

## **UTILIZING THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH TO EVALUATE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT FROM THE RURAL HOST COMMUNITIES' POINT OF VIEW: THE CASE OF CAPPADOCIA (TURKEY)**

**Onur ÇAKIR**

Kırklareli University, Faculty of Tourism, Kayali Campus,  
39100 Merkez, Kırklareli, Turkey, e-mail: onurcakyr@gmail.com

**Savaş EVREN**

Gümüşhane University, Faculty of Tourism, Bağlarbaşı Mahallesi,  
Gümüşhane, Turkey, e-mail: savasevren3011@gmail.com

**Emrullah TÖREN\***

Anadolu University, Open Education Faculty, Yunus Emre Campus,  
26470 Eskişehir, Turkey, e-mail: torenemrullah@gmail.com

**Nazmi KOZAK**

Anadolu University, Faculty of Tourism, Yunus Emre Campus,  
26470 Eskişehir, Turkey, e-mail: nkozak@anadolu.edu.tr

**Abstract:** The objective of this study was to contribute to and expand the limited knowledge base of the ways in which tourism development impacts rural livelihoods. It traced the process of tourism-based livelihood development in the Cappadocia region of Turkey by using The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) framework to provide the perspectives of those who chose to incorporate tourism as a major part of their overall livelihood strategy. The results showed that tourism development had a great impact on the locals' livelihoods. In order to enhance the locals' livelihood and achieve an environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable outcome for tourism livelihood, the recommendation is to support and encourage small local establishments versus large scale foreign investments, increase the number of overnight stays by promoting Cappadocia as a main tourist destination, take precautions to prevent fraud and forgery in locale handicrafts and souvenir shops, and enact a protection law that prevents harm to the environment caused by traffic, shops, balloons, and hydroelectric power plants.

**Key words:** Tourism Development, Tourism Impacts, Sustainable Livelihood Approach, Oral History, Cappadocia.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

With their unique natural, cultural, and social resources, rural areas have been used as repositories to respond the post-modern tourists' quests for authenticity (Urry,

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\* Corresponding author

2002). Thus, governments regarded tourism as a panacea for increasing quality of life of people living in rural areas. As a developing country, Turkey also utilized tourism for poverty reduction in rural areas. In this respect, tourism is considered to be an important socio-economic development tool in Turkey. Cappadocia is one of the regions that has successfully utilized tourism benefits to enhance life standards in Turkey. Although it is an undeniable fact that tourism played an important role in the development of the Cappadocia region, it is a controversial issue that it is sustainable and it has had the same positive effects on the livelihoods of local people. Amalu and Ajeke (2012) stated that the high rate of tourism activities in a region might not improve the local people's standards of living. Research regarding tourism development in the rural areas has centered on one of the following aspects of tourism at any given time: income generation, production, marketing, or impacts of tourism. This situation has been recently criticized for its lack of focus on livelihoods and for not considering other aspects of tourism development. Some authors argue that this deficiency can be addressed by using the sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) (Shen et al., 2008; Tao, 2006; Ashley, 2000; Ashley et al., 2000).

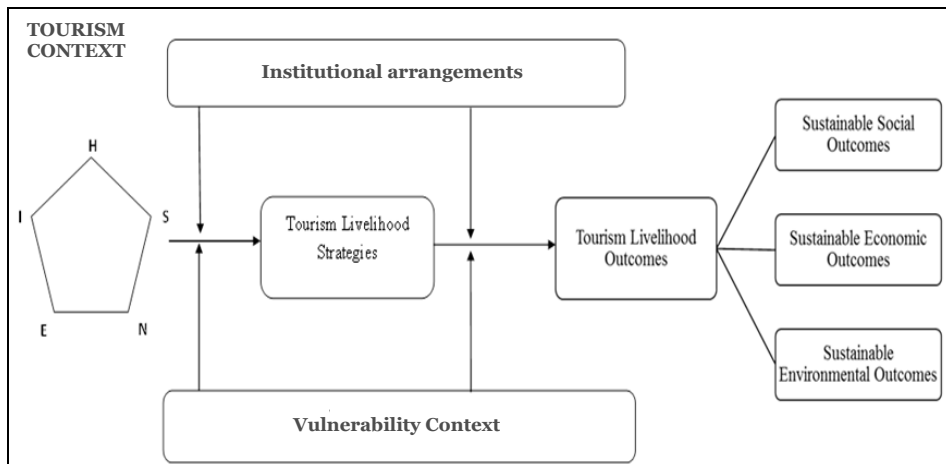
The SLA generally focuses on the local people's five capital-based assets (natural, financial, physical, human, and social capitals), their vulnerability, their usage in tourism and non-tourism related activities, and their outcomes' sustainability (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). Therefore, the SLA does not only comprise sustainability, but also involves the context of vulnerability, livelihood strategies, and outcomes. The SLA provides us with a better understanding of the tourism development process from the rural host communities' point of view. It is also a practical tool kit to analyze tourism impacts and interactions within the local community (Wu & Pearce, 2014). For these reasons, in the study, the sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) has been adopted in order to examine tourism development in the Cappadocia region from the rural host communities' point of view. It has been employed to understand indigenous views and responses of local people concerning the changes induced by tourism development. In order to better understand the tourism development of the Cappadocia region and its effects on the locals' livelihoods, an oral history methodology is used. By conducting semi-structured interviews, 36 locals' oral stories about tourism development in Cappadocia were collected. The data obtained from these oral narrations were analyzed systematically by using the SLA framework. In the light of these narrations, the study aims to explore how tourism has become the main source of income in the Cappadocia region in detail, how the assets of tourism (natural, human, economic, social and institutional capitals) are utilized, and what kind of impacts tourism had on people living in the Cappadocia region.

### **THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

The SLA is an alternative approach to development, which focuses on people and their connection with the environment as well as the concept of sustainability (Sharpley, 2002). The SLA was first proposed by an advisory panel of the WCED in 1987, and the first research published on the livelihood approach was conducted by Chambers and Conway in 1991. Their report adopted many of the principles of sustainable development, and placed a central importance on host communities. The SLA approach has since gained popularity in examining rural development (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002; Carney, 1999; Chambers, 1992; Lee, 2008).

The SLA approach was also adapted in tourism research. One of the earliest research that utilized the SLA was conducted by Ashley (2000) who assessed the impacts of tourism development in the livelihoods of rural communities in Namibia. The study

showed that the SLA offers a useful perspective on tourism for enhancing local benefits. The concept of the SLA was later adapted for tourism by Shen et al. (2008), who suggested a new approach to the SLA with an emphasis on tourism namely “Sustainable Livelihood Framework for Tourism”. In this study, this framework is utilized to form themes and to interpret findings. The core concepts of the framework are tourism context, tourism livelihood assets, institutional arrangements, vulnerability context, livelihood strategies, and tourism livelihood outcomes (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Sustainable livelihood framework for tourism  
(Source: Adapted from Schen et al., 2008; DFID, 1999)

In order to define tourism context, consumers (in this case tourists) profiles are needed to be defined, since different market orientations shape tourism products and local host communities in different ways (Schen et al., 2008; Cattarinich, 2001). For example, economically, international tourists generally require high quality tourism products which need high levels of investments whereas domestic tourists may prefer medium quality, or lower priced forms of accommodations. Therefore, when examining tourism development in an area, the tourism context must be addressed.

Tourism assets are at the center of any tourism development program. In order for tourism to be developed in a certain area, there must be some capital assets that can be used. With the SLA approach, these assets are investigated under five capital titles forming a pentagon namely human, social, natural, economic, and institutional capitals (Schen et al., 2008). Tourism changes local institutional arrangements. When tourism has begun in a region, tourism related governmental sectors reinforce relations at the national, regional, and local level. Besides, external investors, NGOs and tourists alter the local institutional structures. These alterations result in changes in laws, policies, regulations, and informal rules like norms which directly affects the rural host communities' lives (Schen et al., 2008). The vulnerability context addresses shocks, trends, wars, seasonality, etc. that negatively effects tourism development in a region. In the study, the aim is to reveal what kind of vulnerabilities occurred in the Cappadocia region and how the locals have dealt with them. With the SLA, livelihood strategies are defined as tourism-related (TRAs) or non-tourism related activities (NTRAs) that people undertake to achieve their livelihood goals. TRAs include employment in tourism industry, formal and informal tourism businesses, farming for tourism purposes, etc.

On the other hand NTRAs include labor migration, non-tourism related employment, farming, and others. These livelihood activities can be changed and can become dominant over one another (Schen et al., 2008). Therefore, in this study, both TRAs and NTRAs are examined in the tourism development process in the Cappadocia region. According to the SLA, for tourism to achieve desired livelihood outcomes, it needs to offer local people a long-term, reliable income source; socio-culturally maintain a stable local society and integral culture; environmentally protect local natural resources; and, institutionally maximize opportunities for local participation and involvement (Schen et al., 2008); thus a sustainable destination will be maintained. In this context, the issue of sustainability of both livelihoods and tourism need consideration.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Research Area (Cappadocia Region, Turkey)**

Located at the heart of Anatolia, Ancient Cappadocia region covers Nevşehir, Kayseri, Niğde, Kırşehir, Aksaray and some parts of Yozgat, Çorum, Malatya and neighboring provinces in modern-day Turkey (Umar, 1998). With its valleys, fairy chimneys, cave churches, etc., which are common in towns, such as Göreme, Avanos, Ürgüp and Uçhisar, Nevşehir is the most developed province among all provinces cities in terms of tourism (Tucker, 2003). The valleys and the fairy chimneys were formed by volcanic residues, such as dust, ash and lava from Hasandağı and Erciyes volcanos eroded under the effect of the natural events, such as rain, wind, etc. for millions of years (Çuhadar, 1997; Ayyıldız, 1990). Besides, the people in this region, where the soft geological structure allows for stone carving, produced various structures by carving the stones since the early ages (Akşit, 1988; Karakaya, 2002). Being significant housing, worship, and sanctuary areas of their time, these structures are considered to be significant tourist attractions today. The French were the first people to discover the natural, cultural, and artistic riches of the region as modern tourism values in early 20th century. It is stated that the notes written by a French author (Guillaume de Jerphanion) had an influence on the people who read them. They started to visit the region individually as of the 1950s, and then the small group tourism emerged. After the 1980s, the tourism movement has increased (Tosun, 1998; Tucker, 2003). In recent years, millions of people, especially Japanese and German tourists, have been visiting the attractions in the region. According to the information provided by the governorship, 2.8 million people visited the region in 2014. However, along with the rapid growth of mass tourism, the commercial use of the natural structures has increased and the natural-cultural environment has begun to be damaged. Within this context, one of the most important subjects from the 1990s in this region has been sustainable development of tourism (Tosun, 1998).

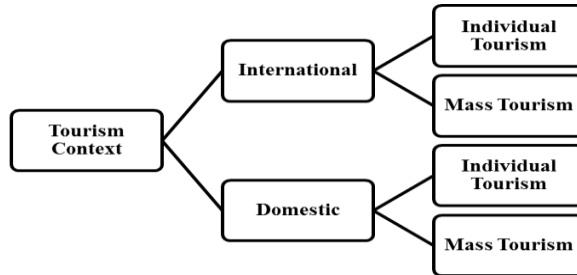
### **Research Method and Data Analysis.**

Tourism as a lived experience, from the perspective of being a livelihood strategy, has received little consideration in either the livelihood research to-date or the literature on alternative forms of tourism development, which addresses the concept of sustainability. Therefore, in this study the oral history methodology is employed. By using the oral history methodology, 27 local people who have chosen tourism as their main livelihood strategy were interviewed. Interviewees consisted of eight hotel owners, five travel agents, five tour guides, four food and beverage establishment owners and four local craftsmen coded as HO1-HO9, TA1-TA5, TG1-TG5, FB1-FB4, C1-C5 respectively. In the following section, the data collected from the 27 cases of interest are presented in an interpretive response under main themes namely tourism context, tourism livelihood assets, vulnerability context, tourism livelihood strategies, institutional arrangements, and tourism livelihood outcomes.

## FINDINGS

### Tourism Context

Under this main theme, the development of tourism within national and international context, the changes and innovations have been analyzed and the statements of well-informed people have been directly cited. The main theme of the tourism context and the subheadings under this main theme are shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Main Theme of the Tourism Context

Although the Cappadocia region has always been an attraction for visitors, these visitors only became one of the main means of living for the local people starting with 1960s. The authorities stated that the remarkable foreign tourist visits date back to the 1950s and those people were French tourists who were influenced by the novel named *Three Nights in Rock Churches of Cappadocia* by Nobel-winning author Yorgo Seferis, and who visited Cappadocia for cultural and religious purposes (Tosun, 1998: p. 599). It is stated that regional tourism began to develop with the French tourists, who drove their own vehicles until the 1980s, and with the hitchhiker hippies (HO1, HO5, HO4). Since the tourism infrastructure was inadequate and there were no facilities to host those tourists in those days, the tourists had the opportunity to experience Turkish hospitality at its finest, and these experiences made a great contribution to regional tourism development. Witnessing the tourists sleeping in caves or gardens in their sleeping bags, the local people began to host these people in their houses as required by their traditions (FB3). These people, who realized that they could generate income by commercializing what they did, decided to include tourism into their livelihood strategies (HO1). In this sense, tourism developed spontaneously in the 1970s (HO4). The income generated by the families who transformed their houses into guesthouses, became conspicuous and gave rise to the number of guesthouses. *“It all started with guesthousing. If the tourists could not find a place to stay, the local people would take them to their houses and let them stay overnight. The tourists would be treated as family members”* (HO8).

Tourism activities, which continued as guesthousing for foreign tourists until 1975, turned into large-scale tourism facilities together with TURBAN<sup>1</sup> hotels, which were established in 1975. These hotels in Ürgüp, Avanos, and Nevşehir had a key role in giving the local people the notion that they were professional tourism entrepreneurs. With their help and support, the managers of these hotels, Abbas Ataman, Saffet Yatağan, and

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<sup>1</sup> As in the development of many sectors in Turkey, the core strategy is to make reference investments through state economic enterprises and provide service as financial provider. The name of the state economic enterprise, which was established to serve for the development of tourism sector, is “Turizm Bankası A.Ş. (Bank of Tourism) or TURBAN” in brief. TURBAN, which was established with the Cabinet Council’s decision no: 4/5413 in 23.06.1955, actually began to operate in 1962 (Özdemir and Kozak, 2000). Being a leading and reference institution for tourism sector, TURBAN A.Ş. also established hotels in Cappadocia region and engaged in significant activities to meet the requirements of qualified tourism personnel.

Kürşat Numanoğlu made great contributions to development of tourism in the Cappadocia region. *“Saffet Yatağan is the initiator of tourism-related activities in this region. Saffet Yatağan and Kürşat Numanoğlu... We snatched up this hotel business from them. I think those two set an example for us”* (HO7).

When it comes to the 1980s, the number of large-scale facilities intended for mass tourism increased. Especially after the enactment of the Tourism Encouragement Law of 1982, large-scale tourism facilities began to open (HO3, HO4, TG3). *“After 1989, the investments went sky-high; everybody started to build hotels and restaurants. The bed capacity rapidly increased ten times... Now everyone builds boutique hotels. If a person has three rooms, he/she builds a boutique hotel with those three rooms”* (FB3).

When considered within the context of tourism, it has been observed that while tourism development was spontaneous with the hippies and European tourists led by the French groups in the 1960s, it turned into a mass tourism movement in the 1980s and 1990s. While the travel agencies in this region were arranging package tours especially for the French, they started to attract tourists from all of Europe and the Far East as of the 1990s (HO2). The transformation into mass tourism movement led to a change in tourist profiles. Especially the Far-eastern tourists, who prefer to visit this region in winter, became a golden opportunity for extending the season and increasing productivity (HO5).

As the negative impacts of mass tourism became evident, a luxury tourism movement began along with the mass tourism and shopping tours after the 2000s. While producing luxury and custom services, hotel management concept has also changed and the number of boutique hotels has increased in new investments. The number of boutique hotels, the first of which was opened by a lawyer in 1993, began to increase after the 2000s, and improved the mass and cheap destination image with luxury and premium services (HO4). Since the foreign mass tourists did not yield as much income as they used to, and since the Cappadocia region was well-promoted in TV series, it is observed that domestic tourists began to groove on that region in the early 2000s (TG4, HO2, HO3, HO6). It is stated that this interest was largely based on the TV series named “Asmalı Konak”, which was shot in this region, and attracted the attention of the paparazzi (HO2, TG4, TG3). Today, tours are organized from all over the world to Cappadocia for domestic and foreign tourists. With the diversity of tourists, the development of the destination, and the corporate enterprises, the region is capable of meeting this demand.

### **Tourism Assets**

In the sustainable livelihood approach, tourism assets are analyzed within the scope of natural, social, human, economic, and corporate capital aspects (Shen et al., 2008). Under this theme, tourism assets of the Cappadocia region are discussed in detail (Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Main Theme of Tourism Assets

The most powerful asset of tourism in Cappadocia is shaped around natural and social capital. The valleys and fairy chimneys, which were formed in hundreds of years with the volcanic residues of Mount Erciyes and Hasandağı (Ayyıldız, 1990), and are mostly located between the Ürgüp-Uçhisar-Avanos triangle, are the most significant and unique natural capital of Cappadocia (Çuhadar, 1997). The shrines and especially

hundreds of cave churches from the Byzantine period and the mural paintings on the walls of these churches may be analyzed within the context of social capital as cultural values. Similarly, the underground cities, which are one of the most significant remnants of the Byzantine period, are also significant social capital elements that have been open for visits since the 1960s (TG5). Another social tourism capital of Cappadocia is the Avanos-based pottery art and the art pieces created within this context (C1, C3). The artworks, which were large and created for use until the 1970s, began to rapidly transform into miniature artworks after the 1980s in line with the demands of the tourists (C2, HO8, C4). In addition, carpet businesses, and jewelry and marble-masonry may also be considered among socio-cultural tourism assets of the region (TG5). Activities such as wine harvesting festivals and wine tastings are also among the significant elements of the social capital. The most important capital element, which ensures that tourism develops and becomes a sector, is the economic capital. The establishment of accommodation and food & beverage facilities, travel agencies, and the introduction of public investments are all related to the economic capital. In the early years, the economic capital in Cappadocia began to emanate by means of minor initiatives of local elements. The fact that the local elements initially and mostly provide rudimentary services is one of the key features of the development of tourism destinations (Butler, 1980). In the 1980s, depending on the overall tourism breakthrough in Turkey, the incentives (1983, Tourism Promotion Law) became weighty matters in terms of economic capital. However, what is more important regarding tourism in Cappadocia is the first major investments made by state-funded Turban hotels. Later, the local elements and the investors from major cities ensured that the investments increased both by utilizing the incentives and their own equity capitals. The people in those days started to sell their previous sources of income, such as crop fields, trucks and savings, and started to become hotel owners and travel agents by utilizing various incentives (FB3, TA3, HO9).

The rapid growth of the tourism sector specifically unveiled the urgent need for human capital. The administrative staff of the hotels, who increased in number in 1980s in Cappadocia tourism, and who were initiated by the locals, who opened up their houses for the first individual visitors, namely the hippies, continued with the establishment of small guesthouses, and finally with the establishment of major hotels, were transferred from Turban hotels. Within this context, Turban hotels served as applied training schools in the early years in Cappadocia. Later, these managers made an effort to improve their own personnel (HO4, FB3). The most significant name in Cappadocia regarding the development of human capital is Saffet Yatağan. *"They came from Hilton in 1973. They were brought to Cappadocia by Saffet Yatağan, the most prominent name for tourism in Cappadocia. Maitre d'hotel (master of hotel) of Hilton provided training programs in Ürgüp Büyük Hotel. I have a waitering diploma with "excellent" degree, certified by the Ministry of Tourism"* (HO7). Nevşehir University, Tourism and Hotel Management Academy, which was established in 1984, had a significant influence on the development of human resources in tourism. In addition, along with the development of tourism, well-educated, multilingual tourism professionals started to migrate to the region and enriched the human capital of Cappadocia (HO1, FB3). Women's employment is also another key matter in human capital. In the early 1960s, the local people were not up for women's employment because of their cultural structure. However, especially after the mid-1980s, the sector started to develop when tourism was promoted and when the people began to realize that they could earn big, and more women began to get involved in tourism sector (FB3, HO4, C4). Another aspect of the sustainable livelihood approach is the corporate capital. The corporate capital is approached within the frame of subjects, such as ensuring access of the public to the tourism

markets, sharing of tourism outcomes, and participation in decision-making processes (Shen et al., 2008). In fact, tourism in the Cappadocia region actually started when the public gained access to the tourism markets and began to offer service to tourists and generated income. In this sense, it did not take too long for the public to access to the tourism sector and to have a share. The local people generated income by opening small guesthouses, agencies, and souvenir shops that shaped tourism in Cappadocia (HO3).

The involvement of the local people in the decision-making processes was partial through their representatives in municipalities, since the local decisions were also taken and implemented under the control of the central government. Institutionalization of the relations between the destinations may also be considered within the scope of the corporate capital. Within this context, this fact, which has emerged in terms of tourism in Cappadocia in recent years, is the collaboration project among the destinations between Erciyes Ski Resort and Cappadocia, which is initiated under the title of “cultural skiing”. Basically, winter is the peak season at the Erciyes Ski Resort and the off-peak season in Cappadocia, and the distance between these two destinations is 45 minutes by land. Within this framework, the efforts made by Erciyes A.Ş., Erciyes’s destination management organization, produced its first results in 2014, and a Dutch tour operator created a package tour, which included five days in Erciyes and two days in Cappadocia (Demiroğlu, 2015). While this project provides a solution for non-contemporary off-seasons of both destinations, it is also expected to increase the overall number of visitors with the synergy effect.

The five dimensions of Cappadocia’s tourism capital have been distorted in time. For example, mass tourism, an unplanned tourism superstructure, and natural events have caused significant damages on valleys and fairy chimneys, which are the main attractions of the region. Although Göreme Valley was taken under protection by UNESCO in 1985, these protection policies and decisions were mostly ineffective against the power of the capital (FB3, TG5). The municipalities fail to prevent this due to lack of technical staff, legal or bureaucratic problems, and relations based on mutual interests and unearned income (C4). In addition, apathetic and harmful acts of the local people were also evident at times. For example, the people living in historically valuable houses sometimes attempted to destroy (painting, etc.) the historical texture of their houses in fear of governmental confiscation (TG5). The tourist groups also destroyed the historical texture. Some destructive acts occurred during mass tourist movements in those attractions. Lack of knowledge regarding protection is also another significant point. For example, the damage caused by photo-flashes on historical structures was discovered not too long ago (TA3). The elements within the scope of the social capital were also ruined in time. For example, some domestic and foreign tourists engraved their names with sharp objects on murals in centuries-old cave churches (HO4, TA3).

In addition, the facilities, such as the dams and the hydroelectric plants, which increased humidity in the region, also damaged the natural structure by triggering erosions. *Seven dams were built in this region, and there will be 20 dams in total. There is a 70-km- long dam in here. The humidity exceeds 33% now and it never exceeded 10% before. UNESCO warns us regarding protection, but nobody listens* (HO9). With the high levels of humidity that they produce, hydroelectric plants also damage winemaking activities, which are other significant social capital elements in this region. Another alteration regarding winemaking is related to the festivals. Within this context, Tokmak states that wine festivals named “binlik<sup>2</sup>”, which are a tradition inherited from the Hittites and the Greeks, were organized in this region in the past (before 1980), and the

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<sup>2</sup> The name of the three liter bottles used for wines



repressions that were brought by the 1980 coup d'état<sup>3</sup> and in the later years turned those "binlik" festivals into a long-lost cultural element. However, these vine harvesting festivals have been organized in recent years under the sponsorship of some major wine companies and this culture is kept alive to some extent.

The havoc regarding the human capital was evident in terms of working conditions, wages, etc. Low wages, hours of labor up to 16 hours and social rights have always been the most important problems for the employees in Cappadocia (FB3). Another havoc regarding the human capital is related to tour guiding. Tour guiding has emerged with foreign language students coming from major cities in summer to work as tour guides in Cappadocia, and then licensed tour guides have taken over the business. However, the unqualified and commission-money oriented business began to create problems in time. TG4 gave the following statements regarding this issue: "*They made up a term as 'pocket tour guide'. Who are those pocket guides? The ones with no self-esteem, who do this job for free. The ones, who guide the tourists for chicken feed. Because of them, a Korean comes in and makes twice as much income than the Turkish tour guides.*"

Economic capital has evolved from a structure mostly predominated by the local people, and later, dominated by major investment groups. Tokmak stated that family guesthousing decreased significantly especially after the 1991 Gulf crisis, and that the number of guesthouses went down from 48 to six in 1998 in Avanos, and the development was confined. This sets forth a consequential havoc in terms of the corporate capital. Now, lack of communication between the local people and the tourists who visit the region as the customers of major hotels and agencies, became evident. According to Tokmak, this increased the number of tourists who take photographs and leave quickly within a couple of days without actually discovering Cappadocia. The common view regarding the thing that damages all tourism capital dimensions in Cappadocia is a low-price policy and short periods of stay. In this region, where the room rates were relatively more expensive until the mid-1990s, the prices have begun to fall rapidly and the guests could find a room for only eight euros. This causes damage on natural, historical, and cultural attractions by attracting more tourists than the region can bear; the decline in pricing also negatively affects economic and human capital by reducing tourism income, because the enterprises in the red first begin to make concessions on human resources. The decline of prices also changes the tourist profiles. The region, which used to attract high income groups in the past, is today preferred by lower income groups (FB3, HO7). The region, which used to attract more naïve, sophisticated, and artistic people between the 1970s and the 1980s, began to attract people from different circles in recent years (HO8). FB3 stated that while they used to sell approximately 4000 bottles of wine in the 1980s, they could only sell around 200 bottles of wine although the prices dropped by half in recent years and have underlined the decline in income levels of the visitors. FB3 stated that business relations have also become uncomfortable and talked about the carpet stores sponsoring tourist groups and offering free accommodations in some hotels for those who purchase carpets from those stores within this context.

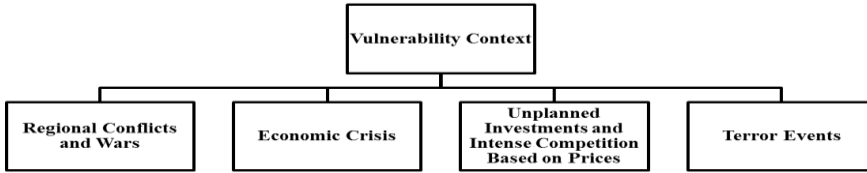
### **Vulnerability Context**

Under this main theme, the periods, events, and practices that create vulnerability the Cappadocia region were analyzed in terms of tourism. The conditions, such as regional political issues, and terrorist actions, which create vulnerability on touristic movements in this region, are given in Figure 4 and presented with direct quotations from the interviews.

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<sup>3</sup> The years between 1971 and 1980 are referred to as a period, where terrorist actions and anarchy were on the rise in universities and on the streets in Turkey, and where the country was on the verge of a civil war. Since the political power could not find a solution for these problems and failed to form a government between 1979 and 1980, Turkish Armed Forces seized the control of the country in September 12, 1980 (Öcal, 2009).

When considered within the context of vulnerability, the problems encountered in the Cappadocia region were interpreted under the following sub-themes: breaking up of Yugoslavia, the influence of regional political issues such as Gulf War I, economic turmoil and negative effects of inflation, unplanned investments, and intense and attritional competition based on an astronomical increase in supply, and terrorist actions.



**Figure 4.** Main Theme of Vulnerability Context

The tourism activities in Cappadocia have begun with the hippies from Europe, driving in their trailer caravans. This type of tourism has developed until 1980's. After the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980, there were large-scale ethnic conflicts and economic depressions which started Yugoslavia's break-up process. Due to the negative situations in Yugoslavia, tourists have stopped coming to Cappadocia by road. HO2 expressed the impact of the break-up of Yugoslavia on tourism in Cappadocia as follows: *"When the Yugoslavian Wars began, the caravaneers, and the tourists that we called "pasan (passing on)" or individual tourists stopped visiting and the lean times has begun for the sector."* It is observed that the war in the Balkans prevented the arrivals by land, however, in conjunction with the development of air transportation, this gap was filled by other air-land connected transportation types. However, the first Gulf War in the 1990s had devastating effects on the development of tourism in the Cappadocia region. The common view of all interviewers is that the most challenging period in the development of tourism in Cappadocia region was during the first Gulf War period. Some interviewers refer to this as a period where tourism significantly shrunk and even came to an end (TG4, C4, HO4, HO8, TA3, TG3). *"... no one knows how they got the news, or how did that happen. Cappadocia was deserted" (FB3). When Iraq attacked Kuwait, the customers left this place lamentingly. They were terrified" (TA3).*

Turkey was best known for its economic crises and depressions throughout the 1990s. Just as the economic crises in 1991, 1994, 1998-1999 and 2001 affected the entire country, it also had a negative impact on tourism livelihood of the local people in the Cappadocia region. The fact that money was constantly devalued compelled the local people, who had to struggle with high interest rates and inflation. This distressed the local investors, who made an investment by borrowing, and it also restrained them from predicting and making plans for the future by disserving their thinking skills. These circumstances prevented the local investors from making new investments and made them incapable of sparing their time and financing and making new investments that would develop their livelihoods (HO1). When the people realized the profitability of tourism investments after the Tourism Promotion Law of 1982, the tourism investments in the Cappadocia region increased astronomically. The unplanned investments, which were made regardless of the supply-demand equilibrium, created another vulnerable point for the Cappadocia region. Since the core competitive strategy of the local people is price competition, the prices decreased drastically as the number of tourists visiting Cappadocia has been increasing rapidly (HO3, FB3, HO7, HO1).

*"The most crucial mistake in tourism occurs because of competition. It does not matter if you are an agency or a hotel owner, you cannot make a vast sum of money"*

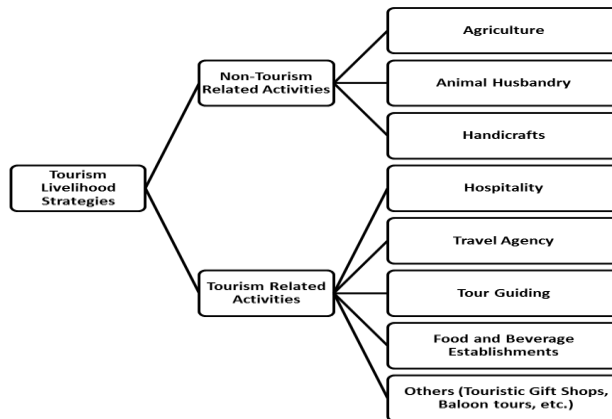
(HO1). *“We have only one competition system, and that’s the price competition. Everyone started to compete on price. The prices decreased so much that they are now going through the floor”* (FB3). *I think the number of tourists are increasing, but the benefits brought by these tourists are decreasing. They are being led to some certain places. I think this is upsetting in terms of Turkish tourism”* (TG3).

Another significant vulnerability of the 1990s was terrorism. The interviewers stated that whenever a bomb exploded in the vicinity of Southeast Turkey, the tourism activities in Cappadocia stopped immediately, and they emphasized that they were negatively affected by the instability in the Southeast (HO1, HO4).

Today, many of these vulnerability points have been solved. Although the civil wars in neighboring Syria and Iraq still continue, and some individual terrorist actions still exist, the interviewers stated that they are not affected by these incidents as they were in the past and the vulnerabilities against these incidents decreased. In addition, the Turkish economy seems to have a stable outlook in economic terms. Today, among all other vulnerabilities, only the low prices based on intense competition seem to remain as the most vulnerable point of regional tourism.

### **Tourism Livelihood Strategies**

Tourism’s influence on other sectors with direct and indirect connection with tourism, and to what extent these sectors benefit from tourism movements are discussed under this theme. The subheadings under the tourism livelihood strategies’ main theme are given in Figure 5 in detail.



**Figure 5.** Main Theme of Tourism Livelihood Strategies

Before the development of tourism, the main sources of living for the local people of Cappadocia were agriculture, animal husbandry, and handicrafts, such as pottery. Together with the development of tourism, significant changes have occurred in these livelihoods and the livelihood strategies of the local people. *“It is almost impossible to keep away from tourism if you live in this region, because you are involved in tourism in any given time. We have been living together with the tourists populating the streets since our childhood. You cannot help but get involved in tourism”* (HO6). The local people had no other choice but to get involved in tourism. C4 gave the following statements regarding the influence of tourism on almost all people of the region: *“Tourism surely had an influence on all people, all craftsmen from A to Z. It has been a positive influence”* (C4). The main livelihood of the local people is agriculture, and tourism had both a positive and negative effect on the lives of those people living on agriculture. With the increasing number of tourists visiting the

region, the people had the opportunity to sell their agricultural products (especially potato and greenhouse vegetables, etc.) directly to the enterprises without paying commission to another reseller (TG5). However, the people who turned towards tourism in Cappadocia, began to remove agriculture from their livelihood strategies, because agriculture is considered to be more difficult and relatively more likely to generate less income than tourism (HO8, HO1, TG4). Another group, which was positively affected by the development of tourism, is the people involved in animal husbandry. With the increasing number of foreign tourists, the livelihood of the people, who are involved in poultry husbandry, egg and meat production, has also improved (HO1).

Another significant strategy pursued by people to make a living is the immigration strategy (Scoones, 1998). Before 1980, Cappadocia had been an emigrant region and many of the interviewers stated that the development of tourism reversed migration and many departers came back and the people began to migrate to Cappadocia from other regions (TA3, TG4, C4, HO8). *“The development of tourism prevented out-migration from Cappadocia. Cappadocia had been an emigrant region until the 1980s and the 1990s. But it stopped; people even began to migrate to Cappadocia”* (C4). *My two brothers have returned; the children of my maternal uncle have returned, and the son of my uncle has also returned back from Izmit because of tourism”* (TA3).

The Cappadocia region also has a rich history in terms of handicrafts. Pottery, which has 5000 years of history, the carpet business, hand-crafted dolls, and onyx stone carvings are other crafts that the people do for a living. When the use of plastic increased in 1963, the pottery activities in this region have suffered (C1). With the development of tourism, these values have turned into commercial merchandise and the local people gained a new income channel with touristic souvenir sales, and these vanishing handicrafts continued to exist. *“Handicrafts have been developed in here. The dishware that we used to call crocks and used for eating and drinking are today’s souvenirs”* (HO1). *“Here, both the handicrafts and rug-carpet weaving had begun to be forgotten, these crafts are revived again”* (C4). With the development of tourism, the largest carpet stores in Turkey began to open up in Cappadocia and Cappadocia became one of the most important locations, where the foreign tourists purchase Turkish carpets (HO1). However, as it is in all other businesses, the commercialization of these handicrafts led the opportunists, who want to cut corners, to manufacture low-quality carpets, rugs, potteries and onyx products (HO8, C2). *“They switched from tradition to touristic field and began to manufacture small, petite, miniature but expensive products. But while the craftsmen used to produce handicrafts with madder, now they use chemical dyes... the colors die away within a couple of days... I mean, money changes everything”* (HO8).

The unique and unrivaled scenery of the fairy chimneys and the suitable climate for hot air ballooning led to an increase in hot air balloon tours as another popular activity. Witnessing the balloon tour of an American tourist, Robinson Club Company started to offer this service for its own customers in 1993 and initiated balloon tours in this region together with two professional balloon pilots. Today, balloon tours are one of the main touristic activities in this region and provide a means of livelihood for many people (HO7). Accommodation sector, which is one of the building blocks of the tourism industry, has always been one of the most significant means of livelihood for the local people. This process began when the local people started to open up their houses for foreign tourists back in the day when professional hotel management was not common in this region and this sector became one of the main means of livelihood for the local people of Cappadocia. Today, many people, who used to host tourist in their carved stone houses as required by their hospitality in the past, generate income by turning their houses into

boutique hotels (HO1, HO8, HO4). In the early years of tourism activities, there were not many food & beverage facilities in Cappadocia. It is observed that until the 1980s, the region did not have any food & beverage facilities for tourists. There were only a few diners intended for the needs of the local people. The first restaurant having a tourism operation license was opened in Avanos by FB3 in 1986. *“Our restaurant is the first restaurant certified by the Ministry of Tourism. The others were some sort of ordinary restaurants. ...After 1989, the investments peaked, everybody began to build hotels and restaurants. Many restaurants were opened in Uçhisar and Ortahisar”* (FB3).

The high incomes of tourism agencies in Cappadocia led the local people to include tourism agency activities into their livelihood strategies. However, the earliest form of tourism agencies was poorly and stressfully performed, where the hotels and agencies were jumping on tourists getting out of the bus station. Since means of booking and communication were not as common in the past, the tourists were all walk-in customers and they used to search for guesthouses, hotels or agencies. Agency and tour guiding services, which started out as welcoming and guidance at the bus station, have improved in due course and have been carried out more professionally (TA1).

*“There weren’t any licensed tour guides, and I used to guide ten-fifteen buses in English and German”* (TG4). *We began to operate illegal tours with a van. We were organizing tours for places, such as Göreme outdoor museum, Kaymaklı, Derinkuyu underground city, Paşadağ, Avanos and Ürgüp. We started out with minor tours around those places. Of course, as they were approved by the government, I mean the travel agencies, they didn’t give us a chance. When the people filed reports to the gendarmerie, it was prohibited, so I opened a branch of Efor tour and continued for 7 years and that’s how my dream of opening a tour agency came true”* (TA3).

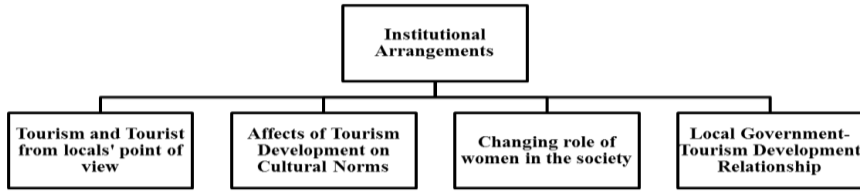
As it is observed, the livelihood strategies of the local people of the Cappadocia region were diversified in line with the development of tourism; the previous livelihoods of the region, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, carpet business and pottery, etc. were protected and improved and the local people developed and adapted new livelihood strategies depending on the development of tourism with activities such as hotel and agency management, tour guiding, restaurant business and hot air ballooning, etc. Another remarkable point is that these people were the local people of the Cappadocia region. It is observed in all interviews that both the tourism investments and the traditional means of livelihood were utilized by the local people; unlike other regions, where tourism develops, the extraneous investment groups never had a determining role in this region and the local people have always been the main determinant in strategy preferences and the utilization of the resources.

### **Institutional Agreements**

The relations between the national government, local authorities, and domestic tourists in the onset, development and continuation periods of tourism and institutionalizations within this context were analyzed under this main theme. The main topics under the main theme of institutional agreements are given in Figure 6, and the theme is supported by the statements of reference.

When Cappadocia Region is analyzed within the context of the Institutional Agreements theme, the locals’ viewpoint of tourism and tourists, cultural interaction, changes in human relations, local government-tourism relationship and effects of tourism on cultural norms become prominent. Although it is believed that the conservativeness of the people of Cappadocia is not well-matched with tourism, the people managed to reach a certain level in their relations with the tourists, and to institutionalize this to allow for cohabitation within reasonable limits. The generation who grew up acquainted with

tourists in their childhood adopted tourism today as their primary mains of livelihood (HO2). In addition, before realizing the economic yield of tourism, the local people were biased against the tourists, and regarded them as weird and eccentric people who wandered around Cappadocia for unknown reasons. However, the tourists were also timid in the early years of tourism in Cappadocia. With the mutual acquaintance and gradual suppression of mutual biases, the relations between these groups became so much friendlier that even many intermarriages between Turks and foreign tourists occurred within this context (HO8, TA3, HO7, TG4, C4, HO1, FB3).



**Figure 6.** The Main Theme of Institutional Agreements

*“Let’s say the people of Cappadocia blew the cobwebs away. We went through fire and water: the people casted away the tourists, and did some things based on hearsay evidences. The kids used to throw stones to the tourists... In some regions, it took ages to explain the benefits and opportunities brought by these tourists to the reclusive communities”* (TG4). The institutionalized social structure in the early years of tourism did not allow women to work. The society was biased against female employment in the tourism sector in the early years. However, this biased view has changed over time, and female employment in tourism sector became legitimate (TG5, HO4).

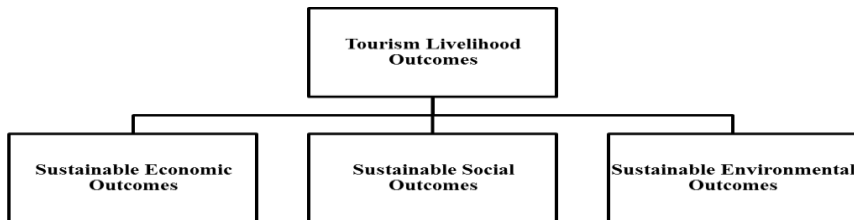
*“We weren’t able to find any housekeepers. It was almost impossible. We would kindly ask, but still took no for an answer. They used to tell us ‘if I send my wife, or my daughter to the hotel to work, what would they say behind my back?’ We would try to convince them by saying the hotel was a professional enterprise; the working hours and the breaks are all specified. They would come to work in the morning, and go back to their homes at 5 pm. We even provide shuttle busses for the employees. But we couldn’t convince them. However, they have realized that it was not the case after 1985. The people work hard for the money, to improve themselves, to maintain their economies and generate income. The viewpoints of the local people have changed afterwards”* (HO4). Tourism also had a significant influence on the cultural values of the region and the lifestyles of the local people, and it led to a significant change in the traditional structure. The touristic regions have come a long way in many fields, especially in terms of infrastructure, and they have developed in terms of socialization (HO4, HO8, TA3, TG4). *“When people realize that they could earn a lot of money on tourism, they begin to leave some of their values behind. I mean, we begin to see things through a materialist point of view* (HO4). *“It took a lot more than it gave us. The love and respect of the family, as I said before. When the kids earn a couple of bucks in summer, the families turn a blind eye to it”* (TA3). *“Private hospitals, especially those, which are somehow related to the overseas institutions, and which operate under agreements with insurance, healthcare insurance companies... Both the number of hospitals and the services have increased”* (C4). *Today, these services are at the highest level in tourism-intensive regions as service sector, development and education”* (TG4).

If we examine the relationships between the local authorities and bureaucratic channels in the Cappadocia Region, it is observed that the Turban hotels had a great

influence on the onset of tourism in Cappadocia, and these hotels also made great contributions in terms of training qualified personnel for the sector. New hotels were established with the incentives provided, especially in the 1980s (HO1, FB3). The municipalities also had hand-in-glove relations with touristic activities and facilities and they made great contributions in the early years and development stage of tourism (HO1, HO8, TA3). By establishing reference facilities in the region, the municipalities pioneered and supported the adoption and embodiment of the business methods of tourism by the local people (HO1, TA3). *“The municipalities have built these hotels under difficult conditions; now these hotels are of no use, I mean, in terms of tourism. Some of those buildings became dormitories, others became I know not what; but they became the fire starters and locomotives (HO1). “The municipality already influenced on those matters. The people, who would be engaged in tourism business were supported as the people of Göreme, the local people.” (TA3).* When it comes to the present day, the fact that the mutual biases in the onset and development periods of tourism in Cappadocia were overcome in every aspect with the development of tourism and the efforts to make the relationships sustainable, is one of the most notable facts when the titles under the Institutional Agreements theme are individually examined.

### **Tourism’s Livelihood Outcomes**

The tourism activities in Cappadocia Region and the sustainable development and livelihood outcomes of this development are examined within the scope of the subheadings given in Figure 7.



**Figure 7.** The Main Theme of Tourism’s Livelihood Outcomes

The sustainable livelihood outcomes are discussed within the scope of social development, economic development and environmental development. When the subject is analyzed within the frame of environmental development, although a tolerant approach is adopted against especially the major investment groups, albeit inadequate, an effort is made to pursue the protection-utilization equilibrium through the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board (FB3). According to some interviewees, these efforts are ostensible and these boards are one of the main actors of the destruction of this region (HO9). In addition, the activities conducted by non-governmental organizations and activists within the scope of environmental protection may sometimes have an influence (HO1). However, HO8, who is the president of the Cappadocia History Culture Research & Protection Association, and who states that only 6% of the people in the region is aware of protection according to a study conducted by UNESCO, also states that some industrialist NGOs make an effort to remove the protected area (SIT) status of some areas. HO8 states that the effect of the structuring that develops solely for monetary concerns without any historical and cultural awareness has been increasing, and emphasizes the lack of qualified organizations in charge of protecting the region.

In addition, the activities conducted by the municipalities under the name of urban transformation significantly damage the historical texture (HO8). *“Here, two major*

*investment groups tried to build ultra-luxurious boutique hotels by cutting and carving into the fairy chimneys. 9 NGOs have united under the name of Cappadocia Platform and conducted significant protests. We run petitions. We tried to draw attention at national and international level. We filed a lawsuit but these men are powerful. However, a government executive, who is responsible for protection of this region, exerts himself to derive profit for these men.*” People also individually damage (such as carving on walls and murals) the natural and cultural texture in Cappadocia (HO4, TA3). Other than these, the damages caused by the hot air ballooning sector on cultivated areas have an impact on tourism. Within this context, the gases released by hundreds of balloons and the activities of ground services especially harm the vineyards (HO8, HO7). The people who could not make money through agriculture sold their croplands to tourism initiatives in due course with the influence of these factors (TG4). The most important factor that affects the environmental problems in Cappadocia is observed as the low-price policy. This policy causes a density of tourists exceeding the capacity of the region and new facilities are opened continuously to satisfy this density. The natural and cultural attractions, such as museums, churches and fairy chimneys, which are visited by thousands of people daily, suffer the most within this vicious circle. The gases released, and the vibrations caused by the buses, which go all the way into the cultural heritage areas, and the body temperatures of hundreds of people damage the natural structure more with each passing day (HO7, HO8, TG4, C4).

When it is discussed in terms of economic sustainability, again, the low-price policy appears as the main problem. The general view in Cappadocia is that the million-dollar hotels are marketed for rock-bottom prices and the hotels try to offer service to a number of guests beyond their capacity (HO8, HO7, C4). When it is combined with short overnight stays, the revenue generated by tourism remains limited along with the ecocide (HO7). FB3 emphasizes the significances of the sectors within the scope of economic sustainability and states that the sustainability of especially the accommodation sector is very low. Low-priced and short-term room sales are the most important problems regarding the sustainability of accommodation sector in Cappadocia. FB3 underlines the power of souvenir sector against the negative effects of the accommodation sector. FB3, who compares European countries and Cappadocia tourism, states that the souvenir sector in Cappadocia takes hold of the region. Although not yet certain, the rate of overnight stays in Cappadocia region is around 1.8, and the authorities do not lift a finger to improve this rate (HO9). FB3 gives the following statement regarding this issue:

*“From the 1987-88s until the 94-95s, the periods of stay in Cappadocia were three days in the worst case. I mean, a tourist could stay in Cappadocia for three nights. Today, they are having difficulties to make, for example, the Japanese stay for more than one night.”* When examined within the scope of sustainable social development, the topics, such as cultural development of the local people, emigration of well-educated-sophisticated people to the region and improvement of women’s place in business and social life, become prominent. The development of tourism in this region created awareness among people, who were not aware of the surrounding values before tourism. The lifestyles of the people, who started to work for or get service from the tourism facilities, began to change. Especially the facts that the employees began to earn money and to get acquainted with new people by communicating with tourists led to significant changes in their perspectives and social lives. The development of tourism also led well-educated-sophisticated people to move into this region. These people living in this region have enriched Cappadocia (FB3, HO4). Tourism has also relatively changed the living conditions of the local women. While female employment was scarce before and in the early years of tourism, the women began



to work together with the development of tourism and their social lives have changed in time. Today, the men can work together with their daughters and wives in the same hotel and maintain the economic persistency of their families (TA3).

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The effect of the development of tourism on the local people and the sustainability of tourism takes shape in accordance with the type and form of tourism developing in that specific region, the tourism assets of the region, the strategies pursued for utilization of these assets, the vulnerability points to be dealt with, and the grade of outcomes. However, understanding the current position of all of these variables is inadequate to evaluate the sustainability of tourism in a region. Therefore, within the frame of the themes suggested by the SLA frame, the oral history method, which is one of the qualitative research techniques, is used by considering the time dimension in examining the changes created by tourism in Cappadocia and how the livelihood outcomes of the local people have changed as a result of these changes.

When the tourism context in the Cappadocia region is analyzed, it is determined that some transformations have been experienced from the past to the present day. The region, which has been a mecca for individual special interest tourists, and which was missing a planned tourism development until the 1980s, has turned into large-scale enterprises, which appealed to mass tourism for foreign tourists by evaluating its natural, cultural, social, economic, human and institutional resources in time, and then turned into boutique hotels and facilities that offer special and luxury products for individual and mass tourists. In line with the development of tourism, the main livelihood strategies of the local people have also diversified; the traditional means of livelihood, such as agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts, such as carpet business and pottery, etc. have been protected and developed, and the local people have managed to adapt new livelihood strategies depending on the development of tourism with activities such as hotel and agency management, tour guiding, restaurant business and hot air ballooning, etc. Unlike other tourism destinations, it is observed that the local people have always been the main determinant in strategy preferences. Another factor having an influence on utilization of tourism assets and determination of the strategies is the vulnerability context. Breaking up of Yugoslavia, 1<sup>st</sup> Gulf War, economic crises, terrorist actions and attritional price policies depending on intense competition, which directly and indirectly affected the livelihood of the local people within the development process of tourism in Cappadocia region, became the vulnerability points for the development of tourism and livelihood of the local people. Today, all vulnerability points, except for unplanned investments and price-based competition, became ineffective. According to the SLA, for tourism to achieve desired livelihood outcomes it needs to offer local people a long-term, reliable income source; socio-culturally maintain a stable local society and integral culture; environmentally protect local natural resources; and, institutionally maximize opportunities for local participation and involvement (Schen et al., 2008). Regarding these requirements of SLA, it is possible to make some points and suggestions for Cappadocia by taking the statements of the interviewees into account.

Unplanned investments and price-based intense competition, the most significant vulnerability points for tourism industry in the Cappadocia region, appear to be the biggest obstacles before the economic sustainability. The low numbers and prices of overnight stays in Cappadocia and the large-scale investments are not adaptable to the cultural texture of the region and have a negative impact on the sustainability of the touristic means of livelihood of the local people; it seems impossible for the small

businesses of the local people to stand against the rock-bottom prices given by the major tourism facilities in the region. The tourism structure, where the tourists are taken around between the giant hotels and shops, should be transformed as to revive the small businesses that form the essence of the tourism in Cappadocia region. Encouraging and supporting the facilities operated by the local people and adaptable with the cultural texture will have an effect on introducing the tourists with the culture of Cappadocia and creating suitable conditions for fair sharing of tourism revenue (HO8). Another obstacle against the economic sustainability is short overnight stays. Especially in recent years, the Cappadocia region has been marketed as a side destination as one or two-day tours for the tourists visiting other destinations, such as Istanbul and Antalya. However, the Cappadocia region has the capacity to become a main destination. Marketing this region as a main destination, instead of side or complementary destination, may provide a solution for the low number of overnight stays. Within this context, a destination management organization should be established and the destination should be marketed as a main destination. In terms of economic sustainability, deterrent measures should be taken in order to prevent the sales of overpriced souvenirs and counterfeit products, which have become common in recent years, because the bad image spreads abroad and threatens the souvenir sector, which is the strongest element of tourism in Cappadocia.

When examined within the context of sustainable social livelihood, the shrines, churches, mosques, caravansaries, etc., and the unique historical-cultural elements left by the ancient civilizations in Cappadocia become prominent. It is crucial to take and implement radical decisions to protect these areas from artifactual damage that has been going on since the early years of tourism in the region (HO8, C4). The activities related to pottery, carpet business, jewelry and winemaking are the significant factors of social livelihood as cultural elements. At this point, it is necessary to prevent over-commoditization of the artwork, excessive prices, and high-percentage commission bargains and to revive the activities related to viticulture (HO8). Another important issue regarding social livelihood is the transformation of the local people of Cappadocia. Together with the development of tourism, and the communication with the tourists and tourism professionals, the lifestyles of the people, who began to understand the value of the cultural heritages, have changed and developed in years. Female employment has increased together with the development of tourism and the Cappadocia region has socially developed by allowing qualified immigrants into the region. However, the popularization of tourism in recent years and the tourism system implemented by major facilities (hotels, shops, and agencies) have limited the relations between the local people and the tourists to the supplier-receiver level and cultural sharing has decreased. Turning tourism into a system where micro-sized enterprises are common will also have a positive impact on this matter. When examined within the scope of environmental sustainability, it may be helpful to introduce a special protection law for Cappadocia (such as Bosphorus Law). A special and controlled body to be established within the frame of this law may be effective to ensure protection-utilization equilibrium of the region, because neither protection boards nor municipalities are able to ensure required level of protection within this present order (C4). In addition, a solution should be provided for the vehicular traffic, which causes significant damage on natural, historical and cultural texture of the region. Within this framework, vehicular traffic may be prohibited around the fairy chimneys and museums and alternative means of transportation, such as rail systems, bicycles and coaches may be suggested (C4). In addition, it should be considered to remove and centralize the souvenir cabins, which cause visual pollution, to stop the HES projects, which damage both the natural texture and the cultivated areas, and to impose

restrictions on the activities of hot air ballooning sector (HO8, HO9, C4). Within the scope of sustainable institutional livelihood, Cappadocia may become affiliated with other religious tourism attractions in Turkey, just as the institutionalization of the relationship between Erciyes and Cappadocia. Within this context, tour packages may be created by determining the religious tourism attractions with a mutual marketing effort.

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