Abstract
Throughout the world, efforts at nature protection have displaced, restricted or put bans on local residents. Locals find it difficult to continue with their traditional life styles. They may have been given some alternatives such as eco-tourism but in most cases the alternatives have not provided them with enough subsistence. Therefore, they suffer in survival terms and leave their traditional settings for a better life. The treatment of local residents in protected areas yields unwanted results for both the region itself and the local residents. By using Kavurmacilar Village as a case study, this research deals with how efforts at protection efforts affected small communities since their establishment in 1993 at Kazdagi National Park (KDNP). Nature conservation, while protecting biodiversity, may adversely affect cultural diversity of such areas. Banning all traditional activities without providing realistic alternatives may yield unwanted results. This is in turn harmful for protected areas, for local residents, and for society at large.

Key Words: Nature conservation, resettlement, amenity migrants, Kazdagi National Park, Turkey.

Introduction
Wittemyer et al. (2008) argue that places within the developing world where Protected Areas (PAs) are located are experiencing higher rates of population growth, suggesting that in-migration here reflects the economic and social benefits that result from the creation of PAs. They found that average human population growth rates on the borders of 306 PAs in 45 countries in Africa and Latin America were nearly double the average rural growth, suggesting that PAs attract, rather than repel, human settlement. If human settlement is seen as a whole, their findings might reflect an important aspect of reality. However, if we look at the changes in settlements around some PAs more closely, we see that although the population increases in some settlements, there are settlements on the edges of PAs that lose population. Even in those places where population has grown because of migration we need to look at who is moving to these settlements and whether there is an ethical dimension to these population increases. We suggest here that these kinds of human mobility, while helping maintain biological diversity, devalue cultural diversity in and around PAs. Cultural diversity should be stressed as important as biological diversity because humans have developed strategies over the centuries to use the PA resources in a sustainable way.
The south-western part of Kaz Dağları (Mount Ida) was reserved as a National Park because of its biological diversity, geomorphologic characteristics, endemic species, abundant water resources, archeological, and cultural resources. The National Park covers an area of 21,452 hectares. The area is basically located on the southern slope of Kazdağı. The highest peak of the mountain is Karataş Tepe (1774 m). There are more than 13 villages that have been dependent on the park’s resources for their livelihood (Figure 1). After the establishment of the National Park, free entrance to the park was banned and those who want to enter the park were obliged to hire a local guide. Pricing was seen a way of visitor control. Almost all traditional activities have been banned by the park administration, leaving locals with little choice for survival without leaving the area. This research deals with one of the settlements, Kavurmacilar, located on the southern slopes of Kazdagi National Park (Figure 1). The village of Kavurmacilar was abandoned in the process that created the Kazdagı National Park. Fieldwork was conducted at the site during the summers of 2007 and 2008, open-ended interviews were held with residents who had migrated from there and official statistics were examined.

Cultural Diversity on the Edges of Kazdagi National Park

There are 13 settlements that are situated outside, but adjacent to KDNP (Figure 1). Before 1993, these settlements used to use the resources of the park in their daily lives. There are two cultural groups living in these settlements. At the local scale these groups are known as Tahtacı Türkmen, and Yörük. These two groups are different in their beliefs although they are both Muslim. The Tahtacı settlements are Tahtakuşlar, Kavlaklar, Arıtaşı, Mehmetalani, Kızılçukur (part of Avcilar) and Yassiçali (part of Güre). People living in these settlements are called Alevi or Alaouite, which is a religious group that reveres Ali in Islam. The Yörük, making up the Sunni group, which is traditional Islamic group, live in the settlements of Avcilar, Çamlıbel, Kızılkeçili, Beyoba and Pınarbaşı. Towns like Zeytinli and Güre are essentially Yörük communities with few migrant Alaouite people.
In the above table, the settlements of Güre and Zeytinli appear in historical records dated 1530; and Kızılkçeçili and Avcılar appear in records of 1573 (Yılmaz 1995). Considering that all of these first settlements have today been settled by the Yörük, one comes to the conclusion that the settlements in which the Türkmen population lives today had not been founded recently and that the Türkmen had lived nomadically in the region. The villages registered in the 1890 Ottoman yearbook are Arıtaşı, Avcılar, Güre, Kavurmacılar, the subject of this study, Kızılkçeçili, Mehmetalani, Çamlıbel and Zeytinli (Mutaf 1995).

Concerning population increase, there are two distinct groups of settlements in the table, the settlements functioning as small towns and the settlements of the Türkmen population. This is because they choose to live together and there is less out-migration, also because of their better adaptation strategies to the mountain ecosystem. This is in contrast to Yörük villages. Yörük villages, a traditional Islamic group, on the other hand, have lost population in general. The population growth in small towns has been linked to natural reasons and in-migration, whereas the Türkmen settlement’s population increase can be linked solely to natural reasons. Since the Alevi Türkmen prefer to live with people of their own faith, there is almost no out-migration whatsoever, except for educational reasons. The out-migrations that do happen due to marriage happen almost solely to other Alevi villages.

It appears that the migration from rural to urban areas has affected the settlements with the Yoruk population more. There is only one settlement that gained a village status in 2000 and that as Arıtaşı, which is another Alevi settlement. It seems that while Yörük’s relationship with the Mount Ida is getting weaker, the relationship of Alevi’s is getting stronger. This might be considered as a product of popular culture which is promoting KDNP in particular and Mont Ida in general as a consumption space.

The village of Kavurmacılar is one these Yörük settlements that was established by residents who migrated to this region sometimes in the 14th and 15th centuries from the east. As the table shows the population of Kavurmacılar has declined tremendously between 1935 and 1970 and the settlement has lost its village status just before the 2000 census. The village was abandoned completely, leaving only a shepherd and his old mother in the village. Almost no one lives in the village now. It was quite a large village as the population in 1935 and the
cemetery suggests. However, the people of the village then started migrating either to nearby large settlements like Güre or outside the region. Almost all those who migrated from the village come back to hold annual celebrations in August of each year, dedicated to Sarkiz, a holy women, supposed to have lived here once and left the village because of some false accusations and lived the rest of her life on top of Mount Ida and died there. There is a tomb dedicated to her on Sarıkız tepe, the second highest peak of Mount Ida.

Today the most notable places in the village are the real estate office and new villas which have been built by amenity migrants. The real estate office was established around the time of abandonment and many villagers sold their property to amenity migrants through this office. The office is run by one of the migrants who settled in Güre in late 1980’s. The amenity migrants came from nearby cities, most notable from Istanbul. They buy old houses or properties and build ‘modern’ villas in the village (Figure 2). This trend shows the major transformation agent of the southern slopes of KDNP. It is predicted that in near future most of traditional houses will be replaces by these new modern villa houses. Newcomers, mostly retired bureaucrats from large cities, replace those who have lived a traditional lifestyle here.

Figure 2. The village of Kavurmacilar, abandoned, but some amenity migrants started to build new houses.

The major livelihoods practiced in the village were forestry and animal husbandry with little support from agricultural practices. Almost all the people interviewed said that they engaged in either forestry or animal rearing of some sort. The forest surrounding the village is owned by the state and the Ministry of Forestry has been producing timber from it for the past 70 years. Before that time the property was managed by local communities. With this change in status, local villagers were hired as forest workers and they worked for the Ministry of Forestry. They used to work temporarily in summers when the Ministry produced timber here. They would support their livelihood by collecting non-timber forest products from the forest.

In the Yörük community animal feeding has been one of the most important livelihood practices. Almost all households had some sheep, but especially goats. They would keep the animals in lower altitudes in winter time as the weather was warm enough to keep them outside. In summers they would take their animals on pastures located in certain places in the forest at higher elevation and they would stay there until the weather cooled off. This yearly
movement of animals and shepherds is called *yaylacilik*, which is still practiced in some other parts of Anatolia. This practice was largely abandoned in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of strong pressure from the Ministry of Forestry because they thought that goats were the most important ‘enemies’ of the forest, and that they should be kept out of these areas. The Ministry, as other places in Turkey, put pressure on villagers to get rid of their goats.

After the National Park was established in 1993, almost all human activities were banned there and the traditional relationship between this community and the physical environment was lost. People were forced to sell their animals, the collection of herbs, mushrooms and other non-timber forest products became prohibited. Because the Ministry of Forestry stopped practicing forestry inside the protected area in late 1990’s, the forest workers became unemployed and left the area. People had to sell their animals and placing beehives inside the forest was either banned or made difficult and procedural. One of the local farmers could not understand this saying that:

> “we have lived here for centuries, we always had animals, especially goats. As you can see when they came here to protect this forest, the forest was there in a good condition and we always used pastures inside the forest. I do not understand what they mean by animals are giving harm to forest. If animals give harm to forest how come we have a natural forest to protect after all these centuries?”

When asked why they migrated from the village, the former settlers gave a number of different reasons. Some said that there was a problem with water supply and they found it difficult to live without water. This is ironic considering that Homeros talked about this place in Iliad as ‘Ida with a thousand springs. Some others raised concerns about the transportation infrastructure as there was no road for vehicles until 1987. Some others said that they migrated to provide opportunities for their children to get education in Güre. The kids had been commuting 4 kilometres by road everyday to go to school there.

Some of these migrations can be explained by traditional pull and push factors in migration studies. However, we believe that the reason for this abandonment was the lack of a strategic rural development planning. The village of Kavurmacilar is located in a place that has the base to support certain size of population. The village located next to a forest which is extremely rich in terms of biodiversity. The area was a premium destination for domestic tourists.

When the National Park was planned, no socio-cultural projection was made to understand the social-cultural effects of the National Park measures. It has been common practice in the Turkish conservation system to overlook the wills and needs of local communities and it was expected that if they lose jobs, they should go to cities and find employment there. However, this is an unsustainable practice giving the problems of contemporary cities.

**Conclusions**

As Wittemyer *et al.* suggest, there has been in general a population increase in settlements surrounding PAs around KDNP. However, there are two important dimensions to this increase. The first is that the increase, while it helps maintain biological diversity in PAs, it decreases cultural diversity. Traditional lifestyles and the everyday lives of people and their relationships with resources have changed fundamentally. As a result a less diversified, ‘modern’ lifestyle is encouraged and the rural character of these places is lost. This is mainly because the newcomers, amenity migrants, have income which is derived from outside the region sources and they are not dependent on the local resource base for their everyday lives.
Because these people migrate to the region for perceived benefits, it is important for them to keep the environment clean and protect the resources without any kind of usage. This contradicts to locals’ interests because they want to use resources for their livelihood.

The second dimension is that as amenity migrants come and settle in the region, they tend to buy the locals’ properties. The creation of KDNP has already decreased the the relationships between people and resources. In addition to this if they sell their properties to the newcomers, there is not much left to keep local people in these places. As a result an out-migration trend is seen in these villages. Some of the villages balance migration because while some people settle in the village others leave these settlements. But villages like Kavurmacilar have not been as fortunate because the village lost its village status just before the 2000 census. Almost all the villagers left the village for Güre, which is a larger settlement just 5 kilometres down the hill. It was expected that a village like Kavurmacilar would flourish as suggested by Wittemyer et al., however, because of the unsustainable practice of nature conservation a village just adjacent to the protected area was spoilt.

The results of this study show that the National Park was planned without a holistic approach and almost no alternatives were provided for the local communities. Despite the fact that the area is very favourable for alternative tourism, no particular plans exist as to how to develop these opportunities into income-generating activities. Therefore, it is expected that this trend of out-migration, while maintaining population increase around the edges of KDNP, will continue to decrease the cultural diversity and local ways of life around the protected area. In this case, cultural diversity should have the same importance as biological diversity because humans have developed strategies over the centuries to use the PA resources in a sustainable way.

References