The Nexus Between Tourism and Migration: Case of Didim[*]

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Abstract

This research aims to reveal the reasons for tourism-based migration to Didim. To achieve this, in-depth interviews were conducted to collect data between July 14 - August 21, 2017 / January 10 - January 24, 2018 / March 02 - March 16, 2018, with 42 participants. Participants were determined by criterion sampling. The data were subjected to thematic analysis through MAXQDA, and five main themes were determined. As a result of the analyses, the causes of tourism-related migrations were found to be five categories which are related to economic, social, natural environmental, political, and legal regulations regarding foreigners. The sub-categories depending on these main categories are economical causes including the development of the tourism industry, development of building trade, entrepreneurship-investment-employment opportunities, low-cost housing, and land opportunities, and low living costs; social causes, which are migrants, to escape from disorder, liberal environment, and ties with friends and family. This research revealed that the most significant reason for tourism-related migrations in Didim is the lifestyle migrations that have taken place after the legal regulations for foreigners and the domestic migrations accordingly.
Keywords: *Migration, tourism-related migrations, British lifestyle migration, Didim*

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1. Introduction

Migration, in the most general sense, is the relocation of a group of people to a different geographical region due to social, economic, natural, or political reasons. It is widely accepted that migration is a phenomenon that occurs from less developed areas to developed regions. Connotations of migration are, on the other hand, mostly negative, and it is considered a problem that needs to be solved. Since migration is a process of mass relocation, it is associated with the deterioration of the existing order, adaptation to a new way of life, and the struggle to earn a living in the place of emigration (Toker, 2019). Among the main causes of migration, economic ones are the most predominant such as poverty, unemployment or limited job opportunities, famine, and insufficient food sources; besides, oppression due to race, ethnicity, religion, language, cruelty due to ethnic cleansing, genocide, civil wars and their negative effects, earthquakes, and epidemics are also some of the leading factors driving migration (Benhabib, 2006). However, as the world changes over time, the notion of migration also transforms. Migration, as it intersects with tourism, bears a wholly different meaning. In conjunction with tourism, people migrate for many reasons such as changing their living conditions for their pleasure, determining their direction in life, a change of air, health reasons, job opportunities, and the desire to be with their friends and family (Toker, 2019).

In the past 150-year period of time in which the migration phenomenon has become a subject of interest, many theories have been put forward. Studies have generally focused on the causes of migration, while migration-related studies are primarily linked to economic reasons (Lee, 1966; Massey et al., 1993; Piore, 1979; Ravenstein, 1885, 1889; Stouffer, 1940; Wallerstein, 2000); other causes emphasizing the social aspect are explored in the context of network theory (Castles & Miller, 2008; Faist, 2000; King, 2002). Lee (1966), introduced the push-pull theory, which refers to the factors related to the area of origin, area of destination, barriers, and personal factors in making the migration decision and shaping the migration process. The theory is still popularly used to shed light on human mobility today; according to this theory, numerous factors existed in every area to keep people in that particular area or to attract them, as well as push them (1966: 50). Jansen (2016) [1970] presented reasons for migration in his updated study. He claimed that pull factors in the labor market in the destination; push factors in the labor market in the origin region; family, housing, and health; marriage, etc.; desire for change; education; wars, political events, military service are among the main reasons for migration. In addition, he gives a thick emphasis on the "work" motive. To him, an unemployed person may migrate to another region hoping to find a job, regardless of its type. On the other hand, a person may have a decent job in their area of origin and may also migrate to find a better one. In the first case, it can be said that the person was "pushed" from his original place due to a complete lack of work; in the latter case, it can be said to have "withdrawn" because of a better job at the point of target origin. Regarding the first case, one may interpret that the person was "pushed" from the origin region due to lack of work whereas "pulled" to the point of destination due to a better work opportunity in the second scenario. In addition, one factor that is attractive to a migrant may not be the same for another. As Abadan-Unat (2017) stated, no single major theory explains the phenomenon of migration in social sciences.

Migration as a social phenomenon has been subjected to studies for years, and become apparent in the tourism context only at the end of the 1960s, in parallel with the modernization processes (Schmitt, 1968). He stated that tourism and migration are opposite expressions of geographical mobility, emphasizing that both use similar resources to take place. Lardiés (1999), one of the first researchers pointed out as tourism-related migration flows are inadequately mentioned in international migration theories, tried to understand the characteristics of migrant tourism entrepreneurs. Studies examining the relationship between tourism and migration gained weight after the 2000s (Aitken & Hall, 2000; Bianchi, 2000; Feng & Page, 2000; Gustafson, 2002; Kyung-Mi Kang & Page, 2000; Rodriguez, 2001; Williams & Hall, 2000).

Studies on migration and tourism carried out in national literature began to increase as Turkey commenced to transform from an emigrant country to a host country relatively from the 2000s and beyond. The transformation of Turkey from a country of emigrants to immigration was a result of

internationally opening policies implemented in the 1980s, with an intense and increasing tourist flow over the years. In line with the development of tourism destinations, particularly from the 2000s and beyond, the fact that predominantly British and Germans bought properties in Turkey and began to lead a settled life in the coastal areas may be considered the beginning of a new migration flow from developed countries to Turkey. Therefore, an immense link is recognizable between migration and tourism studies in national studies and foreign property owners who settled in Turkey within the 2000s. These studies, particularly in the retirement migrations context, concentrate heavily on the retired Europeans who migrated to Turkey or are currently resident foreigners (Durgun, 2018; Görer, 2018; Özbek & Şahan, 2016; Özeri◉m, 2012; Özgürel & Avcikurt, 2018; Özkan & Uzun, 2019; Sağir, 2011; Südaş & Mutluer, 2008; Uzun & Özkan, 2019).

Studies on the relationship between tourism and migration in different contexts have also been carried out. Deni◉z and Özgür (2014) drew attention to the socio-cultural aspect of the relationship between tourism and migration. The processes of Russian-origin women's visitations that started as tourists and extended to marriage were evaluated in the marriage migration context. The changes created by Russian women immigrants whose numbers and visibility are increasing, and who are settled in Antalya to lead a better social life, particularly in the family structure were examined. A study conducted by Toker and Kozak (2020) examined social changes related to 100 years of migration history of Didim. Studies on migration conceptualized as lifestyle migration in recent years and carried out the desire for a better life are also increased considerably (Ertuğrul, 2016; Görer, 2018; Kiliç & Buzlukçu, 2021; Özgürel & Avcikurt, 2018; Südaş & Mutluer, 2010). Based on these statements, one may interpret migration and tourism-related studies in Turkey to focus predominantly on international migration. Studies of the past 30 years have demonstrated that reasons for migration may vary excessively, and the development of tourism in a region may cause migration. Hall and Williams (2002) emphasized the impact of tourism on migration as well while discussing the symbiotic relationship between tourism and migration. One of the most tangible examples of this is labor migration. In relation to the characteristics of the local labor market and tourism industry, labor mobility can be distinguished by nation, gender, ethnicity, and qualification.

On the other hand, a cyclical relationship between tourism and migration can also be mentioned. For instance, many forms of migration due to the geographical extension of social networks rooted in friendship and kinship cause a flow in tourism. The immigrants themselves lead to this flow of tourism when they return to their place of origin to visit friends and family. In a study conducted by World Tourism Organization (2010), categories of immigrants were distinguished by their relation to tourism. These categories of immigrants in relation to tourism are migrant workers, irregular migrants, skilled migrant labor, migration due to family reasons, return migrants, permanent migrants, and ethnic migrants.

In the context of this study, the causes of tourism-related migrations are notable in many ways. The development of tourism in a region impacts the flow of migration to that area in several ways. As known, the abundance of opportunities in the destination of migration becomes an attractive factor in making the migration decision (Lee, 1966). Although tourism is a cause of migration on its own, determining the dynamics around which tourism-related migrations occur is crucial in understanding the unique features of the tourism region. Moreover, knowing the immigrant characteristics of a tourism region is vital in managing post-migration processes. Within this understanding, the main purpose of the current study is to reveal the reasons for tourism-related migration to Didim. This tourism destination is known for maintaining the feature of receiving the most immigrants in Turkey for many years (TÜİK - Veri Portalı, 2022). For this purpose, as for their migration experiences, in-depth interviews were conducted with migrated residents dwelling in Didim.

2. Methodology

Ethics Committee Approval of this study has been taken from Anadolu University/Social Sciences Institution with the number of 54654 on 13.05.2016. This research structured within the case study used in qualitative research focuses on the tourism-related migration in Didim. Case study research is defined as a qualitative approach in which the researcher explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system or multiple bounded systems over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Using a case study approach, "how" or "why" some social phenomenon being can explore, describe, and analyze. The more that your questions seek to explain some contemporary circumstance the more that case study research will be relevant (Yin, 2009). Case study research involves the study of a case/cases within a real-life, contemporary context or setting (Yin, 2015). Stake (1995) states that case study research is a choice of what is to be studied. This choice/case can be a within a bounded system, bounded by time and place. Creswell and Poth (2016) state that this approach presents an in-depth understanding of the case.

2.1. Participants

In the context of the research, the interviewees were determined through one of the purposeful sampling techniques, namely criterion sampling. Accordingly, the participants were selected based on a certain criterion or feature —i.e., whether they had immigration experiences. In qualitative research, it is possible to say that the phase where the data reaches saturation is the point where the scope of the participant group is determined. In this research, interviewing 42 participants turned out to be sufficient to reach data saturation. Throughout the process, the researcher oscillated between data collection and data analysis (Creswell, 2012); then, the moment the researcher determined the point that the data reached saturation, she completed the sampling period. Table 1 shows the descriptive characteristics of the research participants.

2.2. Trustworthiness

The validity and reliability of the data are evaluated within the framework of the concept of trustworthiness, which is recommended by (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and accepted in many studies. In qualitative research, credibility, transferability, consistency, and confirmability can be mentioned to ensure trustworthiness (Arslan, 2022). In this study, the researcher paid attention to the particulars below to ensure validity and reliability. The researchers conducted the interviews free from all possible prejudices and presumptions they may have and avoided guiding participants to refrain from reflecting on their subjective views. To ensure the credibility of the study, the field of research was visited both during the summer and the winter terms. The researchers observed every detail in the research area that may be useful in answering the research question. Information regarding concepts that arise during the research process, as a result of the study, or during the analyses after the interviews, were broached to experts and their opinions were considered. The participants' approval to analyze the data was obtained. Voice recordings of all interviews were archived in several storage media, including internal storage, external hard drive, e-mails, and cloud accounts. The researcher verified all participant narrations with written sources to confirm the data.

Table 1. Participants characteristics

Document*	Age	Profession	Reason for Migration	Type of Migration	Education
P34 – Melih	52	Farmer	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P32 – Fahrettin	42	Headman	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P28 – Yasin	41	Technician	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P27 – Yeter	45	Housewife	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P25 – Hasan	64	Painter	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P24 – Melih	61	Municipal Employee	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P22 – Fuat	59	Real Estate Industry	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P21 – Veli	53	Construction Industry	Dam-induced migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P7 – Orhan	67	Construction Industry	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	High school
P6 – Korkmaz	63	Trade	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Graduate
P42 – Ethem	57	Restaurant Manager	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P40 – Ömer	63	Retired teacher	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Graduate
P4 – Gülsen	64	Retired teacher	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Graduate
P39 – Ayhan	56	Hotel Manager	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Graduate
P38 – Bahattin	77	Hotel Manager	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	High school
P37 – Zehra	88	Housewife	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P35 – Filiz	68	Housewife	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P31 – Barış	44	Head of Didim Travel Chamber	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P30 – Haluk	51	Dentist	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Graduate
P3 – Erdal	50	Hotel Manager	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	High school
P29 – Bahadır	71	Headman	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P19 – Musa	54	Journalist	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	High school
P15 – Metin	74	Small business	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	Primary school
P13 – Mevlüt	58	Trade	Balkan migrant	Forced migration	High school
P16 – Figen	42	Housewife	Labour migrant	Volunteer migration	Middle School
P11 – Melih	50	Contractor	Labour migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P8 – Alpaslan	49	Real Estate Industry	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P5 – Mahir	45	Real Estate Industry	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	High school
P33 – Orhan	55	Head of Realtors Chamber	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	High school
P26 – Samet	36	Interpreter	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P20 – Melih	64	Former Mayor	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P2 – Hidayet	65	Agency Operator	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P18 – Haluk	46	Topographical engineer	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P17 – Salih	68	Hotel Manager	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P12 – Erhan	36	Construction Industry	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P10 – Metin	45	Tourism sector	Entrepreneur migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P9 – Pasım	60	Land Registry Expert	Life-style migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P41 – Taylan	55	Tourism sector	Life-style migrant	Volunteer migration	High school
P36 – Aydın	71	Former Mayor of the Municipality	Life-style migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P23 – Şahin	83	Architect	Life-style migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P14 – Kartal	63	Retired teacher	Life-style migrant	Volunteer migration	Graduate
P1 – İbrahim	66	Retired Driver	Life-style migrant	Volunteer migration	High school

*The participants were given nicknames.

2.3. Data collection and analyses

In this study, an in-depth interview method was employed. Data were collected between July 14 - August 21, 2017; January 10 - January 24, 2018; March 02 – March 16, 2018. To enter the semantic worlds of the participants and gain their recognition, the researcher contacted every participant with the interposition of a reference, conducted pre-interviews, and visited them in their residents, workplaces, or social spheres where they lead their "real" lives. Once mutual connection and communication were established, the interviews commenced. The interview form consists of two sections. The first section involves descriptive questions to define participants' characteristics, i.e., age, gender, education, and profession. In the second section, to reveal participants' personal migration experiences, some questions were directed about the key factors in the decision to migrate, the reason for preferring to migrate to Didim, and personal thoughts on migrations taking place to Didim.

The data analysis process has begun with the acquisition of the first set of data and its analysis, which was repeated throughout the study (Charmaz, 2006; Toker, 2022). The researcher oscillated between data collection and data analysis processes that occurred concurrently. This study's data analysis process also has begun with the first acquisition of data. The transcriptions made following the first in-depth interview were thoroughly read by the researcher. Thus, the researcher allowed herself to develop a deeper perspective regarding the data. It is crucial for the analysis processes to have the researcher dive into the data, so that the researcher may predominate the depth and scope of the data. This requires that the researcher read and scrutinize the data vigorously and repeatedly. These repeated perusals include looking out for the data's meanings and similarities (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After scrutinizing the deciphered interview texts, they were imported to the professional data analysis program MAXQDA 20 to analyze the data for qualitative research. The researcher completed the analytic process in a controlled manner from top to bottom by systematically engaging with all the interview texts and notes on the 42 participants**.** The data collected from in-depth interviews were analyzed with an inductive approach. During the data analysis, a continuous zigzag pattern followed between codes and categories instead of a linear process The most striking codes were determined under the themes, and then combined and categorized.".

3. Findings

The findings of the study are explained in the following headings.

3.1. Tourism-related causes of migration

The development of tourism in a region has an impact on the flow of migration into that region in several ways. The presence of opportunities in the destination of migration becomes one of the alluring factors in making the migration decision (Lee, 1966). While tourism is a standalone cause of migration, determining the dynamics around which tourism-related migration occurs is crucial in understanding the unique features of the said tourism region. (Hall & Williams, 2002) emphasize the impact of tourism on migration as well while discussing the symbiotic relationship between tourism and migration. A cycle created by tourism and migration can lead to positive outcomes such as cultural diversity and economic development or negative outcomes like cultural conflicts or environmental degradation

The migration receiving regions can have unique features as long as they have common points. At this point in this study, the causes of migration stemming from the unique social dynamics of Didyma were also questioned. Throughout its history, Didyma has received migration for many different reasons. The reasons relating to tourism, on the other hand, are *related to economic, social, natural environmental, political, and legal regulations concerning foreigners*. In addition, the sub-categories related to economic and social causes have also emerged. The economic causes have been distinguished into the sub-categories of the development of the tourism industry, development of building trade, entrepreneurship-investment-employment opportunities, low-cost housing and land opportunities, and low living costs. The social causes have been distinguished into three sub-categories as the desire of the migrants to escape from disorder, liberal environment, and ties with friends and family.
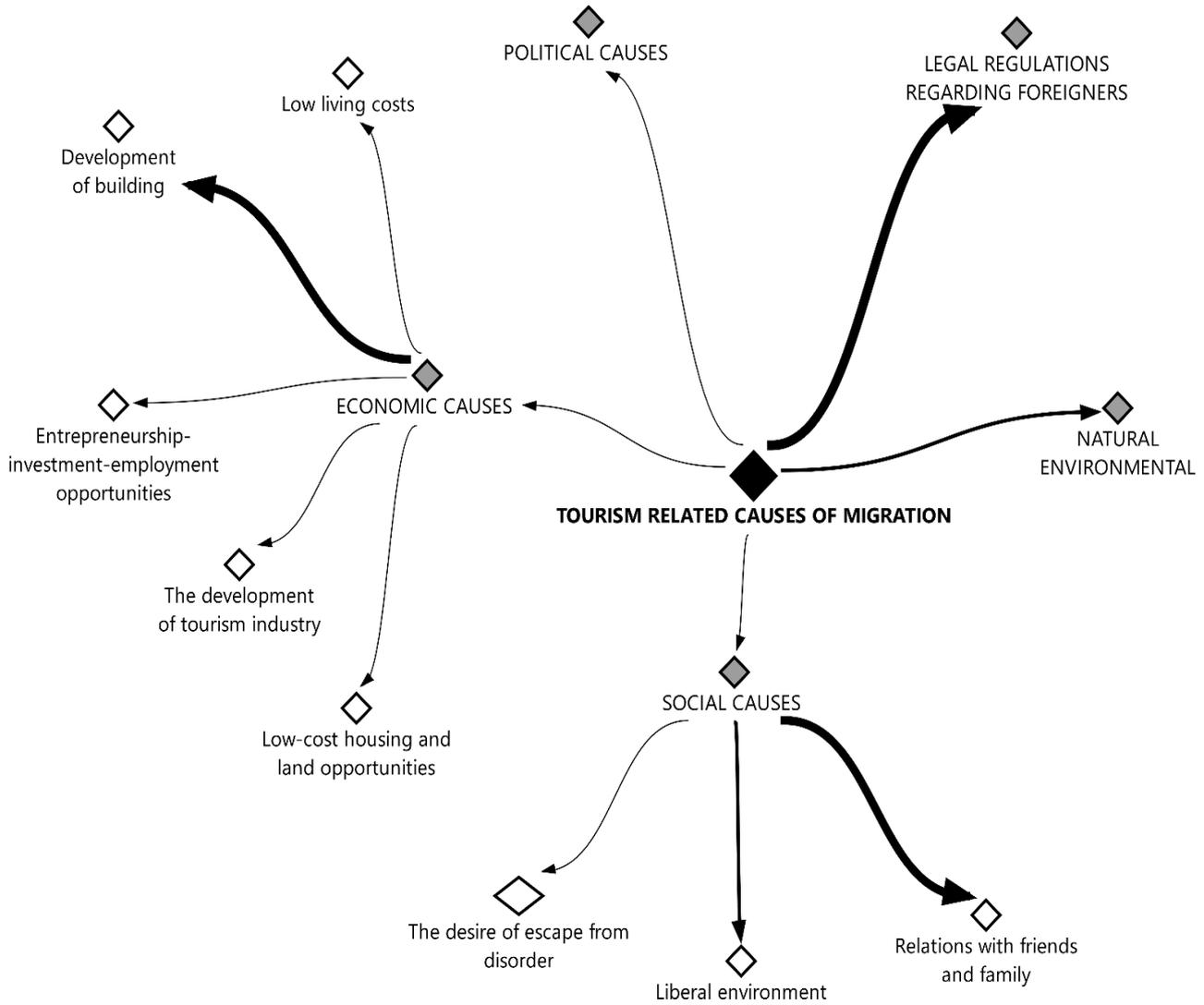
Figure 1. Tourism-related causes of migration (Boldness of lines show frequencies.)

Legal regulations concerning foreigners are the most salient reason of tourism-related migration in Didyma. While the development of building trade is a significant motif in encouraging migration in relation to the *economic causes, social causes* come into view as the relations with friends and family and the liberal environment in Didyma. Social and familial relations are widely explored in migration theories as important factors in migration decisions. As shown in this study, the presence of relatives or friends in Didyma affects the migration decision of the immigrants who move to Didyma to start a new life. When considered within a historical context, it is understood from the content of the interviews that the migration taking place in relation to the familial relations began with the Yalıköy and Denizköy migrations and gained pace afterward. As tourism developed more rapidly by the second half of the 1980s with the incentives of the Yeşil Marmaris Travel Agency, the social and familial networks had an even wider effect on migration flows.

3.1.1. Economic causes

It can easily be said that the fundamental motivation for migration stems from economic reasons. Todaro (1997) explicates that the migration is stimulated by the relative costs-benefits and rational economic concerns of the individuals. Similarly, Lee (1966) also underlines the economic factors while emphasizing the countless allurement factors that move the individuals to migration. Even though there are no absolute reasons behind the migration decision, it needs to be stated that the first studies on migration were based on economic factors (Lee, 1966; Massey et al., 1993; Piore, 1979; Ravenstein, 1885, 1889). When Didyma is examined, the reasons for economy-based migration are seen to be divided into five sub-categories: the development of the tourism sector, the development of building trade, entrepreneurship-investment-employment opportunities, cost-effective housing, and land property potential, and low living costs.

The development of the tourism sector in Didyma is dated around the mid-1980s when, as in many other tourism areas, Yeşil Marmaris Travel Agency pioneered mass tourism in Turkey. P2-Hidayet comments on the migration movement related to *the development of the tourism sector*: "The beginning of the fact of migration happened around the years 85, 86. From the day tourism first emerged, as the first hotel was built, the immigrants began to arrive." The determinant factor here was the Yeşil Marmaris Travel Agency promoting the Altinkum Beach landowners to build hotels by guaranteeing guests to fill the hotel capacities in the next year. P41-Taylan mentions this dire event as follows: "Whoever had landed here, they went and paid large amounts before even a stone was set. They immediately built a hotel in a 500-600 m2 plot." P6-Korkmaz underlines the density of tourism-related migrations as: "When Didyma was opened to tourism, it received migration. It received enormous amounts of migration."

The development of building trade as a sub-category arouses interest as a significant cause of migration among tourism-related migrations. P5-Mahir highlights the speed and size at which the immigrants arrived:

> "A lot of people became contractors. The real estate business boomed. The city plan of Didyma changed. More land was zoned for construction. As land was zoned for construction, the building trade grew. When the building trade developed, more people in the trade, hardware dealers, and outside investors flowed in. that way, Didyma became a town with immigrants from all over Turkey. It's still growing, streets and districts I've never seen before continuing to appear all over town."

In the interviews, it was found that the subcategories of *the presence of enterprise, investment, and job opportunities* are the significant subcategories of tourism-related migrations. Migration in Turkey in the 1980s is seen to evolve from "rural to urban" to "urban to urban." These migration movements, mostly taking place from the East of Turkey to the West, are primarily the result of the abundance of job opportunities in the West (Adıgüzel, 2016). The tourism industry in Didyma which began in the 1980s in its infancy soon attracted the attention of entrepreneurs, investors, and workers. As mentioned before, the desire of the Yesil Marmaris Travel Agency is to procure housing for British tourists in the area as soon as they can create the demand for a workforce in construction sites. P13-Mevlut explains the situation: "As there were new construction sites here, people from the outside of Didyma arrived to work in the constructions. Those who came to work thought, 'oh, this is a nice place, we should settle here as well.'" The study conducted by World Tourism Organization (2010) dwells upon the possibility of temporary migrations made to find jobs and earn money. This evaluation made on international migrations can also be applied to domestic ones. Tuna (2012), states that some of those migrating to a region seasonally to find occupation tend to settle in the area while assessing the relation between migration and demographic transformation.

The abundance of inviting opportunities for entrepreneurs and investors, on the other hand, is another cause of the increase in migrations to Didyma. P17-Salih, who began managing his hotel in the 1980s in Didyma, which became an attractive region for entrepreneurs and investors wanting to seize upon the opportunities, recounts his own story of entrepreneurship as follows:

> "When I broke off with the company I worked for in '86, I considered new lines of business. Then I remembered the Tourism Promotion Law. I thought, 'there is such a law, and we have land down there, why do we bother, let's go build a hotel.'"

Another sub-category related to tourism-related migrations is the ***low-cost housing and land opportunity*** in the region. The sudden and rapid growth of the building trade and the weak public opinion on Didyma compared to similar tourism areas resulted in comparatively cheaper houses and land in the region. Because of the cheapest housing, the most migration was directed to Didyma. The British tourists especially started traveling to Didyma in the 1980s for holidays, which showed the tendency to purchase housing at a high rate by the 2000s. As (Tuna, 2012) mentions, the migrations which were seasonal in the infancy of tourism development evolve into permanent residence in the coming era. This situation results in building new houses in the area to meet the housing requirements of the migrants deciding to settle. This is because a portion of people going to a region for -related reasons tend to settle in the place for many reasons and start a life there.

The final sub-category of tourism-related migration causes is the ***low living costs*** in Didyma. That the public image of Didyma is infirm, which leads to not only lower housing and land prices compared to similar tourism areas, but also lower costs of daily needs. This naturally affects the migration decision of those considering moving to Didyma for reasons such as retirement, secondary residence acquisition, or changing the direction of life. For instance, while P12-Erhan comments on how low living costs caused migration:

> "There is something interesting in Didyma, the economic aspect of it is also pleasant. People go to the street markets here, it's so cheap," P5-Mahir states the situations as: "Food and beverages are cheap, anything you can ask for you can get here. You can find anything, anywhere here. That's why people favored here; life is easy here."

3.1.2. Social causes

Another factor as important as the economic reasons in making the migration decision is the social aspect. The dissatisfaction with one's social environment for any reason or the hope to build a better life elsewhere are standalone reasons for the decision to migrate. In this regard, three sub-categories of the social dimension of migration emerge: escape from disorder, liberal environment, and relations with family and friends.

The sub-category of ***escape from disorder*** is significant in explicating migration from the east to the west of Turkey. When the inner dynamics of Turkey are inspected in a historical context, the main dynamics are found to be terrorism, tourism, and industrialization (Adıgüzel, 2016). In the context of Didyma, while terrorism is a repelling factor, tourism is an attractive one. This sub-category which is closely related to the sub-category of relations with family and friends which are further explicated in the coming sections, points to the desire of the individuals to live in a peaceful atmosphere. Customs, disputes, and blood feuds are propellent elements for migration. P11-Melih, who made the migration decision due to the reasons given above, shares his own experience of migration with these words:

> "Families force each other because of those blood feuds saying, 'either leave this village, or we will kill you.' That is why some of the people living in the Southeast are obliged to leave their villages. They just take their leave. My people also left and came here around that time."

P32-Fahrettin similarly mentions:

> "I did my military service in Söke in '98, then went back to my hometown. Our part of the town is always in a disorder, there are always feuds, and no one talks to one another. Since there was no peace down there, we thought, 'we should follow our relatives here,' and that's why we came."

The second significant sub-category under the social dimension of migration causes is the *liberal environment*. This sub-category highlights the characteristic of Didyma today as a multi-ethnic tourism region where thousands of people of different ethnicities and cultural values live together in peace. This aspect the participants incessantly harp on is significant in the sustainability of different socio-cultural characteristics of different ethnic groups. P20-Melih states regarding the liberal environment Didyma provides to those of any ethnicity with the desire to live there:

> "This has become a place of escape for the people tired of community pressure in any region in Central Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia, and anywhere else. We can add the Kurds and Alawites in the East as well. There is a more liberal atmosphere in Didyma due to the lack of intervention into people's personal lives."

The most significant of the sub-categories under the social causes of tourism-related migrations is the *relations with friends and family*. In Didyma, where the first migrations from the east the dam-induces migrations were, it can be easily said that friend and family ties appeared at first around this era. At the same time, the job opportunities due to the development of tourism also strengthen the effect of these ties. The network of friends and family is an important social capital promoting and even accelerating migration since it provides communication and interaction between the immigrants and the immigrants who have already settled in the destination of migration, and the reduction of risks and costs in the destination due to this interaction (Yaman, 2014). When it is considered that the immigrant networks are the cluster of interpersonal relations connecting immigrants with the previous migrants in the migration receiving area with friendship, affinity, fellowship, and common social ties (Abadan-Unat, 2006), this network of relations gains importance in areas such as Didyma receiving migrants from the East. As Castles and Miller (2008) put it, familial ties provide the cultural and financial capital making migration possible. When the migration movement has once begun, the immigrants use this busy migration route and get the support of their kinsmen who have already migrated. Ties resting on family or common origin help in solving problems of housing, getting a job, bureaucratic issues, and personal problems. These social bonds provide a safer and more controlled migration process for the immigrants and their families. When the process of migration is once initiated, it soon becomes a self-sustainable social process. Considering all this information, it can be said that the migrations to Didyma were thus rabid and great in size due to the effectiveness of this system of networks. P12-Erhan, whose family migrated to Didyma with the help of these networks, shares his experience as such:

> "My father brings his own family. My grandfather gradually brings the rest of the extended family as the building trade developed […] What I mean is, the Kurds came here because there were Kurds here. Alawites came because there were Alawites here. People from the Black Sea came because there were others here from there. The same goes for those coming from the Central Anatolia."

P23-Fahrettin, who came as a dam migrant to Didyma and whose relatives migrated after the development of tourism with the help of social networks, relates the migration process as such:

> "We are all one family here. For example, we have 100 households here, all are nephews, and nieces. Those arriving from Diyarbakir also attracted one another, they are all relatives, same for people from Urfa, they are all relatives, no strangers."

Here, the point that needs to be highlighted in migration movements made with the help of networks is that those migrating to find occupation use these networks actively.

3.1.3. Causes related to natural environmental

Didyma [with its blue flag golden beaches, its micro-climate receiving sunlight hundreds of days in a year, and its officially patented clean air] attracts the attention of those who want to live in the Aegean region one day. Its high-quality air, which is found to heal respiratory diseases, and lack of humidity due to the

wind blowing from land to sea, make Didyma an attractive migration destination. The natural environment being a standalone cause of migration is explicated by P23-Sahin as such:

> "I came here in a rush. I was on some medications that helped me keep healthy. I came here and stayed in a bungalow during the project drawing process for about a month, and during that month, the air here affected me so positively that I quit all my pills. I was truly fit as a fiddle, the oxygen in Didyma is abundant."

P33-Orhan for whom climate had an impact on migration decision, says:

> "We came here one winter. We saw that it was a bright and sunny place, and people were going swimming. That weather captivated us and at that moment we made our decision. We thought, 'what a beautiful country, just the place to live in,' and we decided to live here from then on

3.1.4. Political causes

At the root of political migrations to Didyma lies the political incidents which took place in 1980. Not only from Çorum but from all over Turkey and the Alawite citizens decided to move to Didyma because of these incidents. After the Maraş Incidents, the Alawite-Sunnite conflicts continued in Turkey. In the two years that followed, with increasing tension due to the tragic events in Çorum, about six hundred families were forced to migrate to other cities (Erkayhan, 2008). During this period, Didyma received migration due to the political events in Çorum. The migrations after this period resulted from networks of families and friends. P19-Musaexplains this ethnic migration as follows:

> "There were a lot of migrants from Çorum. I assume it was due to the political climate of the time, the people who were uncomfortable there came here." P19-Musa, on the other hand, says: "For instance, 500 people came from Alaca in Çorum. Those 500 people make up a whole village. And for instance, there are currently about 1500 people from Çorum in Didyma. Which makes up one, two, three, four entire villages."

> Those who were disturbed by the political events there came from Çorum. (P39 - Ayhan)

3.1.5. Legal regulations regarding foreigners

Lifestyle migration consists of relatively wealthy individuals' movements of all ages to places they think will provide a better quality of life for various reasons (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009). A new volume of new migration movement in which no concern to find a job or asylum, no disaster or war caused to migrate thus the movement is not a result of victimization, and the immigrant not seen as "lower" in the social hierarchy is growing year over year. The origin of this movement in industrialized countries has a close relationship with tourism activities. In conjunction with the years of development of the tourism sector, Didim experienced an immense number of British tourists flow (Toker, 2018), and following legal regulations of dwelling the number of lifestyle migrants increased even more.

When the drafted law allowing real persons of foreign nations to acquire land in Turkey was passed in 2005, it was a turning point in tourism-related migrations in Didyma. Didyma, which was discovered by the British in the mid-1980s, virtually became an English city following the enactment of the Land Registry Law, such that even the utility bills were printed in English. The British, one of the ten nations with the most immovables in Turkey, make the largest purchases in Didyma, up to 12 thousand. It would be wrong to consider the British migration from the British point of view. Their sudden migration and increasing demand for housing triggered other types of tourism-related migrations. Didyma has become a haven for investors, entrepreneurs, workers, and even profiteers. P13-Mevlut assesses the British migration as follows: *"The law was enacted in the coming years, and this time, the English became landowners in Didyma. There was a serious boom in the construction business after the land registry act."*

Analysis results revealed that migrations related to property acquisitions triggered internal migration. Therefore, the legal regulations for foreigners are considered a reason for the migration itself. Since legal

regulations emerge as a reason for immigration, they should not be neglected. Because the domestic migration wave was initiated by the developing real estate and construction sectors due to the British migration.

> "Well, the real immigration took place after the British. In the early 2000s, the law on property acquisition of foreigners was enacted. Foreigners were able to buy houses in Turkey and settle here. All of a sudden, a British frenzy occurred, l was a parliament member at that time. Then after, people whether they knew how to run the business, dived into these businesses boldly. Since a great deal of demand, surprisingly all of them, most of them suddenly became constructors. (P3 - Erdal)"

Within a few years following the enactment of the law, the British people were making up about a quarter of Didim's population. *"The law was enacted in the following years, this time the British people began to own houses in Didim. Based on the data I received from the Land Registry Office during the period of my mayor, 11240 British people owned houses here (K13-Mevlut)"*. Considering the population of Didim was 43.474 in 2010, the law on property acquisition has led to an immense number of immigrants in a limited time and an intense internal migration, as mentioned above. The subject to be emphasized here, one migration movement will be a strong trigger for creating another migration movement.

> Sales permissions were issued to foreigners, thereafter, they began to take their title deed, and British people began to show more of an interest in Didim. Fifteen thousand properties were sold to the British people. Yes, 15 thousand units, Aydın's Didim district came first in the sale of real estate to foreign nationals throughout Turkey in 2012. In other words, this sector has peaked so much that of course serious crises were experienced during this period (P33 – Orhan).

> The British frenzy began, and money was boiling all over the place, everyone began to flock to the tourism destination to receive their share. Especially, a great influx was towards Didim. People came from nowhere all of a sudden, hundreds and thousands of people whom we don't know (P19 – Musa).

4. Discussion and conclusion

It was found that the tourism-related migration to Didyma took place in relation to economic, social, natural environmental, political reasons, and due to legal regulations regarding foreigners. As it is known, since the primary studies discussing the notion of migration theoretically, the economic dimensions of migration were also the considered (Deniz, 2012; Gökmen, 2011; Lee, 1966; Massey et al., 1993; Nudralı, 2007; Özerim, 2008; Piore, 1979; Ravenstein, 1885, 1889; Stouffer, 1940; Südaş, 2005; Türkoğlu, 2011). As this study puts forth, economic reasons are one of the leading motivations in migration decisions. In addition, in the context of Didyma, the migration causes based on economic reasons appear as the development of tourism and construction sectors, presence of entrepreneurship-investment-occupation opportunities, low-cost housing and land opportunities, and low living costs. The development of the tourism sector in the 1990s and the sudden and rapid growth of building trade following the freedom of land acquisition to real persons of foreign nations brought migration flows into the region related to entrepreneurship-investment and employment. It was found in the fieldwork that the most notable tourism-related migration cause is the legal regulations regarding foreigners. It was determined in this study that the increase in housing needs when foreign nationals purchased more than 12 thousand residences in Didyma led to other tourism-related migration types. After the British migration, Didyma became a hub of opportunities for investors and entrepreneurs.

According to the results of this research, the social causes of Didyma migrations are escaping from disorder, a liberal environment, and the presence of friend-family ties. The multi-cultural social structure of Didyma allowed individuals of different ethnic characteristics to live together in peace and freedom.

The most significant social dimension of migration is the networks of friends and family. Although it is considered that these networks are more useful in evaluating international migration movements (Abadan-Unat, 2017), it was found that these networks are an overwhelmingly important cause of migration in Didyma, especially considering the migration it received from the East. After the dam-induced migrants were relocated into the region in the 1980s and their rapid incorporation into the working life, their encouragement to their friends and families in their hometowns to seize the job opportunities and migrate into the region was fruitful. When it is considered that the informal social networks developed by immigrants to solve problems of migration and residence (Castles & Miller, 2008) were effectively used, it was confirmed by the research that the tourism-related migrants of Didyma utilized the migration routes actively. In this study, the notion of migration which is usually discussed in the context of international movements (Deniz, 2012; Nudralı, 2007; Özbek, 2008; Südaş, 2012; Turan & Karakaya, 2005) and found to accelerate with the network of migrants, the same networks were found to be effective in domestic migrations. Because the networks mentioned makes the migration process more controlled and safer for the immigrants and their families (Castles & Miller, 2008). It was found that among the tourism-related migrations, the migration causes regarding the natural environment were associated with lifestyle migrants. As a result of this study, lifestyle migrants who were retired or actively involved in working life migrated to make the most of the acclaimed climate features of Didyma. Another cause of migration found to be of importance, although not as much as the other causes, is the political migration. Due to the political climate of the 1980s, Alawite citizens migrated to Didyma. Another particular that needs to be underlined here is that, as mentioned before, the multi-ethnic social structure of Didyma has turned migration into a self-sustaining process.

This study, which investigates the causes of tourism-related migrations, has been limited to Didyma, as it is Turkiye's most migrated touristic region. Although the causes of migration have been frequently examined in the literature, the reasons for tourism-related migration are limited in scientific studies. It is crucial to develop the literature by examining the relationship between tourism and migration in different touristic regions in the context of national and international mobility. However, examining the causes of tourism-related migration in different regions and making interregional comparisons will provide an understanding of social dynamics. In addition, intense migrations, particularly to tourist destinations, may play a pivotal role in the management of post-migration processes, considering terms of the possible consequences. t is worth mentioning that knowing the reasons for migration will also shed light on the migrant characteristics. In this context, future studies can obtain comprehensive results by conducting field studies in different geographical areas and cultural environments.

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