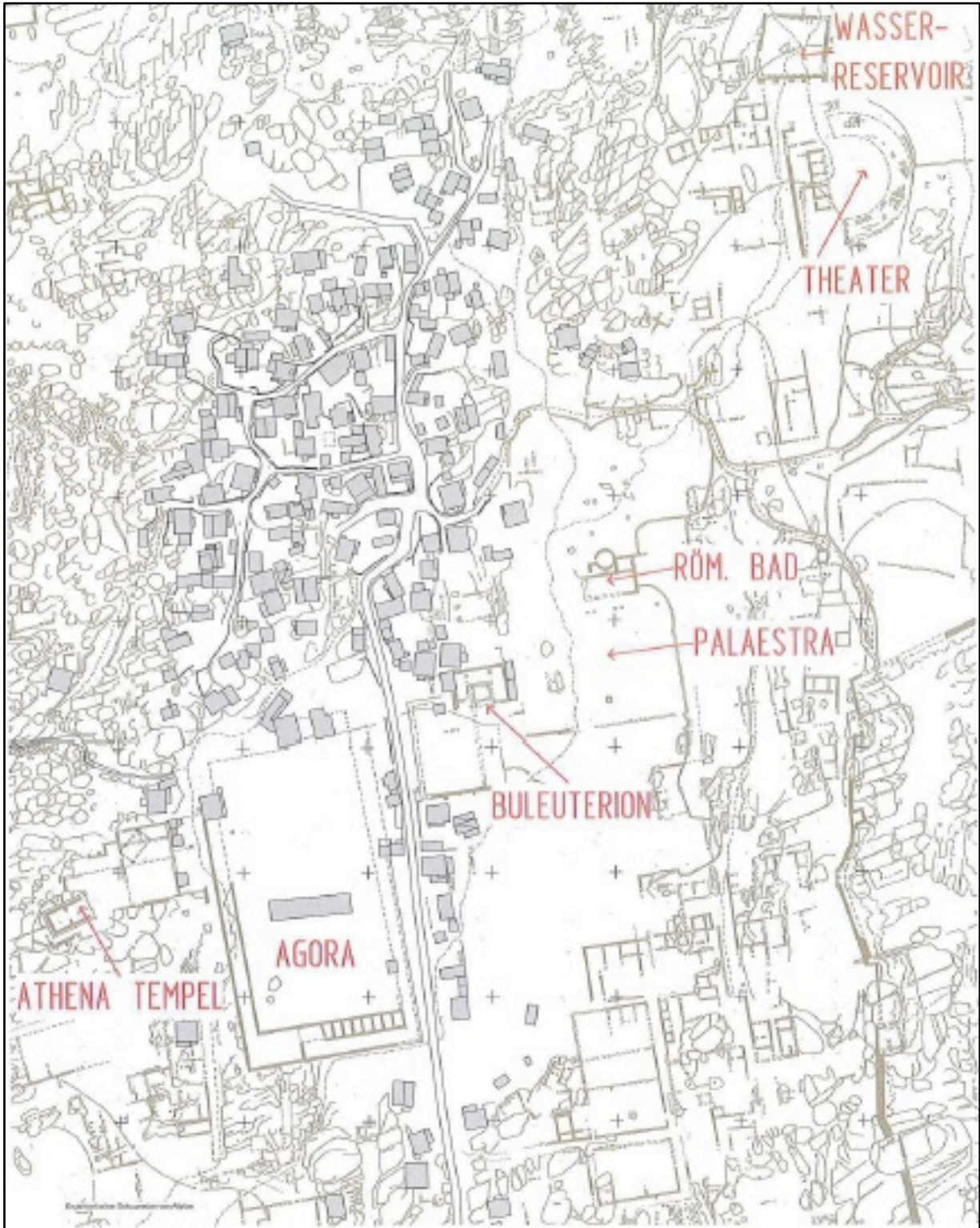


Figure 6. The Center of Ancient Heracleia with Newer Turkish Settlement (shown in grey). Source: Distelrath (2011)



Figure 7. Areal Photo of Kapıkırı. Photo taken in direction north, showing development around the main road (photo courtesy of D. Gansera)

The agora. The agora stands in the center of the ancient city. It is a large, rectangular space, 110 m x 60 m, surrounded with marble columns of Doric order. It has elaborate substructures along its southern side that provided a level terrace for the open space above. Construction was never completed, evident from a number of unfinished segments. The school

building in the agora in 1961, development expanded to the south of the village. More modern construction along the main road to the east of the agora, and earlier development to the north and northwest resulted in a loss of the historic character of this area (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005; Distelrath, 2011).

The city hall (bouleuterion). The city hall northeast of the agora was also built in the 2nd century BC. Its lower structure is still well preserved. In past centuries, however, many of its blocks were removed and burned for the extraction of lime. In antiquity, the agora and the city hall were adjacent to one another. Today, the village's main road divides these two structures, making it difficult to establish the historic connection between the two. Various other parts of the city hall ruins are either used as grazing areas or as the foundation for new construction; for example, stalls were built adjacent to its walls (Distelrath, 2011).

The Temple of Athena. Directly west of the agora lies the city's main sanctuary, the Temple of Athena. Built in the 3rd century BC, it is a simple structure of Doric order. Its cella walls, made of blocks of local gneissic rock, still stand to a considerable height. Constructed on the top of a cliff, it is visible from afar, and thus became a major landmark of the city. The temple also served as an archive for the city. Inscriptions on its north flank walls provide significant information about the history of the city, as well as Asia Minor at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. The defeat of the Seleucid king Antiochos III by the Roman army at Magnesia ad Sipylum in 190 BC is reported in these inscriptions. Another block that was originally located on the southern side of the temple records Rome's announcement of Heracleia as a free city, a consequence of the above-mentioned battle. This block, however, is now displayed in Paris at the Louvre.²¹ Apart from the historic significance of these inscriptions, they contain interesting

²¹ Translations of inscriptions into German language are provided in Peschlow-Bindokat (2005)

information about life in ancient Heracleia documenting trade, farming, animal husbandry and beekeeping. In addition, marble and iron were extracted from quarries and ore mines in the area for export (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005). The temple itself does not face any threat from new development, however construction of houses, stalls and storage places happening in its immediate vicinity significantly impairs its visual aspect and its significance as the city's principal landmark (Distelrath, 2011).

The Sanctuary of Endymion. To the south of the agora lies the sanctuary of Endymion, still in relatively good condition. Its distinct wall structure built of local gneissic rock suggests a Hellenistic date in the 3rd century BC. Its unique cave-like structure, a horseshoe-shaped chamber with an entrance hall and a pillared forecourt, was very likely used to make an association with the mythic figure Endymion, the moon goddess Selene's lover, who was said to live in a cave of Mount Latmus (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005). The construction of stalls adjacent to the sanctuary, and an asphalt road that passes adjacent to the entrance hall significantly impacts the unique appearance of this structure (Distelrath, 2011).

The theater. The antique theater, located northeast of the city center, is badly weathered and covered by vegetation and soil. Several rows of seats cut into bedrock and covered with marble slabs are still identifiable. Because of its peripheral location, the theater has not been impacted by construction and is used as a grazing area (Distelrath, 2011).

Antique dwellings. Antique residential areas are not easily identifiable but were concentrated along the cliffs to the north of the Temple of Athena (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005). A housing had to be built to conform to the rocky landscape, large boulders were shaped and their surface evened. In many cases, these boulders formed the side- or back walls of houses. Housing in the central and southern areas was densely built in rectangular blocks. Distelrath (2011)

observed that the remaining traces of antique housing were severely damaged because they could not be identified or were not regarded as valuable.

The necropolises. The city's necropolises are distributed around new and old settlements. Three hundred graves were identified on a peninsula that extends to the south of Heracleia. Graves are rectangular shaped hollows averaging 1.80 m in length, 0.40–0.50 m in width and 0.40-0.50 m in depth. They were carved into the rock and closed with a heavy slab of gneissic rock; in some cases graves have a gable-shaped lid. Cremation graves were similar structures, but smaller in size. In total, about 2,400 graves were identified in the area, all robbed. Because of their peripheral location to current development, the necropolises do not face any immediate threat (Distelrath, 2011).

Roman and Byzantine structures. Significant buildings dating to Roman times are the bath and a water reservoir located to the east of the agora. These areas are mainly used for grazing and do not face any immediate threat from development. Byzantine monasteries are located to the west, on the Kapıkırı island, and to the south of the village, along a peninsula, and have not been facing any threat due to modern construction (Distelrath, 2011).

Nature heritage resources and biodiversity. The area around Kapıkırı contains various natural heritage resources that developed as a result of its unique natural history. However, anthropogenic interventions, such as the cultivation of olive trees, have also been a significant component of the area's natural resources and contribute to the integrity of the landscape. The natural heritage resources of special value, threatened by pollution, habitat loss and other anthropogenic effects are:

Fauna. Lake Bafa is considered a significant bird area based on criteria listed in the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands.²² Two hundred sixty one bird species were identified in 2005 as part of the preparation of the Lake Bafa Long-term Management Plan (MEF, 2008). The fact that the lake meets the criteria of typical Ramsar Sites increases the likelihood that in the future it will be included in the Ramsar List of Wetlands of International Importance. Even though Lake Bafa may not be classified as a lake with significant areas of marshland it still provides excellent habitats for water birds to nest and find food.

Among the birds identified at the lake, the following species require more urgent attention for conservation according to the IUCN: the sociable plover (*Vanellus gregarius*) (critically endangered); the lesser white-fronted goose (*Anser erythropus*) (vulnerable), the marbled duck (*Marmaronetta angustirostris*) (vulnerable), the greater spotted eagle (*Aquila clanga*) (vulnerable), the Eastern imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*) (vulnerable), the lesser kestrel (*Falco naumanni*) (vulnerable), the Dalmatian pelican (*Pelecanus crispus*) (vulnerable), the ferruginous duck (*Aythya nyroca*) (near threatened), the pallid harrier (*Circus macrourus*) (near threatened), Audouin's sea gull (*Larus audouinii*) (near threatened), and the cinereous bunting (*Emberiza cineracea*) (near threatened).

The most commonly seen birds are reed warblers (*Acrocephalus scirpaceus*), coots (*Fulica atra*), moorhens (*Gallinula chloropus*), little egrets (*Egretta garzetta*), and grey herons

²² The Convention on Wetlands of International Importance called the Ramsar Convention is an intergovernmental treaty that provides the framework for national action and international cooperation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources. Negotiated through the 1960s by countries and non-governmental organizations that were concerned at the increasing loss and degradation of wetland habitat for migratory water birds, the treaty was adopted in the Iranian city of Ramsar in 1971 and came into force in 1975. It is the only global environmental treaty that deals with a particular ecosystem, and the Convention's member countries cover all geographic regions of the planet. Turkey became a partner of the Ramsar Convention in 1993, and in 2005 the Regulation of the Protection of Wetland Areas was officially put in effect by the MEF. Within the framework of the regulation, all wetland areas in Turkey need to be conserved and used sustainably. Furthermore, qualifying wetland areas can be nominated as Ramsar Sites, or be given national conservation status (as *wetland conservation areas*). Turkey currently has 13 wetland sites that are included in the Ramsar List of Wetlands of International Importance. Retrieved on September 25, 2011 from <http://www.ramsar.org>

(*Ardea cinerea*). In addition to these birds, the rocky landscape provides suitable habitats for predator birds such as the long-legged buzzard (*Buteo rufinus*), and the short-toed snake eagle (*Circaetus gallicus*). These birds are also commonly observed in the area (MEF, 2008).

Flora. The area around Lake Bafa is also rich in flora. A total of 325 plant species belonging to 237 genera, and 80 families were identified in the area (MEF, 2005). Among these plants, the following 16 species are endemic to the area: *Alkanna pinardii* Boiss. (endangered), *Alyssum hirsutum* M. Bieb. var. *caespitosa* Dudley (near threatened), *Campanula podocarpa* Boiss. (near threatened), *Campanula hagielia* Boiss. (vulnerable), *Arenaria luschani* McNeill (vulnerable), *Limonium effusum* (Boiss.) O.Kuntze (vulnerable), *Alkanna areolata* Boiss. var. *areolata* (least concern), *Campanula lyrata* Lam. ssp. *lyrata* (least concern), *Gypsophila confertifolia* Hub.-Mor (least concern), *Scabiosa reuterana* Boiss. (least concern), *Euphorbia falcata* L. ssp. *macrostegia* (Bornm.) O. Schwarz (least concern), *Stachys cretica* L. ssp. *smyrnaea* Rech (least concern), *Cyclamen trichopteranum* O.Schwarz (least concern), *Rhamnus pyrellus* O. Schwarz (least concern), *Galium brevifolium* Sm. ssp. *Brevifolium* (least concern), and *Gladiolus anatolicus* (Boiss.) Staph (least concern). The list illustrates that among endemic species, one is endangered, and three are vulnerable in terms of their risk of extinction. All other species' (both endemic and commonly found) conservation status was identified as "least concern" (MEF, 2008).

Geomorphological structures (tafoni). A significant geological aspect of the area is that it forms the western part of one of Turkey's oldest massifs, the Menderes massif, which consists of old Precambrian metamorphosed augen gneisses and schists. Immediately north, east and northeast of Lake Bafa, schist-micaschists and granite formations of Precambrian age shape the landscape. What is particularly interesting about these formations is that they create a bizarre

rocky landscape of *tafoni*. Due to the actions of weathering, the large granite and augen gneiss blocks were transformed into bizarre shapes, some of them resembling the heads of humans or creatures. Many blocks have rounded outer shapes and cave-like features with rounded entrances and smooth concave walls underneath their top. These cave-like features called “tafoni” frequently occur in granitic rocks, which partly explains their formation in this location. These interesting geomorphologic structures, named “the Menderes Massif Tafoni” by Alkanoğlu (1984), were included in the Turkish Geological Heritage Inventory. This inventory, created by the Turkish Association for the Conservation of the Geological Heritage (JEMIRKO), documents significant geosites in Turkey that have special geological heritage value. Alkanoğlu (1984) notes that the formation and structure of these tafoni are typical and that they attract attention from both the scientific community and the public.²³

The lake’s geomorphologic structures. As noted earlier, Lake Bafa was once the Gulf of Latmos and open to the Aegean, but silted in by alluvium deposited by the Meandros river in late antiquity. After this period, small streams have continued to deposit alluvium particularly during flooding periods of the Menderes River. The following geomorphologic structures developed as a result of the lake’s interesting natural history:

Sandy beaches. Light colored sand, deposited by small streams, and sandy material, accumulated as a result of the disintegration of granitic rock, form the northern sandy beaches.

Islands, tombolos and lagoons. The lake also contains islands that are connected to the mainland through underwater sand banks called tombolo. These islands are extensions of the Menderes massif that runs perpendicular to the Aegean shoreline. The long sand banks emerge when the water level drops, and are geomorphologically important. Two of these tombolos to the

²³ Information retrieved on 24 September 2011 from the Turkish Association for the Conservation of the Geological Heritage (JEMIRKO)’s website: <http://www.jemirko.org.tr/>

north of the lake are generally above the water level. They also form barriers to shallow areas of the lake immediately behind them; this can lead to the formation of lagoons inside the lake. One of these lagoons, also at the northern shoreline, is a preferred nesting and feeding area of birds (MEF, 2008).

Threats to conservation. The most pressing environmental problem of the nature park is lake pollution caused primarily by contaminated river waters. Furthermore, since the construction of a regulating system by the State Hydraulic Works (DSI) at the mouth of the Menderes river in 1985, the lake has been experiencing significant ecological imbalances that have caused the death of fish populations in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The regulating system was built to irrigate farmland of the Söke Plain (to the northwest of Lake Bafa) with river water, to prevent flooding of the Menderes River from causing damage in surrounding villages and on farmland, and also to be able to control the amount of river water to be released into the lake.²⁴ In addition, untreated waste water is regularly released into the lake by olive oil factories, a fish farm and small businesses established along the lakeshore, also poor waste management and the lack of sewage systems in village settlements, and this discharge has contributed to pollution in and around the lake (MEF, 2008).

²⁴ Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s cotton used to be the primary agricultural product grown on this extensive alluvial plain.

Chapter 5: Survey Results

This chapter presents the study results related to the impacts of top-down protected area governance on protected area residents' livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing. Fieldwork examined the positive and negative impacts of both culture and nature-protected area designations on the livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of residents, how these impacts were distributed across community groups, and whether protected area designation in general compensated for any potential loss of income by increasing tourism. Interviews with officials of different levels of protected area governance investigated decision-making processes and awareness of local dynamics impacted by protected area governance. Survey results are presented based on content analysis and survey responses, and are grouped as *Findings on Local Livelihoods and Socioeconomic Wellbeing*, *Findings on Impacts of Protected Area Status*, and *Findings on Protected Area Governance in Turkey*.

Findings on Local Livelihoods and Socioeconomic Wellbeing

The study assessed village households' livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing by means of semi-structured interviews posed to seniors, farmers, women, and business owners, and a household questionnaire (survey) given to a sample of 25 households. The main goal was to record villagers' accounts of their livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing over a time span of about 25 years, both before and after protected area designation. Questions were formulated to elicit information on current and past livelihood activities, current income levels, and perceptions of current and past income levels and social and economic wellbeing (see Appendix B).

Livelihood activities. As mentioned earlier, at the time of the study, villagers' major economic activities were livestock keeping, fishing, growing olives, some level of farming and beekeeping, and participation in tourism. It was observed that the majority of village households were pursuing a combination of these economic activities.

Livestock keeping. Livestock keeping was described by villagers as a "good" source of income; however, the cost of care for livestock was mentioned as high. On average, villagers owned 4 to 5 cows. The monthly income from 5 cows, producing about 0.6 ton of milk per month, was on average TL300 (about \$170).²⁵ In addition, cattle were also regarded as an important source of capital. Villagers often financed costly events, such as their children's wedding ceremonies or expensive purchases, by selling cattle. At the time of the study, villagers were able to sell a cow for about TL5,000 (about \$2,800).

Fishing. Another significant economic activity pursued by villagers was fishing. As noted above, this activity was abandoned in the late 1990s when fish populations diminished significantly. In October and November of 2010, villagers observed increased fish populations and resumed fishing. On average, catches were between 50 to 80 kg per day, and were sold to middlemen for about TL2 (about \$1) per fish. By the fall of 2011, nearly 40% of all male villagers were fishing, providing additional income for their households.

Olive growing. All but two households reported owning an olive orchard. Sizes of olive orchards varied between 2 and 10 hectares, and three households reported owning orchards larger than 10 hectares. As olive trees produce fruits biennially, villagers' earnings from the sale of olives and/or olive oil fluctuates from one year to the next. Villagers reported harvesting on average 300 to 500 kg of olives per season. Olives were taken to local oil production facilities,

²⁵ The abbreviation "TL" denotes "Turkish Liras."

where they were cold-pressed for the extraction of (extra virgin) olive oil. On average, an olive orchard of about 5 hectares in size yielded about a ton of olive oil.²⁶ Depending on the yield of olive oil, villagers were selling a portion and keeping some for their own use.

Other farming activities and beekeeping. Almost all villagers owned parcels of farmland, varying between 0.2 and 1 hectare. Villagers perceived their farmland to be small, and related this to the steep and rocky terrain gaining almost immediate elevation at the shoreline of the lake. About a third of farmers who were keeping cows used their farmland to grow corn for fodder. Farmers who planted other crops were typically growing these for subsistence purposes. Table 9 shows the types and hectares of crops planted in 2010. Villagers also reported beekeeping as an important activity until recent years. When honey yields decreased substantially as a result of climate change, most abandoned beekeeping with only several households left engaging in this economic activity.

Table 9

Crops Planted on Farmland of Kapıkırı in 2010

<i># of households</i>	<i>Crops planted</i>	<i>Hectares of land</i>
57	Olives	222
36	Corn	32
5	Barley	5
4	Oats	4
5	Watermelon	2
1	Wheat	1.2
1	Cotton	0.75
1	Vetch	0.6
1	Mandarin	0.5
1	Walnuts	0.5
1	Meadow grass	0.4
1	Mixed vegetables	0.3

Source: Milas Subprovincial Office of Agriculture

²⁶ During the time of the study, the price of extra-virgin olive oil was TL3.50 (about \$2).

Participation in tourism. During the time of the study, there were ten tourism businesses (eight pensions and two restaurants) in the village owned and managed by local families. Business owners reported that their busiest periods were in spring and fall because most foreign tourists came to hike in the Latmos Mountains and around Lake Bafa. The hottest months, July and August, were, not surprisingly, months with lowest visitor levels. All business owners reported being self-educated on managing their businesses, all indicated that family members primarily ran their businesses; only two pension owners reported hiring non-family staff from or outside the village. While prices for rooms were affordable for mid-income visitors, the quality of service varied significantly among businesses. Services offered by pensions were basic and generally included breakfast and dinner. All eight pensions also served as restaurants for people not staying in the facility. All facilities offered hiking and boat tours.

Farmers also participated in tourism. While men sold caught fish to tourism businesses and provided boat tours to tourists, women and adolescent girls sold traditional crafts, handmade soap and honey. Village women and adolescent girls spent a significant portion of their leisure time making traditional crafts such as headbands, scarves, bracelets, necklaces and lacework. They gathered in central locations, produced crafts, and approached visitors directly, presenting their crafts on trays. A few women preferred displaying their crafts on stationary display stands in front of their houses. A group of women also offered tourists short walking tours to certain major sightseeing spots in the village in the hope of earning extra income.

Interviews with sample households revealed that about half the village women participated in tourism by producing traditional handcrafts. It was reported that making and selling handcrafts increased steadily over the last two decades. While a few elderly women started making and selling handcrafts over 20 years ago, women did not start regularly

participating in tourism until the late 1990s and early 2000s. This indicates that most village women had been earning additional income from tourism for about a decade.

Income levels. Different groups of farm households (aged 31 to 50, and 51 and older), village women selling crafts, and business owners were asked about their actual and perceived monthly income levels.

Farm households. About 34% of interviewed households consisted of farm couples between ages 31 and 50; of these, 40% had social security. The majority of households pursued a combination of economic strategies such as keeping livestock, fishing and participating in tourism.²⁷ Nearly three-fourths of households reported an average monthly income between TL501 and TL1000 (between \$270 and \$540). Two households reported an average monthly income of between TL1001 and TL3000 (between \$540 and \$1600). In these households, one household member was a governmental official with a regular monthly salary. One household reported a monthly income below TL500 (below \$270). This household was selling handicrafts and offering boat tours to tourists. Three-fourths of households perceived their income as mid-range. Two households reported barely making ends meet, and one household reported struggling economically.

Senior households. Nearly half (46%) of the interviewed households were senior couples above age 50 who had a retirement income. Senior villagers reported that, with only a few exceptions, all senior households had a retirement income. A large share of senior households also pursued multiple income activities. Half of the interviewed retired households kept cows, including those households who kept cows for subsistence, and households who pursued cow

²⁷ During the second visit to the village, in the fall of 2010, the majority of men of farm households started fishing as a result of significantly increased fish populations. By the fall of 2011, nearly 40% of all male villagers fished, providing additional income.

husbandry as an additional source of income. While few senior villagers fished for extra income, about 60% of senior village women (above age 51) participated in tourism by making handcrafts.

Half of senior households reported an average monthly income between TL501 and 1000 (between \$270 and \$540). In most cases, this income constituted their retirement income plus other income sources such as the sale of milk or handcrafts. Ten percent of senior households had a higher monthly income, between TL1001 and TL3000 (between \$540 and \$1600). Those with the highest income reported owning more than ten cows. In an extended family household the men went fishing, and women tended cows and made handcrafts during their leisure time. When asked about their income levels, most seniors characterized their income as mid-income range. Thirty percent of seniors reported an average monthly income below TL500 (\$270); these were households without a retirement income, because they did not participate in a retirement program implemented by the state in the 1990s. They indicated that it was difficult to make ends meet, and that they had been relying financially on their children and/or income earned by participating in tourism.

Village women. When women selling crafts were asked how much their additional income was contributing to their total household income, about two-thirds reported that the money earned from selling handcrafts contributed less than TL100 (about \$55) a month. The women expressed gratitude for being able to earn even a small amount of money to cover the cost of household needs such as tea and sugar. One-third of women participating in tourism reported earning between TL101 and TL500 (\$55 to \$270). Two of this group reported that their household depended on their income from tourism. One of the two, a 70-year-old senior woman, explained that: “Those women who are not able to keep up with the work involved in keeping

cows, have limited farmland or olive orchards, or have health problems like I have, have no other choice than doing this business.”

Business owners. Among the ten businesses owned and managed by local families, two were run by extended families, and thus earnings were shared by at least two households. Only one business hired a non-family staff person from the village, and another business hired a staff person from outside the village. On average, pensions had 6.7 rooms, and the village had 60 tourist rooms (approximately 120 beds).

Business owners felt reluctant to divulge their monthly income. Only one pension owner indicated that pension owners were earning on average €25,000 (or \$33,300) a year by hosting tourists. While seven business owners noted making a comfortable living, three expressed economic hardship. A business owner who indicated making a comfortable living perceived the difference in income between pension owners and farmers to be “significant,” and considerably higher than the average monthly income of farmers. On the other hand, other business owners shared the view that farmers were able to make a comfortable living by keeping livestock, taking tourists on boat tours or selling fish to businesses. According to these business owners, the demand in tourism was providing villagers enough opportunities to improve their lives.

Comparative actual and perceived income levels. Among all households interviewed, 62% indicated an average monthly income of between TL501 and TL1000 (between \$270 and \$540). The majority of this group constitutes farmers and senior households. Twenty percent of all interviewed households reported an average monthly income below TL500 (\$270). These were senior households with no social security income, and households dependent on the sale of handcrafts and other activities serving tourism. Twelve percent of households reported an average monthly income between TL1001 and TL3000 (\$540 and \$1600). This group constituted

farmers owning more than 10 cows, and households with members working for the government. Six percent of households, pension owners, were in the highest income level, above TL3000 (\$1600). Figure 8 shows the distribution of four income levels among village households.

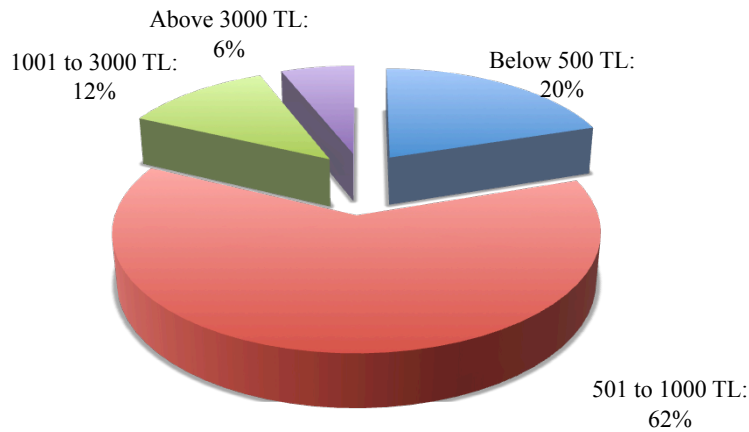


Figure 8. Shares of villagers' average monthly income levels

The majority of households interviewed (72%), farmers, seniors and business households, perceived their monthly income as mid-range and reported making a comfortable living. However, during interviews only business owners reported being able to afford vacations outside the tourism season. Also, the majority of farmers and senior households did not own a vehicle, while the majority of business owners owned at least one vehicle. Twenty percent of all households reported barely making ends meet. These were senior households with no social security income. Four percent of households reported experiencing economic hardships; these households depended solely on the sale of handcrafts. Only 4%, business owners, perceived their income as high (see Figure 9).

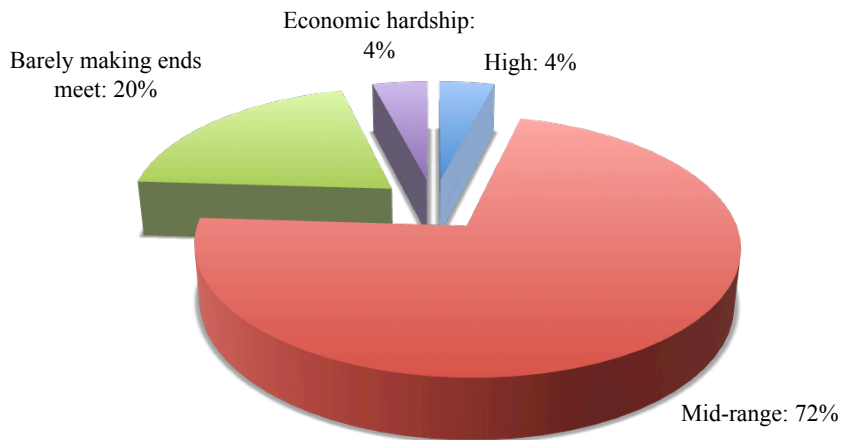


Figure 9. Villagers' Perceptions of their average monthly income levels

When households were asked which of the different groups (farmers, senior households, and business owners) they perceived as having the highest income, the majority perceived business owners as having a significantly higher income than all other groups of villagers. Farmer households engaging in multiple livelihood activities were perceived as having mid-range incomes. Senior farmers (older than age 51) with no social security were perceived as the group with the least economic means.

Past livelihoods and perceived income levels. When mostly senior villagers (above age 51) were interviewed about their past, they reported a significant change over the past few decades. In the 1980s, villagers primarily grew cotton as a major income activity. Even though villagers reported not owning large parcels of land, growing cotton was profitable, and families were able to make a comfortable living from the cotton harvest. Some villagers reported being able to go on vacations or finance their children's weddings without financial difficulties. Most seniors described these years as a "period of abundance." Even though, in terms of physical labor, these years were not easy years, they indicated that their efforts were rewarded. Senior

villagers reported that this period of abundance ended due to certain national agricultural policies and prices. Low crop prices, high costs of farming, quotas on the production of certain crops such as tobacco and cotton, and the regional economic conjuncture during those years, made it ultimately more and more difficult to grow cotton. Cotton production was entirely abandoned by the late 1990s. Besides growing cotton, fishing was also a common livelihood in the 1980s and early 1990s. Villagers not owning sufficient farmland to grow cotton could fish. However, this economic activity also ended when fish populations started to dwindle in the 1990s and early 2000s, as a result of an imbalance in the lake's chemistry. Different from the current situation, back then livestock was kept primarily for subsistence purposes. With the loss of two major livelihood activities in the early 2000s, farmers turned to milk production as a source of income. Villagers described the period during which they had to abandon growing cotton and fishing as "a period of poverty." Some indicated, "the place literally ended" during this period of hardship.

Village women reported that it was also during the late 1990s that more and more women found opportunities to earn additional income by producing handcrafts for the tourist market. Based on the villagers' accounts, tourists started to visit the village and its antique city in the 1960s and 1970s, long before protected area designation. During those years, a few teahouses and simple restaurants served tourists. Tourism steadily increased after access to the village was improved by the building of an asphalt road. From the 1980s on, the teahouse and restaurant owners started to transform their businesses into bed and breakfasts. By the late 1990s, the growing tourist trade created a ready market for local handcrafts.

Findings on Impacts of Protected Area Designations

Semi-structured interview questions were posed to farmers, seniors, business owners and youth, and a household survey was conducted to investigate the ways culture-protected area (*First-degree Archaeological Site*) and nature-protected area designation (*Lake Bafa Nature Park*) impacted livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing. Another purpose was to find out how these impacts were distributed among different groups of villagers.

Impacts of culture-protected area designation. Strict culture-protected area designation was implemented for an area covering modern and ancient settlement in 1989 imposing a ban on any interventions to ancient and modern cultural heritage. All villagers of Kapıkırı were affected by the ban, as modern settlement was surrounded by the culture-protected area boundary. The ban, however, had different implications for different groups of villagers. While pension owners couldn't expand to meet tourism demand, farmers faced difficulty providing housing for subsequent generations, improving current housing conditions, and building proper shelter for livestock.

History of settlement. The first settlers (nomads) came to the area in the early 19th century and settled among the ruins of ancient dwellings to the north of the city center of Heracleia. As the population of these early settlers increased, the number of houses built around the core settlement increased. Until the 1960s, settlement was relatively dense around the core. Traditional houses were built mainly of stone, brick, and wood, but the use of spolia or ancient construction material, such as rectangular blocks of granite that once formed the ancient city wall of Heracleia, was also common. Houses commonly had two floors, with the lower level serving as storage, and the upper floor used as living space. Starting in the 1960s, village settlement started to spread south of the ancient city, increasing the risk of harm to major ruins such as the

agora, the bouleuterion, and the Temple of Athena. Until the culture-protected area designation in 1989, villagers continued to build and extend houses and pensions along the main street to the south. Villagers also built housing and pensions along a second major village road leading to the lakeshore, southwest of current village settlement. German archaeologist Dr. Anneliese Peschlow, who did extensive research in the area, and her Turkish colleagues remarked that by the time the MCT implemented strict culture-protected area designation in 1989, the antique ruins of Heracleia were already significantly harmed by modern settlement (Distelrath, 2011).

Even after strict culture-protected area designation, villagers continued to construct new buildings and renovate old, although illegally. They also started to increasingly use newer architectural styles, and employ cheaper and easier-to-handle building materials that did not conform to traditional architectural styles and original building materials (Distelrath, 2011). Poured concrete houses with metal window frames, and non-traditional roof tiles started to flourish. Many villagers left top levels of houses unfinished, not building a proper roof, likely with the intention of building an additional level at a later time. Pension owners used a variety of prefabricated styles to increase the number of guest rooms in their facilities.

By 2011, 25 structures had been built illegally following strict culture-protected area designation. This number included new houses, new businesses, extensions to houses and businesses, and animal shelters. In ten cases, villagers made substantial renovations around the exterior of their houses (see Figure 11). Overall, 72.5% of all households (both farmers and pension owners) interviewed indicated hardship and frustration caused by the ban on renovation and new construction within protected site boundaries.

Farmers. About half of the farmers interviewed reported having experienced or were still experiencing problems with governing bodies because of the construction of a new house or an

additional level to an existing house. Among those farmers who did not build illegally, about a third expressed urgency for a new house for their sons planning to get married. According to local traditions, young men have to own a house before getting married. Many families indicated concern with the notion of “not being able to add one stone because of the fear of getting fined.” They expressed the concern that young men have no other choice than to make a living outside the village. In one case, three generations, parents, their married son and his family, were sharing a very limited living space. At the time of study, six young men wished to establish a life in the village, but were faced with this situation.

Villagers also expressed resentment towards the ban on renovations. They indicated concern for not being able to repair parts of their houses and feared the collapse of roofs or walls. Many opted for temporary or cheap solutions in fear of being fined. In most cases, it was observed that these solutions were functional rather than aesthetically pleasing. Villagers indicated that they would be ready to comply with guidelines for renovation or restoration provided by the state could provide; however without any guidelines they complained that they had no other choice than to make certain renovations secretly overnight, so they would not be reported to the local cultural heritage management office in Milas. Overall, a general dilapidation of houses and structures was observed, resulting from makeshift or temporary solutions and cheap construction materials.

Business owners. Business owners, all residents, indicated that strict culture-protected area designation was implemented at about the time when tourism started to flourish. Nevertheless, it was observed that strict culture-protected area designation did not stop owners from expanding their businesses or building new facilities. Families running a teahouse or restaurant business throughout the 1970s and 1980s, had over the years expanded their

businesses substantially. Three households established new businesses despite the ban. Other businesses built additional rooms, terraces, driveways, or parking lots. All facilities were fined for illegal activity. Two new pension facilities were banned from running their business for five years, while the other facilities that expanded their businesses paid varying monetary fines. Interviews revealed that at least four pension owners were involved in ongoing cases of illegal construction. At least half of the businesses continued to improve their facilities in different ways, despite past cases of illegal activity. However, pension owners still regarded strict culture-protected area designation a serious challenge to their efforts to meet tourism demand. A 47-year-old business owner described these dynamics as follows:

Instead of obeying the rule that forbids any sort of construction, people have been finding ways getting around the laws. We have also disregarded the law, and constructed in the past. The fines never demotivated business owners. They have been including the cost of fines to the cost of construction. So, it has been more the pension owners, rather than the farmers, who have been doing illegal construction. There was quite a lot of illegal construction during a certain period, with the concern that in the future it would not be possible to do at all.

Furthermore, both business owners and farmers commented that strict culture-protected area designation that was poorly enforced and weakly managed, initiated a number of negative and unhealthy dynamics, such as corruption and conflicts among villagers. An often-mentioned source of conflict was that villagers were reporting each other's illegal activity to the local cultural heritage management office in Milas. This was perhaps a more serious problem among pension owners who competed for business. When cases were reported to governmental authorities, local officials were often bribed so that they would not act on the case. Villagers, therefore, had the impression that it had been the business owners who had been the primary violators of law. Also, the fact that most elected mukhtars operated in their own, or their relatives' best interests, was also criticized. Past incidences, where certain people were favored

and not fined, had been causing tension and envy among villagers. Villagers therefore complained about a lack of support for each other.

Proposed solutions and major drawbacks. The fact that the majority of villagers did not have official titles to their lands was a major drawback to any possible solution to their situation. Only two pension owners reported having official titles for parts of their land. Landownership in Kapıkırı was traditionally passed from one generation to the next and unofficially registered by the mukhtar. Villagers indicated knowing each other's parcels of land, marked by simple stonewalls or wire netting, and not even "tying their cows on someone else's land." The types of properties owned were farmland, olive orchards (also used as cattle grazing areas), and properties with their houses. Villagers, who sold either of these properties, did so without providing official landownership.²⁸

According to Law No. 2863 for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, and Law No. 2873 of National Parks, even if villagers officially owned land, the use rights of any land encircled by protected status would have been transferred to the state. Landowners with official titles would have had their rights to use their land vacated; however, they would have been able to participate in state compensation programs. These programs offered landowners cash for the value of their land, or state-owned land (in another location) in exchange for their land. In certain cases, people were provided state housing in another location and compensated for their lands. The villagers of Kapıkırı, however, rejected such offers, even if compensated for their lands. Some even expressed concern that the state would move them to another location without their consent. All indicated their preference to avoid official landownership because of

²⁸ In the 1980s, the local government had initiated a campaign, where villagers were able to apply to receive official title for their lands. However, most villagers did not apply out of a fear of a tax fine for past unpaid taxes, and high tax rates applied to their properties. Citizens also have the right to apply for official title based on the Law No. 2644 of Landownership, and be granted official landownership through court decision.

the increased financial burden it would bring with property taxes. Official landownership, they explained, would also likely mean stricter enforcement and regulations to development.

When villagers were asked what the consequences would have been without the culture-protected area designation, the majority responded that it would have been very negative. Unplanned and uncontrolled construction, the development of large holiday resorts, and the loss of the village's traditional character as well as surrounding natural and cultural landscape were listed as the likely negative consequences. Almost all villagers thought that removing culture-protected area status was not a viable solution. Most residents felt that the state (MCT) "should provide us a map showing areas within the village where we can build without harming the ruins."

In an interview with the archaeologist Peschlow, she reported that a development strategy that would reconcile the conservation of cultural heritage resources and the housing situation of residents was sought in a collaborative study *Siedeln und Wohnen in einer Ruinenstätte - Ein denkmalpflegerisches Konzept für Herakleia am Latmos* with German architect Albert Distelrath. Distelrath (2011) mapped all structures in the village by years (see Figure 10).

Distelrath then examined the village settlement pattern from the 1900s to the early 2000s, in relationship to the location of major ruins. He then laid out a development plan to preserve the integrity of Heracleia, as well as that of the modern village of Kapıkırı that would be implemented over the next 10 to 20 years. Based on the conservation value and significance of ruins as parts of the ancient urban settlement system, Distelrath developed a three-level zoning system within village and ancient settlement boundaries. Traditional Turkish stone houses built before 1960 were also regarded as important components of overall village development, as these display typical signs of late Ottoman building traditions (see Figure 11).

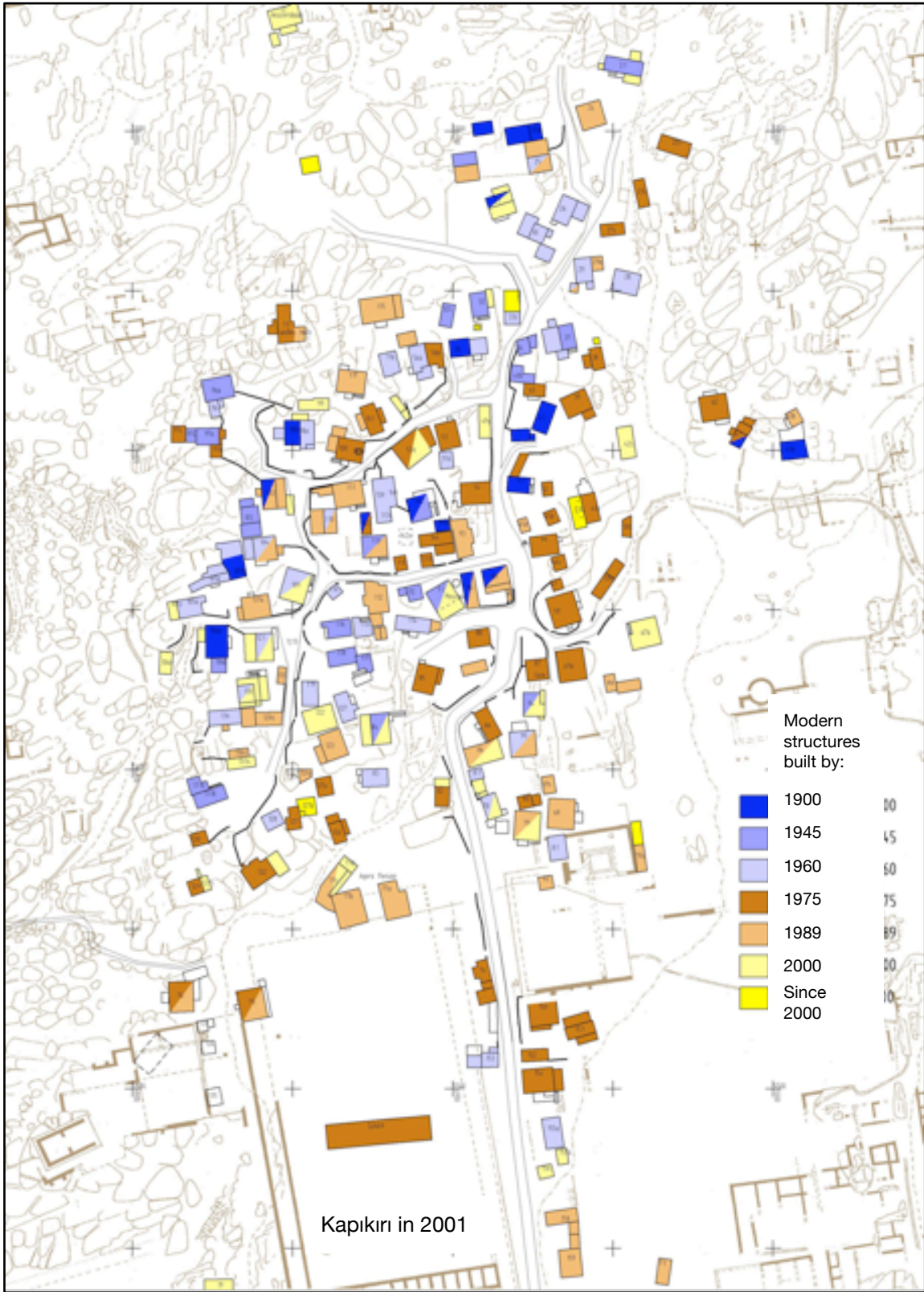


Figure 10. Village settlement pattern from the 1900s until recent years. Source: Distelrath (2011)

According to his three-level system, areas denoted as Zone 1 encircle individual ruins or groups of ruins that are of particular importance for the integrity of the ancient city and the immediate surrounding areas. These ruins, and original material used for their construction are relatively well preserved. Therefore, their need for protection is high and no construction should be allowed. Zone 2 areas encircle not-so-well-preserved ancient ruins as well as ancient settlement areas. Original material used in their construction is less intact, however, their value in terms of the overall urban structure is unmistakable. Construction in these areas should also not be permitted, except for areas not containing ruins where it may be allowed in a limited way. Traditional village houses within Zone 2 also need to be preserved and their overall appearance not changed. Lastly, Zone 3 represents the core settlement area of the village of Kapıkırı and its reserve in traditional Turkish houses that are witnesses of early settlement history. Restricted construction may be allowed in this area due to a minimal amount of ancient remnants, but should not compromise the overall appearance of the ancient city or its individual ruins. Apart from any potential harm to the ruins, the plan also forbids the demolition of any of the older Turkish houses (built before 1960), or any construction that would disturb the traditional character of these houses (see Figure 11).

By examining the construction patterns of the last decades and assuming that this pattern will continue, Distelrath (2011) predicts that further destruction of ancient buildings will occur. The irregular outward growth of the village and any new construction to the south of the core settlement will pose a threat to peripheral ruins. In order to prevent further sprawl of the village settlement to the south, Distelrath (2011) proposes that any new development occur around the original core settlement. He argues that new development in these allocated areas conforming to traditional styles of housing would not compromise the integrity of the ancient city.

Distelrath (2011) therefore suggests that any new housing, pension or other small business be built within the circumference of core village settlement, designated as Zone 3. Zone 2 areas, also within the circumference of core settlement, could also be allotted for new construction, if they do not contain ruins. Areas to the north and northeast of the village center were identified as suitable areas that would accommodate new buildings without disrupting the general integrity of the village and ancient city (see Figure 11).

Distelrath (2011) proposes that construction materials conform to the surrounding natural and built environments. However, he cautions the use of the same types of construction materials and architectural styles for all new housing in order to prevent new development to stand out from older development. Instead, he recommends variety in construction, such as plastered walls, stonewalls or brick walls.

Distelrath indicated that officials of the regional conservation office in Muğla have taken no steps toward the implementation of the plan at the time of the study. The implementation of the plan would have required an amendment of the strict culture-protected area designation by the RCC, but RCCs have been reluctant to make amendments to protected area designations, mainly to avoid controversy.

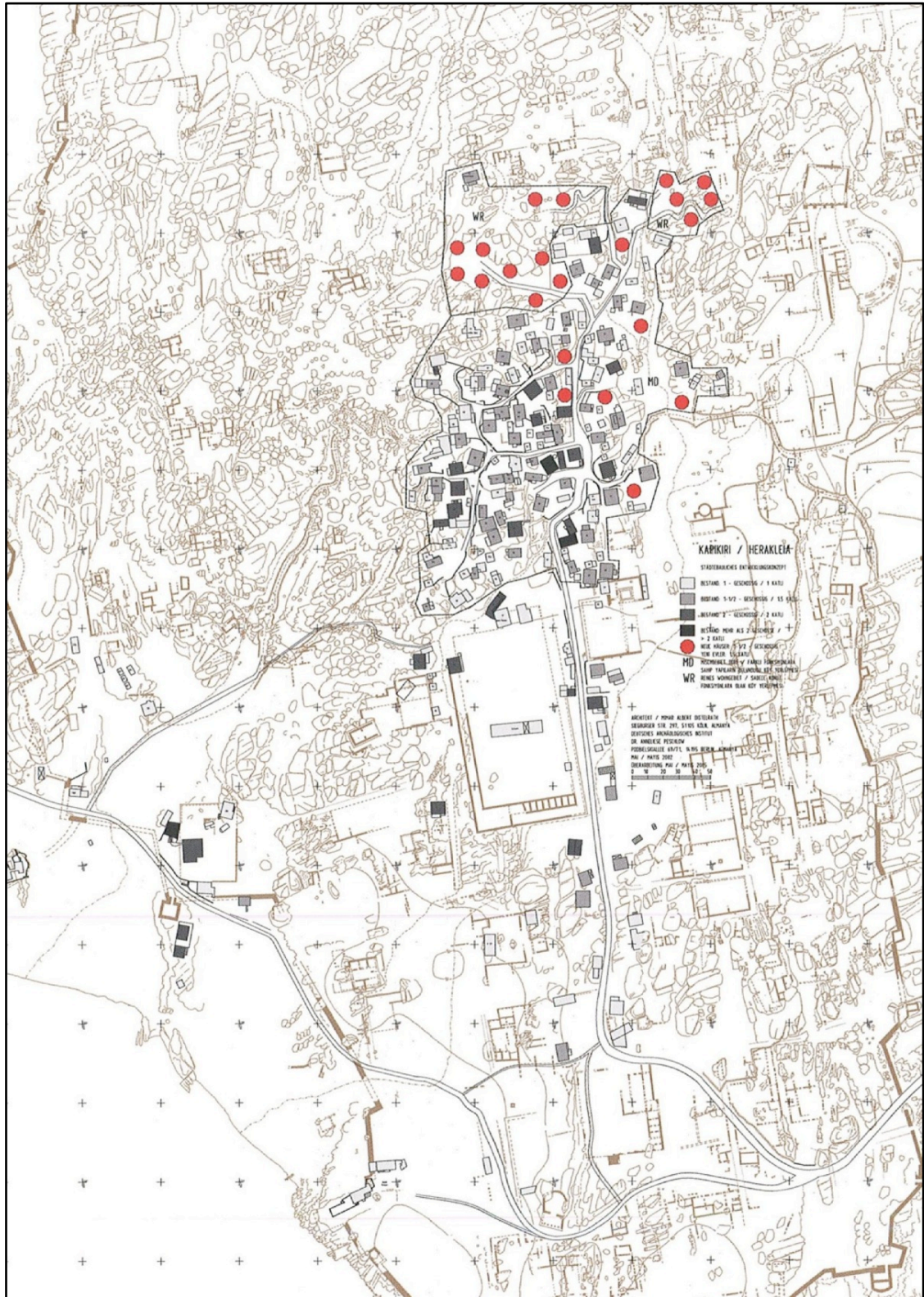


Figure 11. Potential areas for new housing and small businesses. Red dots mark areas suitable for new housing development. Source: Distelrath (2011).

Impacts of nature-protected area designation. When villagers were asked whether the *nature-protected area designation* had any impact on their livelihoods or socioeconomic wellbeing in general, they indicated that except for the ban on hunting wildlife, park designation did not have a negative impact on their livelihoods. In fact, all villagers interviewed regarded the conservation of wildlife a positive measure. Villagers explained that after park designation, park management offered little interference to farming and livestock keeping activities within park boundaries. The designation also had little impact on fishing, as it was regulated by a fishermen’s cooperative even before park designation. Fishermen sold their daily catch to the cooperative, which determined daily prices and regulated the minimum size of fish allowed to be caught.

Villagers reported that before nature-protected area designation, villagers hunted a particular bird species, the Eurasian coot (*Fulica atra*), as a food source. Bird hunters from other areas also visited the area to hunt these birds. Lake Bafa has been a preferred nesting site of coots. Each year in October and November, these birds migrate from northern regions of the hemisphere to the lake for reproduction. In the past, very large flocks of these birds came to the lake; some villagers used the term “millions” to describe the size of flocks. The birds were so abundant that parts of the lake turned black due to the color of their feathers. During fieldwork, coots, as well as grey herons, little egrets, gulls, and kingfishers were observed at the lake shoreline. Villagers reported observing a significant decline in the numbers of birds migrating to the lake each year, estimated at roughly 50% over the last decade.

About a third of households reported hunting coots in the past, because the birds were a good source of protein. Some of these villagers also offered boat tours to visiting hunters. The lake was a favorite hunting location and hunting tourism developed in the two decades before the

park designation, offering a few village households additional income. Villagers indicated that the sound of gunshots coming from the lake was common during the coots' nesting season, and described the practice of hunting as "excessive" and a "slaughter." They remarked that hunters shot up to 80 birds in one night and regarded the hunting ban as a positive measure.

Nature-protected area designation therefore affected families who used to hunt coots and/or participated in hunting tourism by offering boat tours, approximately a third of all village families. Gendarme forces or park management officials policed illegal hunting, and violators received a monetary fine. In certain rare cases, guns were confiscated and hunters taken to court. Overall, villagers interviewed seemed to be content with the ban on hunting, and did not perceive it as a significant constraint on their livelihoods as it was not their sole livelihood.

Perceived positive and negative impacts. Farmers commonly responded that the natural and cultural heritage resources surrounding the village were neither providing them any benefit nor causing them any harm. Resentment, however, was expressed towards the state regarding the ban to construction and renovation. Not much had changed regarding the management of the cultural heritage resources over the years since culture-protected area designation. Villagers complained that the state had prohibited them any change of their property, but did not offer any solution that would meet their development needs. Nevertheless, construction and renovation activities continued to occur despite strict conservation status.

While villagers expressed resentment towards the state, they also seemed to value the state's conservation efforts. They were aware that protected area status, though not entirely successful, was protecting the traditional character of the village and its surrounding area from large-scale tourism development that could potentially harm the natural and traditional landscape. While strict culture-protected area designation impaired villagers' development

needs, affecting their social wellbeing, and nature-protected area status prohibited hunting, these protected area statuses were contributing largely to the area's attractiveness as a tourism destination. Culture-protected area status was however limiting the capacity for tourism establishments while nature-protected area status was creating a demand in tourism in the village.

Tourism. As previously noted, the village had been a minor tourist destination years before protected area designation. Villagers recounted that tourism to the ancient city of Heracleia started in the 1970s. Until the early 1990s, a dirt road connected Kapıkırı to the main road and the nearest town Bafa. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, only a few villagers owned vehicles and donkeys were the principal mode of transportation. From the 1970s to the 1980s, most tourists visited the village by boat from a southern location along the lakeshore. When road conditions improved, tourists began to arrive in tour buses. These tourists generally stayed in nearby coastal towns such as Kuşadası, Didim or Selçuk, and visited the village during day trips. Pension owners reported that tour buses would bring tourists directly to the lakeshore, as the lake was not polluted in the 1970s and 1980s. It had a clean, sandy shoreline, suitable for recreational activities. A few simple teahouses and restaurants run by local business owners served the tourists. As tourism increased and the village became better known, the owners of these first small businesses expanded to building pensions. The first pensions opened in the late 1980s and early 1990s, around the time culture-protected area designation was implemented. With an increase in demand for places to stay in the village, more families established businesses throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, despite strict conservation measures.

When villagers were asked whether they noticed change in tourism after nature-protected area designation, the majority indicated that the area experienced a rise in tourists throughout the

1990s and early 2000s. However, because the state (both the MEF and MCT) did not implement a conservation and development plan that involved the building of tourism infrastructure such as trails and visitor centers, most villagers did not directly relate nature- and culture-protected area designation to any increase in tourism. Residents reported that major tourism infrastructure and services were not brought to the area by the state after protected area designation. The MEF did erect a sign in vicinity of the village announcing the *Lake Bafa Nature Park*, and the MCT put up signs in the vicinity of major ruins of Heracleia. The MCT also built a ticket booth at the entrance of the village to collect entrance fees from visitors. Based on the ticket booth official's accounts, revenues collected by the MCT have not been used to improve the village's tourism infrastructure.

A steady flow of tourists coming to the village each year has demonstrated to villagers that visitors admire the natural and cultural beauty of their village and its surroundings and that the protection of these resources is essential for tourism. Many villagers were also aware that tourists were visiting their village particularly for its authentic and traditional character, which has been preserved to some extent by strict culture-protected area designation. Many interviewed farmers, pension owners and returning visitors indicated that despite illegal construction activity over the last two decades, the village and its surrounding landscape had still largely remained intact. Villagers therefore indicated that the conservation of natural and cultural resources had been playing an important role as many tourists had been returning to the area year after year.

Data obtained from the local cultural heritage management office in Milas indicates an increase in domestic visitors and a decrease in foreign visitors between 2008 and 2010 (see Figure 12). This trend had been mentioned by the ticket booth official of the MCT, who had reported that the total number of annual visitors was nearly 6,500 at the end of 2010. During the

second visit to the village in the fall of 2011, the ticket booth official reported a further decrease, particularly European visitors, attributing the decline to the economic crisis in Europe. In the fall of 2011, village women selling traditional crafts also noticed fewer tourists coming to the village.

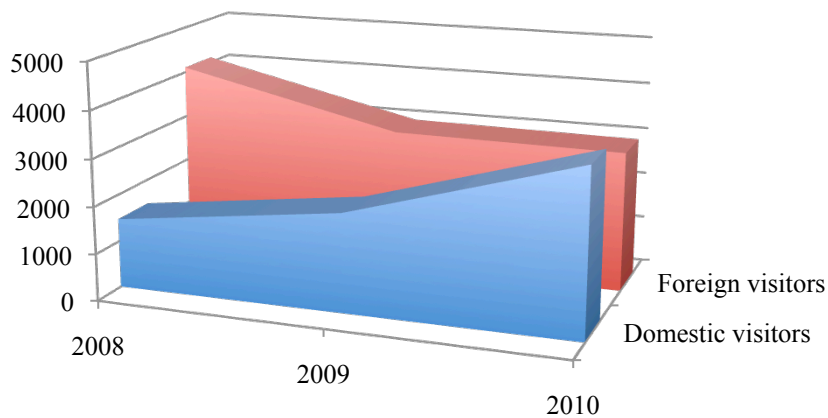


Figure 12. Number of visitors to Kapıkırı between 2008 and 2010 (Source: MCT)

During informal interviews with tourists, four German families reported visiting the village at least once a year. One couple had been spending annual vacations in Kapıkırı for more than 25 years. These families, as well as others from Europe reported being attracted to the natural beauty of the village, its rich cultural heritage, and the traditional lifestyle, which they were not able to find anymore in other parts of Europe. Longtime German visitors indicated admiring the harmony of nature, cultural heritage and traditional life, as well as the tranquility the place offers:

It is as if time stands still in the village. Almost nothing has changed in the village over the years we have been coming here. On the other hand, you feel it is alive. I was once in a village in France. Every building was beautifully restored, but the village was dead. There were lots of nice cafés and restaurants, but no life! I did not like that, and prefer to visit villages that are perhaps not restored so nicely, but where there is life, at least. We love the nature, the traditional way of life, the donkeys braying, the quietness, and the fact that there is no traffic here. You can really rest here in Kapıkırı...

While almost all tourists were very positive about the village, they disapproved of the assertiveness of village women when trying to sell their goods. As previously noted, except for a few women who displayed their goods on stationary stands in front of their houses, the majority of women used assertive strategies to sell their goods. Tourists described this approach as creating a ‘pity effect,’ and felt forced to buy the women’s crafts. Some visitors recommended that villagers implement a better marketing strategy, and also increase the variety of products sold to tourists.

Business owners and most farmers expressed serious concerns about the way village women tried to sell their goods. Business owners felt reluctant to take their guests to the village center because of this problem. They thought that the women were not quite aware of the consequences of their assertive behavior and its impact on visitors, and were afraid that it would discourage repeat visitors to the village. Some villagers felt embarrassed by the women’s approach and called for a more organized system of selling traditional crafts and food. They described the women’s behavior by paraphrasing the Turkish saying, “Getting into the habit of something is worse than becoming crazy,” remarking on the severe consequences of their bad habits. The current situation also discouraged some villagers from participating in tourism; these villagers would consider participating if there were a more organized system for selling goods.

The village women selling goods indicated having no other choice than trying to earn an additional income from tourism because of economic hardship. Among the women interviewed, one related the decrease in the number of tourists to the women’s assertive selling strategies. She expressed frustration regarding the way these women were doing business, and did not seem hopeful that this would ever change.

It was also noted that some village women not making and selling crafts were critical about the women selling crafts. They reported that the majority of senior women selling crafts had a retirement income through their husbands, and were therefore not in such a desperate economic situation. These women also explained that in the past most village women grew their own vegetables and made their own cheese and yogurt, and other food items. Except for staples such as tea, sugar and flour, almost all food used to be made locally. With the increase in tourism, many women abandoned these former subsistence activities either because of health problems or because it was easier to make and sell crafts than to work hard in the fields to grow vegetables, care for animals and produce food items. With cash from selling handicrafts the women could purchase all these items from local farmer's markets or vendors. Thus, part of the income earned from tourism was being spent on food items that had been grown in the past by the women. Labor at home and on the farm had been replaced by labor for the tourism sector.

Distribution of positive and negative impacts. Interviews with different groups of villagers, farmers, pension owners, village women and the younger generation revealed an unequal distribution of the positive and negative impacts of protected area designation. Restrictions to the use of resources and land, particularly on development, were perceived as a negative consequence of protected area designation. Villagers were also aware that conservation had been playing an important role in tourism, and therefore regarded tourism as a positive impact of protected area designation. However, positive social and economic benefits from conservation and tourism were not distributed equally across the local population. For example, farmers felt that pension owners had been expanding their businesses aggressively throughout the last two decades, and because of increasing tourist income, were able to finance the cost of fines as part of the costs of construction. Thus pension owners had been benefitting from

protected area designation via increased tourism. The majority of farmers, however, had experienced financial hardship after they had to abandon growing cotton as a result of state agricultural policies, and lacked the resources to build or renovate illegally. Therefore, many had been living in less-than-desirable conditions. One farmer, who was sharing his living space with his son and his family, expressed this dynamic as pension owners “eating the cream” of conservation.

Farmers interested in participating in tourism by establishing a pension lacked the space and/or financial resources necessary. A few farmers were participating in tourism by offering boat tours to tourists and selling fish to business owners. These villagers, however, reported that their earnings were sporadic and contributed only a little to their monthly income. Conservation and tourism had been benefitting village women selling handcrafts, but majority indicated that their earnings had been a minor addition to their monthly household income. The study demonstrates that benefits from protected area designation were unequally distributed, with pension owners benefitting substantially more than farmers. The costs of protected area designation were also more intensely experienced by farmers, as they faced hardship from not being able to provide housing for next generations and deteriorating housing conditions resulting from a lack of financial resources to pay for the costs of illegal renovation or construction.

The study also showed that particularly strict culture-protected area designation and limited housing had some impact on the younger generation’s future prospects. But, it was mainly more and better job opportunities outside the village that influenced the younger generation’s future plans. At the time of the study, among the 16 young villagers (age 16 to 30) interviewed, six (37.5%) were pursuing a college degree, three were high school graduates, two

were high school students preparing to go to college, three were high school dropouts, and only two were primary school graduates.

Interviews revealed that a majority (two-thirds) of the younger residents was planning to establish a life outside the village. They identified better professional opportunities as the major factor influencing their decision. Most of these young people were college or university students, and were aware of the importance of educational achievement for increasing the possibilities of finding satisfying work outside the village. These youth felt restricted by life in the village. Farming, or more specifically, livestock keeping was not considered a viable livelihood activity, partly due to rising costs and unstable earnings. Not being able to have opportunities for personal development was also mentioned as one of the important reasons they preferred to leave the village.

Two young farmers with primary education cited the housing situation and low earnings as a farmer as two major concerns. Both individuals were not married and had been working in the tourism sector in the town of Bodrum during high season. They were spending winter months in the village helping their families with farming. While these young villagers indicated earning reasonable incomes in the tourism sector, they also remarked on the high living costs in towns and cities outside the village. Unfortunately, working for tourism establishments in the village was not an option because they were rarely hiring people.

Findings on Protected Area Governance

The first part of this section will present the findings on the villagers' perceptions of protected area governance and their expectations of and suggestions on successful and just protected area governance. The second part will deliver findings related to protected area governance and local communities, extracted from semi-structured interviews with officials

working at various levels of conservation and protected area governance at the two ministries, the MEF and the MCT. These findings will be presented in a sequence from the national level to the village level.

Villagers' perceptions. Overall, farmers and business owners had negative perceptions concerning the governance and management of the First-degree Archaeological Site designation. These groups' major complaint was that the antique city of Heracleia received strictest protected status despite the presence of their village community, which had been living there for more than 200 years. Villagers also commented that despite officials having been aware of the potential hardships that designation would bring, they took no action that would have mitigated the impacts of designation. Villagers seemed certain that the state could have found a solution to balance both conservation and their development needs.

All villagers seemed to be in agreement that the mukhtar was not effective at persuading local government officials to seek solutions to their problems. They also perceived local governmental officials to be not attentive to their needs. The majority was therefore pessimistic concerning the possibility of any positive change in protected area governance or governance in general. Many residents felt that the state was disregarding villagers' needs, placing more value on the preservation of cultural heritage resources. They were also concerned about the possibility of relocation by the state.

When villagers were asked whether they would consider relocation, all except the younger generation, responded negatively. Most had lived in the village a lifetime, and felt a deep attachment to their place and community. A senior farmer was also concerned that a lack of education and professional development would make it even more difficult for villagers to start a new life in other areas, even if the state would compensate them for their properties. It was also

commonly stressed that with the relocation of villagers, it was likely that the place would become a ghost village and open to plunderers. Villagers remarked that their relocation to another place would mean the end of tourism, unless the state would find an effective strategy to protect the area and develop tourism; there would be no places to stay for visitors, and also many repeat visitors attracted to traditional life would not come back. .

Villagers were therefore highly pessimistic about any positive strategy or change in law that would lead to more effective solutions for conservation and development problems such as those in Kapıkırı. The majority felt that the views of residents needed to be regarded in planning and decision-making, particularly when the lives of residents could be impacted seriously. Under current circumstances, the majority of residents felt the future of their village was not likely to be a positive one. In fact, many were concerned that most young people would prefer to establish a life in larger towns and cities. As a result, the native population would decrease and the village could increasingly be inhabited by foreigners buying vacation property. In order to prevent this, residents suggested the retention of current protection status, but with controlled development allowed in state allotted areas where there would be no risk of harm to the ruins and the integrity of the village.

The governance of culture-protected areas. At the national level, two state officials from two different divisions of the MCT were interviewed concerning the governance of culture-protected areas and regulations that could impact local communities. The first interviewee was the Coordinator of the SCC at the GDCHM. As noted previously, the SCC had been the regulating body of the RCCs, operating in 34 provinces of the country. The second interviewee was an Urban and Regional Planner at the General Directorate for (Tourism) Investments and Operations. While the Coordinator of the SCC seemed somewhat reluctant to comment on

governance-related matters of culture-protected areas, particularly impacts to local communities, the planner provided a more honest assessment of governance of culture-protected areas in Turkey.

During interviews with these officials, both emphasized that the RCCs (the primary decision-making bodies on individual cases involving villagers impacted by protection status) were generally implementing the law strictly, and rarely re-evaluated cases of protected areas that had strictest protection status. The underlying reason was that the council tended to avoid controversy and feared prosecution, as all members were appointed from outside the ministry.

The official at the General Directorate for Investments and Operations reported that local (provincial and sub-provincial) staff had been doing all investigative work concerning new cultural heritage resources to be registered, areas to be designated with protection status, and cases of illegal activity. These local experts (archaeologists or historic preservationists) make their recommendations to council members, who ultimately have been making the decisions.

The official further disclosed that in cases of illegal activities, such as those at Kapıkırı, senior specialists of the regional (provincial) conservation offices have been receiving individual cases sent by local (sub-provincial) conservation and cultural heritage management offices. Specialists have been investigating and evaluating each case based on knowledge provided by the local offices, and reporting their evaluations on cases to the RCCs. In the majority of cases, RCC members have not been requiring a second investigation and evaluation of individual cases. They have been generally conforming to the specialists' suggestions because there had been too many cases that needed proper investigation and evaluation.

Concerning the villagers' situation in Kapıkırı, the coordinator of the SCC remarked that it was unlikely that in situations such as this, the state would be in a position to make a change in

protected status or implement any other solution that would allow people to construct or renovate. This was mainly because of the strict protected status of the antique city of Heracleia. If the antique city did not have strictest first- or even second-degree protected area status, then a development plan could have been implemented for the village and its surrounding area could have been transformed into a “tourism development area.” He also mentioned that if the villagers in Kapıkırı had title to their lands, the state could have offered them enrollment in compensation programs that include the exchange of land between the state and residents, or state purchase of residents’ land.

The urban and regional planner further commented that cases of overlapping protected area boundaries, such as in Kapıkırı, had been common in Turkey. When a site had more than one protected area designation governed and managed by the two different ministries, it was relatively frequent that power conflict situations arose between their governing and managing bodies. A culture-protected area managed by the MCT, but also encircled by national park status or situated within a SEPAs managed by the MEF, had been regarded as a problem. Processes related to such areas were generally taking longer. The ministry official suggested that the creation of an umbrella organization in charge of coordinating cases of power conflict was perhaps a viable solution for cases of overlapping interests:

All ministries in Turkey have an equal degree of power, and every ministry is concerned about its own authority. There needs to be an umbrella organization that coordinates cases where conflicts of power arise between the different divisions of ministries. Actually, the conservation system in Turkey is simple, but organizations do not work efficiently, because they all have their own perspectives, and unfortunately they do not consider the impacts of their lack of efficient governance on local people. Beyond that, the national level is not able to control any implementation of decisions at the local level, because that is the responsibility of the governors and municipalities at the local level. To make things worse, there is no enforcement in protected areas, or it is not enough.

The planner concluded that the state had not been successful in efforts to balance protection and use. He suggested the concept of area management (or resources management) as a better strategy for governing and managing areas in terms of protection and use.

The regional (provincial) level. During the study, there were 34 RCCs responsible for the registration of cultural heritage resources (monuments), the designation of culture-protected areas (archaeological or historic), and the allocation of permissions regarding renovations, restorations and development. The RCC of the province of Muğla is the governing body for cultural heritage resources and their management in its sub-provinces and villages, including Kapıkırı. Interviews were conducted with the head of the RCC of Muğla and the senior archaeologist, who was influential in decision-making processes.

When the officials were asked about processes of protected area designation, their responses revealed that the MCT's GDCHM had not been using a fixed set of criteria or employing the concept of values-centered heritage conservation in order to determine the level of protection status. Designations were made based on the density and distribution of archaeological ruins, whereby the total area covered with ruins could vary. In many cases, the perspective and evaluation of the archaeologist in charge of determining the designation played a crucial role. In the case of Kapıkırı, the senior archaeologist remarked that the village received strictest designation because modern settlement happened among the ruins of a relatively large antique city and caused potential harm to the integrity of the ancient city. The conservation council did not consider giving it second-degree status because of this fact.

In stating their reasoning for strictest protection status, officials made a significant acknowledgement: the state intended that villagers would eventually migrate to other places, as the severe restrictions imposed by first-degree protection status would make it very difficult, if

not impossible, for them to continue living there. Expressing sadness about the villagers' situation, the council leader explained the state's intention as follows:

According to the Law No. 2863, in sites that have first-degree archaeological site status, people can not intervene in any way in their built environment. The reason for this is this: It is intended to be deterrent, so that in the long term, villagers decide to leave the place. It is hoped that within a certain period of time, they will find a place they can move, and in certain cases, the state directs people to move to an allocated place...

The council leader acknowledged that in situations such as Kapıkırı, the state has to step in with compensation programs. In cases where local residents need to be moved to another area because of strict conservation, he mentioned that the state provides new housing or offers cash or state-owned parcels of land in exchange for land owned by residents.

The senior archaeologist commented that she "wished it were possible to move the village to another place." She suggested that the antique city could be transformed into an open-air museum, so that perhaps more revenues could be extracted from the place. But, she remarked that Turkey's circumstances make it difficult to implement such decisions, as "there are ruins underneath almost all present settlement areas, and it is not possible for the state to vacate all such settlements." In her opinion, while the option of moving villagers to other areas was not likely, any option of improving people's living conditions in the village also seemed bleak:

I do not think that when in 1989 council members designated the Kapıkırı area as first-degree, they anticipated the consequences on villagers. Therefore the state is required to find a solution for the people living in those villages. But that is not possible either, because once a place is designated a certain status, it becomes very difficult to change the status.

She indicated that while council members have the right to re-evaluate particular designations, they have not been sympathetic to reevaluation because of the risk that a change from, for example, strict first-degree designation to third-degree designation (which allows development) might cause controversy. Members generally do not want risk making major changes to designations that could impact sites, particularly those that received strict designation

at least a decade ago. She noted that council members would sometimes allow slight changes in protected area boundaries, excluding small amounts of land owned by villagers. In the case of Kapıkırı, however, this was not an option because villagers lack title to their lands.

The archaeologist suggested two options to address the village's current first-degree protected status situation. The first option was that a few traditional houses (built at least 50 years ago) could be registered as historic monuments, and then restored. These historic houses could serve as boutique hotels. But even in this case, she noted, villagers would be required to move to a different location. The second option was that for villagers with title to their lands, the center of the village could receive third-degree status, allowing some of the older traditional houses to be registered as historic buildings and restored. These buildings could then be used as boutique hotels or small businesses. But, she indicated that because of the first-degree status, even if villagers would receive title to their lands, any right concerning the use of the land would be transferred to the state:

People lose their right to sell their land, because officially the treasury owns protected land. Since villagers in Kapıkırı have no title to their land, officially it is not known how much land people own. The villagers themselves know how large their parcels are, but their parcels are not registered. If people had obtained official ownership to their lands before the first-degree protection status was implemented in 1989, then they would have had rights to use their land. But currently that is not possible. What they could have done is to request other parcels of land owned by the state in exchange for their lands in Kapıkırı.

Both the senior archaeologist and the council leader acknowledged people's rights to live in proper housing and recognized that the strictest level of designation was forcing villagers to make renovations or to build illegally. The council leader expressed his concern that when local socioeconomic circumstances were difficult and when the state was tolerating illegal activities to a certain degree, things were getting out of control with concrete buildings appearing everywhere. His office had documented numerous cases where citizens took advantage of

permission to make a few renovations, such as replacing windows or roof tiles. While not wanting to be judged negatively by residents, the council leader had observed that many villagers had made substantial renovations to their houses that was not compliant with the rules of the protected area. Therefore, he argued, state officials had to implement stricter measures, and unfortunately even well-intentioned people were treated with a certain degree of suspicion.

In my opinion, if you are not able to provide people alternative livelihoods outside the village, then villagers have to stay and live there, but there should be no more construction than there already is. For urgent cases, there could be a certain amount of flexibility. I wished people would make renovations around their houses only as much as is really necessary.

The council leader emphasized the importance of raising awareness about conservation among residents, remarking that problems in conservation are a sociocultural phenomenon, and that villagers need to be aware of their historic and cultural heritage to embrace it. He felt that the pressure of law should not solely preserve places such as Kapıkırı. He had also observed that pension owners had been particularly aggressive concerning construction, and never content with the spaces they had. To attract more guests and increase their earnings, he explained, they always wanted to add more rooms to their facilities.

Actually, it is better for the pension owners that the place is being protected the way it is. Because, if the place had not been a First-degree Archaeological Site, everyone would have preferred to live there, particularly people from other places... As a consequence, the population would have increased significantly, and so the problems.

Overall, the council leader seemed pessimistic regarding the situation in Kapıkırı. He did not believe that it was possible to create a balance between protection and use, because people were not adhering to the rules. He expressed concern about development, and thought it very difficult to control. He noted that the Romans, Byzantines and early Ottoman settlers that lived in Heracleia before the villagers settled there, also used blocks and pieces of the ruins as building material to build their own structures, causing significant harm to the original Greek structures.

Earlier civilizations made many mistakes concerning preservation, but in the 21st century we can't allow people to demolish ancient ruins, and then use them to build something new. We have to preserve anything of ancient value, because history requires that. The ruins teach us our past. It is a different experience to observe something that is still present, as opposed to writing pages and pages about something that is not present anymore. Therefore, cultural heritage is accepted as a common heritage of all societies. Our Law No. 2863 might cause problematic situations in the short term, but in the long term and viewed from a broader perspective, thinking about the future, it is not a bad law. Perhaps we owe the authenticity of this place to the decision to make this place a first-degree archaeological site?

He acknowledged that the state needed to develop alternative governance structures to solve such problems: "I believe that local solutions, or a model developed to preserve the balance between protection and use could be implemented. What model that should be needs to be determined."

The senior archaeologist also emphasized the need for local solutions, but in the context of overlapping nature- and culture-protected area boundaries governed and managed by the MCT and the MEF. The overlap of protected area boundaries regulated by different agencies and different laws had led to tremendous complexities and delays that needed urgent resolution. She mentioned cases where, for example, SEPAs (governed by the MEF) were overlapping with culture-protected sites governed by the MCT. This overlap resulted in disagreements between the managing bodies in terms of consolidating their plans, and agreeing on individual cases that require their permission. As a consequence, citizens had been waiting a long time for agencies to come to an agreement. The archaeologist regarded these cases as more serious than cases such as Kapıkırı, where people were mainly affected by strict culture-protected area status governed by one agency.

This, of course, leaves a citizen in a disadvantaged or difficult position, because decisions are not taken collectively. Also, since there is no such mechanism, there is not much the people who work for these organizations can do. The highest governing level needs to decide on how to deal with such situations. Perhaps such collective decisions could be taken at the local level? Local governments could be responsible in dealing with such

incidents. Such decisions should not come from the central government; they should be taken at the local level.

However, she seemed pessimistic that this would happen in Turkey because of the current complexity resulting from too many laws and regulations enforced by two different ministries responsible for conservation. She also expressed concern about excessive development and its impact on the village's traditional character and current attractiveness as opposed to the likelihood of villagers using ancient material for their buildings. However, she also expressed concern that excessive development could potentially harm the ruins.

There needs to be a control mechanism in a certain way, because there is no end to development. Wherever people find an opportunity to build, they will pursue that. Especially, when tourism is a potential, then it is hard to stop developers, and nothing remains untouched. In case you change Kapıkırı's protection status from first-degree to third-degree, you won't recognize the village in a year. Villagers might not want to move to the neighboring village Gölyaka, but they might accept foreigners from abroad buying property from them. ... There is a fine balance between conservation and development. The place should not become like the coastal touristic town of Fethiye that now almost looks like an English town. Perhaps because the state is not able to maintain this fine balance, it therefore requires these high protection measures. If you start seeing no Turkish signs in a place anymore, then there is the danger that the place is completely transforming...

The local (subprovincial) level. The local conservation and cultural heritage management office responsible for Heracleia was also managing seven other significant local cultural heritage sites: the Castle of Beçin, the necropolis at Gümüşkesen, the ancient cities of Labrynda, Euromos, Iasos, and Hydai, and the fishmarket open-air museum at Iasos. The office also incorporates a local museum of all artifacts excavated within the boundary of the subprovince of Milas. During fieldwork for the present study, a senior archaeologist was appointed as the new director of the museum, as well as cultural heritage management.

The director explained that at the village level, by law, the mukhtars as well as ticket booth officials were responsible for reporting illegal construction activity. Officials among his staff were not able to patrol all protected sites on a regular basis because of a lack of resources.

When illegal activity was reported, staff specialists inspected the site, taking pictures and evaluating the severity of illegal activity. Reports were then sent for review and decision-making to the Provincial Office of Heritage Conservation in Muğla. Staff specialists at the provincial conservation office made recommendations on each case, and during monthly meetings council members of RCC of Muğla were examining the cases and recommendations of specialists. Decisions were generally based on staff input, as they were generally most knowledgeable about individual locations and cases.

The director indicated that his office had been aware of the problems that villagers in Kapıkırı were facing. According to him, there were many other villages throughout Turkey, where villagers had been facing similar issues. The fact that in many cases villagers lack titles to their land was adding another level of complexity to their situation.

The local director stated that cases such as Kapıkırı can only be solved with a serious reform in conservation governance. He was critical of the decision-making processes of regional conservation councils which he found to be operating too slowly; he also believed that decision-making should take place at the local level. He suggested that comprehensive area (or resource) management plans be developed for cases such as Kapıkırı that craft strategies to achieve conservation, tourism and improved livelihoods. Such projects could perhaps be sponsored by private entities. On a broader level, he suggested that protected areas be more effectively governed by a single “collective commission.”

The village level. At the village level, the mukhtar and the ticket booth official (employed by the MCT) were interviewed. An interview was also conducted with a former ticket booth

official. The mukhtar, a 38-year-old male with a college degree, had been on the job for one and a half years; he was elected during the general elections in 2009.²⁹

The ticket booth official had been on the job since 1997, and reported to the local cultural heritage management and conservation office in Milas. He mentioned that the MCT had established a ticket booth at the entrance of the village in the early 1990s (after culture-protected area designation), in order to collect entrance fees from visitors who came to see the ruins of Heracleia. Apart from selling entrance tickets, he shared the responsibility of reporting illegal construction activity in the village with the mukhtar. He expressed discomfort with this responsibility, knowing that villagers were facing difficulties regarding the restrictions to development. While villagers were generally suspicious of him, thinking he had been reporting their illegal activity, he was certain that villagers were reporting their neighbors' illegal activities to the local conservation office, likely as a result of feelings of envy.

When the local cultural management and conservation office was informed of illegal activity, the ticket booth official had to inspect the case, make an assessment, and report details to the local office. In more complicated situations, such as when pension owners did major interventions on their properties, the local conservation office sent specialized staff to evaluate these cases. The ticket booth official mentioned incidents where gendarme forces had to intervene and stop construction, or even lock up a site. In many cases, however, villagers proceeded with their renovations or construction quickly enough that by the time an official could do an inspection, the construction would be completed. In such cases, villagers were brought to court and generally required to pay a fine. Even when villagers paid a fine or were

²⁹ In Turkey, mukhtars are elected during general elections, every five years. As the representatives of their villages, they seek solutions for village issues by taking these to their local governments. They are also responsible for the provision of infrastructure such as roads, bridges, sewage systems besides the provision of waste management and drinking water. As representatives of the state, they inform villagers on changes in laws and orders of the state, and are also responsible for the provision of security and order in their villages.

banned from running their businesses, the risk of a court decision to demolish the structure remained. The official reported when cases like this happened in the past, villagers asked the mukhtar for help. The mukhtar reached out to high-ranking local officials, such as the governor of Milas, to try to prevent the court decision from being carried out. While demolitions had not been carried out in recent years, they remained a constant worry.

The mukhtar acknowledged that, like earlier civilizations, the villagers of Kapıkırı had damaged the ruins by using them for construction, but noted that they were facing serious problems concerning the ban on construction, renovation, and building infrastructure. Neither citizens nor the local government attempted to solve this problem, and because of the number of complaints and incidents of illegal construction coming from Kapıkırı, the village became famous for extensive illegal activity, and eventually a scapegoat among officials:

Politics plays its game with these people here. During the local elections in 2009 politicians did everything to get elected. When they eventually got elected, they did not follow-up on their promises. Unfortunately, farmers do not have sufficient awareness and remain passive, and the state does not provide residents with sufficient information. Regarding the construction problem, sewage problem, waste management problem, and pollution caused by cattle ranching, my office contacted the local conservation office in Milas for solutions. But little has been achieved so far. I believe that the citizens have to talk to local officials themselves, so that it will be more effective.

As a potential solution to the current problem with strict cultural heritage protection, both the ticket booth official and the mukhtar suggested that the current boundary of First-degree Archaeological Site designation be reevaluated and perhaps divided into segments of first-, second- and third-degree archaeological site designations, based on the heritage value of ruins and their risk of damage. In their opinion, as a result of a partition of the ancient settlement, areas could be where the construction of new houses or small businesses would be allowed. Furthermore, cultural heritage management experts could instruct families on proper construction materials architectural style of new houses and pensions. Both officials commented

that relocation of villagers was not an option. It was also noted that relocation this would likely end tourism, as the area would become deserted.

The ticket booth official also criticized the current decision-making process. He was particularly critical of the local level of protected area governance having less power in decision-making than higher levels. According to him, it was unfortunate that the local cultural heritage management and conservation office in Milas had no power in decision-making. He expressed his doubts about the quality of the decision-making processes of members of the RCC of Muğla:

The head of the local cultural heritage management office in Milas and his team know about the problems here. But they have no power to take any initiative, because the Regional Conservation Council is in charge of making decisions. I don't know anything about the Regional Conservation Council, who they are, etc. I don't think they know anything about this village. They might have seen pictures of it on the Internet. How do they make decisions? Are their decisions based on the photographs that officials of the local cultural heritage management office in Milas take? Or do they visit the places and then make decisions? I really don't know. On rare occasions, members of the Regional Conservation Council, a judge and experts inspect certain cases. But this happens to provide sufficient data for court decisions. ... When it happens, it is generally related to cases where pension owners built illegally.

The ticket booth official also added that the current management of the culture-protected area had particularly affected poor households. Poor households were not able to provide adequate educational opportunities for their children. When their children had no other choice than to pursue a life in the village as farmers, the housing situation became a problem. As many parents had not been able to build a new house for their sons and incurred the additional cost of fines, two or three generations were often forced to live in the same house with limited space.

Overall, the mukhtar expressed pessimism and skepticism concerning the current management of cultural-protected areas. He hoped for more support from local or larger NGOs to raise awareness on issues of conservation and its impacts on local people. He added that local people have ambitions concerning their livelihoods, and that their awareness on the significance

of conservation, also for the sake of their own wellbeing, had not been enough. He therefore did not see a bright future for the village under the current regulations, policies, and governance.

According to the mukhtar, the balance between protection and use had to be established in a good way. He was able to solve few major issues of the village, such as obtaining permission from the Regional Conservation Council to restore the old school building and transform it into a cultural center, and improve a dirt road leading to the graveyard. However, he also highlighted that a lot of things, such as the implementation of new agricultural and/or tourism development projects, might improve the area without harming the cultural resources.

The governance of nature-protected areas. Concerning the governance of nature-protected areas, an interview with a national governmental official responsible for managing the Lake Bafa Nature Park and the park manager, was regarded as sufficient for understanding procedures related to local residents living within park boundaries or in the vicinity of the park.

The national level. The governmental official interviewed at the national level was an urban and regional planner of the MEF's GDNCNP in the headquarters of the ministry, who during the time of the study was overseeing all management and planning related tasks concerning Lake Bafa Nature Park.

The ministry official commented that even though the village of Kapıkırı was encircled both by culture-protected area status and nature-protected area status, the MEF had not been in a position to negotiate or partner with the MCT to solve protected area management-related issues. Both ministries had been implementing their regulations separately, and for the area encircled as the First-degree Archaeological Site, the MEF had no power. The RCC of Muğla (of the MCT) had been the sole decision-making body for Kapıkırı.

The ministry official reported that since the designation of Lake Bafa as a Nature Park in 1994, the MEF had not invested significantly in terms of recreational services in the area, mainly because a long-term management plan was not developed until 2008. The first plan for the conservation of the lake and its surrounding habitats and the socioeconomic development for the local communities was launched. However, since its launch, procedures required to implement conservation and development strategies laid out in the plan had been moving slowly. This was mainly because the RCC had been the main decision-making body concerning development-related issues within park boundaries. The MEF was only able to make investments that were within the scope of responsibilities of its GDNCNP, such as building visitor centers or constructing hiking trails. The official indicated that the development needs of resident populations had therefore become of secondary concern.

The official stressed that if there were no culture-protected status by the MCT, then a development plan could have been prepared based on the strategies laid out in the long-term management plan, and, once approved by the Ministry of Public Works, implemented by local officials. However, the fact that the area also had culture-protected area status was making procedures more complicated. In such cases, a different development plan, a “development plan with the purpose of conservation” needs to be prepared as directed by Law No. 2863, the Law for Conserving Cultural and Natural Property. In order to be implemented, this plan first requires approval by the RCC in charge of the area and then also the approval by the Ministry of Public Works. She indicated that, the socioeconomic or development needs of local populations living in culture-protected areas could only be met when a “development plan with the purpose of conservation” was prepared for a site and approved by the responsible RCC. But, for the case of Kapıkırı, the main problem was that the site was protected under the strictest first-degree

protection status and RCC members never allowed new construction under that status. She commented that people in Kapıkırı were therefore in a difficult situation. “I know the people there, because I’ve been there several times. They are also not very wealthy people. On the contrary, they are quite poor. But whatever we want to do is restricted by the legislation.”

According to the official, long-term management plans were being prepared particularly for national parks that included settlements. So far, about half of the parks with settlements had long-term management plans. The majority of settlements were small settlements such as villages or small towns (with populations between 250 to 2,500). Generally, the needs of local populations were being investigated during the preparation of management plans for settlement areas within park boundaries; the ministry typically outsourced this work to private companies. Therefore, ministry officials inspected these plans to determine whether the architecture of any new development was conforming to the local traditional architecture. Once the Ministry of Public Works approved plans, the implementation was passed on to local governments.

Concerning villagers’ use of their land within park boundaries, the official emphasized that when an area with settlement becomes park area, landownership rights are transferred to the state, and villagers are asked to apply for permission to build on their land. The state, however, had not interfered with villagers’ farming practices.

Regarding the use of natural resources within park boundaries, in principle, the ministry had not been allowing the collection of natural resources except when the livelihood of villagers was concerned. When villagers’ livelihoods depended on park resources, ministry officials generally observed whether their practices were sustainable. For certain plant or animal species, special programs restricting their collection or hunting based on quotas were implemented. The official also indicated that the provincial offices of the ministry and sub-provincial park

management offices were enforcing the illegal collection and hunting of certain banned plant and wildlife species. But, she also pointed out that the state's primary intention is not be regarded by residents as the ruling entity that imposes restrictions to their lives:

The villagers might then think about us as their enemies, since they would think that their livelihood practices are restricted because of park designation. But in reality, by restricting them the collection of reeds for example, we allow nature to recover and the reed beds to re-grow, so that the people benefit from them a longer time. Unfortunately, residents lack awareness on the importance of conservation. Let's say they depleted the reed beds within three years. What will happen then? The water quality will worsen, fish populations will decrease, and villagers won't be able to catch fish the way they used to. In short, they won't be able to benefit from the lake the way they used to. ... Even though we think about these issues in the long-term, we are not able to explain these to the villagers, because of their lack of education, and the ministry does not have the resources to educate them either.

She pointed out that NGOs have to take responsibility for these types of awareness raising efforts, but was unsure to what extent NGOs had been sensitive to these issues, and was not knowledgeable about the kinds of activities they were leading. Concerning the fishing practices of the villagers of Kapıkırı, she again expressed concern that the villagers would regard the ministry as an enemy, if it forbids them catching immature fish. Yet she was concerned that unsustainable fishing practices would lead to drops in fish populations, and added that the local park manager of the park had been closely monitoring the sizes of fish caught.

The local (sub-provincial) level. Except for two signs placed at the side of the road leading to the village to indicate park boundaries, recreational infrastructure was lacking. Park management of Lake Bafa Nature Park consisted of a team of three officials: the park manager who was a trained forest ecologist, his environmental engineer assistant, and a driver. Their office, known as the Office of Nature Protection and National Parks, was located in the nearby town of Milas, and reported to the Provincial Directorate of the Environment and Forestry in Muğla. The park manager reported that in addition to Lake Bafa Nature Park his team was

responsible for the management of two other protected areas within the sub-provinces of Bodrum and Milas.

Concerning restrictions on the use of park resources and land, the manager revealed that after park designation, the ministry had not been restricting villagers' fishing and farming except for the hunting of birds and other wildlife that are part of the lake habitat. The ministry had also not intervened in olive oil production facilities and fish farms in Bafa, but required that these facilities take certain measures that prevent the pollution of the lake. Fishing was being regulated to prevent the diminishing of fish populations.

The park manager indicated that because of a lack of staff and resources he had not been able to patrol the area frequently, and identified this as the most significant problem he was facing. The conservation of Lake Bafa had been particularly problematic because of a number of pollution factors. For decades, the River Menderes had been carrying polluted water into the lake. The construction of a wall between the lake and the stream and an artificial control system between the lake and the Aegean, has disturbed the lake's natural circulation of water. As a result, the lake became polluted and lost its chemical balance resulting in the loss in fish populations about a decade ago. In addition, the olive oil production facilities in the town of Bafa and a fish farm located at the southwestern shore of the lake were causing pollution; these facilities required monitoring to comply with measures to prevent wastewater pollution. Olive oil production facilities were required to collect their wastewater in non-leak pools.

Park areas around the lake were also monitored—although infrequently—by park management against cases of illegal land use and construction activities. When cases of illegal activity were noticed, the individuals responsible and the mukhtar of the village were contacted. The park manager then reported cases to the Provincial Directorate of Environment and Forestry

in Muğla, where they were examined and approved, and then sent to the GDNCNP in the ministry's headquarters in Ankara, where decisions on the kinds of actions that needed to be taken were made.

During fieldwork, two incidences of illegal activity were witnessed that required the park manager to intervene. The first incident happened in the neighboring village of Gölyaka, 3.5 km from Kapıkırı. A villager owning land directly along the shore of the lake had filled in a large section of reedy marshland at the shoreline. He was fined TL23,000 (about \$12,240) for the destruction of a section of marshland that had been a nesting area for shorebirds.

In the second incident happened when the park manager noticed two large piles of gravel piled along the shore. The mukhtar informed him that it was to be used for the improvement of a dirt road that led to farmland at the lakeshore. The mukhtar had obtained permission from the RCC of Muğla to improve the road, but because of either a lack of knowledge concerning official procedures, a lack of guidance by local conservation offices, or a lack of coordination by ministries, the mukhtar had not contacted park management of the Lake Bafa Nature Park. The park manager reported the incident to higher levels of protected area governance, and the improvement of the road with a layer of gravel stone was eventually approved.

The park manager indicated that it was particularly difficult to handle cases that occurred in areas of overlapping protected area boundaries, managed by the MEF and the MCT. Villagers, even mukhtars, were not sufficiently notified about formal procedures, and suffered from a lack of guidance by authorities, as well as a lack of coordination between the two ministries. In areas of overlapping boundaries, people were required to obtain permission from both ministries, thus ministries need to coordinate their tasks and responsibilities, or develop a common conservation strategy.

Chapter 6: Summary

By examining the case of Kapıkırı in Western Anatolia, a modern settlement among the ruins of the ancient Greek city of Heracleia, this study sheds light on the impacts of top-down (national) protection area governance on resident communities' wellbeing. Specifically, the study investigates the positive and negative impacts of strict protected area designation on the livelihoods and socioeconomic wellbeing of resident communities, and examines whether strict protected area designation may compensate for a loss of traditional income by increased tourism revenues. The study also explores the impacts of protected area designation across community income groups, as well as social groups. It was anticipated that strict protected area designation has a net negative short-term impact on the wellbeing of resident communities as a result of restrictions to their use of land and park resources. Over the long-term, however, this net negative impact would be offset with increased income from tourism and sustainable uses of land and resources. It was also predicted that more powerful groups or individuals within the community would benefit more from protected area designation than less powerful groups or individuals. The study reveals that the Turkish government did not balance strict culture-protected area status for the conservation of Heracleia with residents' socioeconomic development needs. An inflexible, to changing circumstances non-adaptive legal framework of cultural heritage conservation did not accommodate residents' development needs, prohibiting them any change on their built structures. While broader nature-protected area status, implemented to conserve the area's natural heritage resources and biodiversity, provided for the continuation of a traditional cultural landscape and encouraged tourism creating a demand for

tourism services and establishments, this demand led to further illegal construction activity by pension owners who could afford to pay the fines intended to discourage such activity. As a consequence, pension owners expanded their business capacity and increased their income, financing the costs of illegal activity, while most farmers lacked the means to build or renovate illegally and were not able to provide housing for future generations.

Two centuries ago, ancestors of the current villagers of Kapıkırı settled among the ruins of the ancient Greek city of Heracleia. As their population steadily increased, so did the number of village houses built among the ruins. Until the 1960s, settlement occurred around a densely developed core and did not pose a threat to the ancient city's major ruins, a temple, bouleuterion, and an agora. However, in the 1970s, settlement started to disperse to the south along the village's main street, and new development encroached upon major ruins. Archaeologists who conducted surveys in the 1970s noticed that modern development was threatening the ancient city's integrity.

With the initiative of German archaeologist Dr. Anneliese Peschlow, who had directed substantial research at Heracleia, in 1989 the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) designated areas covering the ancient city as a First-degree Archaeological Site, with a concern to preserve the ancient city's integrity. First-degree Archaeological Site status meant strictest culture-protected area designation, prohibiting villagers from making any changes to both modern and ancient built heritage. Even though the MCT stated in the official culture-protected area announcement for Heracleia that "new village development areas will be determined," the ministry never followed through on this promise. In the years after designation first-degree archaeological site rules were rigidly imposed throughout the site, including modern village settlements. Modern village settlement was also encircled in a second and broader nature-

protected area designation that was implemented five years later, in 1994. The purpose of this designation named Lake Bafa Nature Park was to conserve the natural heritage resources, biodiversity and cultural landscape of a more extensive area that included Lake Bafa and its surrounding habitats. This designation also intended to encourage ecotourism and was implemented by a ministry responsible for nature conservation, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MEF).

Based on villager's accounts, Heracleia and the village of Kapıkırı had actually been a tourist destination long before nature-protected area designation. Small-scale tourism started in the early 1970s and steadily increased, reaching a peak in the late 1990s to early 2000s. As the MEF did not implement any long-term management plan that involved the improvement of tourism infrastructure, villagers did not directly relate an increase in tourism to nature-protected area designation. However, many were aware that tourists had been attracted to the natural and cultural landscape, and acknowledged the role of nature- and culture-conservation in encouraging tourism. An increase in the number of visitors after nature-protected area designation indicates that conservation played a role in increased tourism. Long-time returning visitors were drawn to the village's authenticity and traditional character, as well as its numerous cultural heritage resources, dispersed among the rugged, natural landscape.

The increased demand in tourism throughout the 1990s and early 2000s posed a challenge to business owners and villagers wanting to expand to meet tourism demand, but being prohibited from doing so due to strict culture-protected area designation. While nature-protected area status encouraged a continual flow of tourists, strict culture-protected area status worked against accommodating this tourism demand. These somewhat conflicting protected area

designations affected different groups of villagers in different ways, resulting in an unequal distribution of the benefits of protected area designation.

After implementation of strict culture-protected area status, particularly those village households with sufficient financial means built or renovated in violation of the law. These households absorbed the cost of the monetary fine they had to pay to the government. The study showed that it was primarily pension owners who built or renovated illegally over the years after culture-protected area designation. These years coincided with an increased popularity of the area, encouraged by nature-protected area designation (in 1994) that resulted in more foreign visitors who preferred to spend their vacations in the village.

The late 1990s and early 2000s was a period of aggressive illegal construction and renovation mainly pursued by pension owners and the few villagers wanting to establish new businesses. The majority of farmer households lacked the financial means to improve their housing situation or provide new housing for subsequent generations, even if illegally. These households were living in less than desirable housing circumstances, and often opted for cheap and temporary solutions in fear their renovations would be noticed and fined. For example, simple metal sheets were used to repair roof leakages rather than roof tiles. Likewise, cheaper metal window frames were used instead of more traditional but expensive wooden frames. Many reported “not having added a single brick or stone” to their house for years, and expressed concern about the stability of their house. Providing proper shelter for livestock was also viewed as a problem.

Overall, at the time of fieldwork, 25 cases of illegal building activity were brought to the court system by regional conservation authorities. While monetary fines did not eliminate the risk of demolition or prison charges, villagers reported that demolition had only been carried out

in one instance of illegal construction. No villager had received a sentence of time in prison, the punishment for repeated illegal activity, but one pension owner was facing that possibility for repeated construction violation. Nevertheless, these measures did not stop pension owners, and some found (illegal) ways of eliminating the risk.

As the village became an attractive destination for hikers and culture tourists, business owners improved their economic situation substantially, leading to a significant income gap between business owners and farmers. This income gap and the perceived comfortable lifestyle of business owners became a source of envy among some farmers. According to this group of farmers, business owners were “eating the cream of conservation,” or benefitting from the conservation of the ruins, because they were earning a good income from tourists who were visiting the village. Thus, they were in a position to finance their illegal construction activities. Many farmers, on the other hand, had to live with strict conservation status as they had insufficient financial resources to build illegally. Meanwhile, illegal construction had started to encroach upon areas of major ancient monuments, threatening the integrity of the ancient city. Businesses were built among the ruins of ancient dwellings and the city fortification walls were damaged by illegal construction. The traditional character of the village of Kapıkırı was also in danger of losing its integrity because of the use of cheap materials and architectural styles not conforming to traditional materials and techniques of construction. Furthermore, extensive deterioration of a significant number of traditional village houses was negatively affecting the overall attractiveness of the village.

Despite expressions of envy and resentment by many farmers towards business owners, a large portion of farm households was also benefitting directly or indirectly from tourism. About 60% of village women were earning additional income from making and selling handcrafts. A

few fishermen were also selling their catch to village restaurants, or were taking tourists on boat tours. Younger farmers also occasionally assisted pension owners in leading hiking tours for tourists. While the majority of this group indicated that tourism was contributing only a small portion of their total household income, they expressed gratitude for this tourism income. With their earnings, they were able to purchase vegetables, dairy food and other items that they had previously produced themselves. Elderly women in particular indicated preferring selling handicrafts to the more labor-intensive work of working in the field. Villagers participating in tourism also reported that employment opportunities in village pensions or restaurants were almost non-existent, as these businesses were all family-run and operating on a limited capacity. When villagers were asked whether they would consider establishing a business, only two younger households responded positively and depended upon whether they had enough space and resources.

Both groups of villagers valued the conservation of their cultural heritage resources, but argued that it should be possible for the state to balance conservation and development needs by allowing controlled development. They suggested the implementation of a zoning strategy that would identify suitable lots within or around their current settlement where new construction would not pose a risk to cultural artifact. They also felt that renovations adhering to strict guidelines developed by the local conservation and cultural heritage management office should be allowed. Business owners pointed out the need for the implementation of a conservation and development plan for the village and its surrounding area that would involve small-scale projects for local economic development in tourism and agriculture. Overall, farmers and business owners agreed that without the current strict protected area status, the area would quickly transform into a holiday resort dominated by concrete buildings.

One group of villagers were concerned about the possibility of a state-imposed relocation. Particularly senior residents (above age 51) did not consider leaving the village, expressing a deep connection to their land. Some asserted that their presence had been essential to the protection of the cultural heritage resources, arguing that in the absence of a thriving village occupied by residents the cultural resources would likely face the risk of being plundered. The majority of the younger generation (age 16 to 30) was more likely to consider establishing a life in nearby towns or cities, mainly because of better professional opportunities. A significant portion of this group was college students. Young villagers with lower educational achievement were commonly spending the high tourism season working in service jobs for tourism business in nearby coastal towns, and winter months in the village supporting their families.

When villagers were asked about their perceptions of the local level of protected area governance and the management of protected areas, the majority felt that the mukhtar had not been effective in communicating their development problems to the local government. They also had the impression that sub-provincial and provincial levels of governance were not attentive to and/or willing to finding solutions to their problems. The local governor didn't understand the severity of their problems, or even take their problems seriously. Political figures had been regularly visiting the village during elections, but once they were elected never followed-up on campaign promises. Villagers lamented that their voices were not heard, and that they felt powerless, wishing to be better informed about their rights. Business owners were pessimistic that any positive change, such as the implementation of a conservation and development plan, would occur. They expressed deep concern for the state's top-down decision-making and some even feared losing their businesses as a result of conservation measures. Overall, there was widespread pessimism among villagers regarding the future of their village. Many indicated that

under current circumstances, the village would likely face a decline in population, as more of the younger generation move to areas that offered better opportunities. They expressed concern that with a diminishing population, the village would very likely lose its current traditional character. Unless others, foreign or domestic people bought property to use as vacation homes, the village would face further decay and perhaps abandonment. For villagers, neither of these scenarios were desirable.

Interviews with officials responsible for nature- and culture-protected area governance at different levels of both ministries revealed that higher level managers in positions of decision-making had a limited awareness of the nature of impacts of protected area legislation at the local community level, and had a more conservative and top-down view regarding the implementation of conservation policies. The local (sub-provincial) level of protected area governance, which had a sense of awareness of local socioeconomic dynamics and the nature of impacts at the community level, unfortunately lacked power in decision-making, acting as an agent providing information to higher, more remote levels of governance for decision-making. This local (sub-provincial) level had a more pluralistic view regarding the implementation of conservation policies, arguing for the need for substantial reforms in conservation and protected area governance that allocated power to the local level to develop and implement long-term management plans for protected areas, which involved residents in the planning process.

A further observation was the fact that overlapping protected area boundaries governed and managed by the two different ministries, the MCT and MEF, had been leading to conflicts. As seen in this study, nature-protected area status had been encouraging tourism, however strict culture-protected area status had not been accommodating increased tourism, impacting the lives of local communities. Dual protected area status was also hindering or delaying the

implementation of the MEF's long-term management plan, as a result of the MCT's inflexible conservation model. Even though a long-term management plan had been developed for the nature-protected area, the implementation of socioeconomic development strategies laid out in the plan for Kapıkırı did not materialize, because the MCT's strict-culture protected area status for the village could not be amended.

The study concludes that strict culture-protected area designation combined with fines not high enough to discourage illegal activity in the face of countervailing economic pressures among residents involved in the tourism industry, led to extensive illegal activity of business owners being able to finance their activity from increased tourism. Farmers, on the other hand, whose livelihoods were vulnerable to broader regional economic and agricultural influences, lacked the financial means to build illegally and provide new housing for subsequent generations. Besides an unequal distribution of protected area benefits, strict culture-protected area designation was less successful in preserving the integrity of the ancient city of Heracleia, as modern construction had encroached upon principal ruins and harmed remnants of ancient dwellings and city fortifications. Illegal building and renovations undermined the intended public policy. Conservation strategies need to address the unique and changing dynamics of local socioeconomic contexts. Such strategies are better developed at the local level, as this level is in a better position to provide correct insight on local socioeconomic, cultural and political dynamics. The village of Kapıkırı and other similar contexts urgently need conservation strategies that effectively balance conservation with the development needs of local residents to help ensure their social and economic wellbeing and cooperation in conservation. Possible institutional, organizational and policy changes that will facilitate the development and implementation of such strategies will be presented below.

Chapter 7: Policy Implications

The findings of this study indicate that it is essential for protected area governance to reconcile conservation with the socioeconomic development needs of residents in places such as Kapıkırı. The goal of any conservation and development strategy for places like Kapıkırı should be maintaining a living village, while preventing any potential harm to surrounding cultural and natural heritage resources that may result from the residents' economic activities and/or new development. This goal can only be achieved by a more powerful and well-equipped local level of governance that cooperates with resident communities, and involves their input in strategies for conservation.

The case of Kapıkırı points to the need of long-term conservation and development strategies that are flexible and adapt to changing local socioeconomic circumstances. The villagers of Kapıkırı and their cultural heritage resources would likely have benefitted more, if construction were allowed in a controlled way with the implementation of a zoning strategy that clearly identified areas suitable for new development, and areas in need for strict protection. This way, villagers would have been able to build new housing for subsequent generations, and the integrity of the ancient city would have been better preserved. The current legislative framework of cultural heritage conservation is based on a zoning strategy, but as the case showed, is not flexible enough to allow for proper adjustments that address pressing socioeconomic needs. Furthermore, the case also showed the need for the implementation of development strategies that make it more likely that all community groups benefit from protected area designation and

tourism, and that strive to eliminate local communities' vulnerability to external economic influences, such as fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products.

Protected area officials were not able to provide an exact number of cases similar to Kapıkırı, but suspected there are “many” such cases. A look at the number of (first-, second-, and third-degree) archaeological sites throughout Turkey (10,132), and their likelihood to be in vicinity of or encircle villages, suggests there are likely hundreds of local communities experiencing similar problems as those of the villagers of Kapıkırı. This is an indication that the problems resident communities of protected areas have been facing is a pressing issue, and it is crucial for the social and economic wellbeing of these communities and for success in conservation, that these problems are addressed. The Turkish government needs to take immediate steps towards developing and implementing a conservation policy that is pluralistic, and is responsive to changing socioeconomic needs and environmental conditions; one that meets the needs of local communities while preserving heritage resources for generations to come. The following are policy recommendations that will make it more likely for Turkey to succeed in the dual goals of conservation and development.

1) A Better Equipped and Empowered Local Level of Protected Area Governance

The case of Kapıkırı showed how decision-making by higher levels of governance, less informed about local socioeconomic and cultural contexts, can have a detrimental affect on local communities. The social, political, cultural and economic dynamics of local contexts are highly individual, presenting unique challenges and asking for unique, context-specific solutions. Local levels of governance have a greater awareness and insight regarding local dynamics and problems and are thus better equipped for decision-making. This is of particular importance for the governance and management of protected areas hosting local communities, which have been

facing socioeconomic development challenges. While higher levels of governance should maintain their decision-making role on legislative issues, policies, regulation and coordination of agencies, the local level should have more power in decision-making during the implementation of these policies.

In recent years, in line with EU accession requirements, steps have been taken towards increased decentralization, allocating more power to local governments, particularly in the area of historic preservation where municipalities have been able to implement rehabilitation and restoration projects. However, increased efforts are needed to expand the roles of local governance. Here, a major drawback is that the current local governance structure lacks competence and expertise in a variety of areas related to conservation. Local governments also need to focus more on the conservation and/or sustainable use of local cultural heritage resources while improving their competence in developing and implementing strategies that strive to balance conservation and development in their localities.

2) A Comprehensive Approach to Protected Area Management

Protected areas with natural and cultural heritage resources, which host resident communities who depend on park resources and/or have development needs, and have tourism potential, require comprehensive approaches to management planning that address the conservation of natural as well as cultural heritages as well as local development needs. Comprehensive long-term conservation (or protected area) management plans could have individual management components for the conservation of cultural heritage and natural heritage/biodiversity.

Managing culture-protected areas. The management of culture-protected areas such as archaeological sites requires a management plan that describes the significant cultural values and

contains a framework for defining the management objectives and priorities, developing management actions, implementing these, and monitoring their impact. In a values-based management approach, objectives and actions must relate to the statement of significance for the cultural heritage values of the protected area, and address the continuation of their significance. Here, focus should be on the vulnerability of specific heritage values in the context of limits of acceptable change. Conservationists need to ask how much of the 21st century should be permitted to intrude in protected areas before their values are compromised and changed in meaning. Decisions about appropriate techniques to be used in managing cultural heritage in a protected area should be presented as a major component with a protected area management plan, or if necessary, as a subsidiary plan to an overarching area management plan. In the context of a planning process, the management plan should outline objectives and actions covering the following elements: Type and degree of physical intervention in the historic fabric to retain significance; suitability of current uses; methods for revealing the significant values of the place to the public (interpretation); constraints on investigation; and future developments likely to occur.³⁰

Managing nature-protected areas. For the conservation of the broader (natural and cultural) landscape, any broad area management plans needs to adopt adaptive and participative approaches to management planning. Local contexts are dynamic and change over time. This requires a constant monitoring of the effectiveness of strategies implemented. Local contexts are also influenced by broader regional and national socio-cultural, economic and political factors. Therefore, local contexts require conservation and development strategies that are responsive and adaptive to changing environmental circumstances, and also take into account surrounding socio-

³⁰ Description of the values-based approach to management planning of cultural heritage based on Lennon (2006)

cultural, economic, and political factors. Such strategies are best developed adopting an adaptive and participative approach to planning. Adaptive planning is flexible and responsive to changing circumstances, as opposed to rational comprehensive planning which has been more rigid and prescriptive. Management interventions in adaptive planning are seen as a series of successive and continuous adaptations to variable conditions. The approach emphasizes flexibility that is based on learning through experience. It may therefore require longer periods of times to obtain positive outcomes, but these outcomes are more likely to be the best possible trade-off outcomes for conservation and the socioeconomic development of residents.

As protected area residents have a stake in the conservation of their natural and cultural heritage resources, have a more nuanced knowledge of the environment in which they operate, and their cooperation in conservation is essential, they have to be involved in decision-making on long-term planning and management. The level of participation of communities may vary ranging from the provision of information through to local control of decision-making. It is recommended that communities have the power to influence decision-making.³¹

3) The Need for a Single Conservation Agency

The study also showed that overlapping protected area designations and the dual governance and management by two ministries, had been leading to power conflicts among agencies of ministries, delaying decision-making on the implementation of local strategies. This study suggests that a single conservation organization (ministry) or an umbrella organization be established, overseeing the country's natural and cultural heritage resources.

³¹ The participation of residents throughout the planning process has a number of advantages such as it provides the planner with access to a range of information and advice that might otherwise be difficult to obtain; enables early identification of major issues and an ongoing check of any further issues that arise; generates more creative solutions to problems; reduces implementation failure; increases plan acceptance; manages competing interests and mediating conflict; enhances public ownership and commitment to solutions; supports the rights of citizen to be involved in decisions that affect them; increases government accountability; and articulates and represents the diversity of interests and values involved in a decision (Lockwood, 2006).

4) Adherence to a Specific Set of Criteria for Quality Protected Area Governance

The Turkish government needs to take urgent action towards improving the governance of conservation and protected areas. This is of particular need at a time when the country's natural and cultural resources face increased dangers of loss as a result of a reckless reliance on the Western development model, accompanied by a lack of awareness of and concern for environmental risks as well as a lack of a broad conservation ethic. Public officials need to develop a better sense on the meaning of 'good governance' in order to develop mechanisms to assess performance. In this regard, the adherence to universal protected area governance principles of legitimacy, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, fairness, connectivity and resilience will provide a basis for improvement, and will make it more likely that a certain level of quality of governance be sustained. Any efforts to adopt these principles will require a substantial overhaul of the current governance structure, and will ask for multilevel and collaborative approaches. In this context, establishing and maintaining good governance across the diversity of ownership and responsibility arrangements is critical and essential for the future effectiveness of Turkey's protected areas as well the wellbeing of their residents.³²

³² Protected area governance principles based on Lockwood (2010)

Appendix A

Semi-structured Questions Addressed to Villagers

Core questions addressed to the younger generation, ages 16 to 30:

- 1) What is it like to be a native of Kapıkırı?
- 2) What are your family's livelihoods activities?
- 3) Does the fact the village and its surroundings has protected status affect the way you perceive the natural and cultural heritages of this place? What do these riches mean to you?
- 4) Have you or your family's housing situation been affected by First Degree Archaeological Site designation? Describe in what ways.
- 5) If you experienced a problem regarding your housing situation, has the problem been resolved? How? If not, what is the current housing situation?
- 6) In your opinion, what should the state do to solve this problem?
- 7) Do you and your family participate in tourism? Does tourism contribute a small, medium or large amount to your average monthly income?
- 8) If you believe conservation is necessary, what conservation strategy should be implemented? What is your understanding of 'conservation'?
- 9) In general, are you content living in the village? In your opinion, what would it be that you would improve or develop in the village? What is your understanding of development?
- 10) What is your perception regarding tourism? What needs to be done?
- 11) Under current circumstances what does the future of the village look like?
- 12) What are your plans for the future?
- 13) Besides these, is there anything you would like to add on the ways the restrictions have been effecting your lives?

Semi-structured questions addressed to villagers, age 31 to 50:

- 1) What is it like to be a native of Kapıkiri?
- 2) What have you been doing to make a living?
- 3) If you would compare the past and the present, during which times was life easier and more comfortable?
- 4) Did you observe any change in the village and its environment after protected area designation?
- 5) Did your perceptions about the village's natural and cultural heritages change, after it received protected area status? What do these heritage mean to you?
- 6) Was your family affected by protected area status? If yes, in what ways?
- 7) Did it affect your livelihoods or social wellbeing?
- 8) What is your understanding of conservation? What kind of strategy should the state pursue to conserve the village's heritage?

- 9) Overall, after the implementation of conservation measures, do you think that Kapikiri is in a better or worse position?
- 10) What is your perception about tourism in the village?
- 11) Does your family benefit from tourism?
- 12) In what ways does tourism contribute to your and your family's wellbeing?
- 13) How much does it contribute to your average monthly income?
- 14) In case you did not have this income would you be in financial difficulty?
- 15) In general, are you happy living in the village? Should the village remain this way or should it change? If you believe certain things should change what are these? Should it develop? What is your understanding of 'development'?
- 16) In your opinion, what kind of tourism strategy should be implemented?
- 17) Could you tell me a little bit about your family's health and education situation?
- 18) How do you see your children's future? Would they prefer to stay in the village or migrate to other areas? Could you please explain their choice?
- 19) How do you see the village's future?
- 20) How do you view your future as a family?
- 21) Is there anything you would like to add on the impacts of protected area statuses affecting your lives?

Semi-structured questions addressed to senior villagers, above age 51:

- 1) What is it like to be a native of Kapikiri?
- 2) What have you been doing to make a living?
- 3) If you would compare the past and the present, during which times was life easier and more comfortable?
- 4) Did you observe any change in the village and its environment after protected area designation?
- 5) Did your perceptions about the village's natural and cultural heritages change, after it received protected area status? What do these heritages mean to you?
- 6) Was your family affected by protected area status? If yes, in what ways?
- 7) Did it affect your livelihoods or social wellbeing?
- 8) What is your understanding of conservation? What kind of strategy should the state pursue to conserve the village's heritage?
- 9) Overall, after the implementation of conservation measures, do you think that Kapikiri is in a better or worse position?
- 10) What is your perception about tourism in the village?
- 11) Does your family benefit from tourism?
- 12) In what ways does tourism contribute to your and your family's wellbeing?
- 13) How much does it contribute to your average monthly income?
- 14) In case you did not have this income would you be in financial difficulty?
- 15) In general, are you happy living in the village? Should the village remain this way or should it change? If you believe certain things should change what are these? Should it develop? What is your understanding of 'development'?
- 16) In your opinion, what kind of tourism strategy should be implemented?
- 17) Could you tell me a little bit about your family's health and education situation?
- 18) Could you tell me a bit about your children's choices to stay or leave the village?
- 19) How do you see the village's future?

- 20) How do you view your future as a family?
- 21) Is there anything you would like to add on the impacts of protected area statuses affecting your lives?

Semi-structured questions addressed to tourism business owners:

- 1) What is it like to be a native of Kapikiri?
- 2) When did you start your business? What did your family do for a living before that?
- 3) If you would compare the past and the present, during which times was life easier and more comfortable?
- 4) Did you observe any change in the village and its environment after protected area designation?
- 5) Did your perceptions about the village's natural and cultural heritages change, after it received protected area status? What do these heritages mean to you?
- 6) Which family members contribute to your business?
- 7) When did the village become a tourism destination? Did you observe an increase in tourism after protected area status?
- 8) Was your business affected by strict culture-protected area status?
- 9) What did you experience regarding strict culture-protected area status?
- 10) What are your concerns regarding strict culture-protected area status?
- 11) Do you have other sources of income? Would you evaluate your income as low, middle or high compared to the rest of the village?
- 12) In your opinion, what are the positive and negative impacts of strict culture-protected area designation for the villagers?
- 13) In your opinion, how should the state handle conservation?
- 14) In general, are you happy living in the village? Should the village remain this way or should it change? If you believe certain things should change what are these? Should it develop? What is your understanding of 'development'?
- 15) What is your perception about tourism in the village?
- 16) In your opinion, what kind of tourism strategy should be implemented?
- 17) Could you tell me a little bit about your family's health and education situation?
- 18) How do you see your children's future? Would they prefer to stay in the village or migrate to other areas? Could you please explain their choice?
- 19) How do you view your future as a family?
- 20) How do you see the village's future?
- 21) Is there anything you would like to add on the impacts of protected area statuses affecting your lives?

Semi-structured questions addressed to the ticket booth official of the MCT:

- 1) For how long have you been on the job?
- 2) What were your livelihoods activities before that?
- 3) What is the scope of your job? Did you receive any training?
- 4) Which division do you report to? What is the nature of your communication?
- 5) What problems have you witnessed related to culture-protected area designation since being on the job?
- 6) What is your perception on the way conservation is carried out? In your opinion, what conservation strategy should the state implement in places such as Kapikiri? What is your understanding of 'conservation'?

- 7) In your opinion, what are the positive and negative impacts of strict culture-protected area designation for the villagers?
- 8) In general, are you happy living in the village? Should the village remain this way or should it change? If you believe certain things should change what are these? Should it develop? What is your understanding of 'development'?
- 9) What kind of tourism strategy should be implemented for the village?
- 10) How do you think the future of the village will look like?
- 11) Is there anything you would like to add on the impacts of protected area statuses affecting your lives?

Semi-structured questions addressed to the mukhtar:

- 1) When did you take on the job?
- 2) What were your livelihood activities before that?
- 3) What is the scope of your work? Did you receive any training?
- 4) Describe the nature of your relations with the local government?
- 5) What problems did you manage to solve since being appointed?
- 6) What are current pressing problems in the village you have been dealing with?
- 7) What is the most pressing problem of the village?
- 8) What problems have you witnessed related to culture-protected area designation since being on the job?
- 9) What is your perception on the way conservation is carried out? In your opinion, what conservation strategy should the state implement in places such as Kapıkırı? What is your understanding of 'conservation'?
- 10) In your opinion, what are the positive and negative impacts of strict culture-protected area designation for the villagers?
- 11) In general, are you happy living in the village? Should the village remain this way or should it change? If you believe certain things should change what are these? Should it develop? What is your understanding of 'development'?
- 12) In your opinion, what policies should the state implement to develop tourism?
- 13) How do you think the future of the village will look like?
- 14) Is there anything you would like to add on the impacts of protected area statuses affecting your lives?

Appendix B

Household Survey

Date:

Interviewee:

Age/gender:

Occupation: a) Farmer b) Homemaker c) Retired d) Business owner e) Worker

f) Unemployed

Family Structure: a) Nuclear family b) Extended family c) Lives alone

Name Gender/Age Completed Educational Level Occupation Lives in village (Y/N)

Future plans?

Spouse

Child 1

Child 2

Child 3

Child 4

Child 5

Child 6

Other family members

Size of house: a) 1 bedroom b) 2 bedrooms c) 3 bedrooms d) 4 bedrooms

Age of house, when they moved in, title?:

1. Please tell me a little bit about your past life as a (farmer or business owner)?

2. Did the establishment of the Lake Bafa Nature Park affect your livelihood? If yes, in what ways? Did you use to hunt birds at Lake Bafa and/or participate in hunting tourism?

3. Please indicate your livelihood activities, and the percentage of income you earn from these activities of your total income?

- Vegetative production (size of farmland, produce produced, title to land?):
a) 2-5 b) 6-10 c) 11-20 d) 21-50 e) 51 and larger

- Olive production (size of land, title?, annual amount of olive oil produced, average annual income from the sale of olive oil):
a) 2-5 b) 6-10 c) 11-20 d) 21-50 e) 51 and larger
- Cattle ranching (number of cows?, average monthly income from milk production):
- Fishing (boat yes/no?, average monthly income?):
- Beekeeping (number of beehives):
- Handcrafts (daily average income):
- Tour guide:
- Pension owner (When did the construction start? When did you start your business? Average annual income):
- Restaurant owner:
- Trade:
- Daily jobs:
- Other occupation:
- Social Security (self, spouse?): a) Bağ-Kur b) SSK c) Emekli Sandığı
d) Other e) No
- Social welfare (FakFukFon?):
- Receiving farming funds?:
- Any properties?:
- Financial support from children?:
- Other income (interest, stocks/bonds, foreign currency/gold):
- Owns tractor or other vehicle?:
- Computer and internet usage?:
- Number of cell phones in household:
- Washing machine?:
- Dishwasher?:
- When was the last time you and your family went on a trip or had vacation?

4. How much time do you spend on your daily activities?

Taking care of cows:

Serving customers:

Gardening:

Producing handcrafts and selling them:

Offering tours for visitors:

Farming:
Household:
Fishing:
Beekeeping:
Socializing in coffee house:
Watching TV:
Taking care of family and kids:
Reading:
Visiting family and friends:
Other:

5. Your average monthly income?

a) Less than 500TL b) 501TL – 1000TL c) 1001TL – 3000TL d) 3001TL and more

6. How do you perceive your income level?

a) Very low b) Low c) Midrange d) High e) Very high

7. On which items do you spend most of your income?

a) Food b) Education c) Garments d) Investment e) Entertainment f) Loans
g) Other

8. When you are in financial difficulty, where do you ask for support?

a) Relatives b) Neighbors c) Friends d) Children e) Banks f) Other

9. What is the value of your total wealth?

a) Less than 25,000TL b) 25,000TL-50,000TL c) 51,000TL-75,000TL d) 76,000 and more

10. Describe how easy or difficult it is for your household to make ends meet.

a) Very difficult b) Difficult c) A little bit difficult d) Not very difficult
e) Very easy

11. Describe how easy or difficult it is for your household to finance your child or children's education?

a) Very difficult b) A little bit difficult c) Not difficult

12. If you would compare the different income groups of the village, how would you assess it? Are there big differences among them? If yes, please list them from highest to lowest income group.

13. If you and/or your wife participate in tourism (elişi, tekne turu, yürüyüş, gibi) aşağıdaki ifadelerden hangisine katılıyorsunuz?

a) Tourism makes a small contribution to our income, a maximum of 100 TL.

- b) Tourism makes a significant contribution to our income, between 101 TL and 250 TL
- c) We would have had a difficult time without the income from tourism (between 251 TL and 500 TL).
- d) Our income depends on our income from tourism (more than 500 TL a month).

14. When did you start to earn an additional income from tourism?

15. What do the natural and cultural riches surrounding the village mean to you?

16. Did the establishment of protected areas surrounding the village, change the way you perceive the natural and cultural riches?

17. Are you knowledgeable about the cultural heritage of the village? Do you know when the cities of Herakleia and Latmos?

18. What needs to be done to increase the villagers' knowledge?

- a) The museum should educate villagers
- b) NGOs should raise awareness
- c) The local Milas government should send an expert to educate villagers

19. Did you experience any problems regarding the government's restrictions to renovations and new construction? If yes, is there any law suit continuing?

20. What was the reason of the law suit?

- a) We built housing illegally.
- b) Our house needed renovation.
- c) We needed more space.
- d) We need to build a stall for our cows.

21. What happened after you were fined?

22. In case you have not constructed or renovated illegally and you were allowed to do that eydi, what would you have done within your financial means?

- a) Our son will get married and wants to live in the village. So, I would build a house for him.
- b) Our house needs to get renovated.
- c) We need more space. I would add an additional room.
- d) I would build a proper stall for our cows.
- e) I would convert part of my house into a pension or restaurant.
- f) I would demolish my house and build a new one.

23. Do you have the financial means to make these changes? a) Yes b) No

24. In case you want to plan to convert part of your house to a pension, what is it that you most need?

25. What do you think about the fact that the village location was designated with first degree protection status?

26. In your opinion, what would happen if the protection statuses would be removed?

27. Do you think that for an increase in tourism, there is a need for strict protection?

28. What do you think about increased tourism in your village? Do you think that increased tourism is good or bad for your village? In what ways do you think tourism will affect your village?

a) Economic b) Cultural c) Political d) Social e) Environmental

29. How do you think the villagers can benefit more from tourism?

30. What kind of strategies would help to solve conflicts between farmers, women selling handicrafts, and pension owners?

31. In your opinion, what is the village's most important problem?

a) First-degree SIT status
b) Landownership problem
c) Lacking infrastructured
d) Lack of income from the growth of crops
e) Villagers economic situation
f) Other

32. What is your vision for the village in the future? What kind of conservation and development strategy should the state implement?

a) The village should remain this way, strict protection should remain, but infrastructure and services should improve.
b) Strict protection should remain, but the state should support villagers in renovation and protection of cultural heritage.
c) Strict protection should remain, but development should be allowed in a limited and controlled way. The character of the village should not change, but we should be allowed to build housing or make renovations.
d) The village economy should be based on tourism. A project should be implemented that develops tourism in the village. More families should participate in tourism. The school building should be restored, and tourism infrastructure should be improved in and around the village.
e) The state should implement a project that would develop farming. It should support farmers.
f) The strict protected area status should be removed, and development allowed in the village.
g) Other

33. If you would like the state to develop farming, what kind of projects would you like to have implemented?

34. How do you perceive foreigners buying houses or property from the village?

a) I approve b) I don't approve c) Doesn't matter

35. How do you perceive the state's level of concern for the village and its issues?

- a) The state always responds to our needs.
- b) The state generally responds to our needs.
- c) The state rarely responds to our needs.
- d) The state disregards our needs.

36. With regards to village governance what is the most serious issue the state has been failing?

37. What do you think about the state's measures it takes with regard to preventing illegal construction and protecting the site?

38. How would you respond to the request of the state to move villagers to another area.

- a) I don't accept this.
- b) I would consider this if the state provides better opportunities.

39. If you would decide to leave the village, what would be the reason for that?

- a) Economic b) Family reasons c) I would not consider leaving d) Education

40. Are you happy to be living in Kapikiri?

- a) Very happy b) Happy c) Not so happy d) Not happy at all

41. What do you think about the land title problem of the village?

42. Do you think that you can make your problems heard by officials?

43. Who or which organization should solve the village's problems?

- a) The Milas governor
- b) The museum of Milas
- c) The Regional Conservation Office of Muğla
- d) The Provincial Government of Muğla
- e) The Ministry of Culture and Tourism
- f) Citizen
- g) Citizen and the local government
- h) All of them
- i) The village should become a neighborhood of Bafa.

44. What do you think will change if the village becomes part of Bafa?

45. Your thoughts about the village and its future?

- a) I am hopeful that the problems of the village would be solved and that the village will develop in a good way.

- b) When I look at the current situation, I'm not so hopeful about the village's future. The younger generation does not stay in the village. The village will belong to foreigners in the future
- c) The village will become a ghost village because it will lose its attractiveness due to pollution, infrastructure problems, and the development problem.
- d) Other

Is there anything you would like to add?...

Thanks...

Appendix C

Themes Extracted From Interviews

National Conservation Policy (The law no. 2863 of Cultural and Natural Assets and the law no. 2873 of National Parks)

- **Critiques about conservation law in Turkey (Discussion and Conclusion)**
 - Conservation policy in Turkey (first, second and third degree or area management or local conservation and development projects)
 - The role of NGOs in raising awareness.
 - The state's incapability in maintaining the fine balance between development and protection, and implementing high protection measures as a solution to out of control development. "Our Law No. 2863 might bring problematic situations in the short term, but in the long term and viewed from a broader perspective, when you think about the future, it is not a bad law. Perhaps we owe the authenticity of this place to the decision to make this place a first degree archaeological site."
 - The state's hidden agenda: It wants people to leave. The strict designation is intended to be deterrent, so that in the long term, the villagers will leave the place.
 - First, Second, and Third Degree "Sit" Areas are always open to controversy. "For example if a place's designation is changed from first degree to third degree, there are huge differences between the two. Because of that, the council members don't want to sign such decisions. People sometimes evaluate such decisions differently, as if there is a controversy. They therefore don't like to be involved in changes of status particularly of sites that received strict designation a long time ago.)"
 - Conservation is also about protecting recent history
 - Digging for old artifacts should not be superior to new life's necessities.

National Conservation Governance

- **Decision-making processes**
 - Tendency among regional conservation council members (not employees of the ministries) to strictly follow the law due to fear that they might be persecuted.
 - Regional conservation council members' tendency to follow the rapporteurs' decision, due to lack of time to investigate individual cases in more depth.
- **National level vs. local level governance**
 - National level unaware of critical issues at the local level
 - No control of the national level over the implementation of projects at the local level.
- **Power conflicts among ministries involved in conservation**

- Conflict situations due to power struggles between the two ministries governing protected areas (Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Ministry of the Environment and Forestry), which delays solving unresolved issues.

Current Conservation Policy, Governance and Management and Challenges to the Socioeconomic Development of the Village

- **Environmental problems**
 - Pollution of Lake Bafa serious problem
 - The General Directorate of Hydraulic Works' role in lake pollution
 - Pollution due to fish farms around the lake
 - Pollution caused by olive oil facilities
 - Declining fish populations
 - Highly unpleasant smell produced by lake and affecting surrounding villages
 - Waste management problem in the village
 - Sewage problem of the village
 - Pollution in and around the village due to animal waste
 - Fly problem because of the lake
- **Conservation governance and its impacts on socioeconomic development**
 - Villagers' needs disregarded
 - Lack of housing for next generations (“Our sons can’t get married, unless they have housing.” --But indeed how many youth are planning to lead a traditional life in the village?)
 - Dilapidated houses
 - Danger to people because of deterioration of materials
 - Consequences of no construction and development
 - Village doesn't lose its character, attracting tourists
 - No outsiders taking over the place
 - Fear among villagers that the state will interfere with their lives
 - Misinformation among villagers on authorities responsible for conservation poses the risk of putting them in a difficult position.
 - Harmony between nature and culture (“I think the way things have grown together is just so beautiful, the nature, the houses, the antique, etc. For me that has become in a sense a unity. I think this harmony should not be ruined.”)
 - Loss of income for villagers involved in serving hunters
- **Protected area management**
 - Lack of care for cultural and natural resources
 - Lack of state investment in tourism infrastructure
 - Lack of enforcement of illegal activity (the state's reluctance in putting people in a difficult position)
 - Illegal construction/renovation
 - Conflict among villagers reporting each other's illegal activities, due to competition for business or for housing
 - Conflict between the governmental officials of the village (the representative (mukhtar) and ticket booth officer) and the villagers,

when governmental officials report illegal activity – governmental officials fear animosity coming from villagers

- Fear of losing business or housing because of demolition
- Corruption
 - Making sure a relative gets the mukhtar or ticket booth job so that he/she would not report illegal construction
 - Local politics: Those villagers who know people with political power such as mayors, the local governor, or parliamentary representatives from their political party get away with illegal activity.
 - Selling of village of assets such as the beach sand...
- **Lack of awareness of villagers and government officials about conservation**
 - Ignorance about cultural and natural heritage among residents, specifically among the older generation. Tourism forces the younger generation to learn more about local heritage.

Village economy and landownership

- **Economic Activities (Livelihoods) of villagers**
 - Farming activities
 - Past agricultural politics ended farming crops
 - Villagers' primary source of income is keeping cows
 - Geographical restrictions in the area to farming activities
 - Fishing
 - Beekeeping
 - Tourism
 - Women producing and selling traditional crafts
- **Landownership in the village**
 - Lack of official title of lands and its consequences
 - No bank loans
 - No official map of landownership; thus no opportunity to compare the boundary of First-degree Archaeological Site and land owned by villagers.
 - Tension between those who have title and those not
 - Because of missing titles, no opportunity to exchange land with land the state might offer
 - Because of missing titles, no taxes paid to the government
- **Tourism**
 - Lack of tourism strategy for the village
 - Lack of background in tourism among high ranking officials
 - Impacts of mass tourism on rural tourism. No support for small businesses: “The big fish will always eat the small fish.”
 - Certain past implementations such as a high entrance fee had a counter effect. People used return because they would refuse to pay the entrance fee.
 - Money earned from entrance fees not invested in the village
 - What kind of tourism is being pursued? Does it fit the definition of “ecotourism” Does it help alleviating poverty?

- No promotion of the village and its surroundings
- Fear that the place will get spoiled: “We don’t want this place to be known a lot, because then it is likely that it will get spoiled.”
- Tourism generating a significant amount of garbage
- Lacking professionalism among business owners
 - Businesses need to have better business models.
 - Owners lack educations and language skills.
- Conflict between business owners and villagers: “The restaurant and pension owners “eat the cream” of this village.”
- Competition and envy among business owners, such that they report each other’s illegal activities.
- Tourists’ motivations to visit the village
 - The good thing about this village is that you can feel it is alive. I was once in a village in France. Every building was restored beautifully, but it was dead. There were only cafes and restaurants. I did not like that. I better go to other villages that were not restored so nicely but where there is life at least.
 - We like the nature, the traditional way of life, the donkeys barking, the quietness, and the fact that there is no traffic.
 - When we see garbage, we look in a different direction. We try not to focus on that too much.
 - We believe that nothing should change here even the tiny homes around the lake should stay.
 - You can rest in a really good way here in Kapıkırı. It is also a good feeling that you won’t be surprised with certain negativities.
- Tourism agencies exploiting the beauties of the village, and don’t allow villagers to benefit: “Tour guides bring groups to the beginning of the antique road for example, and no one from the village benefits from the visiting group, neither the shepherd nor the crafts selling women of the village.”
- **Women producing and selling traditional crafts**
 - Women selling traditional crafts by generating the “pity effect.”
 - Women chasing tourists heavily criticized.
 - Income opportunity for village women, but a threat to tourism because of the way it is pursued. Tourists come once but not twice, or leave the village with a negative impression.
 - Strategy needs to be developed for selling handcrafts in a more suitable way

Social Structures and Cultural Traditions

- **Kinship relations among villagers**
 - Favoring relatives
 - Overlooking illegal activity of relatives
- **Wedding traditions**
 - Running away as a solution to economic difficulties
 - Sons need to provide housing when getting married
- **Lack of unity among villagers to solve their problems**
- **Hostility between farmers and pension owners**

- Farmers: “Pension owners are eating the cream of the village. They benefit from the protection of ruins, but we suffer because of forbidden construction.”
- Pension owners: “Farmers should take their cattle to the lake. Too much animal waste. They need to stop chasing tourists to sell crafts.”

Contradicting views on the degree of poverty

- **Villagers struggle to make ends meet:** “Someone who makes a good living would not go out and chase tourists when it is really hot. This is a struggle for life risking death.
- “Villagers are better off than people of surrounding villages.”
- “People here don’t need a lot of money, since they can produce everything they need in the village. The cost of living is much cheaper in the village than in towns or cities.”
- “All three protected area statuses coincide here. Life is very restricted here. You live or survive on a daily basis. People have two hectares of olive trees, they catch few kilos of fish every day, milk cows, and have hens and roosters to have eggs and as a source of meat. There are no class differences among the people here in the village; there are no rich and poor. What matters here is how careful people spend their money. People also have other alternatives to earn more money, such as collecting snails or bay leaves.”
- Over the past 10 to 15 years, people’s livelihoods worsened because of the end of farming cotton and other products. Fishing also diminished because of the drop in fish populations. In the past there was much more trust and supporting each other, but as economic circumstances got worse, people started to think about saving the day in terms of food and income.
- Women selling handcrafts say they have no other choice. They need the money to make ends meet.
- Tourists: “The villagers don’t utilize certain resources that they have. For example, they could sell pomegranates, figs, berries, or produce preserve or the like, but they don’t do any of these...”

Future scenarios for the village under current conservation circumstances

- **Ghost village** (population will eventually decrease due to migration of young generation)
 - Risk of thieves plundering the cultural heritage of the village looking for historic artifacts
 - Visitors leaving garbage and no one to clean up...
- **Village becomes a part of the Bafa municipality**
 - More taxes for villagers and business owners
 - Getting permission to make any renovations would be easier for businesses and people??
- **Building boutique pensions & hotels??**

Policy Recommendations coming from officials and villagers

- Villagers have no voice in decisions that directly impact their lives. State needs to adopt a conservation strategy that regards the needs to residents.
- Individual conservation and development projects; area management?
- An umbrella organization to avoid conflict of power among ministries

- More power in decision-making to the local level (a division within the ozel idare or the local government)
- Avoid misinformation or lack of training on issues of conservation at the lowest level of government (village level).

Discussion and Conclusion

- **What the new law of the Protection of Nature and Biodiversity will bring...**

Glossary

Archaeological sites: Works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.³³

Community: The term ‘community’ can be defined as a local social system that has a certain internal social, economic and political dynamic. Communities are not self-contained systems, and reflect, and are influenced by broader social, economic and political factors. Furthermore, communities are not harmonious and homogenous entities. They might contain a variety of groups of different classes, race, ethnicity, gender and age, which might have opposing interests.³⁴

Cultural heritage resources: Cultural heritage that plays a vital part in defining group identity, and the value put on certain sites or objects (whether by individuals, groups or significant proportions of the community), demanded that they be actively conserved. These are the physical evidence of past and contemporary cultural activities. They are valuable, often rare and could not be replaced if lost. The UNESCO classifies cultural heritage resources under monuments, groups of buildings, and sites.³⁵

Indigenous peoples: Indigenous peoples are tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations. Indigenous peoples can also be described as peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations that inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. Criteria indigenous peoples use to identify themselves as such are their own historical continuity with pre-colonial societies; the close relationship with the land and natural resources of their own territory; their peculiar socio-political system; their own language, culture, values, and beliefs; and the fact of not belonging to the dominant sectors of their national society and seeing themselves as different from it.³⁶

Livelihoods: The ways in which people make a living; capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means for living.³⁷

³³ Definition based on the special Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Article 1)

³⁴ Definition based on Furze, De Lacy and Birkhead (1996)

³⁵ Definition based on Lennon (2006)

³⁶ Definition based on International Labour Organization Convention No. 169

³⁷ Definition based on Fisher et al. (2008) and Sunderlin et al. (2005)

Local community: A local community is a human group sharing a territory and involved in different but related aspects of livelihoods such as managing natural resources, developing productive technologies and practices, and producing knowledge and culture. Members are likely to have face-to-face encounters and/or direct mutual influences in their daily life – whether they are permanently settled or mobile. Their identity and cultural characteristics are generally related to the ‘ethnic governance’ systems mentioned above, and they commonly evolve together.³⁸

Mukhtar: Head of local government of a Turkish village

Natural heritage resources: Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.³⁹

Natural sites: Precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

Protected area: A clearly defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values.⁴⁰

³⁸ Definition adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2006)

³⁹ Definition based on the special Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Article 1)

⁴⁰ Definition based on the IUCN.

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