

Residents' Support for Tourism in Cappadocia: Case of the Hippies

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Abstract: The people who were besotted with the hippie movement, a social movement that swept across the world in the late 60's, naturally interacted with the local people of Cappadocia where a secluded culture prevailed in those days and which was located on the route of their journey to the East. The purpose of this study is to analyze the way the hippies were perceived by the local people of Cappadocia, their roles in development of tourism in Cappadocia and the aspects of their support to tourism in the earlier periods of this trend. For this purpose, the perceptions of the people who interacted with the hippies, has been put forth through descriptive analysis in line with the findings obtained through in-depth interviews conducted with the local people of Cappadocia on November, 2013. Intergroup relationships and the support of local people to tourism have been discussed within the framework of Social Identity Theory. The roles of hippies' visits and the way the local people perceived these visits on regional tourism activities have been examined. At the end of this study it has been concluded that the majority of local people categorized the hippies as "others" in the earlier stages and their initial affection against the hippies and the development of tourism was negative. As the social and cultural communications increased and began to yield economic benefits, the negative feelings were replaced with a positive approach and thus, the support of local people for the development of tourism increased gradually.

Key words: Hippies, history of tourism, Cappadocia, social identity theory, cultural communication

INTRODUCTION

The hippies who were also known as the "flower children" in 1960's, adopted "Make love not war!" as their life philosophy and political stance. Turkey became one of the most significant locations for hippies in 1970s. Millions of young people who stood up for nonviolent resistance by opposing the social norms, preferred to travel and live in a commune by rejecting the sense of belonging and routine working rules. Many of them stayed in 1-star hotels and hostels in different parts of Turkey, especially in Sirkeci, Istanbul, when they were on their way to places, such as Katmandu and Tibet. As is seen, the hippie movement was not only a societal phenomenon it also became one of the most significant alternative tourism experiences with their journeys to the East (Ireland and Gemie, 2015): the hippie movement became more popular in Turkey especially after 1965. Since Turkey is a bridge that connects Europe and Asia, the young people travelling from the West gathered in various destinations in Turkey throughout the 1970's and began their journeys to the East from Istanbul.

It is known that coach tours were organized every day to Tehran, in every 2 days to Afghanistan and

once a week to India (Maclean, 2006; Ireland and Gemie, 2015). It is also known that Sultanahmet was one of the most significant beaten tracks of the hippies between 1965 and 1970. The fact that the hippies visited today's popular touristic destinations, such as Cappadocia, Side, Fethiye, Marmaris, Alanya and Kuşadası through their journey from Turkey to Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Nepal and Tibet became a stepping stone for touristic development of those regions. Transcending beyond a social movement, the hippie movement also led to various other developments so far from its own context. The first impressions of the people of Anatolia, where a self-enclosed culture prevails, on the "others" and the foreigners took shape owing to those young people who wanted to change the world.

The concept of identity which became widespread with the identity crisis that emerged after World War II is about how the individuals and groups see and identify themselves or how others see and identify them. The identities are based on the similarities and the differences. The individuals build the "we" identity by otherizing/factionalizing the others. Briefly, since the 'other' must somehow be the 'opposite' of what 'we' are it requires glorification of 'us' and abasement of the 'others'.

The secondary identities, which are built on identities such as gender, race, etc. are built by taking up other social roles and earned statuses. As it is clearly seen, the socially-built identities are very complex and fluid. As it is seen in this study, the transient change undergone by the local residents' perception of "we" and "them/others" have reversed the enthusiasm, apathy, disturbance and hostility phases of "irridex model" which is discussed frequently in many studies. It is observed that the relations with the first groups of hippies visiting the region started out "hostile" and ended up with "enthusiasm" at the point of saturation. At this point, this study will establish a critical approach to Doxey's "irridex model". Having been an inspiration for many other studies, Doxey's model became a useful approach for development of tourism in a certain destination but some of the aspects of this approach were criticized in the following years. Mathieson and Wall (1982) criticized Doxey's Model by arguing that he adopted a unilateral and limited way to assess the hosting community's approach to tourism. Zamani and Musa (2012) criticized Doxey's Model for stigmatizing the entire society for having hostile attitudes at the saturation point of tourism, since not all societies are homogeneous and different segments of the society may have different reactions towards the development of tourism.

When the history of tourism development in Cappadocia is reviewed accordingly it is observed that the local residents were first cautious about the hippies and remained distant from them but their emotions changed after some time and they even built strong friendships. These relationships directly or indirectly influenced the development of tourism. The local residents eventually discovered that the hippies whom they used to consider the "others" in their social relationships were not so different than themselves and they even welcomed them as their guests with the influence of well-known Turkish hospitality. Thus, the purpose of this study is to suggest a critical approach to Doxey's Irridex Model while expressing the role of the hippies in the history of tourism in Cappadocia and the local residents' support to tourism.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Since, it is aimed to have an idea about the support of the local residents to tourism and the role of that support in the development of tourism in Cappadocia, a qualitative research model is adopted. Oral history interviews which are one of the qualitative interview types according to Rubin and Rubin (1995) is based on collecting a descriptive recitation of historical events by way of listening to the witnesses of a significant event that took

Table 1: Residents list

Codes	Residents
R1	Male, 58, Hotel manager
R2	Male, 51, Tourist guide
R3	Male, 59, Restaurant operator
R4	Male, 47, Travel agency owner
R5	Male, 52, Restaurant operator, hotel operator
R6	Male, 59, Tourist guide
R7	Male, 53, Entertainment business operator
R8	Male, 56, Business Administration
R9	Male, 64, Mayor of Urgup
R10	Male, 50, Tourist guide, travel agency owner
R11	Male, 58, Travel agency operator
R12	Male, 56, Tourist guide
R13	Male, 54, Hotel manager

place within a certain time period and by asking questions that will identify lifestyles or changing cultural patterns. The oral history method is a data collection method, which is used when there are few resources. The amount of data available from one interview may allow for ways to eliminate the lack of general information about a topic and also may offer new sources of material about a subject (Raleigh, 2005). The participants are selected thorough purposive sampling method. Semi-structured interview forms are used in face-to-face interviews (Table 1).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hippie perceptions of the local residents of cappadocia:

Foreign tourists began to visit Cappadocia in mid-1950's for cultural and religious reasons. The region attracted the interest of a French journalist after the novel named "Three Nights in Rock Churches of Cappadocia" was written by Yorgo Seferis in 1953 and published by the French Research Institute. This interest resulted in influx of foreign tourists to Cappadocia. The fact that the visitors were mostly well-educated and that they had respect for the local residents and their culture resulted in a well-based host-visitor relationship (Tosun, 1998). In line with the conditions of that era, the hippie movement also took hold of Cappadocia as well as the rest of the world within the scope of recently-emerged social movements throughout the world. However, instead of being a political movement, this social movement appeared as a socio-cultural and then economic phenomenon in Cappadocia.

These weird-looking young people with their disorderly behaviors who set out from the modern world with their antithetical opinions, came across the Anatolian countrymen who were unaware of those hippies and their ideas. Even though the local residents of Cappadocia regarded their first "encounters" with the hippies as strange, they began to have pity on them without knowing their life philosophies and associated their shabby looks with poverty and felt sorry for them and wanted to help them as a result of their relationships with

hippies that turned into friendship in time. Many local people interacted with the hippies and both parties made an effort to understand their lifestyles and cultures. It was a unique experience both for the hippies and the people of Cappadocia. The local residents who were not aware of the concepts of tourism and tourists, made acquaintance with a brand new world. Being the pioneers of discovering the cultural and natural beauties, the hippies, in some way, laid the foundations of tourism in Cappadocia which would later have become one of the most significant tourist destinations in Turkey.

The relationship between the hippies and the local residents of Cappadocia who believed that the hippies would “poison” them when they first arrived, was shaped on confusion and fear. After the local people began to realize the economic benefits when the hippies began to stay overnight, the confusion and fear gave way to attention/interest. This transition was quickened by both the people who did not regard the hippies as odd people and believed that they had positive contribution to the social structure of the region and by the hospitality of the local people. They were not aware of the fact that they were opening new doors into tourism, a brand new industry that would increase their welfare levels, while the local residents were offering typical Turkish hospitality to those young people.

Sharing good times through pleasant conversations and mutual satisfaction, the relationship between the people of Cappadocia and the hippies was taken into a whole new level. They began to pay in return for the services offered by the local residents. While the villagers, not knowing that this voluntary transaction was the concept of tourism, used to timidly accept money from those young people that they consider guests, their houses were later turned into guesthouses and the hippies eventually began to be called tourists.

Doxey’s process of tourism development, which was built on enthusiasm, apathy, disturbance and hostility phases, had a reverse course in Cappadocia. When micro and macro tourism development dynamics of the region, which respectively cover the visits of the hippies and the overall development process of tourism in the entire region are analyzed it is observed that the model suggested by Doxey does not apply in this specific case.

Hostility: The hippie philosophy which influenced millions of young people in 1960's, urged many people to travel to the East. Many of them stayed in 1-star hotels and hostels in different parts of Turkey on their way to places such as Katmandu and Tibet. Thus, the foundations were laid for a tourism movement led by the hippies in some regions of Turkey. This journey started in

Istanbul in Turkey took yet another turn after the hippies began to interact with the local residents. The hippies in Cappadocia were first considered “strangers”, “others”, “fearful” and “dangerous” since they looked different from the typical Anatolian with their clothes, behaviors, social relations and physical appearances:

“When we were kids, our parents used to tell us ‘don’t accept chocolates from the tourists, they might put razor parts or needles in them; don’t eat anything they offer, they might poison you’. This was what our grandparents or mothers used to tell us when we were in primary or secondary school: “Stay away from them, they are dangerous, they might put needles or poison in your food, don’t eat anything they offer” (R1)

Some behaviors of the hippies were also criticized by the local residents as well as their physical appearances and clothes. The facts that many of them preferred hitchhiking despite of their intellectual backgrounds and decent financial conditions, that they were staying over parks and recreation areas and that they had intimate relations among themselves sharpened the boundaries between the locals and the hippies:

“We used to call them backpackers. They would come and hitchhike. They also created a tourism profile, where they take whatever they find for free. They were wealthy and had money but it became a habit; they used to raise their hand to stop the passing cars. The drivers would stop, since our people love to help others. Of course there were some ill-minded people around here; those hippies got used to be freeloaders. They always wanted to get on the gravy train. They would never stay at hotels. They had tents in those backpacks. The sleeping bags. They would sleep outside. We were very surprised and puzzled. They would get in their sleeping bags and sleep right next to cave. We were actually sickened in those days. Since, we believed that those hippies would demoralize people and set a bad example for some kids in the village, many people got cold feet about those hippies. [...] Even in my hometown, there was a major struggle in the early years. We struggled a lot (R2)

When the hippies began to visit more frequently and began to stay longer, the local people’s perceptions on them began to change. They began to think that those young people were actually “harmless” and even “miserable” and this toned down their biases.

In late 1970s, they were regarded as people with different clothes, hair styles, language and unusual life philosophies (R3)

“Our women used to feel sorry for them. They were poor wookies with torn t-shirts, travelling with their huge backpacks. Our people had always offered them food and they were always kind to them. They even let them build tents in their private gardens, took them to bathhouse and did all kinds of favors to those people (R4)

Even though they were hippies, they would never litter. We would always throw our cigarette packs around. They would drink alcohol and do everything but they would value people and animals greatly. If they see a turtle passing the road, they would stop and take it to the other side of the road, we would just run over it (R5)

Disturbance: The first reaction of the local residents against the hippies might be considered hostile but later they became more hospitable. These two groups with different lifestyles pushed each other to the limits of the “other”. One of the most significant reasons of this “view” was that the local residents viewed the hippies within the axis of their own culture:

“We would see them as freaks but for them, we were the freaks” (R5)

Even when considered from the perspective of man-woman relationships in Anatolian culture it is understandable that the local people of Cappadocia viewed the hippies through an ethnocentric point of view. While men and women could only get together through conjugal community in those days, that was definitely not the case with the hippies. In addition, even though it was a part of their life philosophy, the fact that they ‘try to get on the gravy train’ raised some eyebrows among the local people. Thus, they began to feel disturbed:

Of course it was weird at first. I remember that I went to the post office in Nev^oehir to send a letter... A male and a female tourist were sitting there, they were probably there for a phone call; at some point, they started to kiss. There were some people from conservative families and they immediately began to grumble. “Look at those heretic infidels, they don’t even blush...” Of course they were muttering to themselves. They were not talking to tourists. Let me say, there were

even some people who used to say ‘infidel tourists would demoralize our people’. Some people used to say ‘They came here and demoralized our children. They seduce our boys and girls’ (R6)

It was like they were told not to spend money in Turkey, Turkish people are generous and helpful. That’s my opinion because they used to pay when they had to (R2)

Although, the local residents were uncomfortable with all of these events, they did nothing to disturb those foreign tourists visiting their country, probably with the influence of Anatolian hospitality:

This is very important that they never disturbed anyone. And the tourists would sit, sleep and cook there... (R9)

Back in those days when the local residents began to make acquaintance with the tourists and to form an opinion about tourism, they preferred to be on the safe side and to stay behind the scenes. They became acquainted with touristic activities thanks to those young people belonging to a counter-culture movement; maybe they formed biases against tourism due to their biased view of the hippies:

The first hippies were wookies with backpacks. That’s what they really were. Our people more or less viewed all foreign people the same... We have strong prejudices. I mean, they wanted to take photographs but we never let them; they would look at us but we acted weird... That is our point of resistance, our characteristic trait... We always call them infidels. We have this conservative stand, a little confined, biased approach... This was how we first became acquainted with tourism (R7)

For the owners of a number of nearby hotels, the hippies were not even considered as potential customers:

“I remember it well, the owners of the hotels used to say ‘well, those are the hippie tourists it makes no difference if they spend the night at our hotels’” (R6)

Interest: Here, the authors chose to discuss the interest phase, instead of the apathy phase in Doxey’s Model. As in many other tourist destinations it is also observed in Cappadocia that the local residents first rejected the tourism activities while experiencing the sectoral

development of tourism and then they began to take interest in this sector together with its economic yields. Thus, the model suggested by Doxey will not apply in all cases. The authentic culture and living conditions of the local residents will eventually shape the development cycle of tourism. As it is clearly seen in the example of Cappadocia, the long-term stays of the hippies gave extra time for the local people to get used to their unusual looks and activities. Even though they thought it ran afoul of their culture, they began to tolerate the “weird” affairs of the hippies. It aroused their interest when the local people began to generate an income, even if just a tad:

Back in those days, the people that we called hippies were visiting Göreme. At first, we were trying to speak with them to practice English. Thus we began to take an interest in tourism. We found ourselves in tourism activities by selling souvenirs or postcards, antiques or by guiding the tourists around (R10)

They used to stay over for a very long time. A week, 10, 15 days or maybe for months. They used to stay in small guesthouses and tents; they never cared about luxury, the only thing they cared about was to find a cheap place to stay (R8)

Of course they began to take the tourists kindly when they began to make money. Or else, they used to murmur about their moral sentiment (R2) When they realized that the number of tourists were increasing and their hotels were always empty, they began to host those tourists against money, of course. Then, the number of hotels began to increase and competition began among those hotels (R6)

The role of the economic yields at this point of local people-hippie interaction on the mutual relationships is clearly observed. Henceforth, it would not be wrong to say even the ones with the shyest and the strictest attitudes against the hippies began to change and show hospitality. Economic yields are, without a doubt, one of the most significant reasons of this change:

The tourists would ask us and we would lead them to some of the houses. They wanted to see how some of the local crafts or foods are prepared; the women were shy about it and they would cover their faces with their headscarves. Some houses did not accept them; we would first ask for permission before visiting some of the houses and let the tourists watch the women weaving carpets (R8)

Enthusiasm: The increasing interest to the hippies and thus to the development of tourism was directly proportionate to the increasing economic yields. And the fact that they realized those young hippies whom they considered formidable and ridiculous, were “harmless” young people had increased their support to the development of tourism:

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Back in those days, agriculture had not been mechanized yet and we would ride our horses or donkeys to our fields and vineries. We used to see people sleeping in their sleeping bags. It was interesting for us. They would get uncomfortable when they saw us and they would apologize. There were no hotels. Those people would sleep in caves or gardens in their sleeping bags. Those were the tourists that we used to call hippies back in 1970s. They were very courteous. They would apologize and say “we came here without your permission”. That’s how we met them. They would accommodate themselves to the conditions. They would never bother anyone and stay for long periods, not one or two days; some of them stayed for 3-5 months (R10)

Those tourists that we used to call hippies would bring in a lot of money... (R6)

The people were ready for this and they tolerated them because tourists would bring money. They would never drink in the streets, some of them would but not in Urgup. They would cut a watermelon in half and eat it with bread and cheese in Goreme (R11)

The number of tourists visiting this region has increased over the years. Their salient hospitality had an influence on their global publicity through those hippies. The hippies who were in fact rumormongers, had significant roles in development of tourism.

Well, they were not the most favorite type of visitors back in those days but they put us on the map. They had a significant role in our global publicity. [...] It did not matter if they were hippies or not. We used to love those foreign people (R12)

As the local residents' support to tourism has been increasing, the people of Cappadocia found themselves playing an active role in tourism activities. Those people were regarded as different with their clothes, hair styles, language and unusual life philosophies. They were uninvited guests of Cappadocia in the late-1970s but they began to visit more after the 1980s. The most popular destination was Goreme. While the tourists would not even stay longer than 2 days, those hippies would stay more than two days in Cappadocia. While their most popular destination was Goreme, they began to visit Cappadocia in the late-1970s and early-1980's. Those visits became more and more popular after the 1980's (R3)

The Roles of the Hippies in the Development of Tourism in Cappadocia The first real impressions of the people of Cappadocia on tourism began to form after the visits of the hippies. Although a few French tourists visited in the early-1960s, the local residents began to form ideas of tourism and tourist after the hippies came and became a part of their lives:

Let's say after the second half of the 1960s. I mean, the first tourism activities began in those days, together with the arrival of the hippies... there were no cars, no decent means of transportation. And they were the first tourists around here..." (R7)

The support of local people for tourism activities increased due to the most typical features of Turkish hospitality. Since the hotels and restaurants in Cappadocia were insufficient, the changing views of the local people led them to host those hippies in their houses. They hosted those young people in their houses who slept in fields or on the roadsides in their sleeping bags, as required by their traditions. After they began to generate an income in return for their hospitality, new opportunities had emerged for the local residents. When they realized that they could generate an income through tourism, they took a concrete step towards tourism activities.

As I said before, when the hippies began to visit, the local people showed them the famous Anatolian hospitality; we don't even ask for money when we offer something... Those were the days, when the trade, money and the mercantilist system were not as common. Tourists and the local people were both enjoying this (R10)

The fact that the satisfied hippies played an active role in promotion of Cappadocia in those days, when cultural and spiritual contact was experienced at reasonable levels and that the region was announced as "Tourism Development Area" in 1973 attracted other visitors to Cappadocia. These developments increased the number of tourism investments and the local people who were hosting the hippies in their houses, turned into Professional entrepreneurs.

CONCLUSION

Being one of the most popular destinations of Turkey, Cappadocia began to receive the French tourists its first foreign visitors, in the late-1950's. These individual visits became more frequent and the region began to attract flocks of hippies after the second half of the 1960's. Cappadocia became one of their most popular stops on the way to the East. The local residents and the hippies got accustomed to each other's cultures and lifestyles. The majority of the local residents socially categorized the hippies as "others" in the earlier stages. Since the local residents were not aware of the purpose and life philosophies of the hippies, they found their clothes, behaviors, social relations and physical appearances very strange. Although, they never put these feelings into practice, the local residents were almost hostile against the hippies in the earlier stages. They began to think that those young people were actually harmless and they toned down their biases. This period, when closer relationships were built, continued with the local residents' tolerance and hospitality. The fact that the hippies began to pay for their hospitality made the Cappadocians realize various potential initiatives. They both felt spiritually closer to the hippies and began to establish friendly relationships and they also took interest in tourism. After the local people of Cappadocia realized that they could generate an income through tourism, they paved the way for professional investments. When all of these factors are considered it is observed that the local residents were first hostile against the hippies who were the corner stones of the tourism initiatives in Cappadocia and they became friendlier as they got to know the hippies and began to reap profits. Henceforth, it is

observed that tourism which was first an unprofessional interest and later became a professional opportunity, exhilarated the local people.

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