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Managing a World Heritage Site: The Case of Cappadocia

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ABSTRACT

Whilst World Heritage Site (WHS) designation is often valued for the increased tourism and associated economic benefits it brings to a region, it can simultaneously lead to the disenfranchisement and marginalisation of local communities. Focusing on the WHS of Göreme-Cappadocia in central Turkey, this article addresses the contested nature of Cappadocia's heritage and tourism landscape by discussing the uneasy relationship between the Byzantine historic remains, the Göreme local community and cultural tourism. The discussion critically examines the issue of inclusion and exclusion relating to the heritage presentation and interpretation at this WHS. In conclusion, recommendations for achieving a better level of sustainable cultural tourism through better inclusion of multiple stakeholders and values are made.

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INTRODUCTION

Situated 200 kilometres southeast of Ankara, the Göreme-Cappadocia region is set in a moonlike landscape of giant rock cones, housing historic cave dwellings and Byzantine churches. In 1985, the Göreme Open-Air Museum, a particularly well-preserved caved monastic site, was afforded UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) status and, at the same time, the wider area became the Göreme National Park. Since then, a steadily increasing number of cultural tourists, both international and domestic, have visited the area. Over the last two and a half decades, however, developments surrounding the increase in cultural tourism to the area have led to a problematic relationship between key heritage attraction(s) in the area, tourism interests and the local commu-

nity. The purpose of this article is to discuss this relationship in order to elucidate management issues associated with the development and preservation of heritage for tourism purposes in Cappadocia. While cultural tourism has a broader presence throughout Cappadocia, this article focuses in particular on the Göreme area as this is the central point of the World Heritage Site designation. A map of Cappadocia region is given in Figure 1.

Heritage management has been described as 'the process by which heritage managers attempt to make sense of the complex web of relationships surrounding heritage in a manner which meets the values and interests of many of the key stakeholders' (Hall and McArthur 1996: 19). This raises questions, however, as to what occurs in situations where the management of heritage sites is shared by various organizing bodies with different functions and status and where there is no single coordinating body to bring these organisations together. Contrary to broad expectations, the UNESCO designation does not involve an overarching control of the management of sites (Bianchi 2002; Bianchi and Boniface 2002; Evans 2002). Rather, World Heritage Site status inevitably exposes designated areas to a complex web of national and regional policies and regulations (Hall 2006). These policies tend to arise from a discourse of heritage as having primarily a cultural tourism purpose, thus necessitating that the heritage sites be conserved and presented appropriately for international tourist consumption. Leask (2006: 13) argues that 'the key dilemma here is that it is difficult to balance tourism activity with the conservation role, often creating a tension or conflict between the usually large numbers of stakeholders involved'. In particular, this emphasis on conservation and presentation to cultural tourists often means that less heed is paid to local community issues, including local community contemporary use and practice relating to the site (Garrod and Fyall 2000).

Indeed, the practices and regulations which often tend to be put in place leading up to and following World Heritage Site listing can be viewed as the national or regional filter of a global preservation rhetoric. That rhetoric became institutionally formalized through efforts such as the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in the early 1970s, which decreed the need to preserve 'cultural landscapes of universal value' (Plachter and Rossler 1995: 15). Such global socio-environmentalist movements, as well as the associated cultural tourism, are hegemonic in themselves in that they promote these values as global needs, but may in turn be neglectful of local voices (Mowforth and Munt 1998). Therefore, cultural tourism development and World Heritage Site designation have important implications for the communities around these sites and their local residents (Bianchi and Boniface 2002).

As it has been noted in relation to many heritage and cultural tourism sites, tourism representations and practices inevitably produce contradictions and tensions concerning the rights of ownership and access, presentation, and profitability of sites (e.g., Edensor 1998; Leask and Fyall 2000; Evans 2002; Harrison 2005; Winter 2005). For regional and national authorities, World Heritage Site designation and the increased level of tourism it brings are often valued for

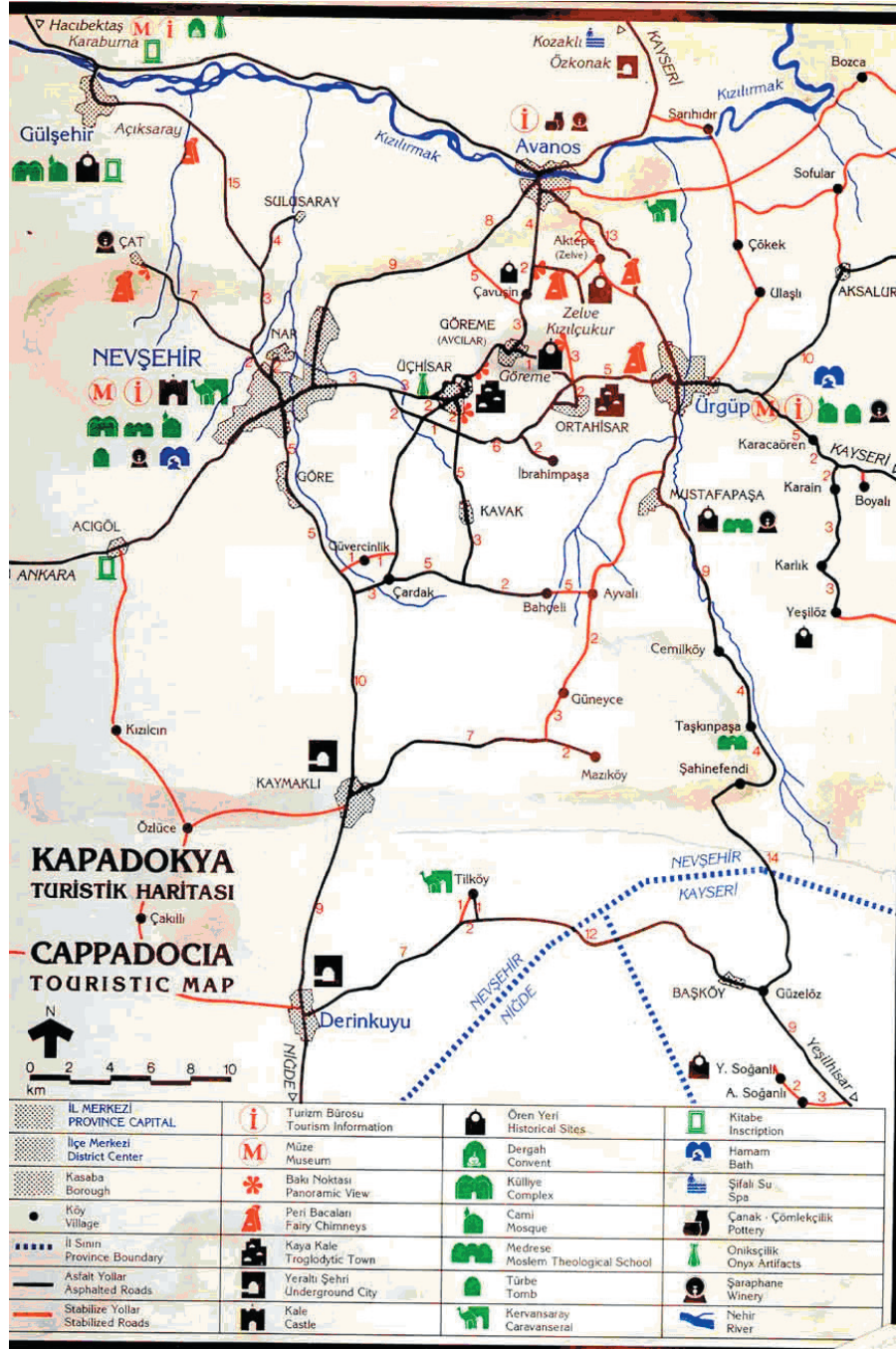


Figure 1. Map of Cappadocia Region.

the economic benefits that accrue to the region (Buckley 2004). Simultaneously, however, the processes of site demarcation and 'monumentalization' associated with World Heritage Sites can often lead to the disenfranchisement and marginalization of local communities (Edensor 1998; Bender 1999; Bianchi and Boniface 2002, Miller 2006; Shepherd 2006). As Miller points out:

Theoretically 'all the peoples of the world' are stakeholders in World Heritage. In practice, until recently, a limited number of stakeholders - governments, conservation experts and local authorities - were involved in the process. Local people, local amenity and community groups, local businesses, tour companies and visitors were largely left out of the consultation and management processes.' (Miller 2006: 28)

On a more optimistic note, Miller (2006) describes a shift taking place towards a partnership approach involving a wider spectrum of local and regional stakeholders. In relation to some World Heritage Sites, however, the development of that approach clearly has further to go, as will become clear in the following discussion of Göreme, Cappadocia.

This article addresses the relationships between the varied facets of Göreme's cultural heritage, the local community around Göreme and cultural tourism. Indeed, Göreme is an example of a World Heritage Site in which responsibilities for different aspects of heritage and associated tourism are divided between various organizing bodies. The key purpose of the article is to highlight the contested nature of Cappadocia's 'tourism' landscape. The article does this by discussing the contradiction and lack of clarity between the preservation rhetoric and work of these different bodies, as well as the implications of this lack of clarity for Göreme's social and physical environment. From this discussion, concluding recommendations are made for achieving a better level of sustainable cultural tourism through better inclusion of multiple stakeholders and values

ETHNOGRAPHY CONDUCTED IN GÖREME

This article is based on two ethnographic studies and the authors' long term involvement in Göreme. Tucker began her ethnographic study in 1995 with her initial research questions addressing changes brought about by tourism in the village, how villagers involved themselves with tourism and how interactions were played out between tourists, tourism businesses and village life (Tucker 2001a). The initial ethnography was published as a whole in Tucker (2003), and since then the work has developed into a longitudinal study, continuing to research the tourism development and ongoing changes into the late 2000s (see Tucker 2007). A combination of participant-observation and semi-structured interviews have been conducted with both villagers and tourists, producing comprehensive field-notes and interview transcripts.

The second study involves ethnographic fieldwork as part of a doctoral dissertation conducted in the area between 1983 and 1989 by Emge on the change of traditional habitat and life in the *troglo-dyte* (cave-dwelling) village of Göreme. The study focused on indigenous cave-dwelling life in terms of rapid changes

caused by government resettlement projects (AFET) and the rise of tourism and 'modern' life in the village during the 1980s. Methods of participant observation, interviews and vernacular architectural analysis were combined to ascertain the pros and cons of traditional Cappadocia caves and Ottoman style arched-room architecture versus houses built within the AFET relocation programs allocated by the central Turkish government. The researcher returned to Göreme in 1997 and, restoring an old cave-house, he established the Cappadocia Academy as an independent forum and network of regional experts titled 'platform c'.

The next section provides a brief overview of cultural tourism development in the Göreme-Cappadocia region in order to provide the context for issues discussed later in the article. The area's heritage attraction will then be discussed, followed by the preservation rhetoric and problematic relationships between heritage tourism and the local community.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN GÖREME

Since the mid-1980s, Göreme and the wider Cappadocia area have become a major focus of Turkey's cultural tourism development. Although much of the earlier tourism development in Turkey took place around southern and western coasts, certain inland regions and towns were identified under the Tourism Encouragement Act in the early 1980s as potential tourism centres. It was then that Cappadocia was identified as a centre for cultural tourism and the Tourism Encouragement Act had significant implications for the way that tourism would develop there. This important piece of legislation ensured generous incentives for private tourism investment while also annulling the prohibition of foreign companies acquiring real estate. As a consequence, large scale tourism facilities grew rapidly in the region, particularly in the towns of Ürgüp, Avanos and Nevşehir, although, as it has been argued by Tosun (1998: 595), this growth took place largely 'in the absence of proper planning and development principles'. In the small town of Ürgüp, situated nine kilometres from Göreme, foreign tour operators together with national and international hotel chains quickly moved in as a result of generous incentives to large-scale tourism businesses. As a result of their marketing efforts and the promotion of Ürgüp by the regional office of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ürgüp became known as the tourism centre of Cappadocia (Tosun 1998: 595).

The primary tourist attraction in the region remains the Göreme Open-Air Museum, managed by the Ürgüp municipality in its early days, but later appropriated by the regional government under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. It was in the early 1980s, following the passing of a national law stating that the municipality closest to any historical site could claim 40 percent of the site's income, that the then-named Avcılar township appropriated the name of the museum and became Göreme. By the late 1990s, the museum was receiving up to half a million visitors yearly, and this

has increased to over 600,000 in the late 2000s. The majority of these visitors are international tourists, visiting Cappadocia on cultural package tours and staying in the large hotels in nearby towns.

It was because of its close proximity to the Open-Air Museum site in the Göreme valley that Göreme township was also included in the Göreme National Park area, which officially became a national park in 1985. Situated within the park, Göreme township became subsumed under protection laws decreeing the preservation of all rock structures and houses and severely restricting building and construction in the area. The larger foreign and national hotel chains were therefore unable to obtain permission to build large hotels within or close to Göreme, so they built on sites outside of the National Park area, particularly in the nearby towns of Ürgüp, Avanos and Nevşehir. So while Göreme township remained relatively unaffected by the movement of mass tourism into the region, these other towns saw the hasty construction of large three-, four-, and five-star hotels. Most of the package tour groups visiting the region have continued to be accommodated in these larger hotels, outside of the National Park and World Heritage Site area.

By contrast, then, because Göreme township is inside the National Park boundary it did not see the same large-scale capital investment and construction. Göreme's tourism initially remained relatively low on capital investment and developed in a pattern of small or micro businesses that were mostly locally owned (Tucker 2003). During the second half of the 2000s, however, whilst the majority of the tourism businesses continue to be small-scale, a trend towards larger investment and more upmarket accommodation has begun. There is also an increase in incomers and external investment both from elsewhere within Turkey and abroad. Today, with a population of about 2,000 permanent residents, Göreme has 80-plus pensions (*pansiyons*) and 'boutique' hotels. Other tourism-related businesses include: approximately 25 tour agencies; 30 restaurants; 10 bars or discothèques; 15-20 carpet shops; several general stores; and numerous other souvenir shops and stands (many stands are situated near the entrance of the Göreme Open-Air Museum). There are also a handful of car and bike rental companies, Internet cafes, horse-riding tour operators (which connects with Cappadocia's fame as 'the land of beautiful horses'), as well as multiple hot-air balloon operations that organize flights over the moonlike landscape of the area.

The township of Göreme has thus for some two decades now generated substantial income from tourism. At the municipal level, the town receives income from rent of land and buildings for tourism ventures and also from the Göreme Open-Air Museum. Also at the household level, the majority of Göreme families engage in some tourism-related work or entrepreneurial activity. The local community has thus generally been able to benefit from the cultural tourism activity in the area through a pattern of locally-owned and -operated small business development, which fostered a successful host-guest relationship with visitors in the area (Tucker 2001a, 2003). Significant contentious issues remain, however, surrounding the actual heritage focus in the Göreme

valleys, particularly regarding the contradictions between conservation and development, which will be discussed below.

Heritage Attractions

Named the province of Nevşehir in modern Turkey, Cappadocia was the ancient name for this region where the land comprises the out-spill of two volcanoes. The volcanic ash hardened to become tufa, a soft porous rock. Over millions of years, this rock has eroded to form natural cones and columns, locally termed *peribacalari*, or 'fairy chimneys', on the landscape and, for centuries, these have been carved and hollowed to form cave-dwellings, stables and places of worship.

According to much of the tourist literature on Cappadocia, the region was 'discovered' by the West in the early 20th Century when Guillaume de Jerphanion, a French priest, published the results of his study of rock-cut churches in the Göreme Valley. Followed by other scholars, Jerphanion's work served to mark off the Byzantine churches in the Göreme valley as being of key historic significance. Other writings and photographic representations from the early 20th Century (for example in *National Geographic* magazines) emphasize both the historic and visual significance of the churches and frescoes on their rock-carved walls, thus denoting their value for tourist interest. Contemporary travel guide books and tourist brochures all repeat this emphasis with descriptions and photographs of the frescoes in the churches.

The remains of approximately 300 cave churches and monasteries dating back to between the 9th and the 13th Centuries are scattered throughout the region's valleys. Amongst these the Göreme Valley that was studied by Jerphanion is a particularly concentrated area of monastic settlement. Part of the valley became enclosed as the Göreme Open-Air Museum in 1950, followed by the 1985 UNESCO World Heritage Site designation. There are also many rock-cut churches in and around the site of the Göreme township (situated 1.5 kilometres from the museum site), which was originally re-settled (after the earlier Byzantine settlement of Matiana) as a Turkish farming village named Maccan, and where the oldest mosque dates back to 1686.

It is partly because of these Byzantine church remains and also because of the general lunar landscape that the Göreme area is a designated National Park. Besides the churches, the valleys filled with rock cones, or 'fairy chimneys', are key tourist attractions in the Göreme area. It has been argued that for landscapes to be suitable for tourist consumption, they must be unique, unpolluted and authentic (Urry 1992). Representations of the Cappadocia landscape in the tourist literature certainly proclaim its uniqueness: 'The peculiar formations and sights of the region are definitely unique. One cannot help feeling that some majestic sorcerer has chosen this place to perform his magical wonders' (Erdogdu 2002). However, while the uniqueness allows for some level of objective measure, the qualities of 'unpolluted' and 'authentic' necessitate a particular kind of scrutiny and protection against what are con-

sidered to be polluting or de-authenticating influences. These two concepts are highly negotiable and indicate where the contestation lies in the relationship between heritage, cultural tourism and the local community in Göreme (as it does for many other World Heritage Sites – see for example, Evans 2005; van der Aa, Groote and Huigen 2005; Winter 2005).

In Göreme, building work associated with tourism development, along with other contemporary uses of the landscape by the local community, can be considered polluting and de-authenticating alterations to the heritage landscape. A factor which complicates things further is that the inhabitants of the caves and rock structures themselves are also part of the ‘extraordinary’ landscape that is a focus of Göreme’s heritage attraction. This is illustrated in the following extract from a leaflet prepared by the Göreme National Park group in the mid 1980s:

The picturesque village life, the activities of the villagers, the small volcanic farming areas... All these peculiarities, the tufa rocks and fairy chimneys as they are in traditional relations, are ... the main theme of the administration, protection, presentation, and the development of this historical National Park. At the application of the National Park, the main policy has been adopted that the population living within the boundaries of the park, should be one of the main important elements, as well as giving support to the resources.

Similarly, tourism promotional literature and travel writing on the Göreme region also promote the contemporary troglodyte way of life as a cultural tourism attraction:

GÖREME: Beneath the honeycomb cliffs the locals live in fairy chimneys...you can still see rural life continuing in a place where, once upon a time, if a man didn't own a pigeon house, he would struggle to woo a wife...Calls to prayer, apricots drying on flat roofs and vine cuttings protecting the tops of walls are reminders that, despite the fantastical setting, everyday rural life takes place here. (Bainbridge, Lonely Planet Turkey 2009: 497, 500)

In sum, the aspects of Göreme-Cappadocia marked off as the foci of heritage attractions are its Christian (Byzantine) history, the ‘lunar’ landscape and the contemporary troglodyte way of life in these villages. The growth of cultural tourism has led to an aesthetic valuing of all of these features, and has hence served to promote their preservation. Underpinning the management of this heritage area, however, is a lack of clarity concerning why and how the different aspects of heritage attractions should be preserved and presented to tourists. It is this lack of clarity which is at the heart of the contestation in the area.

Heritage Preservation

Much of the directed preservation and restoration work, such as retouching frescoes and filling cracks in the rock to prevent rain water from further weakening the rock structures, is focused on the caved Byzantine churches in and around the Göreme Open-Air Museum site and is funded by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Concurrently, the importance placed on the Cappado-

cia landscape in general has manifested in the formation of the Cappadocia Protection and Preservations Office (CPPO, which operates under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism) in the nearby town of Nevşehir. This organisation, together with the National Park authority (operating under the Ministry of Forestry and Environment), pronounces strict regulations aimed at protecting the landscape from polluting elements, such as tall buildings, or anything that would damage the existing rock formations. So, while a touristic interest in the contemporary cave-life led to the decree that villagers should be allowed to continue habitation and farming practices in and around the caves, all rock structures within the Göreme National Park, which includes many villagers' cave-houses, have been appropriated under government control. For anybody to carry out alterations to existing rock structures, such as in fairy chimneys and cave-homes, or any new building work, plans must be drawn up and submitted to both the municipality office (*belediye*) and the Cappadocia Protection and Preservations Office. If alterations are carried out to any rock structure without obtaining the correct permission, the perpetrator can be subject to fines or imprisonment.

For preservation purposes, Göreme township and the surrounding area are zoned and the municipality office is charged with managing these zones. The centre of the township is the main business or tourism zone. The older residential quarters of the village are situated up the slopes away from the central village. Some of the caves originate in Byzantine times, but most of what exist as cave-houses today were extended in the 19th and 20th Centuries with Ottoman style arched-room architecture constructed from cut stone added onto the original cave-dwelling (Emge 1990, 1992). In certain areas, the older fairy chimneys and cave-houses have been evacuated because of crumbling and rock collapse. Many of the families who left their crumbling older houses were re-housed in government funded housing (*AFET evleri*) built in the 1960s and 1970s in the lower end of the village. As with other villages and townships in the Cappadocia region, whole sections of Göreme were deemed too dangerous for habitation because of erosion and threat of collapse, and declared disaster zones and appropriated under the national Disaster Relief Directorate (AFET). A general move towards more modern and prestigious housing has taken place, and the lower part of the township continues to be the main residential building zone with ongoing construction of new concrete and brick housing.

When tourism really got under way during the late 1980s, however, many of the re-housed villagers began to reclaim and restore their old homes for the purpose of making tourist accommodation businesses, namely pensions / *pansiyons*. The people of Göreme have repeatedly witnessed visiting tourists' fascination with the cave life in the village and have thus grown to appreciate the value of the caves and the opportunity to sell tourists the chance to become cave-dwellers themselves. Tourism promotional materials offer tourists opportunities to sleep in a cave, drink in a cave-bar and to eat traditional, home-made food. Advertisements for Göreme's pensions and bou-

tique hotels highlight their traditional cave rooms and their breakfast-terraces overlooking views of the township and the fairy chimneys. Being in the older cave-houses, also, this accommodation for tourists has spread throughout the older quarters of the village so that now large numbers of old cave-house properties have been restored and preserved. Although all evacuated houses officially belong to the state treasury, this kind of activity has been tolerated because it has meant that such old properties are restored and maintained. This tolerance, along with the removal by the Department of Infrastructure of the 'disaster zones', is indicative of a strong interest in the preservation of the older part of the village.

Contestation and Heritage Management

It becomes evident from the aforementioned that, in recent decades, the Göreme region, which had previously existed on a traditional subsistence farming economy, has undergone dramatic change. Moreover, such change inevitably leads to contestation regarding which aspects of heritage should be promoted and how they should be managed (Timothy and Boyd 2003; Harrison 2005). Tourism-related developments have caused many members of the younger generation to search for a new future based on a modern infrastructure and the rise of the tourism market. As there were only three pensions / *pansiyons* in the township of Göreme in the early 1980s, compared to 80-plus accommodation establishments now, World Heritage Site status and the rapid increase in cultural tourism have inevitably brought about significant social as well as environmental change in the area.

Much of the recent construction is happening, however, in a way that is inconsistent with vernacular styles. Despite regulations, many of the traditional houses are being destroyed or at least redesigned in ways far removed from traditional building practices. The recent trend in building boutique hotels, along with the building styles of the new houses built by returning guest workers from Europe keen to present a prestigious lifestyle, have introduced new ways of building so that building styles that had previously been unique to a particular village are now replaced with standard construction and decor elements without any sub-regional differentiation (Emge 2003: 36). In addition, regional laws banning future cave-carving have been introduced, so that the vernacular tradition of creating cave houses has been officially stopped.

Despite being protected by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the National Parks Authority, no sustainable master plan has yet been developed in order to coordinate the requirements and needs of the region and the local community. Indeed, there is a general contradiction and lack of clarity between the different bodies that have a say in the management of heritage and tourism. As it was explained above, the main focus of the World Heritage Site designation and the consequent preservation work undertaken by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is Byzantine history and the frescoes in the churches in the area. The Byzantine churches are of course Christian

heritage and so, through the emphasis placed on the importance of these sites in tourism representations of Cappadocia, the more recent Islamic settlement in the region has in turn become de-emphasised (Tucker 2000, 2001b). In this regard, the contestation surrounding World Heritage Site status in Göreme is not congruent with the types of heritage contestation outlined by Olsen and Timothy (2002), whereby different groups contest ownership of certain heritage places and/or they claim their own version of history in relation to sites. The people of Göreme do not deny that the area was once a Christian settlement, nor that the cave-churches must be an important heritage site for Christian pilgrims and tourists. Indeed, there is a general adoption by the Göreme people of views concerning the importance of the preservation of the churches and their frescoes.

What is unclear for the local community, however, is the part that their culture plays in cultural tourism and heritage preservation in the area. The community has thus become increasingly disenfranchised from the tourism and heritage management processes in the area. Moreover, the building regulations and the necessity to obtain permission for any alteration work on cave-dwellings directly affects both residents of the cave-houses and entrepreneurs who attempt to make a living out of the old cave-dwellings. The process of obtaining permission is costly and can take a number of years as the official protection board responsible for giving permissions does not hold regular meetings. Furthermore, different working groups on the Cappadocia region do not cooperate with each other or cross contact in order to create effective professional management teams, and to date there have been no public meetings explaining the needs and strategies applied for the region to the local population. Official local decision making bodies are not adequately trained to deal with the complexity of the fast changing region and are therefore unable to give proper advice to the local community. As a result, there have been fines and even prison sentences imposed on local entrepreneurs for undertaking building alterations that went against the regulations. Such actions have served to further alienate the local community from the heritage preservation and tourism management processes.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Since UNESCO listed the unique area of Göreme-Cappadocia as a cultural and natural World Heritage Site in 1985, the area has become one of Turkey's major cultural tourism destinations. However, the relationship between Göreme's cultural heritage, the local community and cultural tourism has become one of contradiction and confusion. With the Göreme community continuing to use rock dwellings as both private homes and commercial tourism ventures, there is particular contention surrounding government appropriation and preservation of all rock dwellings in the Göreme valleys.

Furthermore, a general landscape of inappropriate architectural change has occurred which is inconsistent with World Heritage Site status in the area. This is due to the main focus of cultural tourism, and hence heritage pres-

ervation, being on Byzantine churches, causing a lack of clarity as to what preservation measures should be in place regarding general rock structures, cave-houses and lived culture. In addition, the lack of organized control by the Cappadocia Protection and Preservations Office has resulted in cave-dwellings being transformed into either tourist accommodation or modernized houses which are not always sympathetic to vernacular characteristics. In other words, because the tourism and heritage preservation focus is centred on the Byzantine archaeological remains, there is no clear preservation remit for the general landscape and more contemporary cultural heritage in the area. The lack of adequate control and community participation in building and alteration practices has in turn served to alienate the local people, especially those attempting to make a living from tourism.

In sum, there is clearly a need to develop a platform to facilitate cooperation and dialogue between relevant local, regional, national and international stakeholders in order to develop an understanding of the World Heritage Site of Göreme-Cappadocia, not only as an historical Byzantine site, but also as a rapidly changing tourist site. The platform-c organization has already gone part way in this by forming a network and meeting of experts who support the protection and sustainable development of the Cappadocia region, establishing a Cappadocia Documentation Center and creating a pilot project on how to reuse and restore traditional buildings and develop contemporary architecture which is sympathetic to vernacular styles (platform-c 2002). This platform takes into account not only the needs of the official conservation board but also those of the local population, including their entrepreneurial needs. In addition, a more recently established 'Göreme Restoration Fund' is working to focus on some of these local development issues.

As was pointed out by UNESCO in their 2005 decree related to the protection and promotion of the global diversity of cultural expressions, intangible heritage as well as the knowledge systems of indigenous peoples and their positive contribution to sustainable development have to be considered through dialogue and mutual respect (UNESCO 2005). As culture always takes diverse forms across time and space, this diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities and cultural expressions of peoples and societies. To provide a sustainable approach towards a modern understanding of the Göreme-Cappadocia region, therefore, rather than a singular focus of heritage and cultural tourism taking precedence, multiple values and layers of culture and history need to be negotiated and included.

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